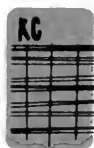
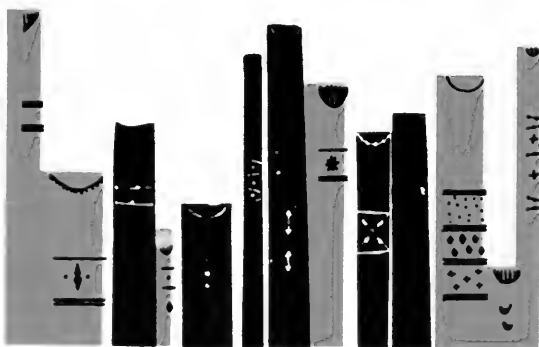




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# NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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FRANK D. REEVE

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THEODOSIUS MEYER, O.F.M.

ARTHUR J. O. ANDERSON

VOLUME XXVIII  
1953

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY THE  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO  
AND THE  
UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO

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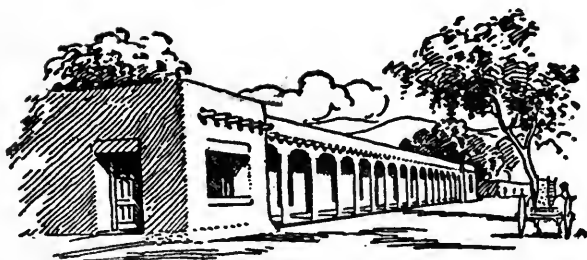


V. 28: Jan - Oct. 53

*New Mexico* *D. Green*  
*Historical Review*

PUBLISHED BY  
UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO

FEB 12 1953



Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe

*January, 1953*

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THE NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW is published jointly by the Historical Society of New Mexico and the University of New Mexico. Subscription to the quarterly is \$3.00 a year in advance; single numbers, except those which have become scarce, are \$1.00 each.

Business communications should be addressed to Mr. P. A. F. Walter, State Museum, Santa Fe, N. M.; manuscripts and editorial correspondence should be addressed to Prof. Frank D. Reeve, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, N. M.

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Entered as second-class matter at Santa Fe, New Mexico  
UNIVERSITY PRESS, ALBUQUERQUE, N. M.

# NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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VOL. XXVIII

JANUARY, 1953

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## KIT CARSON, AGENT TO THE INDIANS IN NEW MEXICO 1853-1861

*By* MARSHALL D. MOODY

PERHAPS no area in the United States has offered greater challenge to Indian agents than that comprising New Mexico Territory in the 1850's. Here, in their mountain strongholds, lived some ten large Indian tribes and bands among which were the independent and fierce Apaches, Utes, and Navajoes. Traditionally hostile to the encroachments of white civilization, these tribes required the utmost efforts of the best agents obtainable to subdue them and make the country safe for white inhabitants.

A major step toward solving the problem of administering the affairs of New Mexico Territory, subduing the Indians, and making it a civilized state, was taken on January 8, 1851, when James S. Calhoun was confirmed by the United States Senate as Governor of the Territory and made, by virtue of his office, ex-officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs. Subsequently four agents were appointed to serve among the several tribes of the Territory. During Governor Calhoun's administration there were no major outbreaks among the Indians but relations were so strained that a threat of impending hostility and warfare was ever present. Governor Calhoun was in poor health and unable to prosecute a vigorous policy in his dealings with the Indians. On many occasions he wrote to Washington of the need for strong action and one of his last acts, prior to his death in June 1852, was to issue a warning to the administration of the urgency of the situation.

William Carr Lane, who succeeded Calhoun as Governor and ex-officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs, served from September 1852 until August 8, 1853, and, like Calhoun, did not attempt a strict policy toward the Indians.

David D. Meriwether succeeded Lane as Governor and ex-officio Superintendent of Indian Affairs, taking the oath of office in the City of Washington on May 22, 1853. Governor Meriwether arrived at Santa Fe on August 8 and, after an investigation of affairs there, charged that immediately prior to leaving office, Lane had spent large sums on the Indians and made lavish promises to them. It was not Meriwether's policy to coddle the Indians nor to deal lightly with them. His strict administration was immediately resented by the Indians and inadequate appropriations contributed to making his position a difficult one. By the end of 1853 it had become obvious that the destitute and hungry Indians were going to resort to stealing, marauding, and possibly warfare. There was little game left and, unless the Government supported the Indians, they were doomed to hardship and hunger. A crisis was at hand.

It was under these conditions and in this tense situation that Kit Carson became an agent to the Indians in New Mexico Territory. The exact date, the manner in which Carson received the news of his appointment, and his reaction to the news, seem to be in doubt. His appointment was dated March 22, 1853,<sup>1</sup> but Carson, having gone with a party which drove a herd of sheep overland to California in the spring, was not immediately informed of his appointment as agent. Numerous versions of his notification have been given but the predominant opinion seems to be that the party, having disposed of the sheep, was returning to New Mexico by the southern route when they met the Mormon delegate to Congress, Dr. John Milton Bernhisel, who informed Kit, on or about December 23, 1853, of his appointment as agent to the Indians of New Mexico. Having been thus informed, Kit reported to Governor Meriwether and was assigned to duty at the Utah

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1. Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Miscellaneous Records, vol. 8, p. 32. Hereafter cited as B.I.A., Misc.

Agency, with headquarters at Taos, on January 9, 1854.<sup>2</sup> His bond, in the amount of five thousand dollars, was dated January 6, 1854, and was signed by himself, Charles Beau-bien, and Peter Joseph. Certification of the bond and Carson's oath were made on January 9, 1854, and it was on that day that he entered into the duties and responsibilities of the office of agent to the Jicarilla Apache, Utah, and Pueblo Indians who were then under the jurisdiction of the Utah Agency.

The area over which Agent Carson was to have jurisdiction was not an exactly defined one. In lieu of being assigned authority over an area he was given, instead, charge over the Jicarilla Apache, Utah, and Pueblo Indians. This arrangement was necessary because, as Governor Meriwether stated:

There are no well defined and acknowledged boundary lines dividing the white people from the Indians of this Territory, nor between the several tribes and bands of the Indians themselves. Each tribe and band claims all the land which its people have usually hunted and roamed over, not actually occupied by the whites, and the whites deny that any Indians of this Territory have a valid claim to any lands except the Pueblo Indians holding under grants from Spain or Mexico.<sup>3</sup>

Agent Carson hardly had time to become accustomed to his new job and establish an agency office before trouble broke out among the Jicarilla Apaches and the Utahs who were under his charge. The Jicarillas first showed signs of unrest by committing depredations on the white settlers. Lt. Bell of the Second Regiment of United States Dragoons who was ordered to stop the marauding expeditions of these Indians set out with a small force to find them. They were encountered on the Red River and the Indians, though superior in numbers, were defeated and lost many warriors as well as one of their leading chiefs. When he heard of the battle Agent Carson feared that a general war would break out. He, therefore, set out immediately to visit a large party

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2. Meriwether to Carson, January 9, 1854 (New Mexico Supt'y B.I.A., Letters Sent)

3. Meriwether to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 30, 1856 (B.I.A., Letters Received, New Mexico, 1857/N 220)

of Jicarilla Apaches which was encamped about twenty miles from Taos to try to pacify them and prevent further hostilities. Carson was well known to these Indians and they respected him. When they learned that he had been made their agent they were greatly pleased and professed their friendship. Carson, however, knew them well enough to realize that they could not be trusted. It was only three days later that they broke out in open revolt against the government and renewed their depredations on a larger scale than ever. A small band of soldiers under command of Lt. Davidson met some of these rebellious Apaches on the Embudo Mountain, the 30th of March, 1854, and a bloody battle was fought.

It now became clear that a strong force must take the field against the hostile Apaches in order to subdue them. Colonel Cooke of the Second Regiment of United States Dragoons commanded an expedition of regular troops which took the field on April 4, 1854, against the Apaches. The principal guide of this expedition was Kit Carson who went, not only as guide but also as Indian Agent, because he wanted to determine who the guilty Indians were and particularly to find out whether the Utes, who were friendly to the Apaches, were involved or not. On April 12, Carson wrote from a camp on the Puerco to William S. Messervy, Acting Governor and Superintendent of Indian Affairs at Santa Fe, reporting that it was his opinion that the Apaches had been driven to war by the actions of the officers and troops in the vicinity of Taos, that the vigorous pursuit of the Indians through the worst mountains he had ever seen had led them to believe that no quarter or mercy would be given, and that they had scattered in every direction. He further expressed the belief that it "would be best for them to be sent for, and a fair and just treaty made with them. . . ." <sup>4</sup> To this proposition Acting Governor Messervy replied on April 13: "you will see that war actually exists between the United States and the Jicarilla Apache Indians and that it was commenced by the Indians themselves. I can not under any circumstances make peace with these Indians, much less make overtures to

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4. Carson to Messervy, April 12, 1854 (New Mexico Supt'y., B.I.A., Letters Received)



them.”<sup>5</sup> On April 19, Agent Carson was back at his agency in Taos—the Apaches having scattered so widely that further pursuit of them had become impossible and when the expedition had returned to Abiquiú, the nearest settlement, to recruit animals preparatory to another expedition, Carson had returned to Taos.

During the Jicarilla outbreak the Utahs had remained comparatively quiet. The most serious incident to require Agent Carson’s attention was the theft by Utahs on February 26th of thirty head of animals belonging to Juan Benito Valdez and Jesus Maria Sanches. Upon learning of this Agent Carson applied for a military escort and was furnished sixty dragoons under the command of Bvt. Major Thompson and Lt. Davidson of the First Dragoons to go to the Utahs and try to recover the stolen animals. The expedition pursued the Utahs for sixty or seventy miles northwest of Ft. Massachusetts into the Wet Mountain Valley without success. Valdez and Sanchez subsequently recovered ten head of the stock which had been abandoned on the road. Other thefts were reported but investigations proved that they were made because of the scarcity of game and the inability of the Utahs to support themselves. On March 21, 1854, Agent Carson reported that “The game in the Utah Country is becoming scarce, and they are unable to support themselves by the chase and the hunt, and the government has but one alternative, either to subsist and clothe them or exterminate them.”<sup>6</sup> He was of the opinion that these Indians would have to be made to know and feel the power of the government before they would become permanently peaceful.

It was reported that a party of Jicarilla Apaches had been pursued by Major Brooks until they crossed the Rio Grande del Norte north of Ft. Massachusetts. On May 23, Agent Carson left his agency to accompany Major James H. Carleton on an expedition against them. The trail of this party, which consisted of about thirty lodges, was found and followed to the vicinity of Fisher’s Peak in the Raton Mountains where the Indians were surprised on June 5 and a num-

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5. Messervy to Carson, April 13, 1854 (*Ibid.*, Letters Sent)

6. Carson to Messervy, March 21, 1854 (*Ibid.*, Letters Received)

ber were killed. The expedition scoured the country on the headwaters of Red River, Cimarron, and Vermejo Rivers, and by the Moreno Pass, but found no signs of other hostiles. On the 11th of June the expedition had returned to Taos from whence Agent Carson immediately reported his part in the expedition to Acting Governor Messervy.<sup>7</sup>

The Jicarilla War continued and in early 1855 an expedition under the command of Col. Fauntleroy took the field against them. This was followed by an expedition of volunteers under the command of Ceran St. Vrain. The St. Vrain volunteers found the hostiles and fought seven battles with them. All these expeditions took heavy toll of the Indians and in August several of the principal men of the Mohuache Utahs<sup>8</sup> and Jicarilla Apaches visited Agent Carson with a view of obtaining peace. He made an appointment to meet them on the 10th of September on the Chama River above Abiquiú. On the appointed date Governor Meriwether representing the United States met the Jicarilla Apaches and Utes and concluded treaties<sup>9</sup> with them thus ending the war which had been in progress for a year and a half.

The war with the Jicarillas and—to a considerably less extent—difficulties with the Utahs occupied much of Agent Carson's attention during most of 1854 and 1855. The war was, however, more within the province of the military than the civil authority and Carson's rôle was subordinated to that of the army officers with whom he campaigned. His judgments and official position as Indian agent were respected, however.

Though conduct of the war was the chief objective, there were other matters which had to be given attention at Taos at this time. While Carson was away from the agency affairs were left in charge of John W. Dunn, Carson's interpreter and only employee. Dunn, who was described by Carson as of "steady habits, and attentive, industrious and skilful in the discharge of his duties,"<sup>10</sup> was certainly more than an

7. Carson to Messervy, June 12, 1854 (*Ibid.*)

8. Mohuache is the preferred spelling. Variant acceptable spellings and terms include Mohuache Utahs, Mohuache Utes, Moaches, and Muahuaches.

9. Papers pertaining to Indian treaties with various and sundry New Mexican tribes, June 9 to Sept. 12, 1855 (Records of the U.S. Senate)

10. Carson to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 30, 1854 (copy in New Mexico Supt'y., B.I.A., Letters Received)

interpreter and was often referred to by Carson as his clerk though no clerk was authorized for the agency. In addition to acting as interpreter and taking charge of the agency during Carson's absences, there is little doubt that Dunn—by Carson's direction—conducted the correspondence of the agency and acted as administrative officer to Carson. While Agent Carson was away from his agency during the war much of the responsibility fell to Dunn.

Problems of peaceful Indians were given much attention by Agent Carson. Though these problems were varied in nature they could usually be traced to a common source—hunger and destitution. During the summer the Indians were usually able to care for themselves but in the severe winters they could not secure food and frequently lacked shelter. As the winter approached a party of Utah Indians visited the agency in September 1854 and Carson reported that they

. . . seem to manifest the most peaceable relations toward the United States and say they are desirous of remaining at peace with the United States—They complain that they are poor and that the game is scarce—and that while all the Indians of the North are receiving presents, they are receiving none—I would respectfully suggest that as the inclement season is now very near, that you, at an early day as possible call them together and make them presents of Blankets Shirts & I deem this to be a matter of great importance.<sup>11</sup>

Carson well realized the suffering which these Indians would have to undergo if they were not taken care of and that they would resort to use of arms if not given the aid they required.

Usually there was little trouble among the various tribes of Indians under Carson's jurisdiction, but there were occasions when disturbances broke out between them and other tribes, particularly the Plains Indians. In early November 1854 a party of Pueblos went into the Raton Mountains to hunt for deer and antelope. These Indians, who were under the jurisdiction of the Utah Agency, were attacked by a party of Cheyennes or Arapahoes and twelve of the Pueblos were killed. The Pueblos had always been friendly toward the United States and among the party attacked had been a number who had served with distinction under command of Col. Cooke against the Apaches. Agent Carson filed a pro-

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11. Carson to Meriwether, Sept. 25, 1854 (*Ibid.*)

test<sup>12</sup> and steps were taken to punish the guilty party. In matters of this type involving Indians of other agencies Carson could not exercise punitive authority himself. The extent of his power was to report the crime to officials having wider jurisdiction.

By 1856 the Indians of Carson's agency had been subdued and except for depredations committed by small bands consisting of warriors who had lost everything during the war all were at peace. Carson, relieved of the burdens of the war, was then able to concentrate more on affairs at Taos. His home there which also served as agency headquarters was a building one story in height which faced on the west side of the public square. It extended over a wide expanse of ground and was as comfortable as any house in that part of the country. It was in front of this house that Kit met the many Indians who came to see him for he preferred to meet people and do business in the open. The Indians always visited him when they were in the neighborhood whether they had business to transact or not. They could not come to town without having a smoke and a talk with "Father Kit" as they called him.

Kit did not enjoy the comparative quiet of his agency for he was involved in something that was more irritating to him than the Indian wars had been and that was paper work. He could neither read nor write—being barely able to sign his name—and intrusted the book work at first to John W. Dunn and later to John Mostin, C. Williams or J. P. Esmay who were employed by him at various times, but he could not escape entirely the responsibility of preparing the various reports required of him. His financial reports were usually submitted promptly—even in advance on occasion—but they were frequently returned for correction and his accounts became so confused that some of them had to be submitted to Washington for special audit. Governor Meriwether frequently returned his accounts for correction and called attention to such items as "Charges for expenses of *self and clerk* at Santa Fe \$13 when I am ignorant of any regulations

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12. Carson to Meriwether, November 23, 1854 (*Ibid.*)

which authorize an Agent to have a clerk."<sup>13</sup> By June 1856, the accounts seemed to have been largely corrected and adjusted and Governor Meriwether authorized Carson to draw upon him for amounts totaling not more than one thousand dollars but warned him to be particular to send the necessary vouchers. Subsequently there were other cases necessitating correction and adjustment and these were a constant source of annoyance to Agent Carson.

The narrative reports of operations proved to be almost as great a source of difficulty as the financial reports were. An example of this type of difficulty which was encountered by Carson is given in a letter from Governor Meriwether in which he states, "I have to acknowledge the receipt of your report for the month of February last and to inform you that I apprehend it will not prove to be such a document as is desired by the Department at Washington."<sup>14</sup> Meriwether requested more specific and detailed information and returned Carson's original report for revision. Again in July 1855, in June 1856, and subsequently at intervals, Carson was asked to correct or enlarge upon his reports.

In August 1856, Governor Meriwether issued orders to assemble the Jicarilla Apaches and Capote Utahs at or near Abiquiú on the 4th of September for the purpose of giving them their annual presents. The Indians met on the appointed date and were given their presents which, in itself, was not unusual, but Carson became implicated in a situation that could have proved serious. There was a disturbance while the presents were being issued. A report was circulated that Agent Carson was the instigator of the disturbance during which a Tabaguache Utah chief, being dissatisfied with what he had received, raised his gun for the purpose of firing at the Governor. Other Indians seeing this action overpowered the chief and prevented him from harming Meriwether. Upon learning of the report Carson wrote to Governor Meriwether<sup>15</sup> disclaiming any knowledge of the affair and stating that he was not present at the time of the dis-

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13. Meriwether to Carson, Sept. 29, 1855 (*Ibid.*, Letters Sent)

14. Meriwether to Carson, March 10, 1855 (*Ibid.*)

15. Carson to Meriwether, Sept. 17, 1856 (*Ibid.*, Letters Received)

turbance. Governor Meriwether replied,<sup>16</sup> assuring Agent Carson that he had heard nothing of such a report, that the disturbance had been a mild one, and that the Indians, particularly the Tabaguaches,<sup>17</sup> appeared to be well satisfied with their gifts.

During the last months of 1856 and the first quarter of 1857 business was routine at the Utah Agency. These being winter months the Indians were quiet and in October Agent Carson took advantage of the situation to go on a hunt. Whenever business permitted it, this hunt was an annual affair in which Carson was joined by old friends and a select group of Indian braves of his agency.

Following his return from the hunt in 1856 Agent Carson took up the duties of his agency and attempted to determine the boundary lines of the lands belonging to the Indians under his charge, fed the many hungry parties that called upon him for assistance, and worked on the administrative problems of his agency. His estimate of funds necessary for his agency for the quarter ending March 31, 1857, was for a total of \$2,290.03; and for the quarter ending June 30, 1857, a total of \$1,387.50. These appear to be representative of the amounts usually required though the totals in exceptional circumstances were much larger. Depredations were at a minimum and included only cattle stealing and a murder.

April 1857 brought to a close Kit Carson's first term as Indian Agent in New Mexico Territory. His apprenticeship, as it were, had been a period of more serious troubles than most Indian agents ever encountered. He had experienced the Jicarilla War; the annoyances of paper work connected with his office; depredations, stealing and murders; and was doing all he could to keep the peaceful Indians in his charge from starvation and exposure. He had proved himself a capable agent.

Christopher Carson was reappointed Indian agent on April 9, 1857,<sup>18</sup> for a term to end with the adjournment of the next session of the United States Senate. His bond, in

16. Meriwether to Carson, Sept. 20, 1856 (*Ibid.*, Letters Sent)

17. Tabaguache is the preferred spelling. Variant acceptable spellings include Tabahuache, Tabequache, Tabequache Utes, Tabewache and Tabiachis.

18. B.I.A., Misc., vol 8, page 287.

the amount of five thousand dollars, was signed by himself, Thomas A. Boggs, Peter Joseph, James B. Woodson and Ezra De Pew on the 26th day of May and on that day Carson accepted his reappointment to the office. David D. Meriwether had been succeeded by James L. Collins, appointed on March 17, 1857, as Superintendent of Indian Affairs to replace the ex-officio superintendency under the governor, and so Carson was to serve his second term under new and different supervision.

The affairs of Utah Agency gave every promise of being peaceful for the remainder of the year 1857 and this proved to be the case. Carson, in his monthly reports, was usually able to state that the Indians under his charge were in a state of peace and contentment and that no depredations had been committed. It was necessary for the agency to provide them with rations frequently and, in August 1857, the "Mohuaches and some of the Tabaguaches proceeded to Abiquiú, received their presents, and then returned to Conejos well satisfied."<sup>19</sup> In regard to the groups who visited the Agency frequently for the purpose of receiving food, Agent Carson reported, "I give unto them liberally for as game is fast disappearing from their hunting grounds it becomes necessary to furnish them food or they will supply themselves with it from the flocks and herds of citizens that live in the neighborhood."<sup>20</sup> He also frequently reported that the Indians of his agency were friendly and that, if they were properly provisioned, he had no fear of their becoming otherwise.

Kit Carson, in 1857, had been an Indian agent for four years and had lived and fought with the Indians for twenty-eight years prior to becoming agent. He, if anybody, was well qualified to recommend how they should be treated. In June of 1857 he set down in simple terms his opinions which included: removal of Indians as far as possible from white settlements and separation of the various tribes by at least five miles if possible; maintenance of a sufficient military force among them to keep peace; teaching of practical arts by which they could learn to support themselves; placing

19. Carson to Collins, Sept. 1, 1857 (New Mexico Supt'y., B.I.A., Letters Received)

20. *Ibid.*

missionaries among them to instruct them in the laws of Christianity; and remove the Indians as far as possible from the Mexicans. This simple philosophy was a forerunner of the Peace Policy which was to embody the same general humane principles more than ten years later.

In November of 1857 some minor depredations occurred. The Mohuache band of Utahs stole some animals in the Arkansas River area and Agent Carson learned of the act. He made application to Capt. Morris commanding at Cantonment Burgwin for military aid and was given five men as an escort with which he set out and found the Indians on the Conejos. They were in a severe state of destitution and Carson gave them sixty-four and a half fanegas of wheat (about 102 bushels). The stolen animals were recovered without difficulty and returned to their owners after an absence of eight days.

The estimated expenses of Utah Agency for the quarter ending December 31, 1857, were given as follows:<sup>21</sup>

For contingent expenses including provisions and presents to Indians .....	\$1,200.00
For salary of Agent Carson .....	387.50
For salary of interpreter .....	125.00
	<hr/>
Total	\$1,712.50

Late in 1857 and early in 1858 a new type of problem arose to give Agent Carson concern. In January<sup>22</sup> he received instructions from Acting Superintendent Yost at Santa Fe to be especially watchful of attempts by Mormons who might attempt to estrange the Indians of New Mexico Superintendent from the United States as part of the conduct of the Mormon War. He was warned to keep close touch with the Indians and to make all reasonable efforts to secure their friendship to the United States. If necessary, he was authorized to exceed his estimates to furnish the Indians with increases in provisions to prevent their cooperation with the Mormons, and if hostile actions were observed the informa-

21. Carson to Collins, n. d. (*Ibid.*)

22. Acting Supt. Yost to Carson, Jan. 12, 1858 (*Ibid.*, Letters Sent)



tion was to be transmitted to Santa Fe for immediate relay to Washington.

Agent Carson immediately followed the instructions of Acting Superintendent Yost and proceeded to the Sierra Blanco near Fort Massachusetts for the purpose of ascertaining the disposition of the Indians in that region. En route Carson met Ancatash, Blanco and other Utahs who, with Guataname, an Arapahoe, and a Blackfoot, were on the way to Taos to conclude a treaty of peace and friendship with the Indians in the Taos area. On the 22nd of January a tentative treaty of peace was made between these tribes which had been at war with each other for years. When the sincerity of the Plains Indians could be assured, Carson proposed to take a party of his Indians to their country to effect a permanent treaty arrangement. Decreasing hostilities between the Indians of the plains and those of the mountains helped prevent a coalition of the Plains Indians with the Mormons against the United States. Carson was able to report at the end of January that "The Indians of this agency are apparently very well satisfied and friendly disposed toward the government and I have strong hopes of their remaining so even if urged by the rebels of Utah to commence hostilities."<sup>23</sup> These hopes proved to be well founded for none of Carson's Indians joined the Mormons against the United States.

The second term of Agent Carson came to a close in March 1858. The Utah Agency had been the scene of peace for a year and had had no serious depredations. The Indians evinced a firm friendship for their agent and toward the United States and gave every indication of wanting to continue in this manner. They were being as well cared for as any Indians in the superintendency and had little cause to revolt.

Agent Carson's third appointment to be agent to the Indians in New Mexico was made March 3, 1858,<sup>24</sup> and his bond in the amount of five thousand dollars, signed by himself, Peter Joseph, and L. Maxwell was dated July 27, 1858.

23. Carson to Yost, Jan. 28, 1858 (*Ibid.*, Letters Received)

24. B.I.A., Misc., vol. 8, p. 333.

After the year of peace, troubled conditions in the area around Carson's agency in early 1858 were moving to a point at which, at any moment, his Indians might become involved. The Mormons were at war against the United States and the Navajoes were restless. Agent Carson found it difficult to prevent the Utahs under his charge from either joining the Mormons or going on the warpath against the Navajoes. In March the Navajoes attempted to meet the Utahs at Santa Fe but the Utahs were skeptical, claiming that at the same time they offered peace the Navajoes were committing depredations against them. Carson, too, felt that it would be better if no treaty of friendship were made between the Utahs and Navajoes. During this same restless period Indians from Utah were coming into the Taos area with the story that there was a stream in the Mormon country over which United States troops had to pass and which caused instant death by their drinking from it, but for Indians the stream was healthy and the "Good Spirit" protected them. These stories affected the superstitious Utes and caused them to be more restless but they respected Carson and the Government he represented and refused to ally themselves with the Mormons.

Mohuaches, Jicarillas, and Capotes continued to visit the agency and Carson was as liberal in supplying them with food as he was able. Depredations were at a minimum but it was an ominous quiet.

The peace efforts which had been in progress between the Utes and the Arapahoes and Cheyennes for a few months terminated when the Arapahoes and Cheyennes wrote in March that they would not conclude a treaty with the Utahs because some of the Utahs had lately killed some of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes. The ugly temper of the Utes was further demonstrated by a quarrel which developed between Blanco, a Ute chief, and a Mr. Wilbon, or Wilbur, who was leader of a surveying party. There was some reason to believe that the surveyors had incited the Utes to quarrel and Carson attempted to reconcile both parties. Though there was no violence, ill feeling persisted on both sides and trouble threatened to break out momentarily.

Throughout the summer this condition of ferment persisted. The Utes volunteered to fight the Navajoes who had openly rebelled against the United States, so Carson collected two chiefs and eighteen warriors with whom he proceeded to Santa Fe on October 5th and delivered them to the Commanding General of the Department.

Though minor thefts and depredations were committed in the summer and fall of 1858 it appeared that, given a normal chance, agency problems might be worked out in the course of time. Carson continued to issue abundant supplies, a good location was found in which the Mohuaches could spend the winter, the Utes were expending their warlike energy against the Navajoes, and minor difficulties were being taken care of without recourse to force. The most serious immediate problem seemed to lie in the taking of captives, this being a practice of the Indians during war. To restore order and release these captives, Superintendent Collins wrote Carson that

Captain Bonneville and myself start to Defiance day after tomorrow for the purpose of concluding a peace with the Navajoes, and should it be accomplished steps will be at once taken to close the war between them and the Utahs.<sup>25</sup>

While apparently everything possible was being done to restore order to northern New Mexico area and calm the Indians, the optimistic view of the future was suddenly shattered by an unexpected event. Gold was discovered in the vicinity of Pike's Peak and thousands of would be miners and camp followers with the slogan "Pike's Peak or Bust" began to invade the area. Many of these spread their search into the Taos area and the already restless Utes flared into action. By April 1859, the miners had reached the Balle Salado which was the favorite hunting ground of the Mohuaches. Agent Carson, anticipating trouble when the Indians and miners met, wrote to Collins:

The Balle Salado is the only hunting ground the Mohuaches have. They are now on their way and should they, on their arrival, find parties of whites thereon I fear difficulties would arise that can be

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25. Collins to Carson, December 12, 1858 (*Ibid.*, Letters Sent)

avoided if a proper course is pursued, which is to inform Indians and miners of the case and not have them meet unexpectedly.<sup>26</sup>

Carson set out to visit the Indians and on the way heard that an Indian had been killed by the miners. He knew that further trouble could be expected for it was the custom of these Indians to kill one or more persons of another nation as payment for loss of the deceased. Realizing this danger, Carson applied to Capt. A. W. Bowman, commanding at Fort Garland, for an escort. Capt. Bowman furnished five men of whom he assumed command and the party proceeded until they discovered the trail of a large number, some 100 lodges, of Indians. It was then thought prudent to return. Later it was learned that the information about the murder and trouble with the miners was only a rumor. This rumor, however, was indicative of the tense feeling which existed and in July the Utes killed two Americans. Carson reported:

They say 200 miners have started in pursuit of the Utahs, well mounted, armed and provisioned and if supplied with guides that know the country I have no doubt but that the Utahs will be summarily punished—Since the discovery of those mines I feared such an outbreak. It has come sooner than I expected.<sup>27</sup>

It was subsequently learned that the trouble was caused by Tabaguache Utes with the Mohuaches almost as much involved. The Tabaguaches continued hostile for some time but the Mohuaches gave no more immediate trouble.

In August 1859, preparations were made to issue annual presents to the Indians in the New Mexico Superintendency. The regular issue was made to the Mohuaches in September and at that time they showed much dissatisfaction and discontent. A near riot developed when an Indian entered a cornfield near the Rio San Antonio and plucked a roasting ear. He was seen by a Mexican who got a club and beat the Indian almost to death. When news of this was received by the Indians they converged on the place bent upon massacring all the whites in the vicinity but Carson, who had been sent for, arrived and was able to pacify them. The issue of presents mollified them somewhat and Carson directed

26. Carson to Collins, April 27, 1859 (*Ibid.*, Letters Received)

27. Carson to Collins, July 20, 1859 (*Ibid.*)

them to move off at once fearing that if they remained further trouble would develop.

The Tabaguaches did not come in for their presents but remained in the area of Grand River in a hostile attitude. In August they had a fight with a party of miners during which five Americans and three Utahs were killed. This state continued until October when they informed Carson that they were ready to come in and make peace. On October 26, the agent visited the Tabaguaches at their camp some ten miles northwest of Abiquiú and, after a long talk during which the Indians professed innocence in connection with recent massacres, terms were agreed on. The Indians and Carson then proceeded to the Conejos where he issued their annual presents with which they seemed well satisfied.

The beginning of the year 1860 saw another force affecting Carson and this was the unsettled state of the nation. He feared the disruption of the Union and proposed to Superintendent Collins in January that he did not feel safe in advancing money for government purposes and that the Indians be required to wait until some decision came from Washington.

The Apaches and Utahs continued to commit minor depredations consisting chiefly of stealing animals from the Mexicans. Captives taken during the war were being located and returned to their proper places and general order existed again. Carson was once again able to report:

I have nothing of importance beyond the usual routine of the business of the agency to report. The Indians as heretofore have been frequent visitors scarcely a day passes but I have from five to twenty five to feed and take care of their only resource is upon Government and as they come in I must provide for them and send them away, only to be visited again when their supplies are exhausted and in this way some band of them are my daily visitors.<sup>28</sup>

Similar reports were to be submitted by Agent Carson for several months. This was necessary because, while Carson was leading his horse down a steep graveled slope in the Ute country of southeast Colorado, the animal had fallen dragging Carson with him. Kit received internal injuries from this fall which were to grow worse with time though he at

28. Carson to Collins, January 31, 1860 (*Ibid.*)

first did not realize how seriously he had been injured. His injuries caused him to forego some of his more strenuous activities for awhile and he was unable to keep fully abreast of the events around him.

Much of his last year as Indian agent was spent quietly and with an ever growing interest in and concern for the state of the Union. He remained at his agency until June 1861, at which time he resigned to become Colonel of the New Mexico Volunteers. He was succeeded as agent by William F. N. Army and the agency was removed forty miles east to Maxwell's Rancho because of the whisky stills which had grown up around Taos. Reports indicated that the Carson influence continued to be felt and that the Indians to whom he had been agent remained friendly toward the United States.

Thus ended the career of Kit Carson as agent to the Indians in New Mexico. His association with them was not to end, however, for as an army officer he continued to fight them and to govern them as long as he lived. In 1868 a movement was begun by General Sherman and others to have Carson appointed Superintendent of Indian Affairs in New Mexico but his death came before the appointment could be completed.

In attempting to truly and successfully evaluate the work of Kit Carson as an Indian agent one must disregard, insofar as possible, his career prior to and following the time he served as agent and to consider only his accomplishments as agent. These periods cannot be completely disregarded, however, since he was given the appointment because of his past performances and won later fame on knowledge gained while he was an agent. Any correct evaluation must, therefore, be based primarily and objectively on his achievements while actually in office taking other periods of his life into consideration only when necessary.

At the time of his first appointment as agent to the Indians in New Mexico, Kit Carson had lived in the Rocky Mountain area for a period of some twenty-seven years; had traveled from Oregon to Mexico and as far west as the Pacific Coast; had trapped, served as guide, and had fought In-

dians. He had been twice married to Indian women and from the experience of living with the tribes came to know the Indians well. His third marriage, to the daughter of an old and respected New Mexican family, gave him advantages in wider acquaintances and dealings with the leading whites in the area beyond that already acquired in his association with the Bents and others. Without further elaboration on his background the writer feels safe in stating that, because of his great and detailed knowledge of the country, his intimate association with the Indians and their respect for him, Kit Carson was as well qualified as any person living to be agent to the Indians in New Mexico in 1853.

Carson, in the performance of his duties as agent, used great common sense and tact. As an example of this we find that at the very beginning of his service as agent he wisely assumed a detached position during the Jicarilla War. By so doing he kept the respect of both the military and civil authorities and of the Indians. His part in the expeditions against the Indians was confined to being an adviser and guide. It is very significant that when the Apaches realized that they had been defeated they turned to Carson and made their appeal for peace to him rather than to the military forces or to the authorities at Santa Fe. By this simple gesture they showed their confidence in and respect for him. Though conclusion of the treaty of peace was left to Governor Meriwether, it was Carson that the Indians turned to in their time of need. In the same manner, when the Utes had been on the warpath they, in August of 1859, reported to Carson their desire for peace and he listened to them. He displayed toward his wards in time of war an understanding and patience that few agents have been capable of.

In times of peace the Indians flocked to him as children would to an indulgent parent. The affectionate title of "Father Kit" was earned and merited in every sense of the word. His constant reports of Indians having visited him, been fed, and sent away well satisfied, were indicative of the care which he gave them.

Many writers have eulogized Carson and no doubt with justification. Their statements might well lead to the con-

clusion that Carson was a perfect agent. This is not altogether true because there were certain weaknesses in his service which must be considered before a just evaluation of his worth as an Indian agent can be arrived at. The chief of these was, of course, his inability to read and write because of which he was forced, in violation of regulations, to employ a clerk under the title of interpreter. In addition to this, relations between Carson and the Superintendent of Indian Affairs were sometimes a little strained. This appears to have been caused by Carson's independence and sometimes reluctance to abide by the orders of the Superintendent. Another weakness of Carson's lay in his inability to adjust his accounts properly and this led to considerable confusion before the matter was finally cleared up. Still another weakness resulted from his consistent refusal to move agency headquarters from Taos to a location nearer the Indians. Though he seemed to feel that agents should live among the Indians, he was adamant in his refusal to move from Taos. This obviously was for personal reasons.

There have been reports that Carson did not like the job of agent. Such reports are hard to believe because Carson accepted reappointment twice; he appeared to have been willing, even eager, to perform the duties of his office; his reports were consistently submitted on time; and, he caused some one hundred and fifty letters to be written to Santa Fe over a five year period. Carson may not have been overly fond of the job but there is little doubt that his heart was in it and remained so until more important and momentous duties called.

If one looks objectively, then, at Carson as Indian agent the conclusion must be reached that he was a man eminently well qualified, who served most of three terms efficiently, with humanity and consideration; that, while he made errors, he did the best he could to further the interests of the government which he represented and, at the same time, to secure the maximum of care and justice for the Indians of his agency. The impression which Carson left on the Indians of New Mexico had lasting and beneficial results for both the Indians and the United States. For this accomplishment he must be considered as one of the great Indian agents.







## THE HISTORIC INDIAN PUEBLOS OF LA JUNTA DE LOS RIOS

By J. CHARLES KELLEY

(Concluded)

### San Bernardino :

In 1582 the Espejo expedition left the Río Conchos in the vicinity of the settlement of San Juan and went three leagues, apparently on a well established trail, to the Río Grande at a point five leagues above La Junta. Near this spot they found the Otomoaco *ranchería* which they named San Bernardino. Luxán noted that the *ranchería* "resembled a pueblo as it was composed of flat roofed houses, half under and half above the ground." It was located on the river near pools and near the mountains. There was a cross here erected by Rodríguez the year before. Apparently, but not certainly, the pueblo was located on the western bank of the Río Grande.

This pueblo was noted indirectly in the records of the Mendoza-López *entrada* of 1683, where reference is made to the first pueblo encountered *en route* from El Paso. This pueblo was six leagues up the Río Grande from La Junta and had a church of grass (probably a *jacal* structure) which had just been constructed. There is no further notice of the pueblo in the records inspected but in 1747 Ydoiaga noted at about this location on the western bank of the Río Grande the site of an abandoned pueblo of the Tecolotes nation. This ruined pueblo, said Ydoiaga, had been abandoned because of the unsuitability of the land for farming and the proximity of the warlike Apaches. Along the Río Grande for some distance to the north he noted small abandoned *rancherías* of the Tecolotes, who at one time had occupied the entire area, cultivating small plots of land here and there along the river and moving with the shifting of the river lowlands that were suitable for farming.

Fray Lorenzo Saabedra, Custodian of the mission at San Francisco pueblo in 1747-48 also referred to the former Tecolote town, although he himself had not visited it. He had been

told by Fray Andrés Varo that it was located seven or eight leagues up the Río Grande from San Francisco.<sup>53</sup>

About twelve miles above La Junta and on the western edge of the Río Grande lowland is the archaeological site called Chihuahua E7-2. This is located near the site of old Mimbres pueblo about a mile from the present Río Grande terminus of the short-cut road from San Juan on the Río Conchos. The site consists of a relatively small burned rock midden surrounded by scattered camp debris. The midden lies directly on the edge of the low terrace of the Río Grande and erosion has destroyed an unknown area of the site. In this vicinity there are a few small farms and a hamlet of a few houses is located nearby. Extensive agriculture is not practiced however, and the adjacent Río Grande lowland is covered with a thick *mesquital*, sure sign of repeated flooding. Artifacts from Chihuahua E7-2 include recent pottery and crockery types, undoubtedly associated with some recent *jacal* and adobe ruins on the site, and other potsherds which in type run the gamut of the Bravo Valley Aspect occupation from La Junta through Concepción foci and into the Conchos Focus. The lack of extensive pottery collections attributable to the latter period would seem to indicate that the site was abandoned early in the historic period only to be reoccupied and again abandoned in very recent times.

The location of Chihuahua E7-2 relative to San Juan, San Francisco, and the Río Grande terminus of the cut-off trail from San Juan, suggests that this may be the site of the old pueblo of San Bernardino. This conclusion is verified by the local ecological conditions, and the indicated span of occupation of the site, which appears to have been inhabited from well before 1582 (probably *circa* 1200-1400 A.D.) until the early historic period, say 1700 A.D. Finally, no other archaeological sites have been found in this general vicinity, although reconnaissance of this area was hurried and inadequate. Unless other more promising possibilities are revealed by future investigations, Chihuahua E7-2 is probably to be identified with San Bernardino.

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53. "Ynforme del p<sup>o</sup> Custodio de esta Mision," *Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Mexico* (57-59), 1746-1747, 89-2-3. Dunn Transcripts, p. 290. Archives Collection, The University of Texas.

Who were the Tecolotes of San Bernardino and what became of them? The Espejo records identified the people of the Mesquite-San Juan settlements as Otomoacos and noted that the people of San Bernardino were similar to them in speech and custom, although differing at least in language from the Indians of San Francisco at the river junction. The San Bernardino Otomoacos were intermarried with those of Mesquite-San Juan. Other Otomoacos were found living along the Río Grande for many leagues above San Bernardino. These Indians had no pueblos, however, and seem to have been dispersed in small groups along the upper river. This would seem to identify all of these people and those of San Juan-Mesquite as belonging to the same group. In view of the later tribal distinctions between the various pueblos it seems more probable that they represent a linguistic group, rather than an ethnic group. At any rate the Tecolotes who prior to 1747 lived in small groups along the Río Grande above San Bernardino, moving their small fields with the shifting of the river channel, appear to be identical in distribution and culture with the Otomoacos of 1582.

San Bernardino and the scattered Tecolotes *rancherías*, then, appear to represent an old occupation of the Río Grande above La Junta. These Indians, in all probability, still lived there in 1715, inasmuch as Trasvina Retis did not include Tecolotes in his list of tribes found in other La Junta pueblos at that time. But by 1747 the Tecolotes had abandoned not only San Bernardino but all of the up-stream area as well. Ydoiaga in 1747 found in the new settlement of Santa Cruz, on the Río Conchos above Cuchillo Parado, not only Cholomes (from Coyame) and Conejos (from Cuchillo Parado) but also 71 Tecolotes Indians. Ydoiaga states explicitly that these Tecolotes came from the Río Grande (Río Puerco o del Norte) above La Junta. Later at San Francisco he found 50 more Tecolotes living with the people of that town [Julimes, Oposmes, or Abriaches]. Fray Saabedra also noted that the Tecolotes had deserted their own pueblo and gone to live at San Francisco and other La Junta towns. Perhaps the abandonment of the Tecolote region had occurred quite recently, as Ydoiaga stated, because of both Apache pressure and the poverty of their lands.

### Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu :

At San Francisco de la Junta in 1715, Trasvina Retis sent Indian envoys to take the census of the pueblo of the Conejos Indians which he named Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu. This pueblo was located on the northwestern bank of the Río Conchos and on the western bank of the Río Grande about one and one half leagues from San Francisco. It had a population of 71 Indians of the Conejos nation. It should be noted that Trasvina Retis did not visit this pueblo himself; his knowledge of its location was therefore derived from information given him through an interpreter—by the Indians.

It may be that Aranzazu is to be identified with San Bernardino—which is not mentioned in the 1715 account—and that the apparent discrepancy in distance from San Francisco is an error. Certainly, no town was noted at this point by any of the earlier or later expeditions. But other consideration suggests that this is not the case and that actually Aranzazu was a temporary pueblo founded around 1700 and abandoned before 1747. Thus, it was a pueblo of Conejos Indians, yet Ydoiaga identified the ruins of Bernardino as a former pueblo of the Tecolotes Indians. Significantly Ydoiaga found 77 Mesquite Indians at Mesquite pueblo in 1747 (Trasvina Retis counted 80 Mesquite in 1715) and an additional 78 refugees, including 40 Conejos. These Conejos refugees may represent the survivors of Aranzazu. However, the Indians of Cuchillo Parado, whom Trasvina Retis identified as Conejos, increased in numbers from 44 in 1715 to 120 in 1747 when they joined in the new settlement project at Santa Cruz. Some of the Cuchillo Parado people of the latter period may have been Cholomes but it is also possible that the sudden increase in the population of this town resulted from the addition of Conejos refugees from Aranzazu. This would be in keeping with the general pattern already identified in Tecolote movements of the same period—some of the refugees from the Río Grande going to the old established La Junta pueblos on the lower Conchos, others to the newly established refugee town on the Conchos above Cuchillo Parado. Thus the disappearance of the Conejos may

be accounted for. Their possible origin is indicated below in discussions of San Juan Evangelista.

No archaeological site has been identified with Aranzazu. Today there is a scattering of small farm hamlets along the western bank of the Río Grande for four or five miles above La Junta. If Aranzazu was inhabited for only a short period of time it seems probable that the comparatively meagre archaeological remains that might have accumulated could well lie hidden beneath the houses of the contemporary hamlets. Indeed at the small hamlet of Ejido Paradero, located about five miles above La Junta, fire hearths were visible eroding from between the houses but no specimens were recovered which would enable identification of the period or culture represented.

#### San Juan Evangelista :

From Santo Tomás, identified as the San Francisco pueblo of later accounts, the Espejo party in 1582 traveled half a league to a pueblo situated on the opposite (eastern) bank of the Río del Norte (Río Grande). In Luxán's own words, "The pueblo was on a high ridge with many flat roofed houses; below were many other houses forming a sort of suburb." Rodríguez had been there the year before because the Spaniards found a cross which he had erected. This cross was placed in a neatly kept plaza. The pueblo was named San Juan Evangelista. San Juan Evangelista never again appears in the documentary sources that have been inspected. It was not included in the list of La Junta pueblos visited by either Trasvina Retis or Ydoiaga. Apparently it was abandoned between 1582 and 1715.

San Francisco itself lies on a high gravel mesa. Approximately one half league across the Río Conchos is another high gravel mesa on which modern Ojinaga is situated, the former site of Guadalupe pueblo. Modern Ojinaga is in plain view from San Francisco and both Trasvina Retis and Rubín de Celis commented that Guadalupe was likewise visible from there. Is it possible that the Espejo expedition confused the Río Conchos with the Río Grande and actually crossed the former stream to Guadalupe? This would explain the

mysterious disappearance of San Juan Evangelista from the records, and would leave the name as an early one for the town later called Guadalupe.

However, Luxán in other statements clearly distinguishes between the Conchos, the Río Grande above La Junta, and the joined streams below the junction. Furthermore, the Spaniards subsequently went "farther on" to another pueblo, Santiago, which was described as the largest and most influential of all the La Junta pueblos, and from there they returned to San Francisco. This latter pueblo may have been either San Cristóbal or perhaps Guadalupe since other accounts speak of this pueblo as the largest of all the La Junta towns and it was the one chosen for the location of the *presidio*. In either event, San Juan Evangelista must have been another pueblo and should not be confused with Guadalupe.

Across the Río Grande from San Francisco there are several high gravel mesas adjacent to the river lowland. All of these were explored and an archaeological site (Shafter 7:3 [57B7-3]; the Loma Alta Site) was found on only one of them. Shafter 7:3 occupies the top of a high horseshoe-shaped mesa approximately the same distance across the Río Grande from San Francisco as Ojinaga is across the Río Conchos. An old channel of the Río Grande came very close to the foot of the mesa and on the low terrace at its foot is another archaeological site of the Bravo Valley Aspect, Shafter 7:5 (57B7-5). Shafter 7:3 (57B7-3) occupies the top and talus slope of the high mesa; Shafter 7:5 (57B7-5) lies below it and on the direct route from San Francisco. The two probably represent the site of San Juan Evangelista and the "suburb" at its foot, respectively. The distance, location, and combination of sites fits closely with the Luxán description and the only other possibility, an identification with Guadalupe, has already been excluded.

Shafter 7:3 (57B7-3) has been partially excavated. It was first occupied during the La Junta Focus (*circa* 1200-1400 A.D.), perhaps temporarily abandoned at its close, and occupied again throughout most of the Concepción Focus (*circa* 1400-1700 A.D.). The house rows lying along the river edge of the mesa and along the talus slope were built and



occupied during the Concepción Focus. Lying on the floor of one room at the time of abandonment was an iron knife or sword. A few potsherds showing Spanish glazing were likewise recorded. No other signs of historic contact were found and the great quantities of Conchos and Capote redware pottery found in Conchos Focus components, as well as objects of direct Spanish origin, were lacking. After abandonment the houses were partially refilled by wash and wind action but no other village refuse was introduced into them. In part at least these last occupied houses were grouped around an interior plaza which appears to have been kept remarkably clear of debris. Thus Shafter 7:3 (57B7-3) had a neatly kept plaza; it was occupied at the very beginning of historic contact but abandoned before the beginning of the mission period, in all probability before the founding of missions in 1683. All of these items fit with the known facts regarding San Juan Evangelista and verify the identification of Shafter 7:3 (57B7-3) with that pueblo.

Who were the Indians of San Juan Evangelista and where did they go following the abandonment of that town? The Espejo documents do not identify the "nation" represented. Archaeology and the later historic record probably provide the answer however. About two miles southeast of Shafter 7:3 (57B7-3) on the eroded edge of the low terrace bordering the lowlands of the northeastern bank of the Río Grande lies an archaeological site labeled Shafter 7:4 (57B7-4). Erosion has almost completely destroyed the site, so that the floors of former houses occupy the top of small knolls. Scattered over the eroded surface are thousands of potsherds and other artifacts. The principal pottery types represented include Chinati and Capote Plainwares, Capote Red-on-brown, Chinati Neck-banded, and Chinati Striated Neck.

A number of sherds of Conchos Plainware and Conchos Red-on-brown were found, as were intrusive sherds of Spanish and Mexican Maiolica and a sherd identified as early Colonial Aztec from the Valley of Mexico. Other artifacts also are diagnostic of various foci of the Bravo Valley Aspect.

Regardless of the large number of potsherds found, the amount of hearthstone and other refuse visible indicates that Shafter 7:4 (57B7-4) was occupied for a very short period of time. This is in accord with the evidence of the pottery types found, which indicate that the site was occupied at the very beginning of the mission period, the Conchos Focus, and perhaps at the very end of the Concepción Focus. All the evidence seems to indicate that the site was occupied from shortly prior to 1683 to about 1700 or shortly thereafter, and that its initial settlement corresponds with the final abandonment of Shafter 7:3 (57B7-3/San Juan Evangelista) a short distance away.

There seems to have been a general tendency caused by increasing Apache pressure, and perhaps arising from ecological factors as well, for the outlying La Junta settlements, especially those to the north and east, to move to a more central location adjoining La Junta itself. The Spanish missionaries encouraged this movement for their own convenience and attempted whenever possible to induce the Indians to settle on the southwestern side of the Río Grande. Taking this tendency into account with the known archaeological and historical data, the following hypothetical reconstruction of the history of San Juan Evangelista may be advanced.

San Juan Evangelista was originally established in its mesa-top site sometime between 1200 and 1400 A.D. It may have been temporarily abandoned about 1400 but if so it was quickly reoccupied. It was visited by Rodríguez and Espejo in 1581 and 1582 and continued in existence for some time thereafter. Probably about 1683, or shortly before, the mesa-top site was abandoned and the people moved to the new, and more conveniently located, site of Shafter 7:4 (57B7-4) on the low terrace, a few miles away, possibly at the urging of the Spanish priests in 1683. Perhaps the new site was not satisfactory—there is no modern occupation there—or perhaps continued Apache raids endangered the town's existence. At any rate the people moved to the relatively well protected and centrally located western side of the river a short distance above San Francisco, where shortly after 1700

they founded the pueblo of Conejo Indians which Trasvina Retis called Nuestra Señora de Aranzazu in 1715. Perhaps at the same time some of the refugees went to Cuchillo Parado where Trasvina Retis found them that year. The subsequent history of the Conejos has already been described. Between 1715 and 1747 continued Apache pressure and perhaps other factors caused them to move again, some of them going to their relatives at Cuchillo Parado and joining with them in a move to a new site at Santa Cruz, others settling with their closer friends and relatives at Mesquite pueblo.

This hypothesis identifies the occupants of San Juan Evangelista as the Conejo Indians of the later records and neatly accounts for the disappearance of one historic town and the beginning of another, as well as providing occupants for the undocumented site of Shafter 7:4. It should be noted that the Conejos were listed among the La Junta Indian groups as early as 1684 and again in 1693, during the postulated period of occupation of Shafter 7:4 (57B7-4), although the Conejos pueblo of Aranzazu was not noted until 1715. It is in keeping with general trends at La Junta and is paralleled by the case of the Cibolo who, as described below, are thought to have abandoned their pueblo in the Chinati Mountains at about the same time because of similar factors, and to have moved to Puliques, where they joined with the Puliques and Pescados Indians to form a strengthened town in a new location. This hypothesis cannot be regarded as proven but its probability rating seems high.

Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe (Presidio del Norte, Ojinaga, Santiago(?)):

As noted above, the Espejo group after leaving San Juan Evangelista went "farther on" to the largest pueblo of all those visited. This pueblo also had a Cacique "whom all other caciques respected." The people of this pueblo were "all farmers as the river is very appropriate for it, because it forms many damp islands and bays." This pueblo, which the Spaniards named Santiago, was apparently located down the Río Grande from the San Francisco-San Juan Evangelista axis but no other data as to its location are given. As

stated elsewhere, Guadalupe was described by some later explorers as the largest of the La Junta towns. The general location of Santiago, its size and local prominence, and the fact that the Spaniards returned directly to San Francisco [Santo Tomás] after visiting it suggest that Santiago perhaps should be identified with Guadalupe pueblo as located and described by later commentators. But there are objections to this identification. The Spaniards were on the northeastern side of the Río Grande when they went "farther on" to Santiago. There is no indication that the Río Grande was recrossed at this point and San Cristóbal pueblo farther down the Río Grande on the Texas bank is perhaps as likely a candidate for identification with Santiago as is Guadalupe. So the question of identity of Santiago with either Guadalupe or San Cristóbal must await the accumulation of additional data.

Although Guadalupe, if it existed then, may have been visited by all of the earlier expeditions including that of Mendoza, there is no certain description of it prior to the *Trasvina Retis entrada* of 1715. *Trasvina Retis* could see the pueblos and fields located on the other side of the Río Conchos from San Francisco, and after having a raft constructed for the purpose he crossed the river and visited "the pueblo of the Polacmes and Sibulas [Cibolos]," which was named *Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*.<sup>54</sup> This was the largest of the eight pueblos of La Junta and had five hundred and fifty in-

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54. In an earlier draft of this paper the writer inferred from the documentary text and other considerations that *Trasvina Retis* had crossed the Río Grande rather than the Río Conchos in going from San Francisco to Guadalupe. This in turn led to the identification of Shafter 7:1, here identified with San Cristóbal, with Guadalupe and several consequent identifications now regarded as erroneous. Both Castañeda and Daniels have similarly concluded that *Trasvina Retis* crossed the Río Grande rather than the Conchos and have placed the Guadalupe of 1715 on the northeastern bank of the Río Grande. It is therefore important to investigate the evidence for the various interpretations.

*Trasvina Retis* identified Guadalupe as the largest of the pueblos. Luxán had likewise identified Santiago as the largest pueblo of the 1582 period. The two were therefore assumed to be identical, and since Santiago appeared to be located on the northeastern bank it was thought that Guadalupe likewise belonged there. Furthermore on the northeastern bank a few miles below San Francisco and San Juan Evangelista the archaeological site Shafter 7:1, largest known Bravo Valley Aspect site, had been located. On the southwestern side of the Río Grande and the southeastern side of the Río Conchos there were no known archaeological sites, large or small, above Puliques. Shafter 7:1 (57B7-1) had been occupied over the appropriate span of years. It seemed clear therefore that *Trasvina Retis* had crossed the Río Grande and that Shafter 7:1

habitants. It was well built and had two plazas, one for the Cibolos and one for the Polacmes, who apparently lived in different sections of the village. These two groups had recently united for better defense against the enemy. There is some reason for believing that Trasvina Retis was in error in placing the Cibolos at Guadalupe, however.

Rábago y Terán in 1747 found Guadalupe located near the junction of the Río Grande and the Río Conchos about five or six leagues down the latter stream from Mesquite-San Juan, on the western bank of the Río Grande above Cristóbal (located on the eastern bank) and Puliques, and

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was Guadalupe. The same reasoning may or may not have been used by Castañeda and Daniels, inasmuch as they do not make their underlying logic explicit.

When the Ydoiaga account came to the writer's attention it was at once clear that this explorer had gone to Guadalupe by crossing the Río Conchos from San Francisco and that at that time, at least, Guadalupe occupied the site of modern Ojinaga. The Rubín de Celis account verified this location, and Celis like Trasvina Retis was able to see Guadalupe from San Francisco. It was also clear from the Ydoiaga account that Shafter 7:1 (57B7-1) was San Cristóbal, which had likewise been in existence in 1715. Then if the former interpretation was correct, Guadalupe had moved across the river and Cristóbal had moved to its former location. But a very large archaeological site might be hidden under modern Ojinaga and there was no specific identification of Santiago with Guadalupe or location of Santiago on the northeastern bank of the Río Grande for that matter. It was at once apparent that economy of hypothesis, if nothing else, made it necessary to place the Guadalupe pueblo of 1715 at the site where it was found in 1747 and 1751, unless there was a specific statement in the Trasvina Retis document to the contrary.

Reexamination of that document shows that Trasvina Retis nowhere states that he crossed the *Río Grande* to reach Guadalupe. On June 2, 1715, Trasvina Retis made an inspection tour of the *valleys* of the Río Grande and the Río Conchos adjacent to San Francisco. He notes that "The many fields . . . which they have in the *valleys* of these *rivers*, and the crops they are getting ready to plant on the banks of the Río del Norte [Río Grande] . . . I saw and examined today while passing through the said *valleys* . . . there are many groves of trees . . . on the banks of *the river*. . . To visit the pueblos and their crops on the *other bank*, which could already be seen in major part, I ordered the said Indian governors to make a raft . . . today they should count the Indians in this Pueblo . . . and in that of the Conejo nation which is *on this bank* on the edge of *the river that comes from the north* . . . [the Río Grande]. . ." On June 8 he stated, ". . . I went down to cross over to *the other side*. The priests, the captains, and I *crossed over* on the raft and the soldiers went on horseback. Without accident we arrived at the Pueblo of the Polacmes and Sibulas. . . About a league farther down, on the *banks* of La Junta de los Ríos [the combined Río Grande-Río Conchos below La Junta] there are three [other] pueblos . . . in the afternoon, I returned to the Real de San Francisco. . ." (Italics by present writer).

In all of this there is explicit only that Trasvina Retis could see Guadalupe from San Francisco and that he reached it by crossing a river. If there is any indication as to whether that river was the Río Grande or the Río Conchos, it would seem to be that it was the latter rather than the former. In any event, it seems logical that if neither river is explicitly identified, then the obvious conclusion is that it was the Río Conchos, which all the later explorers crossed to reach Guadalupe from San Francisco. It seems clear that the writer, Castañeda, and Daniels were all mistaken in inferring that the river crossed was the Río Grande.

below San Francisco. Guadalupe had a church, a *padre* (Fray Francisco Sanchez), an Indian governor, and a plaza big enough to serve as a camp ground for the Spaniards.<sup>55</sup> The Indians themselves identified their pueblo as Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe. The *padre* informed the Spaniards that the Indians were not interested in learning Spanish or the gospel and that they were constantly attempting to persuade him to leave the pueblo.

Vidaurre in 1747 noted only that Guadalupe was situated on the southwestern side of the Río Grande above Puliques and across the Río Conchos from San Francisco. Ydoiaga in the same year crossed two arms of the Río Conchos just above the point where they joined the Río Grande and came to Guadalupe at a distance of one league from San Francisco. The pueblo was also situated three short leagues above Puliques and on the same side of the river, and above Cristóbal, which was located halfway between the other pueblos on the northern bank of the Río Grande. Ydoiaga counted 172 Indians here, but does not identify their tribal affiliations.<sup>56</sup>

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55. Originally the expedition at full force included Rábago y Terán and 66 soldiers, 10 Indian auxiliaries, 428 horses, and over 99 mules. This party had been reduced somewhat by the hardships of the journey and certainly the horses were not all stabled in the plaza. Nevertheless the Guadalupe plaza must have been fairly large to accommodate the central camp of such a large party.

56. It will be recalled that only 32 years before, in 1715, *Trasvina Retis* counted 550 Indians in this pueblo. Where did the other 378 inhabitants go? In 1715 the Cibolos lived in Guadalupe, in 1747 they lived at Puliques. But at this time there were only 96 Cibolos at the latter pueblo, leaving some 282 Indians still unaccounted for. Perhaps there is an explanation for this. Ydoiaga noted that the Indians of Puliques, Pescados, and San Cristóbal came to meet him at Guadalupe but that he did not count them there, but rather in their own pueblos later. By his count all of these groups plus the people of Guadalupe totaled 597 Indians, which is very close to the 550 observed at Guadalupe by *Trasvina Retis*. If we project the 1747 population of Guadalupe (172) into 1715 and add to it the population of the Puliques, Conchos, and San Cristóbal pueblos as counted by *Trasvina Retis* (359), the total population for all of those towns becomes 531 people, which is even closer to the 550 people which he reported at Guadalupe. It seems probable that *Trasvina Retis*, like Ydoiaga, was met at Guadalupe by the Indians of all these towns, but unlike Ydoiaga he assumed that they were all residents and counted them as such. Then, without visiting the other pueblos, he had scouts bring back the population figures for the other towns, never realizing that he was duplicating in large measure the count he had already made. If we assume this to be true then the 1715 population of Guadalupe may be determined approximately by subtracting the count given for the other pueblos in the group (359) from the count of all the towns (550) made at Guadalupe. This gives a figure of 191 for the 1715 population of Guadalupe which compares favorably with the 172 Indians counted there by Ydoiaga in 1747 and the 194 population cited by *Tamerón y Romerál* in 1765.

But some qualifications are necessary. The 1747 count included the *Polacmes* of

There was a resident priest and the Indians appeared to be contented and well subjugated.

Rubín de Celis did not visit Guadalupe in 1751 but he was able to see the pueblo from San Francisco. He noted that it was situated on a hill which fronted on the opposite bank of the Río Conchos, and that it did not differ appreciably from San Francisco except that its church had been completed. He did not cross to the other bank to visit the pueblo because the Río Conchos was in flood. The *padre* however was anxious to return to Guadalupe because the following day was the feast day of the titular saint of the pueblo; consequently he had himself carried across on the shoulders of the Indians.

Tamerón y Romerál stated in 1765, "In order to go from San Francisco to Guadalupe, distant about one half league, one crosses the Río Conchos . . . this pueblo of Guadalupe has at the present seventy six families with one hundred and ninety four persons." One league to the south down the joined rivers was the pueblo of Cristóbal.

Lafora's map of 1771 shows the La Junta mission of Guadalupe in approximately the present location of Ojinaga, Chihuahua, as described in the earlier accounts. O'Connor in 1773 did not mention Guadalupe pueblo by name, and the writer has been unable to find other late references to the pueblo. But if the name passed from existence, the town itself did not. It became known by variants of the name "Presidio del Norte," and as such retained its identity through a further change of name to "Ojinaga," and today exists as the largest town in the vicinity. According to Robles in 1937 it had a population of 1,536 inhabitants.

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Guadalupe, the Puliques of San Jose (San Antonio), the Poxalmas of San Cristóbal, and the "Conchos" of San Antonio de Padua. If the Cibolos were not included in the Guadalupe population, where were they at this time? As will be pointed out later, the best guess is that the "Conchos" of Padua (87 of them) were actually the "Cibolos" (totaling 96) of Puliques in 1747. Also, the 1747 count included 60 Pescados Indians who had only recently arrived at Puliques. Since these Indians were not there in 1715, the count for 1747 should not include them either, thus reducing the total count for this group of pueblos in that year to 537 persons as compared to the 550 persons tabulated in the earlier count. The near identity of these two figures suggests that the hypothesis is probably correct, that *Trasvina Retis* was in error, and that the Cibolos had indeed just arrived at La Junta but that they had moved directly to the neighborhood of Puliques, where they had reoccupied a former site of that pueblo (archaeological site 57B8-1), as discussed below. This hypothesis harmonizes well with the account actually given by the Cibolos of their movements.

As stated in several connections in the preceding discussions, the identity of Guadalupe with Ojinaga and its location on the site of that modern pueblo, seem quite certain. Rábago y Terán, Vidaurre, Ydoiaga, Rubín de Celis, Tamerón y Romerál, and Lafora all agree as to its location, and their description places it conclusively on the site of modern Ojinaga, located on the high gravel mesa southwest of the Rio Grande and southeast of the Río Conchos, approximately two miles southeast of San Francisco. Only the testimony of Trasvina Retis can be interpreted to place it elsewhere and the description of this writer also places it equally well in the location described by the others.<sup>57</sup> Only one bit of evidence is lacking. No archaeological site has been discovered on the present site of Ojinaga. This is not surprising in view of the fact that continued building operations, the development of a much larger town than formerly existed there, the accumulation of great masses of modern refuse, and, perhaps most important of all, the modern Mexican block-building type of architecture, would serve to hide such vestiges of the former site as may survive. A similar situation has been noted in modern Julimes and San Juan. Nevertheless, careful observation should someday bring to light within the city limits of modern Ojinaga archaeological remnants of the former pueblo of Guadalupe.

#### Presidio del Norte (Guadalupe, Ojinaga) :

As early as the decade of Trasvina Retis' visit to La Junta, some Spaniards had urged that a *presidio* be built there in order to halt the depredations of hostile Indians and protect the priests and settlers. But the mission was not actually established until the second *entrada* of Rubín de Celis in 1759-1760. The new *presidio* was established near Guadalupe pueblo on the site of modern Ojinaga.<sup>58</sup>

57. Nevertheless, both Castañeda (*op. cit.* [note 29] and Daniels (*op. cit.* [note 3]) place Guadalupe on the northeastern or Texas bank of the Río Grande in 1715, apparently relying on the interpretation they give the ambiguous statement of Trasvina Retis, and adopt the expedient of moving the pueblo bodily across the river to get it to the spot it obviously occupied in 1747 and later. This is against all reason and conflicts with other data. Their further site identifications are warped by this original error, which as has been noted previously was at one time made by the present writer also!

58. The writer does not have access to the documents of this *entrada*. Castañeda (*op. cit.* [note 29]) is the source for the statement.



Castañeda, who has seen the documents of the expedition, says that the *presidio* was constructed on the northeastern or Texas bank of the Río Grande near Puliques. This must be an erroneous interpretation for several reasons.

First of all, Puliques was located on the southwestern or Mexican bank of the river and not on the Texas side. Secondly, other sources indicate conclusively that the *presidio* was built in the environs of Guadalupe pueblo, on the Mexican bank of the Río Grande, and not near Puliques at all. Thus Lezaún, who was part of the expedition that founded the *presidio*, wrote in January, 1760:<sup>59</sup>

Our entrance (this was the third) was accomplished by promising the Indians that the *presidio* should be placed at a distance of ten leagues from the settlement [Guadalupe] as is ordered by the señor viceroy, so that they should not suffer damage to their fields and pueblos; but all has failed . . . the promise has not been kept nor has the *presidio* been placed where it was ordered. It is being constructed at a distance of three squares [*quadras*] from the mission of Guadalupe, whereby the Indians are much disturbed; and not the least cause of their exasperation is the damage that their crops and their sheep, cattle, mules, and horses suffer at the hands of the captain and soldiers of the *presidio*.

This is clear enough and is reinforced by the statement of Tamerón y Romeràl in 1765, previously quoted in part: "In order to go from San Francisco to Guadalupe, distant about one half league, one crosses the Río Conchos, *in between* ["en la mediana"] *stands* [queda ya] *the presidio de Belén* . . ." (italics by present writer). And O'Connor in 1773 followed up the southwest bank of the Río Grande to "the deserted *presidio de las Juntas*." The final clincher is the Lafora map of 1771 which shows the *presidio* located adjacent to Guadalupe on the southwest.

According to Tamerón y Romeràl, in 1765 there were 50 families with 133 persons, plus five attached Spanish countrymen, at the *presidio*. The *presidio* itself, but not the pueblo, was abandoned and moved to Julimes in 1767 but

59. "Letter of Father Fray Juan Sanz de Lezaún of January 15, 1760, to Reverend Father Fray Juan Bravo . . .," quoted in "Report of the Reverend Father Provincial, Fray Pedro Serrano, to the Most Excellent Señor Viceroy, the Marquis of Cruillas, in regard to the Custodia of New Mexico. In the year 1761." *Archivo General de Mexico, Historia*, vol. 25. Translation in Hackett, *Historical Documents* . . . , vol. III, pp. 479-501. See pp. 498-499 from Lezaún's letter.

was reestablished at La Junta, apparently in its old location, in 1773, where it remained until modern times. From this time on the *presidio* name was used for the pueblo as well, the name Guadalupe was at first relegated to the mission only, and finally this name was likewise changed. Major Emory visited "Presidio del Norte" in 1852 and described it as "a miserably built mud town, situated upon a gravelly hill overlooking the junction of the Conchos and the Río Bravo [the Río Grande] . . . about 800 inhabitants . . . the church located within the walls of the presidio or fort."<sup>60</sup>

The archives of the present Catholic Church at Ojinaga (El Templo de Nuestro Padre Jesús Nasareno) were examined briefly in 1949. Some of the documents in the oldest record book ("Matrimonios de 1798-1842,") date back to the decade of 1770-80. None of the records use the name Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe for either the mission or the town, and the patron saint is now Nuestro Padre Jesús hence the mission may have been renamed in 1773 when the *presidio* was reestablished. The oldest name noted for the town in these records was "El Real Presidio de Señor Santiago de la Junta de los Ríos." By 1795 the name had been shortened to "El Real Presidio de Santiago del Norte," shortly thereafter to "El Presidio de Santiago del Norte." This was soon reduced to "El Presidio del Norte," which continued in use until November, 1865, when the pueblo name was officially changed to "Ojinaga," after Manuel Ojinaga, a leader in the fight against the French, and Governor of Chihuahua. It retains that name today, while modern Presidio, Texas, first established by Anglo-American traders in the 1840's as a suburb of Presidio del Norte on the northeast bank of the Río Grande, retains the older name.

There can be little question that Guadalupe-Presidio-Ojinaga represent successively more recent names applied to the town that remained throughout in the same location. But what became of the Polacme Indians who alone occupied Guadalupe until 1760? Their fate was the same as that of the other La Junta Indians. Some of them joined the Apache

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60. "Presidio del Norte," in Emory, *op. cit.* [note 40], p. 84.

or fled to other regions. Probably the great majority of them simply mingled with the invading Spaniards and survive in the hybrid population of today. Significantly, the archives of the late 18th century carry numerous petitions from soldiers stationed at the *presidio* asking permission to marry "women of the town."

Puliques (Señor San José de los Puliques; San Antonio de los Puliques; Pulicos) :

Puliques is not identifiable with any specific pueblo of the *entradas* prior to 1715, but the records of the Mendoza-López *entrada* do refer to a La Junta Indian group by that name, and probably a mission was established among this tribe at that time. Trasvina Retis while at Guadalupe pueblo in 1715 listed three other pueblos, including Señor San José de los Puliques, which were situated on the banks of the joined rivers below Guadalupe. At that time there were 92 Puliques Indians at the pueblo of that name.

All of the *entradas* of 1747 took note of Puliques. Vidaurre's party reached the Río Grande at a point midway between Puliques and Guadalupe on the southwestern side of the Río Grande,<sup>61</sup> but other than a brief reference to the location of the pueblo no data are given.

Ydoiaga was more specific in his description. He went three short leagues down the southwest bank of the Río Grande, leaving the pueblo of San Cristóbal behind midway of the journey and on the opposite bank. This locates Puliques well enough and corresponds with the modern location of the town. Ydoiaga also notes that Puliques was located at the lower end of a great stretch of fertile but regularly flooded lowland that extended all the way up the river to Guadalupe, which fits the physiographic location of the modern town. At this time Puliques had 271 inhabitants; however, 156 of these occupants were refugees, including 96 Cibolos and 60 Pescados Indians, who had settled at the pueblo in relatively recent times, leaving only 115 native

61. A large "draw" runs northward past the southwestern end of the Sierra de la Cruz and enters the Río Grande about five miles below Ojinaga. The road from Mulatto to Ojinaga follows this draw to the river valley and it is probable that Vidaurre did likewise and camped near the mouth of the draw.

Puliques Indians in the town, as compared to 92 found there by Trasvina Retis in 1715.<sup>62</sup>

References to Puliques made by Rábago y Terán, leader of another 1747 expedition, are somewhat ambiguous and have led to misinterpretations of the location of the pueblo. On the 19th of December this explorer traveled nine leagues down the Río Grande to a pueblo located on the northeastern bank of the river. This pueblo, which was deserted and in ruins, was said to be the ancient mission of "San Antonio de los Puliques," inhabited years before by the Tapalcomes Indians. Castañeda has apparently interpreted this to mean that Puliques pueblo was located on the American bank of the Río Grande, and so places it in all of his discussions of the La Junta pueblos. But as Ydoiaga's account of this same ruin brings out, this was actually the Mission of Tapalcomes where the Pescados Indians had *formerly* lived before they came to live with the Puliques Indians at San Antonio de Puliques. That Rábago y Terán was not speaking of the 1747 Puliques pueblo is made clear later in his journal where he remarks that he moved his camp to a new location a league and a half down the joined river from Guadalupe *in the immediate vicinity and in sight of both San Antonio de los Puliques and San Cristóbal*. Thus, the pueblo was located close to Cristóbal and not much over a league and a half below Guadalupe, not nine leagues as in the case of the ruined town.

Rubín de Celis did not visit Puliques in his 1751 *entrada* but Tamerón y Romerál in 1765 listed it as a *visita* of San Cristóbal. The latter writer placed the town on the Río Grande two leagues below Cristóbal and three leagues from Guadalupe, but said that it had been abandoned. In 1773, O'Connor came to the Río Grande from the Sierra Rica pass

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62. The Pescados refugees appear to be recent additions to the pueblo. This seems indicated both by the accounts which they gave and by the fact that they were not listed among the tribes of La Junta by Trasvina Retis, who did not visit the Redford region from which this group came to Puliques. The Cibolos, on the other hand, were listed as La Junta peoples in 1715, and before, and Trasvina Retis thought that they had joined Guadalupe pueblo at that date. But the story which they told Ydoiaga does not mention this and it seems probable, as previously discussed, that Trasvina Retis was mistaken. Perhaps the Cibolos in 1715 were living in a site immediately adjacent to Pulicos as discussed below. To further confuse matters, Fray Saabedra (*op. cit.*) said that the Cibolos lived at San Cristóbal, not Puliques, in 1747.

along the same route followed by Vidaurre in 1747. According to his account he reached the Río Grande "near the abandoned [*desamparado*] pueblo formerly occupied by the northerners called the Puliques." Four leagues on up the Río Grande was the abandoned *presidio*, which, as has been noted, was located near Guadalupe pueblo.

All this gives a very clear picture of the general location of Puliques on the southwestern bank of the Río Grande some three leagues below Guadalupe and one half to two leagues below Cristóbal, and at the lower end of an extensive area of valley lowland.<sup>63</sup> Today there is a small Mexican hamlet located on the high mesas of the southwestern bank of the Río Grande about six or seven miles below Ojinaga (Guadalupe) and about three miles from Shafter 7:1 (Cristóbal) at the lower end of the extensive Presidio lowland farming area. This hamlet is called *Pulicos* and is said to be the place where the *padres* gathered the last of the Indians in order to instruct them more easily. According to Robles, in 1937 it had a population of 209 inhabitants. Inhabitants of modern Pulicos claim at least four generations residence of their own families in the pueblo and state that in the oldest remembered generation there were Indians living in the town. They point out the location of the old mission church which was torn down a generation ago but even the identity of the patron saint has been lost. On the mesa slope at the edge of the village there are burned stones, flint chips, and other debris of occupation. Some of the artifacts recovered belong to the Concepción Focus occupation, others apparently to both recent and Conchos Focus occupations.

Apparently, therefore, Pulicos has been in its present location for some time and must certainly be identifiable with the Puliques pueblo of the historical records. If so, the period of abandonment must have been short and if the

63. It should be noted, however, that Lafora's map of 1771 shows two missions located on the Texas side of the Río Grande, presumably representing the locations of Cristóbal and Puliques, inasmuch as Guadalupe and San Francisco are shown in approximately the proper positions. But one of these missions is located directly across the Río Grande from the mouth of the Río Conchos, in the mouth of Cibola Creek, while the other one is located farther down stream. Lafora's map of the La Junta pueblos was drawn from hearsay, not based on an actual inspection, however, and the location given cannot be correct if the descriptions given above are accepted.

local traditions are correct the town was reoccupied by survivors of the general Indian population who became Mexicanized in the last century. But no archaeological signs were found of the long occupation indicated for some of the other pueblos, and it seems possible that the La Junta Focus occupation of Puliques may not have been in this spot but at the large archaeological site of Loma Paloma (57B8-1) directly across the river.

#### Tapalcolmes:

As mentioned above, Rábago y Terán in 1747 described a ruined pueblo located on the Río Grande below Puliques. He reached this pueblo by marching nine leagues down the southwestern side of the Río Grande, in part through open land and at other times through hills and canyons. The party came to a spacious valley, at the lower end of which the Río Grande entered a canyon. Here they crossed to the north-eastern bank and a half league back up the river the Spaniards saw the old walls of demolished houses. These were said to be the remains of the ancient mission, named San Antonio de los Puliques, where the Tapalcolmes Indians had lived many years before.

Ydoiaga, in the same year, learned at San Antonio de Puliques that the 60 Pescados Indians at that town had lived not many years before on the lower river, moving their small fields of corn and calabashes from place to place, as they wished and as determined by the shifting of the river lowlands where they sowed. Out of fear of the Apache, since there were too few of them for a proper defense, the Pescados had joined the Puliques. They seemed quite content at San Antonio, and were especially proud of the new lands of the Río Grande lowland that had been assigned them for their fields.

Ydoiaga marched 11 leagues to the south following more or less along the southwest bank of the river. He came to a small valley at the lower end of which the river entered a canyon formed by the mountains closing in on each side. This valley was shaped like a box, with the greatest width at the lower end, and though smaller than the lowland areas

TAPALCOLMES

SITES 57D2-6:7:8:9  
(Unidentified)

(Unidentified)  
SITES 57D2-1:2

RIO BRAVO

RIO BRAVO



0 1/16 1/8 1/4  
LEAGUES

0 1/8 1/4 1/2  
MILES

ARROYO BAYO NUEVO

PUEBLOS OF THE REDFORD VALLEY

FIG. V





above was fairly large. In the middle of this valley and at the edge of the river on the north bank he found the ancient pueblo called Tapacolmes. Here stood the adobe walls of the former church or chapel; nearby the Pescado Indians had lived in *rancherías*, planting their crops of corn and calabashes in the moist river lowlands. The Indians who lived here, said Ydoiaga, were the same ones who had incorporated themselves with the Puliques and the Cibolos at San Antonio de los Puliques out of fear of the Apache. In the same valley, on a nearby arroyo which came down from the Sierra de la Mula, the Spaniards found the *jacales* of an Apache deer hunter who traded peacefully at San Antonio de los Puliques.

The valley located down the Río Grande from Puliques is unquestionably the Redford valley. At its lower end the Río Grande goes into the Cañon Colorado and midway of the valley an arroyo, sometimes known as the Arroyo Bayo Nuevo, which heads in the Sierra de la Mula, enters the river. Directly across the "Vado Rojo" from the mouth of this arroyo and directly on the northern bank of the river lies the old Mexican hamlet of Polvo adjacent to its modern successor, Redford. Polvo was established in the middle 19th century, but it is situated on a large ruin mound of the Bravo Valley Aspect, Site 57D2-3, which occupies the gravel mesa at this point. The writer excavated at this site in 1948, and in 1949 directed the excavations of a University of Texas Anthropological Field School there.<sup>64</sup> This site is the largest Bravo Valley site in the area and the only one which shows signs of historic occupation. It lies in the middle of the Redford valley, on the northern bank of the river, and directly at the water's edge. It was occupied during the La Junta Focus, the Concepción Focus, and perhaps at the very beginning of the Conchos Focus, judging by surface finds and the results of the excavation to date. Across the Río Grande from Polvo and a short distance up the Arroyo Bayo Nuevo is a modern Mexican hamlet called Tapalcolmes. The history

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64. See Kelley, "Notes on Julimes . . ." [note 41], for a description of the restricted 1948 excavations. The excavations of the 1949 field school will be reported in a forthcoming paper by Wm. J. Shackelford.

of this town is not known but the evidence in general points to the identity of Site 57D2-3 with the Tapalcolmes pueblo of 1747.

Although not mentioned in any of the earlier reports, Tapalcolmes must have been occupied as late as 1683, perhaps 1715 or later, since it was in existence late enough to have a mission established there.<sup>65</sup> Inasmuch as Trasvina Retis did not visit the Redford valley in 1715, and since the Pescados were not included in his list of La Junta tribes, the pueblo may still have been in existence at that late date. The lack of extensive Conchos Focus debris at the site however would seem to indicate that it must have been abandoned shortly after 1715 at the latest; this conclusion is borne out by the ruinous condition of the pueblo in 1747.

#### San Antonio de Padua:

In 1715, apparently while at Guadalupe pueblo, Trasvina Retis wrote: "About a league farther down on the banks of La Junta de los Rios, there are three pueblos close together, and in the same form as the rest. The first is that of the Puliques . . . and the next is that of the Conchos which I named San Antonio de Padua and which has eighty-seven people, young and old; the last one . . . was named San Cristóbal. . . ." Interpretation of this vague and ambiguous statement must be largely guesswork. Certainly Puliques was located about a league below Guadalupe on the southwest bank of the joined rivers. But Cristóbal was *not* located farther down the river than Puliques, much less third in order down the river, no matter how close together the three pueblos may have been. Obviously, Trasvina Retis meant something totally different than sheer distance away from Guadalupe in listing the three pueblos in order. Examination of possible sites for the location of third pueblo, that of San Antonio de Padua, may be helpful in this interpretation.

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65. According to Sauer, (*op. cit.* [note 49], p. 64) the Topacolme were included in a list of tribes ruled by a Mamite Indian chieftain in 1684. Included in the list were other La Junta groups such as Oposme, Cacalotito, Mesquite, Conejo, Polacme, Posalme, and Julime. Sauer quotes Marin in 1693 as listing *Topacolme* together with Conejo, Mesquite, Cacalote, Posalme, Polacme, and Oposme, among the tribes of the La Junta region.

There are no known archaeological sites of the Bravo Valley Aspect between Puliques and Guadalupe. Beyond Puliques, continuing down the river on the Mexican side, one does not find another archaeological site for many miles. Hence, Padua must have been located on the Texas side of the river. Below Cristóbal, at the southeastern edge of modern Presidio, Texas, several archaeological sites have been identified on the northeastern bank of the river. Only one of these represents a large enough site located within the Presidio valley and close to Puliques and Cristóbal to be acceptable as the site of Padua. This is 57B8-1, the Loma Paloma site, located on a high gravel mesa almost directly across the river east of Puliques, slightly over a mile from the latter pueblo, and about three miles down the river from Cristóbal.

The Loma Paloma site has extensive refuse deposits and some surface indications of pithouse locations. Surface collections and artifacts obtained by amateur archaeologists digging in this site indicate that it was occupied primarily during the La Junta Focus (*circa* 1200-1400 A.D.). There are some indications of a short lived occupation during the Concepción Focus, and abundant evidence of occupation either very late in the Conchos Focus or in the recent Alamos Focus (modern Mexican occupation) or both.

If 57B8-1 is accepted as the former site of Padua, and it is the only known candidate that meets any of the prerequisites for the identification, we may reinterpret Trasvina Retis's account as follows: "About a league farther down [the southwest bank] of the joined rivers [the Río Grande] . . . [is one of] the three pueblos [located] close together . . . The first is that of the Puliques . . . and the next [located across the Río Grande about a half a league to the east] is that of the Conchos . . . San Antonio de Padua . . . [returning up the river about one league toward Guadalupe one comes to] the last one. . . named San Cristóbal." This interpretation makes sense and probably is the correct one.

But the status of San Antonio de Padua as a pueblo still remains obscure. No such pueblo was mentioned by either earlier or later explorers and the Conchos Indians were nor-

mally found far up the Río Conchos from La Junta. Inasmuch as Trasvina Retis appears to have based his description of these three pueblos largely on hearsay, and to have been confused in general about their people, the following guess interpretation of the status of Padua may be ventured, with the injunction that lack of evidence for this particular guess makes it tenable only as one of several alternative hypotheses.

Site 57B8-1 was occupied throughout the La Junta Focus. Shortly after the beginning of the Concepción Focus, say around 1450 A.D., the river channel shifted toward the southeast and the site was then left so far from the river that the pueblo was speedily moved to the southwest bank. There a new pueblo was established, the one which was later known as Puliques. It will be recalled that there was only a very shallow archaeological occupation indicated for the latter pueblo, and that this occupation apparently began during the Concepción Focus, or at about the time Site 57B8-1 was abandoned. Furthermore, the lands of Puliques pueblo lay on both sides of the river, and hence included the farm lands that must have once supported the people of 57B8-1.

Continuing the hypothesis, it may be inferred that shortly before 1715 the Cibolo deserted their pueblo in the Chinati Mountains and joined the La Junta towns on the river. Trasvina Retis noted that they had done so in 1715 and said that they had joined the Polacmes at Guadalupe pueblo for defense against the Apache. But analysis of Trasvina Retis' statements, discussed above, points out that he is probably erroneous in the latter statement. But if so, where and who were the Cibolo in the confused 1715 census? Their own account in 1747 mentioned only their incorporation with the Puliques at San Antonio, and if the interpretation of Trasvina Retis' statistics given in earlier discussions is correct then the Cibolo either were not counted or else they were the "Concho" of San Antonio de Padua. If the latter inference is correct, the Cibolo may have joined the Puliques just before 1715 and been assigned the old lands and village site of the Puliques just across the Río Grande at 57B8-1. Later,

as friendship deepened between Cibolo and Puliques, the former may have moved to the more convenient location of Puliques itself, where both groups were then joined by the refugee Pescado from the lower river.

The hypothesis given above fits the known archaeological picture and would explain such puzzling historical data as the sudden and inexplicable appearance and disappearance of the Padua pueblo of 1715, and the question of the whereabouts of the Cibolo in the same year. An alternate interpretation would explain the "Conchos" Indians of Padua as late surviving occupants of the original pueblo at 57B8-1 who after 1715 abandoned the site to join their relatives on the upper Conchos or elsewhere. Still other alternatives are possible and none can at present be verified or disproven.

#### San Cristóbal (Santiago?) :

As pointed out in previous discussions, one of the group of pueblos located close together on the banks of the Río Grande below Guadalupe in 1715 was San Cristóbal. According to Trasvina Retis, San Cristóbal was occupied at that time by the Poxalmas Indians and had a total population of 180 persons. This Cristóbal pueblo is perhaps identifiable with the earlier Santiago pueblo of the Espejo *entrada*, of 1582, although as discussed elsewhere Santiago alternately may have been the Guadalupe pueblo of later explorers. Santiago, as described by the Espejo party, was the largest of the La Junta pueblos and was settled by Indians all of whom were farmers. The river lowlands near Santiago were very appropriate for farming, since there were very many damp islands and sloughs. Although the people lived in a pueblo they also had many flat roofed houses in their fields where they lived at harvest time. The "cacique" of Santiago, called "Q.Bisise," was respected by all the other caciques of the La Junta pueblos.

San Cristóbal pueblo is located with some exactitude by the records of the 1747 *entradas*. Thus, Ydoiaga marched three leagues down the southwestern bank of the Río Grande from Guadalupe to Puliques. He states that on this march he "left the pueblo of San Cristóbal on the northern bank

for the return trip." On the return trip he marched seven leagues up the southwest bank of the Río Grande from the Arroyo de la Mula, or Bayo Nuevo, near Tapalcolmes. Between Puliques and Guadalupe he crossed to north bank of the Río Grande and came to San Cristóbal pueblo. Cristóbal was situated directly on the river bank but nevertheless it was elevated enough to escape even the highest floods. There was much nearby farm land but it differed greatly in the amount of flood water that it received in any one year. Hence, the amount of land the Indians planted in maize and wheat varied from year to year. In the best years they harvested enough wheat and maize to last the entire pueblo throughout the year and had some left to trade to the Apaches for deer skins. In bad years they did not have enough grain to feed themselves and were forced to supplement their farm products with fish, herbs, *tunas* (prickly pear fruit), and other wild plants. There were 154 Indians living in San Cristóbal at this time.

The Spaniards asked the Indians why they did not move their pueblo to the other side of the river where it would be easier for the priests to minister to them. The Indians replied that the *padres* had already proposed that they move their pueblo to the Guadalupe side of the river, but that they had refused. There was no place suitable for building a pueblo along the entire southwestern river front between Guadalupe and Puliques. All through this area of land on the southwest was low and easily flooded; the hills on that side were too far from the river to allow using them as building sites.

Rábago y Terán in the same year returned from an inspection tour of the Redford valley by marching up the northwest bank of the Río Grande from Tapalcolmes pueblo. Toward the end of this return journey up the river he came to the "Pueblo and Mission of San Cristóbal, populated, but without a minister. . . ." At this point he crossed to the other bank of the river and returned to his camp at Guadalupe pueblo, apparently only a short distance away. Later he moved his camp eastward one and one half leagues to a

new site located near and in sight of both San Cristóbal and Puliques.

Vidaurre did not cross to the northern bank of the Río Grande and hence missed Cristóbal. Rubín de Celis did not go down stream from the actual river junction and also missed visiting the town. Tamerón y Romerál in 1765, however, listed San Cristóbal among the La Junta pueblos and located it about one league below Guadalupe on the banks of the joined rivers.<sup>66</sup> At this time Cristóbal had 34 families of Indians, numbering 117 persons, and Puliques was a *visita* of the San Cristóbal mission.

The only archaeological site of any size between La Junta and Site 57B8-1 (Padua; located at the lower end of the valley near the mouth of Alamito Creek) on the northeastern bank of the Río Grande is the Millington Site (Shafter 7:1/ Site 57B7-1). This site is located at the very edge of the low terrace of the Río Grande about three and a half miles below Ojinaga and two and one half to three miles above Pulicos. An old channel of the Río Grande swung by the site and the lowlands there are made up of many "moist islands and bays." In location and physiographic situation the Millington Site conforms to the descriptions of San Cristóbal pueblo as well as the Santiago pueblo of Luxán.

Much of the Millington Site was excavated by Donald J. Lehmer and the writer in 1938-39 as a cooperative project of the Sul Ross College and the School of American Research. The final report on these excavations has not yet been completed, but the general prehistory of the pueblo may be summarized here. The site had a very heavy occupation during the La Junta Focus and, judging from the number of mutually intersecting houses of this focus found in the investigations, was occupied throughout the 1200-1400 period. Fewer houses of the Concepción and Conchos foci were found, but these were much larger and much pottery assign-

66. The phraseology here appears somewhat ambiguous. Tamerón y Romerál stated: "Este pueblo de indios dista como una legua de Guadalupe río abajo que ya van juntos de esta banda del sur. . . ." Does this mean that he believed Cristóbal to be located on the southern bank of the river? If so, and if correct, the Spaniards must have succeeded in getting the pueblo moved as they had earlier requested.

able to these foci has been recovered. One Spanish coin was found with a date in the 1750's together with numerous other European artifacts. The exact date of abandonment of the pueblo is not clear from the archaeological record, but it probably fell within the last quarter of the 18th century. The historical records provide no information regarding the disappearance of the Indians of Cristóbal. They may have joined other pueblos and become mixed into the modern Mexican population, or they may have died off or become incorporated in the growing Apache ethnic group.

### The Cibolo Pueblo:

The Cibolo apparently were not originally members of the La Junta ethnic group. Thus, reports of the Parral Investigations in 1688 referred to "the Cibolos Indians who come from the direction of the east to trade and bargain with [the Julimes] as friends, which they are."<sup>67</sup> The Cibolo, and the Jumano with whom they consistently associated in the late 17th century, were apparently trading and bison-hunting Indians from the Plains who had found a ready market for their wares as well as a source of agricultural products and European goods in the La Junta towns. They apparently lived part of the year, principally the winter months, at La Junta but were not considered full-fledged members of the valley towns at that time. About the end of the century the Jumano seemed to have merged with the Apache, and the Cibolo at approximately the same time appear as new pueblo-dwelling recruits to the La Junta population.

In 1715 *Trasvina Retis* referred to the Cibolo as a nation who had recently joined Guadalupe pueblo for protection against the Apache. As pointed out in earlier discussions this was probably inaccurate. Other accounts speak of the Cibolo as having joined Puliques pueblo instead of Guadalupe, although for the same reason. In this paper the theory has been advanced that the Cibolo first reoccupied the abandoned site of 57B8-1 where the Puliques are thought to have

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67. "Declaration of Juan Salaisas," Hackett, *Historical Documents* . . . , vol. II, pp. 237-239.



formerly lived and then later moved across the river to San Antonio de Puliques itself. At any rate Ydoiaga found 96 Cibolo there in 1747 and was told that they had come there from an ancient pueblo of their own in the mountains to the north. They seemed to have had some especial affiliation with the peoples of Puliques and Cristóbal, because earlier reports refer to the "Cibolas of Puliques and San Cristóbal," and Fray Saabedra spoke of the Cibolos having joined the people of Cristóbal pueblo.

Information that Ydoiaga received at Puliques regarding the former Cibolo pueblo is of some interest. He had asked for data regarding springs or other waterholes in the region surrounding La Junta. He was told that "they knew of only one large [spring] which lay to the north of there where in ancient times [*antiguamente*] the *ranchería* of the Cibolos, who now are in this pueblo, where they have retired before the blows given them by the Apache, was located. The flow of this spring is great and it runs over plenty of land, but by an arroyo constricted inconveniently by mountains on both sides. This site had been deserted since the Cibolo had left there but [Ydoiaga] could see [the spring] if he wished to go and record it."

Later, after completing his inspection of the Redford valley and San Cristóbal, Ydoiaga availed himself of this offer. Led by Cibolo guides he left Cristóbal and marched north nine leagues over rough stony land to a gorge lacking wood and water but with good grass. The next day he marched to the northeast and after three leagues arrived at an arroyo which ran from north to south in a canyon formed by high mountains. This arroyo had a heavy flow of water and in the canyon there was a sapling thicket (*Vosque de Palizada*). Marching up this canyon for one league, since that was the only trail, the party came to its source at the foot of a high mountain which could be seen to the northeast. Here the flow of two springs united in a cane thicket to form the better part of the water of the stream they had been following. There was also a small area of alluvial fill along the stream. This was suitable for small scale agriculture but its small size and roughness together with the re-

strictions imposed by the surrounding mountains and the repeated overflows of the arroyo, attested by sand bars, detracted considerably from its desirability as a pueblo site.

On a rocky hill in the middle of the alluvial flat they saw the old walls of one of the houses of the Cibolo *ranchería*. Nearby they could also see signs of a former irrigation project by means of which the Indians had removed water from the arroyo for use on their fields. The Cibolo said that their ancestors (*parientes*, actually "relatives") had deserted their pueblo because of the blows of the Apache and because of the persuasions of Fray Gregorio Osorio. Since that time the site had remained deserted. Ydoiaga then returned to San Francisco, marching four leagues south the first day, without water but through good pasture, and then nine more leagues in the same direction on the second day.

Thus, the Cibolo *ranchería* was situated near a large spring at the head of a canyon some thirteen leagues north or slightly northeast of both Cristóbal and San Francisco and at the southwestern flank of a high mountain. There are two possible identifications for this site, and a third less probable one. Perhaps the most probable location would be the present site of Shafter, Texas, located in the Chinati Mountains near the head of Cibola Creek about 20 miles north of Presidio. Here there are springs producing a steady flow of water, through a canyon. There is also a large mountain on the northeast and a restricted area of alluvial farm land along the stream. The town of Shafter itself occupies in part a rocky promontory at the edge of this alluvial flat. The only difficulty is that Shafter does not appear to be far enough from La Junta. The roughness of the intervening territory might have made the Spaniards overestimate the distance however. No archaeological site is recorded here but one may lie beneath the modern town. By stretching the specified distances slightly one arrives at the springs of San Esteban, located near the head of Alamito Creek. Here too there was a heavy spring-fed flow of water along a canyon but, aside from the wall of the canyon, the only high mountain arising to the northeast would be the peaks of the Davis Mountains ten miles or more away. This was an important

and well known location on the early Indian trails from La Junta to the north, later on pioneer trails as well, and reputedly there are Indian paintings on the cliff of San Esteban.

A third possible location might be on one of the upper branches of Ciénega Creek in the eastern edge of the Chinati Mountains. This area is not personally known to the writer and cannot be evaluated. On the whole, perhaps, Shafter is the best alternative as the location of the Cibolo pueblo, or *ranchería*.

When did the Cibolo move to La Junta? They were there in 1715 according to Trasvina Retis. Furthermore, they told Ydoiaga in 1747 that the persuasions of Fray Gregorio Osorio had been one factor in the decision of their *parientes* to move to La Junta. Fray Osorio was one of the priests whom Trasvina Retis escorted to La Junta in 1715. Either the move of the Cibolo to La Junta was only then occurring, perhaps accounting for the confusion of Trasvina Retis as to their location, or else Fray Osorio had been at La Junta previous to 1715, if the account of the Cibolo is to be accepted as fact. In any event it seems probable that the Cibolo moved to La Junta shortly after the beginning of the 18th century, and not before then.

#### Other Pueblos :

There were many more pueblos than those here discussed in existence in the La Junta valley during the La Junta Focus, *circa* 1200-1400 A.D., both above and below La Junta. Fewer sites are known for the prehistoric portion of the Concepción Focus, but again many are known that did not survive into the historic period. Since all of these sites were abandoned before the beginning of the historic period and since their occupants cannot be identified with historic La Junta Indian groups they do not fall within the scope of this paper.

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The author is indebted to the International Boundary and Water Commission, United States Section, Mr. L. M. Lawson, Commissioner, for the aerial photographs which illustrate the study and for aerial photographs on which the map is based.

## ALBERT FRANKLIN BANTA: ARIZONA PIONEER

*Edited by* FRANK D. REEVE

*(Continued)*

After adjournment Pat Hamilton and Self took the Black Canon stage for Phoenix, here we stopt for a few days and then went to Tucson—by stage from Phoenix to Old Maricopa Wells and thence by rail to Tucson. At Tucson we put up at the Cosmopolitan Hotel on Main Street, now known as the Orndorf. A series of stage robberies had ocured on the Black Canon road at a point about half a mile above Gillett.<sup>182</sup> Wells, Fargo and Company's special officers—J. B. Hume and Johnny Thacker—had exhausted every means to ferrit out the robbers but without success; in fact they were completely stumped. They had not secured a single clue to the robbers. Before proceeding further I must refer to a matter that ocured in Santa Fe which has a bearing and really led up to the events about to be related.

In May, 1869 the U. S. Depository at Santa Fe was robbed of \$350,000; Colonel Collins,<sup>183</sup> a man over eighty years of age, was dead on the floor of the Depository. He had been shot in the side of the head which was powder-burned. At this time George Martin was<sup>184</sup> the Postmaster at Santa Fe. A tremendous excitement followed. The report went out that the depository had been robbed of \$400,000; Collins murdered; that the robbers had broken in thru the window of

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182. Gillett was a mining camp in the Black Canyon north of Phoenix. It developed in the 1870's.

183. James L. Collins played a prominent part in New Mexican politics and Indian affairs during the decades of the 1850's and 1860's. His career can be followed in Frank D. Reeve, "The Federal Indian Policy in New Mexico, 1858-1880," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, beginning at 12:218. The official records speak of his death as murder. *Ibid.*, 13:59. I am surprised at the age attributed to him by Banta.

184. "According to records of the Post Office Department now in our custody, a George T. Martin served as postmaster at Santa Fe from March 12, 1868 to April 8, 1869.

"You may be interested to know that a George Martin served as postmaster at Gila City, Dona Ana County, from January 1, 1861 to February 14, 1863." Meyer H. Fishbein (For the Chief Archivist) to Miss Genevieve Porterfield (Reference Librarian, University of New Mexico), December 28, 1951 (Industrial Records Branch, National Archives and Records Service, Washington 25, D. C.)

an adjoining room—the sleeping apartment of Colonel Collins. Two or three hundred deputies were sworn in and placed about the city, who allowed no one to leave Santa Fe. I went to the scene of the alleged robbery and, after fifteen minutes examination, declared no robbers had done the job; that the robbery had been done on the inside; that the alleged murder was simply a suicide. For this I was threatened with violence by friends of the dead Colonel. I said a U. S. secret service man would be here in a few days, and if he don't corroborate my statements then I am ready to take my medicine. He did. Martin was aware of these facts.

One day I went into the dining room of the Cosmopolitan Hotel for lunch, taking a seat at the opposite side of the room from the door. In a few moments George Martin, accompanied by two men strangers to me, entered the room and took seats at a table on the opposite side. Before seating himself Martin saluted me and I returned his salute; he then leaned over his table and spoke to the two men seated. Immediately George came across the room and said, "Those two gentlemen over there are Wells, Fargo & Co.'s special officers and they would like to have a talk with you after lunch." I assented and after lunch we all went out upon the veranda; after Martin had introduced us he returned to the office; he was the Tucson agent for the Company. Thacker said, "You have heard of the Gillett robberies have you?" I assented with a nod of my head. He then says, "Our agent here Mr. Martin has recommended you to help us out if you will; we are at the end of our rope and can't do a thing more in these cases; will you help us?" I replied, "Gentlemen, I don't know that I can do anything in the matter but will try."

Thacker and I immediately left Tucson for Phoenix where we put up with old Charly Saleri whose adobe hotel was on Washington street. Here I and Thacker talked over the matter pro and con. Thacker said, "The Company in San Francisco were suspicious of the agent at Gillett, and thought he was in collusion with the robbers, and this was the cause of our failure to get any clues to the robberies; that I must investigate that agent; that if these robberies were not run down the Company had threatened to take off

the Express." In the meantime since leaving Tucson I had been thinking, and now wanted some information from Thacker and asked, "How much was in the box when last robbed?" He said \$900 in gold, thirty-five in Greenbacks and a pair of ladie's fancy slippers. I then asked if robberies were consecutively or was there intervals between robberies. He said there were intervals, and that nothing was in the box at these intervals. The gold was in \$20 pieces. "That's enough," I replied.

Jim Cusenbury was Superintendent of stage line; I had a letter from Jim to the drivers to allow me to get on and off the stage at any point I wished and not say anything about it. The weather was hot, and I wore a linen duster. Before leaving Phoenix for Gillett, Thacker said it would not do for him to go up; that if I had occasion to write him to do so with the name of "John Long," and not Thacker as it might cause suspicion. The stage arrived at Gillett along in the night. The agent had a saloon with a glass front, lighted up by a large coal-oil lamp hung in the center of the room. The bar was at back facing the glass front; at the north end of the bar he had a little place cut off where he handled Wells, Fargo business. The table was about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  by 3 feet and in front of this was a low railing facing the front of the room. This railing was conveniently high enough to permit a man to lean upon and to easily look down into the Wells, Fargo box while the agent attended to the business. All these matters I took in at a glance the moment I entered the room.

Sitting off to one side by myself I noticed two men come in and walk up to the aforementioned railing, and after joshing the agent a few seconds, saw one slightly nudge [nudge] the other and both men left the room. They were the blacksmiths at Gillett, and had worked there for years, so I was told afterwards. I was there and then satisfied that I had a clue, and within fifteen minutes after my arrival. I had previously told the agent that I intended to go up to the Tip Top mine on the morrow. It was now late in the night, and after eating a bite I asked the agent if he had a spare room. He had, it was an outside room with a window facing to the

front same as saloon, the window had no curtain to it. I retired for the balance of the night, and in the morning at breakfast I casually remarked if the stage had been held up that night. The agent laughingly remarked, "If they had it would have been a dry haul as there was nothing in the box." This put him going on the stage robberies, and without his knowing it I had pumped him dry, and in doing so was satisfied he had no more to do with the robberies than I had.

That day I had a talk with [the] Postmaster, and others; that is to say they did plenty of talking and I listened with no apparent interest in the matter. All had wild ideas about the robberies; the P. M. said, "Wells Fargo officers were blind, it was plain that the robberies were committed by a couple of men who pretended to be miners; that they had a camp out in the hills and after a robbery would return to their camp and pretend to be mining; it was plain enough." Of course he knew all about it.

To have an excuse for staying another night, I went off into the hills out of sight of the village; finding a shady place I lay down to wait until evening. Late in the afternoon I gathered up a lot of rocks, any old rock answered my purpose, and then hiked back to the saloon. Showing my rocks to the agent I remarked, "What do you think of that for gold rock?" As soon as I mentioned rock several miners sidled up and taking a glance at my "find," smiled and turned away. The agent looked at the rock and then at me, and of course put me down as a first water idiot. He says, "For God's sake man, that is not gold rock, it is ordinary country rock, there is absolutely nothing in it." I was of course greatly astonished and said, "You don't mean to say there is no gold in that rock." "Of course not, ask any of these miners here." I turned towards the miners and they simply smiled and shook their heads. All right, I thought it was good rock, however I am tired and worn out with my tramp, and am hungry as a wolf, can I get a bite and have the room another night; too tired to tramp it to Tip Top to-day.

At bed-time I went into the room, lit my candle, took off my coat, threw off my suspenders, as if going to bed, then blew out the light. There was no curtain to the window. The

light extinguished, I resumed my clothing and cautiously passed outside. Keeping out of the light coming from the saloon, I passed around in front and concealed myself in the thick mesquite which grew in front of the saloon. Here I awaited the arrival of the stage. The stage arrived on time; I saw the stock-tender take out the old team and hitch up the fresh team; the driver took the mail sack out of the boot and carried [it] to the postoffice about a quarter [mile] away; the agent came out and took in the box. As all was going on two men passed close by me, not more than fifteen feet away; they were talking in a low tone, and I could not catch a word. They went into the saloon and going up to the little railing they leaned upon it and looked into Wells Fargo's box. The light was [right] and I could plainly see every movement. After joking with the agent a few moments one lightly nudged the other and both left the place. They were the same two blacksmiths that had gone thru the same performance the night before. As soon as the stage left and the coast was clear I returned to my room.

The following morning the agent jokingly asked if I was going prospecting to-day. I said no, there seemed to be no use as the rock had nothing in it; that I should go up to the Tip Top mine. The last robbery of the \$900 in gold and thirty-five in paper was done the night before the monthly payday at the Tip Top mine. Reaching the mine I went to the store of St. James & Dawes. It was noontime and only one clerk was in the store. To my inquiry for St. James was informed he was then in Prescott, but Mr. Dawes was at lunch and would soon return. I said it was my old acquaintance I wish to see, and turned to go, but turning as if of an after thought, I asked the clerk if there were any sporting men at Tip Top. He said yes, and looking out the window says, there goes one now, he works here and gambles at paydays. I excused myself saying I desired to see that party.

I will say here that a sporting man has had so much experience in sizing up the bank rolls in the drawer, that they can come very close to guessing the amount in sight. Knowing this I overtook the fellow and said, "I hear you do a little faro-bank business her[e] on paydays." He answered



in the affirmative. "Who were here last payday dealing bank?" He said Tom Barnum of Phoenix, and other parties from Prescott. "Anyone else," I asked. "Yes, the blacksmiths from Gillett were here dealing bank." I laughed and said, "They surely did not win anything, and must be [doing] a big business blacksmithing to accumulate a bank roll. Did you get any of the chicken pie?" He replied that he got his proportion of the wad. "How much of a roll did they have?" Well, I sized up the drawer and think they had about \$900 in gold and thirty-five or forty dollars in greenbacks. Yes, the gold was in twenty dollar pieces.

Here I had found what had become of the money taken from Wells Fargo's box, the night before that payday at the Tip Top mine. With this information I returned to Gillett. Here I did something not quite "professional." Seeing Mr. Gillett at the Mill, he was the general superintendent of the whole works, I went down to chat with him for a few moments. Of course we had not talked a minute before he reverted to the stage robberies and seemed very much distressed over the threatened withdrawal of the Express by the Company. To ease his mind on this score I said, "Mr. Gillett, I will tell you something in confidence, if you promise on the word of a gentleman that it goes no farther." Certainly, anything in confidence is sacred. I then said, "Do you see that blacksmith shop there, those two blacksmiths are the two men that are holding up the stages." "Perfectly preposterous. They are hard working men and have been here for years, I cannot believe it." I replied no matter how long they have been here nor how hard they work, they are the parties doing these jobs.

I returned to Phoenix and the hotel where I found Thacker. I gave Thacker my facts and then said—Jim Larsen and Joe Chambers.<sup>185</sup> Thacker jumped to his feet exclaiming, "Absolutely certain!" "How the devil did you catch on so quickly." I replied that I had a clue within fifteen minutes after my arrival at Gillett; that it was only a matter of observation and the ability to put two and two together and make four out of it. "Well what would you do in this

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185. I have no information on Larsen and Chambers, but see *Note* 186.

matter now," says Thacker. If I had the handling of it I would put a "dummy" in the box and take both in the act, they will hold it up as sure as the sun shines. However, I sized the two men up and am certain that Chambers is the weaker mentally, and if placed in separate cells and a little "work" done on him, he will squeal. Thacker said all the Company wanted was the breaking up of the robberies; that to put a "dummy" in the box might lead to a killing, the other way is the safest, and I think perhaps the best. Do as you like, but I would put a "dummy" in the box and take 'em in the act. Thacker and the officers went up on the next stage, the two blacksmiths were lodged in jail.

Chambers did squeal as I had predicted he would do; Larsen received a "blind" of twenty-five years and Chambers, on account of turning "states evidence," got a lighter sentence. Mr. John J. Valentine,<sup>186</sup> head of Wells, Fargo & Co., at San Francisco, told me the Company wanted to keep in touch with me, that in case anything should turn up the company wanted my services, and was only sorry that the Company could use but two Special Officers on the coast. I never asked for employment, nor did I ever charge a cent for my services above described; also I paid my own expenses, a mere trifle however, not to exceed three dollars all told.

Returning to Tucson for a few days I then started east on a visit to my relatives in Indiana, none of whom I had seen since I was six years of age. My visit lasted two months when I returned to St. Johns, Apache county, Arizona.

My election to the legislature practically eliminated me from county politics, and I turned my attention to the Brokerage & Exchange business, in which I did fairly well; this included the buying of county warrants at a pretty stiff discount.<sup>187</sup>

186. John J. Valentine became General Manager of Wells Fargo & Co. in 1882 and President in 1892. He is mentioned frequently in Edward Hungerford, *Wells Fargo: Advancing the American Frontier* (Random House, New York, 1949). Many stories of stagecoach robberies in Arizona are told entertainingly in Neill C. Wilson, *Treasure Express: Epic Days of the Wells Fargo*, ch. 17 (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1838). There is no mention of the particular robbery that Banta writes about in either of the above publications.

187. Fish gives an account of politics during the years from 1879 to 1902 and states that various irregularities and illegalities occurred in connection with county

August 12, 1882, I started the first newspaper at St. Johns, but subsequently sold it to the Mormons, and it was called by them the *Orion Era*, and then afterwards falling into the hands of gentiles, it was changed to the *St. Johns Herald*,<sup>188</sup> and is still published there.

In September, 1884, I had a little dispute with Sol Barth; he became much excited and grabbed [me] by the throat with both hands; I carried a little penknife in my vest pocket, which I used to clean my finger nails; this knife I happened to have in my hand at the time, and to force Sol to release his hold, I began jabbing him about the head with the penknife. At the same time I had a Colt's 44 double action pistol; this double action was new to me. I had no thought of hurting Sol, nor could I with so little knife, so had no idea of using my gun. A number of persons were present. Sol's younger brother was present, and he too became unduly excited over the little matter, and coming up behind me, fired a forty-four bullet through my neck. The ball also passed thru Sol's thumb. Immediately I pulled my gun and wheeled about to see who had shot me—did not know that his brother Nathan was present. Pulling gun with right hand I caught my neck with my left hand to stay the flow of blood until I could shoot. My first thought was, my neck is not broken; my second was that the jugular vein had been cut—was bleeding freely and I could not hope to last but a few seconds, so caught my neck with left hand to stay flow of blood until I could bring my gun into action.

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warrants. *Manuscript*, 3:644-651. This is corroborated by the conviction of Solomon Barth. But I have no reason to think that Banta was mixed up in any irregularities. See *Note 46* for the Barth case.

188. Banta started the *Arizona Pioneer* at St. Johns. *Arizona Sentinel*, August 26, 1882. A. F. Banta started "the Pioneer Press" soon after the occupation of the town-site of St. Johns which started early in October, 1880. The paper was bought by the Mormons in 1883. James H. McClintock, *Mormon Settlement in Arizona*, p. 180 (Manufacturers Stationers Inc., Phoenix, 1921) "A weekly paper, called the *Orion Era*, is published here [St. Johns]. . . ." Hamilton, *Resources*, p. 63 (2nd edition) Gregory, *American Newspapers*, dates the beginning of the *St. Johns Herald* as January 15, 1885. He states that the name has varied and does not mention the *Orion Era*; obviously his listing is incomplete.

"The printing press [at St. Johns] which is owned by a company has proved a tax on the shareholders. The 'Orion Era' which is published by the company does not nearly pay expenses." Eastern Arizona Stake, *Journal History*, December 13, 1885 (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, Salt Lake City) see *Note 10* and *Note 199*.

One's thoughts are quicker than lightning in emergencies, I know this is true from experience. In a "double-action" Colt the trigger sets well forward leaving much space back of the trigger and between it and the guard; this fact is what deceived me, not being used to one of that kind—never carried one since. Seeing Nathan Barth with a gun in his hand making off, I attempted to fire at him but the gun would not work. Not thing [knowing] about the d--med double-action, I thought some one had been tampering with my gun. Releasing my throat with my left hand, now all bloody, I threw my pistol down into left hand and cocked it with my thumb, I now knew it would go. All this was done in less time than it takes to tell it. I raised my gun to fire but at the same instant the Sheriff and Ramon Lopez knocked the gun so that the ball struck about twenty feet away in the direction of Nathan.

Tom Perez was Sheriff and he put me under arrest; paid no attention to the other parties, and did not arrest either one of the Barths. I asked Tom what he meant by this and he said, "There was no danger from those other fellows, so I took you in charge." I refused to prosecute the case, but C. L. Gutterson, then District Attorney of the county and who was present at the time of the shooting, had him indicted.<sup>189</sup>

The jugglar vein was not severed, but was laid bare by the bullet; Dr. Dalby<sup>190</sup> pulled a rag thru my neck and sewed up the rents, but I refused to be put under the influence of chloroform. After the Doctor had gotten thru with his job, I asked if I couldn't smoke my pipe; he laughed and said I see no reason why you should not, and I smoked my pipe right allong. Was in the house about ten days but would not stay there any longer and was up about town with my neck tied up. It took about six months for the wound to

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189. A clipping from the *Prescott Courier* for the year 1884 reads: "People who saw the fracas say that Franklin pulled his gun and but for the interference of bystanders would have killed the Barths."

Thomas Perez is mentioned as Supervisor of Apache county in 1880, so he could have been Sheriff as Banta states at the time of the fight. Charles L. Gutterson is mentioned as District Attorney of Apache county in 1885. Fish, *Manuscript*, 3:646,648.

190. Dr. Dalby is mentioned by Fish as a member of the Anti-Mormon movement at St. Johns in 1883-84. *Manuscript*, 3:630.

heal up, but to this day I cannot bear to have any pressure on my windpipe as it was cut pretty badly by the shot.

Dr. Dalby was on the point of going to Omaha, so I went with him as far as Albuquerque, where I remained under the treatment of Dr. Easterday.<sup>191</sup> As soon as the Doctor would permit I left for El Paso. Here I remained over the winter of 1884-5. From El Paso I went to New Orleans where I remained nearly three months taking in the Exposition, and then returned to El Paso in May, 1885; I returned to St. Johns the same year. 1887 found me at Holbrook acting [as] Justice of the Peace and Notary Public. Since leaving St. Johns in the fall of 1885, I had been over many parts of the Territory.

In the summer of 1888, the county convention was held at Holbrook; Dr. Dalby, Walter Darling,<sup>192</sup> *et al* were the delegates to the convention. A bunch of the delegates including Dalby and Darling came to my office and requested that I run for District Attorney. I refused saying that I did not want the office, to put someone else on the ticket. They went away but returned the following day and said we are going to nominate you. "Well," I said, "If you put me on the ticket I shall not leave Holbrook, nor make any campaign of the county." All right we don't want you to make any campaign, all we want you to do is to run on the ticket. Bob Morrison<sup>193</sup> of Prescott was my opponent for the same office on the opposition ticket. My friend Bob made a redhot campaign; I never left Holbrook nor asked a man to vote for me. I was elected. I went into office 1, January, 1889. I had not been in office long when I found that the county was cursed with an unscrupulous ring, which was fatning off the county monies. It came about in this way.

When in El Paso and before returning to St. Johns, I received a letter from my brother Henry, then engaged in a little business at St. Johns, that a "very fine gentleman and

191. This was Dr. George Easterday. His brother, Jacob S. Easterday, joined him in practice in Old Albuquerque about 1893. Mrs. J. S. Easterday, interview.

192. Walter Darling is mentioned by Fish as a member of the Anti-Mormon movement at St. Johns in 1883-1884. *Manuscript*, 3:630.

193. A newspaper clipping without name or date states that Robert E. Morrison, a man of exceptional ability, was defeated by Banta for District Attorney in 1883, and Banta was not a lawyer.

a lawyer had located in St. Johns, and I want you to meet him." As before said I returned, and the same night Mr. Harris Baldwin, attorney at law, came into Henry's place and Henry at once introduced me to that gentleman. After all had departed my brother Henry says, "What do you think of Mr. Baldwin?" I replied that he carried the ear-marks of a first class rascal. Henry became very indignant and wanted to know why I should rate a man that way on so short acquaintance. Very well, time will prove my opinion to be correct. It did.

At this time the county of Apache had an agreement with the Atlantic Railway Company to assess its property at \$5,000 per mile. This had been done for several years and the Company had promptly paid its taxes. C.L. Gutterson was District Attorney; Serafin Apodaca was County Assessor. Baldwin was impecunious; Sol Barth had bought him law books and furnished him with grub and house rent—he had a wife and she was a very nice little woman too. To raise the wind Baldwin induced Gutterson to instruct the Assessor to assess the Railroad property at \$9,000 per mile, knowing the Company would kick and refuse to pay it; this was just the thing Baldwin figured on at the beginning. Gutterson did—may have stood in with the play—and Apodaca assessed the road at \$9,000 per mile. It had the desired result; road refused to pay anything; it went delinquent for the first time since its construction. Then Baldwin says to Gutterson, you will need assistance in prosecuting the big Railroad case; go before the Board of Supervisors, have them appoint me your assistant in the Railroad case. This was done and [at] a fee of \$1,000 cash as a retaining fee and a contingent fee of 33 per cent upon all monies collected.

This was a great scheme well worthy of any first class rascal. Chief Justice James H. Wright was our judge. As a matter of course a judgment was obtained in the Court against the Road. By appeal the case was carried up to the Supreme Court of the Territory. Here the judgment of the lower court was affirmed.<sup>194</sup> The Railroad attorney, Mr.

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194. Banta gives many details on this tax issue that do not appear in the court reports. The Railroad company did seek to deny the validity of the tax on the basis of

Hazeltine, appealed the case to the Supreme Court of the United States.

In the meantime another case had come on, similar to the above, in which Mr. Baldwin had received another \$1,000 fee. However when it came on to try the case before the Supreme Court of the Territory, lo and behold, Mr. Baldwin could not practice before that court; notwithstanding both he and Gutterson had said to the Board of Supervisors that Mr. Baldwin "will carry the case thru all the courts of the Territory." So Baldwin and Gutterson went before the Board and recommended that they appoint a Mr. Daniel P. Baldwin, Ex-Attorney General of Indiana—no relation to Harris Baldwin—who was deaf as a post. This Daniel P. Baldwin was a stockholder in the Long H cattle ranch near St. Johns and at the time was at the ranch. Both Gutterson and Harris Baldwin made it appear to the Board that Daniel P. Baldwin was an eminent jurist and was able and qualified to carry the case thru any court in the land. This the Board agreed to, and Daniel P. Baldwin entered into a written contract with the county to prosecute the case to the end, for which he received a cash fee from the county of \$2,000. This Daniel P. Baldwin went up to Prescott and made a twenty minute argument for the county, and that was all he did do in the case.

As before said the case went up to the U. S. Supreme court. Here was another hitch. Mr. Daniel P. Baldwin was not a big enough gun to practice before the Supreme Court of the U. S. But he could and did recommend one who had the necessary qualifications; he recommended that the Board employ Senator Turpie of Indiana. The Senator was communicated with, and for the sum of \$5,000 he would make the necessary argument before the Supreme Court. It was paid by the Board of Supervisors. As the matter stood be-

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its charter which gave it a right-of-way free from taxation. But the court held that the exemption did not apply to improvements, that is, the actual railway and equipment. The Territorial Supreme Court upheld the District Court ruling in *Atlantic & P. R. Co., v. Lesuer, County Treasurer* (September 18, 1888) *19 Pacific Reporter 157*. W. C. Hazledine (Summer Howard and E. M. Sanford) appeared for the appellant. The first name is spelled in different ways in the records, and Banta spells it with the letter "t." Baldwin and Baldwin appeared for the appellee. The decision was read by Justice Barnes, concurred in by Justices Wright and Porter.

fore the Supreme Court of the U. S., it was at the tailend of the court calendar, and the sum of \$5,000, paid to Senator Turpie, was to make an argument before the Court in support of a motion to have the Apache Tax case set forward, that it might be reached within a reasonably short time. The Supreme Court took the matter under advisement and in due time—never in a hurry—they denied the motion on the grounds that the matter “was not of sufficient importance, and must take its usual course.”

In the meantime the delinquent tax cases of the Railroad were before the Territorial District Court, and in each case Mr. Harris Baldwin had received his \$1,000 cash fee in each instance. However, by stipulations between the attorneys of both sides, no more cases were carried up to the Supreme Court of the Territory, but were to await the outcome of the case then pending in the United States Supreme Court. Such was the condition of affairs in Apache county when I went into the office of District Attorney for the county, January 1, 1889. The ring was well entrenched, and I had the fight of my life to break up the combination, and to rout the looters of the county. I won out.

I went before the Board of Supervisors and clearly demonstrated the rotten condition in which they were floundering; that the schemers had gotten up an endless chain of graft; that the Supreme Court case would not be reached under four years time. (I had previously written the Clerk of the Supreme Court, requesting him to send me a statement, with the seal of the court attached, the time that would elapse before the Apache Tax case would likely come on to be heard. And he had written in about three and a half or four years.) Presenting the Clerk's statement to the Board I said, “Now, what will be the result when our tax case comes up? It will be this; the Railway attorneys, and they have the best to be had in the country, and will find some flaw or technical error, or something, and the case will be sent back to be tried *de novo*; and what does that mean? It means the case comes right here in our court to be tried over again, and then up to the Supreme Court of the Territory, and then—back to the U. S. Supreme Court and again at the



tailend of that court's calendar. This means another three or four years in that court. As a result of all this the county is running in debt; no funds to pay even the county officials." The Board were at first favorably impressed, but the gang got hold of them and they had to knuckle to the pressure.

Then I went to work and had type written petitions drawn up, two for each precinct; these petitions were addressed to the Board of Supervisors praying them to recind previous action in the Railroad case, and to return to the original agreement. I drew up a circular letter to the taxpayers, in which I outlined the condition of affairs, as per above described; of this letter I made two copies for each precinct. My certificate from the Clerk of the U. S. Supreme Court I took to the *St. Johns Herald* to have two hundred copies printed, which I wished to send along with the petitions; but the publisher refused to print them—he too was in the ring. I then sent the certificate to the *Journal Miner*<sup>195</sup> at Prescott, ordering two hundred printed and to send bill to me. Mr. J. C. Martin, then proprietor of that paper, printed four hundred copies and said, "No charge, go for the rascals." These documents I sent out to be signed by the taxpayers of the county. My policies were almost unanimously approved by the taxpayers, as nearly 90 per cent of them signed my petitions.

At the next quarterly meeting of the Board I laid the petitions before them saying, "Gentlemen, here are petitions signed by ninety per cent of the taxpayers of this county, look them over and verify that fact; now are you going to ignore the people of this county in this matter?" They did not dare refuse the prayer of the petitioners, and immediately made the change and had it entered upon the minutes of the Board. I had told the Supervisors, and the taxpayers, of my arrangement with the Railroad Company as to the back taxes then due. In the meantime I had made two trips to Albuquerque and one to Prescott, and other points in our county, all of which was at my own expense.

I now notified Hazeltine to meet me at Prescott at the

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195. The *Arizona Journal* was one of three papers at Prescott, edited by J. C. Martin. Elliott, *Arizona*, p. 250.

coming term of our Supreme Court. There was one tax case then on file in that court, carried up on appeal from the lower court; this case I proposed to have dismissed, and it was for this reason I desired the presence of the Railway solicitor, Mr. Hazeltine. The case was dismissed.<sup>196</sup> I then signed stipulations, as the District Attorney of Apache county, with the Railroad attorney, to dismiss the celebrated tax case then pending in the Supreme Court of the United States.<sup>197</sup> In due time that case was dismissed and the whole matter satisfactorily arranged. After Hazeltine had returned from Washington, he wrote me a letter to visit him at Albuquerque and the final act in the drama would be consummated. I went to Albuquerque and Mr. Hazeltine handed me a check on the First National Bank of Albuquerque,<sup>198</sup> payable to my order, for the sum of \$70,000. I endorsed the check and turned it over to the County Treasurer of Apache county. And once more the county was on a cash basis; the ring of grafters routed.

Suffice to say that everyone of the grafters pulled their freight, and St. Johns knew them no more. Harris Baldwin went to Prescott, and afterwards skipped the country for parts unknown; Gutterson went to Nebraska; the clerk of the Board of Supervisors went to the devil; J. F. Wallace, owner of the *Herald*, sold out and left the county; the Supervisors turned over a new leaf, and thereafter were half way decent. I made the fight of my own accord, after first finding out the situation of affairs, single-handed and alone—and

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196. This case was dismissed earlier than the one pending before the Supreme Court of the United States. James H. Wright was Justice, William C. Hazledine, J. A. Williamson and E. M. Sanford appeared for the appellant. Clark Churchill, Attorney General, and A. F. Banta appeared for the appellee. The case was "Dismissed on stipulation," January 13, 1892. *77 Pacific Reporter 1131*.

197. The case before the Supreme Court of the United States was dismissed October 21, 1890, with costs on motion of A. B. Browne (with A. T. Britton and W. C. Hazledine for the appellant. David Turpie appeared for the appellee. *140 U. S. 689*. David Turpie represented Indiana in the United States Senate from March 4, 1887 to March 8, 1901. *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-19149*. (Government Printing Office, 1950).

198. The First National Bank of Albuquerque was incorporated in December, 1881. *History of New Mexico*, 1:416 (Pacific States Publishing Co., 1907) The bank today does not possess records that far back. The attorney, William C. Hazledine, was a resident of Albuquerque, *Ibid.*, 2:533.

win [won] out for the people. *Vox populi, vox dei*. My term of office expired December 31, 1890.

I then engaged in the business of Brokerage and Exchange, but soon after organized the State Bank of Arizona. However, [with] the election of Cleveland in 1892, which was followed by a nation-wide panic beginning in 1893, everything went to smash and I simply quit the business. Disposing of my property in St. Johns, I moved to Holbrook, the county seat of Navajo county. At Holbrook I started the *Holbrook Argus*;<sup>199</sup> the first issue was on December 12, 1895.

At this time Oakes Murphy<sup>200</sup> was Arizona's Delegate in Congress. Feeling the country demanded and would have a change in the national administration, I espoused the cause of Wm. McKinley, as in my opinion he was the logical candidate of the Republican party. Oakes wrote me a long letter from Washington, in which he gave a long list of possible candidates for the nomination in 1896, and said, "We don't want to be too fast in this matter, our best policy is to wait and see which one is the most friendly towards the Territory." I answered, "To the devil with policy, McKinley is the man; its in the air and his nomination is an assured fact." In almost every issue of my paper I gave various reasons why McKinley should receive the nomination, and if nominated his election was certain; also said McKinley would receive six hundred votes in the convention on the second ballot—I think it was 545.<sup>201</sup> He was nominated and elected as a matter of course.

(To be continued)

199. "A. F. Banta, founder of this paper, came in from St. Johns Sunday morning. We enjoyed a pleasant visit with Mr. Banta, and he informs us that he expects to make his permanent home at St. Johns—Hollbrook Argus," quoted in *Prescott Weekly Courier*, December 14, 1900. The paper is listed as a weekly with the founding date as December 12, 1895, in Gregory, *American Newspapers*.

200. N. O. Murphy arrived in Arizona in 1883. He was acting Governor at the opening of the 16th Legislative Assembly on January 19, 1891; commissioned Governor on May 11, 1892; and for a second term on July 16, 1898. Between terms as Governor he served as Delegate to Congress, November, 1894. *Portrait and Biographical Record of Arizona*. Fish dates the beginning of the second term as August 1. *Manuscript*, 2:366. The State Historian gives the same date. Kelly, *Arizona*. But Wyllys, *Arizona*, prefers the date, October 1.

201. McKinley was nominated on the first ballot with a total of 661½ votes out of a possible 902. Lester Burrell Shippee, *Recent American History*, p. 215 (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1927).

## Book Reviews

*Come an' Get It.* By Ramon F. Adams. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952. Pp. 170. \$3.75.

Numerous authors have written about the cowboy. Some portray the man himself, with his horse and gear, in his daily activities on the range; others take a wider scope and treat his importance in, and influence upon, the cattle industry. *Come an' Get It* tells the story of the cowboy cook who is a power unto himself in the success or failure of the entire business. "As an army marches on its mess-kitchen, so the cowboy worked with his chuck wagon." A man of many responsibilities, the cook labored under difficult circumstances which did not improve his already irascible temper and lurid vocabulary.

The reader rides along in the chuck wagon to camp and then follows the potentate of the pots through all the trials of preparing meals for the cowboy. Look into the pot of bubbling son-of-a-bitch stew, smell the pungent aroma of "six-shooter coffee," hear the dull thud of the cover falling on the barrel of sourdough batter—it is all here as robust as the appetites it appeases. The recipes of the range include steaks and stews, "whistle berries" and dumplings, vinegar pies, "niggers in a blanket," and puddings—all toothsome surprises for the hungry horsemen. After giving us a good look into this kitchen on wheels, the domicile of the paragon of pots and pans, on its long trek over the rugged trails on ranch and roundup, the author winds up his tale with chuck wagon etiquette and colorful observations concerning the domain where "cookie" was king.

Through research and personal experience, the reviewer has found that all cowboy cooks suffered the indignity of having their efforts, regardless of quality, smothered in salt and pepper. An observer on a Kansas roundup in 1885 commented that steaks were not broiled because the cooks did not know what a broiled steak was, and it was likely that a cowboy might walk off with a whole one, eat of it what he could and throw the rest away.

It should be noted that the chuck wagon has been immortalized beyond an occasional appearance in a rodeo parade. The term, though used loosely, has become synonymous with Western gatherings and community enterprises; now the Chuck Wagon Breakfast is found throughout the kingdom wherever once the vehicle rolled. Besides being an important and necessary part of round-ups and drives, the cowboy mess wagon was both home and social center for the men in the wide open spaces. The memory of its original function has been perpetuated for many years in the Chuck Wagon Race at the annual Calgary (Canada) Stampede. Just recently, the popularity and spectator appeal of this feature resulted in a similar contest at the Cheyenne Frontier Days Celebration. In light of all this, it is surprising that the tale of the commissary of the open range has not been told before.

The only ants in the "lick" are found in constant repetition of obvious themes and the author's reliance upon other publications for his best anecdotes.

This book is not for devotees of *l'Ecole du Cordon Bleu*, but the reviewer heartily recommends that the multitudinous gourmets with a Western taste "come a-runnin'."

CLIFFORD P. WESTERMEIER

University of Arkansas.

*American History & American Historians.* By H. Hale Bellot. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952. Pp. x, 336, with 7 Maps. \$4.00.

It is fortunate that Mr. Bellot is an Englishman, for no American historian would be so rash to undertake such a synthesis as he has tried to accomplish. The result, none the less, is a stimulating and thoughtful appraisal of certain aspects of American history since the seventeenth century.

A brief analysis of the chapters will indicate the broad scope of this study. The first tells the story of the beginnings of modern historical scholarship in the United States; magnifies the contributions of Henry Adams, Herbert Baxter Adams, Frederick Jackson Turner, and the great Columbia

school; and recounts the work of the state historical societies. The second and third chapters present a perceptive analysis of the political and constitutional developments that began far back in the colonial period and culminated in the American Revolution and the writing of the Constitution. Chapter IV, entitled "The Settlement of the Mississippi Valley," emphasizes transportation developments and land policies, 1815-1860. Chapter V evaluates the sectional conflict mainly in constitutional terms, while the remaining two chapters point up the development of the Great Plains, the extension of the railroads, the rise of the modern corporation and national labor unions, and, finally, the burgeoning of American economic power beyond the limits of the United States.

On all these subjects Mr. Bellot has written perceptively and often well. It would be an exaggeration to say that he had added anything to the knowledge of the specialist; but his synthesis is at times comprehensive, and it is always stimulating. The value of his book is multiplied, moreover, by the remarkably detailed bibliographical essays at the end of each chapter. Graduate students might well regard them as a beginning toward a bibliography of American history.

Captious criticism would hardly accord with the above observations, yet this volume has serious shortcomings that this reviewer, also a student of American history, feels obliged to note. To begin with, Mr. Bellot's commentary would have been more valuable if he could have made up his mind to write an historiographical essay on the major contributions to, and trends in, American historical writing since 1890. In each chapter, except the first, which is devoted exclusively to historiography, he makes a feint in this direction; and then he uses most of his space to write an analytical essay of his own. The result is that instead of providing a large volume of fresh insights on American historiography, which he is obviously capable of doing, he often merely elaborates a familiar theme. Secondly—and more important—, Mr. Bellot gives scarcely any notice to the social, intellectual, and religious developments in American history, while his bibliographies are noticeably weak on

these subjects. He remarks, for example, that the social and intellectual history of the colonial period has been neglected; but neither his discussion nor his bibliography reveals any awareness that Professors Wertebaker, Morison, Miller, Perry, and a host of others have spent their adult lives exploiting and developing this important field. Finally, Mr. Bellot's treatment of American history since 1865 does no more than sketch out the major outline of development; and even his outline ignores a good many important items.

These criticisms would have been groundless if the author and publisher had been more modest. A more accurate title for this book would be *Aspects of American History & Some American Historians*. As it stands, the book is remarkable enough, but it is not, as the present title implies, a comprehensive analysis of the recent contributions to the interpretation of the history of the United States.

ARTHUR S. LINK

Northwestern University

*Carlos M. Pinto, S.J., Apostle of El Paso.* By Sister M. Lilliana Owens. El Paso, Texas: Revista Catolica Press, 1951. Pp. xiii, 228. Introduction by Carlos E. Castañeda. \$2.50.

El Paso felt the full impact of the religious force bound up in the personality of Father Carlos M. Pinto, S.J., shortly after his arrival in 1892. By patient research and sympathetic interpretation Sister M. Lilliana Owens, S.L., has made more permanent the life record of this pioneer church builder of the Southwest. Born in Vietre (Salerno), Italy, in 1841, Father Pinto was early attracted to the Society of Jesus and was carefully trained as a missionary in France and Spain as well as his native Italy, a quite different place from the united Italy of today. He was selected along with three others by Bishop Lamy of New Mexico to help in the missions of Southwestern United States of America. This Bishop Lamy is the man made famous in the literary world by Willa Cather's *Death Comes for the Archbishop*.

After spending a year of further training in the Jesuit Tertian House at Fredericksburg, Maryland, Father Pinto was sent to Colorado, where he served untiringly for the next twenty years. Enriched by the hard-earned knowledge of his frontier experiences, he was transferred to El Paso, Texas. Arriving in 1892, Father Pinto immediately began purchasing property to build churches and schools, and kept pushing an aggressive program of expansion throughout the twenty-five years that he was in El Paso. He was zealous in social and economic activities and worked for the material welfare of his people as well as for their spiritual improvement. Ever onward with eager purpose, Father Pinto engineered an expanding religious program. Not discouraged by the primitive conditions that were all around him, he concentrated on plans for the future of the Catholic Church in El Paso.

Sister M. Lilliana Owens points out that the Sacred Heart Parish served Father Pinto as headquarters and the station from which the early Jesuit missionaries in El Paso went forth to their various assignments. Soon after the entrance of the United States into World War I, Father Pinto was ordered to New Mexico and California. The transfer affected his health and he could not adapt himself to the change. On November 9, 1917, he was again back at the Sacred Heart Rectory, but ill health limited his activities from that time until his death on November 5, 1919.

Such is the life of this courageous churchman as related by Sister M. Lilliana Owens with genuine enthusiasm. A missionary's life, aggressively zealous in the work of God, is always an inspiration for others. As Dr. Carlos E. Castañeda succinctly summarized it in the introduction:

"Not a church was in sight when he came to El Paso. When he retired, sick and worn out by his constant endeavors during twenty-seven years of striving, his dream had become a reality. In stately splendor stood the Churches of the Sacred Heart, the Immaculate Conception, the Guardian Angel, the Holy Family, and in the distance beyond the Rio Grande, the Sacred Heart of Ciudad Juárez, all the



results of his incessant labors. There were schools also, as many as there were churches."

JOSEPH DIXON MATLOCK

Frost, Texas

*The First Military Escort on the Santa Fe Trail 1829: From the Journal and Reports of Major Bennet Riley and Lieutenant Philip St. George Cooke.* By Otis E. Young. Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1952. Pp. 222. Illustrations, documents, bibliography, and index. \$7.50. (Vol. VII, *American Trail Series*).

From the days of Pike's expedition to the Southwest, Missourians cast their eyes in the direction of Santa Fe with the objective of opening up trade relations with Spanish settlements. In the early 1820's when Becknell and associates began to ply a lucrative trade with the New Mexican capital the question of military protection for the trade caravans immediately arose. Otis Young's book is an excellent presentation of the government's initial experiment in frontier defense where the military escort was used on the Santa Fe Trail.

Here is a book which can be read and enjoyed by the layman as well as the professional historian. The first part is devoted to an account of the 1828 caravans and their difficulties and dangers. Then follows official and public reaction to the danger on the trail and the need for military protection. The remainder of the book gives a detailed day by day account of the experiences of the caravan (Major Bennet Riley's military escort of four companies of the Sixth U. S. Infantry and the Missouri-Santa Fe traders): the preparation of the escort at Cantonment Leavenworth; the march to Chouteau's Island on the Arkansas River (then the international boundary); the departure of the traders to Santa Fe; the experiences of the troops while awaiting the return of the traders; the return march of the caravan and escort to the starting point.

The book is valuable in a number of respects. It gives a

clear picture of the organization and character of a caravan; it shows the trials and dangers on the trail; and the life of the troops on the march and in camp. At Council Grove, for example, the men are shown washing shirts, repairing wagons, writing letters, or amusing themselves with cards and bottle. In the Sand Hills near Chouteau's Island the troops are called upon to battle Comanches. Exciting and realistic buffalo hunts replenish the depleted food supply and buoy the drooping spirits of the caravan. The reader is also presented with a gruesome account of the barbarity of whites—scalp lifting—a practice which the Indian was not slow to forget.

Historically, this expedition was important on several other counts: it demonstrated the superiority of oxen over horses and mules as draft animals on the trail, and thus laid the basis of the great plains freighting industry later to be developed by Russell, Majors, and Waddell; it proved that mounted troops were absolutely essential to the defense of the frontier; it presented a phase of the government's general policy of frontier defense which was to be worked out on a grand scale in the period following the Mexican War.

The reviewer would like to have seen a more specific, detailed account about the character and extent of the 1828 and 1829 Santa Fe trade. Also, the author might have identified more fully the prominent traders mentioned. Despite these omissions, however, in this slender volume, we have a scholarly, interesting, and skillfully written work. The major portion is based on Riley's Official Report and Journal and Cooke's *Scenes and Adventures in the Army*—all three written by Lieutenant Cooke, the "Boswell" of the expedition. A number of other contemporary records and some reminiscences are also drawn upon. The book also contains a number of pertinent documents, a map of the Santa Fe Trail, a bibliography, and an index. The high standard of the format and the illustrations add to the attractiveness of the volume. This book has a definite place in the history of the trans-Mississippi West.

A. B. BENDER

*Franciscan Awatovi. The Excavation and Conjectural Reconstruction of a 17th-Century Spanish Mission Establishment At a Hopi Indian Town in Northeastern Arizona.* By Ross Gordon Montgomery, Watson Smith, John Otis Brew, with an Appendix by J. Franklin Ewing, S.J. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Vol. XXXVI (Reports of the Awatovi Expedition, Report No. 3). Cambridge, 1949, pp. xxiv, 361. 17 plates, 1 color plate, 45 illustrations in the text. \$5.85 paper, \$8.35 cloth.

This magnificent work is actually a trilogy. Part I ("The History of Awatovi") and Part II ("The Excavation of Franciscan Awatovi") were written by archaeologist Brew. Part III ("San Bernardo de Aguatubi, An Analytical Restoration) was prepared by architect Montgomery, and Part IV ("Mural Decorations of San Bernardo de Aguatubi") is the work of archaeologist Watson Smith. The various papers are based on the same field researches; the excavation of the Franciscan mission and native town at the ruined Hopi pueblo of Awatovi in northeastern Arizona by the Awatovi Expedition of Peabody Museum of Harvard University between 1935 and 1939.

The Awatovi Expedition was directed by J. O. Brew but all of the authors participated in the field work as well as in the associated library and laboratory studies that have culminated in the present report. Although there is considerable cross-citation between the various papers, there is a notable independence of approach and viewpoint and occasionally a conflict in factual detail or interpretation between them. Rather than detracting from the value of the report, this independence of presentation and interpretation actually yields a much clearer picture of the evidence and the inferences to be drawn than does any one of the reports alone. The authors have been wise enough to recognize this and allow the report to be published in this refreshing style without any attempt to artificially strait-jacket their individual views.

Brew's section on the history of Awatovi proves him to

be an archaeologically oriented historian—or vice versa!—in the Southwestern tradition inaugurated by Adolph Bandelier. Awatovi was apparently first described by Castañeda on the occasion of the visit of Don Pedro Tovar of the Coronado Expedition in 1540. It was subsequently visited by Espejo in 1583. The town was not mentioned in the records of the Oñate expedition to the Hopi towns in 1598. Not until 1629 when three Franciscans arrived in Awatovi to establish the first mission was there further reliable reference to the town in the documents. After the establishment of San Bernardo de Awatovi it remained in operation until the fathers were killed in the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680.

As Brew points out, something unusual must have happened at Awatovi during this period to impress the Indians with the Catholic faith, because after the reconquest only the Hopi at Awatovi allowed the Spaniards to re-establish themselves. However this may be, de Vargas led an expedition to the Hopi towns in 1692 but the mission at Awatovi was not reopened until May, 1700. The other Hopi towns would not admit the Spaniards and late in the same year Awatovi was destroyed by the Hopi of the other villages apparently in retaliation for its tolerance of the Spaniards. Brew also traces the subsequent unsuccessful efforts of the Spaniards throughout the 18th century to re-establish missions among the Hopi.

Part II, "The Excavation of Franciscan Awatovi," by Brew, is a model of factual presentation, reinforced by sketches and photographs, accompanied by running interpretation. That the excavations were carried out meticulously and intelligently is clear from both text and photographs. The archaeologists found more than they expected to find and preservation was better than anticipated. The remains of three churches, a friary, offices and schoolrooms, and miscellaneous structures such as workshops, store-rooms, and stables, were uncovered.

Church 1 was represented only by foundations. It was never completed and Brew's hypothesis that it was an early church begun by Father Porras and abandoned for some

reason in favor of the construction of Church 2 seems warranted and acceptable.

Church 2 was the principal Spanish church at Awatovi. It was a long narrow T-shaped structure built on a mound formed by ruined Hopi buildings at the mesa edge. It had two towers and a basilica front, facing toward the east and overlooking a churchyard containing burials. There was a baptistery with font to the left of the entrance porch, and inside the nave was the foundation for a stairway to a choir loft. There was a sanctuary at the opposite end of the nave, complete with a main central altar, built to liturgical specifications, and two flanking side altars. Paintings adorned the walls of the nave and the altars. Attached to the church on the north were several sacristy rooms, showing evidence of repeated remodeling. To the west was a room group identified as an office building, and beyond it a friary.

The church showed long usage and much remodeling. It had been built so that it, and especially the main altar, was directly superimposed on a subterranean Hopi kiva. Brew points out that this was probably a deliberate symbolic act, intended to demonstrate to the Indians the superior position of the Roman Catholic faith. A note of intrigue was added with the discovery of the reburied bones of a young adult male Spaniard, unidentifiable in the records, beneath the altar, apparently placed there in defiance of the rules of the church during one of the periods of remodeling. Other burials both Christian and pagan were found beneath the church floor, in the post-abandonment fill upon the floor, and in the churchyard.

Church 2 was apparently destroyed during the Pueblo Rebellion in 1680. Following its destruction the Indians moved into the friary and remodeled it for their own usage. At a later date, presumably during the temporary reoccupation of Awatovi by the Spaniards in 1700, a third church was constructed by further remodeling of the east end of the friary. Its destruction probably dates to the general destruction of Awatovi by the other Hopi towns.

This section of the report provides not only the information outlined here but a tremendous wealth of detail regard-

ing constructional features, ornamentation, remodeling procedures, and many other things, all of which taken together supply the basis for reconstructing a very clear picture of the churches and their occupants, the way of life followed in these mission establishments, and the reaction of the Hopi to the foreign belief and persons. In Part III of the report, "San Bernardo de Aguatubi, An Analytical Restoration," Ross Montgomery makes free use of this evidence, together with the available documentary materials, and supplements it with his own intimate knowledge of the modern Franciscan order and similar church divisions.

This section is an anthropological reconstruction, conjectural in nature. It is also a fascinating view, supplemented by excellent reconstruction drawings, of early mission life in the Southwest. Provided one can plow through the great mass of descriptions, comparisons, analyses and projections and still remain conscious of the point where the evidence ceased and the reconstruction began he may find it a first rate addition to his knowledge of the period.

In Montgomery's own words (p. 112), "A building provides a document of considerable weight bearing on the lives and times of its creators. Examination of even the last dead vestige of man's construction rarely fails to show the imprint of the vitality that once ran through beating hearts down to the warm fingers that fashioned it. Living and building go together, and the present instance is no exception." Now this ought to be the operational credo of all archaeologists but perhaps Montgomery has carried his reconstruction beyond the proper boundaries of acceptable interpretation and presented us with a fascinating, reasonable, but potentially fictional account of life at Awatovi. This section of the report must be read. It cannot be summarized any more than the Britannica can be abstracted. But, fiction or science, reading it will repay the courageous reader.

Part IV, "Mural Decorations of San Bernardo de Aguatubi," by Watson Smith, includes an objective description of the Awatovi murals, together with a comparison with mural decoration in other areas, and a section on the development and use of glazed tiles in mural decoration. Smith

relates the artistic background to the native productions, considering such factors as the demands of the new materials employed and the characteristics of the native workmen available.

This book is an admirable report of a model excavation coupled with an intensive and thoughtful analysis of findings. All archaeologists could well use it as an example, and it is to be hoped that some of them will do so. This study should also be a lesson for historians, and perhaps some will shift the emphasis of their studies somewhat as a result of it. Where the report is good it really is excellent; where it is bad it is not very bad. Brew, Montgomery, and Smith are to be congratulated, and their production is a library "must" for the Southwestern scholar.

J. CHARLES KELLEY

Southern Illinois University

*Injun Summer*: By Daisey F. Baber, Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1952. Pp. 223. \$4.00.

Bill Walker was one of those lucky boys whose family moved into the West when the West was still wild. The wanderlust was evidently strong in his family blood, for Bill's father, a nephew of the noted Kit Carson, had left southern Iowa in the late 1860's to try life anew on the frontier of Colorado Territory. Moreover, several of Bill's uncles were already in Colorado, and a grandfather had left his family of five for a fling in California at the time of the Gold Rush, in 1849, and had extended it for thirty years afterward, until the decline of his health and vigor set him on the shelf of general inactivity. Then in the need of friends and security he sought out and rejoined his family at Loveland, Colorado, much to the disgust of Bill and various other members of the family group.

With this sort of a background it is easy enough to see why Bill Walker for the next seventy years remained an untamed, restless individual, interested in adventure, hunting, fishing, trapping, storytelling, camping, dancing and fiddling, or almost any activity which involved variety and

a change of acquaintances or scenery. Even in a late marriage he was either careful or fortunate to find a truly beloved "Carrot Top," who wandered everywhere with him, apparently almost as much thrilled and filled with zest and love of the outdoors and for change as Bill himself.

In his long life Bill saw most of the famous places of the Mountain West and many of the notorious characters, red and white, now famous in the literature of the Wild West, the western movies and the western pulps. He appears to have liked almost everybody, everywhere, and people in general must have found Bill easy to like.

He either experienced a great deal of danger in his earlier days, or his imagination in his late life magnified many of his experiences into genuinely desperate ones. For example, in Arizona at the time of the late Apache troubles, Bill's thrilling encounters with Mexican bad men and Apache raiders are the equal of the best found in authentic records.

The late Daisey F. Baber, who set down in the first person these rambling and erratically dated reminiscences of an old westerner, has helped to preserve the spirit and flavor of the American West in the days of the Indian, the miner and the cattleman. Her preface and introduction contain many excellent and penetrating points of analysis of the character and mind of the early westerner. And, fully as important, the love and enthusiasm of Miss Baber for the West and the influences that made it are splendidly, if not touchingly, reflected. This is most evident in her brief poem—*The Changeless West*—that follows the introduction. She has produced an interesting, highly readable and haunting book. The Caxton Printers, too, have done an excellent piece of work in the making of this beautiful volume and are to be congratulated. The seventeen illustrations are superb.

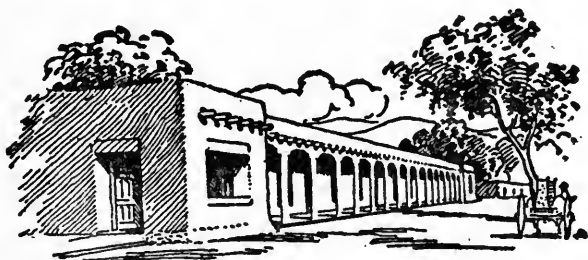
R. H. OGLE

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# *New Mexico*

# *Historical Review*



Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe

*April, 1953*

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VOL. XXVIII

APRIL, 1953

No. 2

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THE NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW is published jointly by the Historical Society of New Mexico and the University of New Mexico. Subscription to the quarterly is \$3.00 a year in advance; single numbers, except those which have become scarce, are \$1.00 each.

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# NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XXVIII

APRIL, 1953

No. 2

## BISHOP TAMARÓN'S VISITATION OF NEW MEXICO, 1760

*Edited by* ELEANOR B. ADAMS

### INTRODUCTION

#### I

#### *The claim of the Bishopric of Durango to jurisdiction over New Mexico.*

IN the autumn of 1759 Dr. Pedro Tamarón y Romeral, sixteenth bishop of Durango, set forth on the first of a series of episcopal visitations, during which he covered a large part of his vast diocese. According to Bishop Tamarón's definition, his see included "the kingdoms of New Vizcaya and New Mexico, with part of New Galicia and the provinces of Sonora, Pimería Alta and Pimería Baja, Ostimuri, Tarahumara Alta and Tarahumara Baja, Chínipas, Sinaloa, Culiacán, the province of Topia and that of Maloya, with the district of the Real<sup>1</sup> del Rosario and the villas of San Sebastián and San Xavier with many towns subordinate to them, all of which comprise what is called Tierra Caliente."<sup>2</sup>

The bishopric of Durango had been founded in 1620 by a bull of Paul V. By that time new discoveries and settlements were so extensive that it was impossible for the bishop of Guadalajara to exercise effective ecclesiastical jurisdic-

1. A silver mining town.

2. P. Tamarón y Romeral, *Demostración del vastísimo obispado de la Nueva Vizcaya, 1765. Durango, Sinaloa, Sonora, Arizona, Nuevo México, Chihuahua y porciones de Texas, Coahuila y Zacatecas. Con una introducción bibliográfica y acotaciones por Vito Alessio Robles. (Biblioteca histórica mexicana de obras inéditas, vol. 7), México, 1937, p. 5.*

tion over such a large and undefined area. In a royal *cédula* dated at Madrid, June 14, 1621, addressed to Lic. Pedro de Ojalora, president of the Audiencia of Guadalajara, the King stated that in view of this situation, it was advisable to divide that diocese into two and to establish a cathedral in Durango, the capital of the province of New Vizcaya. Ojalora was ordered to draw up a description of the whole diocese of New Galicia and to make a proper division, defining the limits of the two dioceses.

In accordance with the *cédula*, on February 4, 1622, Ojalora set the following limits for the new bishopric:

Let it begin on the south between the province of Acajoneta of this kingdom of New Galicia and the province of Chametla of New Vizcaya, along the river called Las Cañas from the point where it enters the South Sea. The province of Culiacán of this New Galicia is to be in the diocese of New Vizcaya because it lies beyond Chametla. The division and boundary is to be made along all of the said Río de las Cañas that can, without turning, conveniently serve the purpose as far as the Sierra Grande de San Andrés and Huasamota. This sierra shall also serve as a landmark, drawing a straight line as far as the Río Grande called the Río de Medina, de Alonso López de Loiz, and de Urdiñola. The haciendas of Trujillo, Valparaíso, and Santa Cruz, belonging to the heirs of Diego de Ibarra, are to remain in the district of and pay tithes to this diocese of New Galicia. The said Río de Medina shall continue to mark the boundary between the aforesaid bishoprics as far as the haciendas of Nieves, belonging to the heirs of Juan Bautista de Lomas. The latter shall pay tithes to New Vizcaya, along with all the other places that lie on the other side of the said Río de Medina toward the city of Durango. These consist of the jurisdiction of the Villa of Llerena, the mines of Sombrerete in this kingdom of New Galicia, and the villa of Nombre de Dios and its district in New Spain. From the aforesaid haciendas of Nieves the line shall leave the river and cut straight to the haciendas of Parras and Patos, belonging to the heirs of Francisco de Urdiñola. These and the other places beyond them in that direction shall pay tithes to New Vizcaya and be in its jurisdiction. From there the line shall continue straight to the North Sea. The Villa of Saltillo, which is in New Vizcaya, and the Nuevo Reino de León, with all their tithes, shall remain for this diocese of Galicia.<sup>3</sup>

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3. Tamarón (1937), pp. 9-10.

The apparent detail of this statement does not alter the fact that as a definition of the limits of the new diocese of Durango it left the way open for much future controversy. Moreover, from the very beginning the bishopric of Durango, or Guadiana, suffered from the same defect which had led to its division from the older diocese of Guadalajara. It was far too extensive for effective ecclesiastical control by a single bishop. These circumstances were inevitable at a time when geographical knowledge of much of the area involved was still extremely vague. Indeed, nearly 140 years later when Bishop Tamarón was preparing to make his episcopal visitation, parts of it had not yet been fully explored.

This prelate was quite aware of certain inadequacies in the definition of his see, but he refused to admit any doubt of the validity of his claim to jurisdiction over New Mexico. In this he was following the tradition set by his predecessors, beginning with the first bishop of Durango, Fray Gonzalo de Hermosillo.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, the Franciscan Custody of New Mexico had never been entirely willing to submit to the authority of the bishopric of Durango. For many years neither the bishops nor the Franciscans could bring themselves to accept any compromise weakening what they considered their lawful powers. The legal principles involved in this lengthy and bitter controversy over ecclesiastical jurisdiction are far too complicated for discussion here. They were of basic importance, and a final decision in the New Mexico case would necessarily have applied to similar mission areas in charge of religious Orders throughout the Spanish Empire in America. Undoubtedly this was one reason why the Crown avoided making a definitive interpretation of the royal cédulas, papal bulls, and decrees of the

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4. *Letter of D. Pedro de Barrientos, Bishop of Durango, to his Majesty, Durango, August 22, 1658.* Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla (hereinafter cited as AGI), Audiencia de Guadalajara, leg. 63. Bishop Barrientos stated that New Mexico belonged to his diocese "because it lies within the limits assigned to it as far as the North Sea." He also pointed out that Bishop Hermosillo "hizo confirmaciones y actos pontificales en los feligreses de ella." Cf. F. V. Scholes, *Troublous Times in New Mexico, 1659-1670*, (New Mexico Historical Society, *Publications in History*, vol. 11. Albuquerque, 1942), pp. 81-82; also in *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, vol. 12 (1937).

Church Councils on which the rival ecclesiastical authorities based their claims to jurisdiction.

Missionary activity in New Mexico had been a monopoly of the Franciscan Order from the start. The friars there were under the authority of the Franciscan Province of the Holy Gospel of Mexico. In 1616 or 1617, some years after the Crown had decided to maintain the unproductive frontier province for the sake of the missions, New Mexico became a custody of the Province of the Holy Gospel and continued subordinate to the mother province throughout the colonial period.

To facilitate the work of evangelization in the New World, soon after the Spanish conquest of Mexico papal bulls had conceded a number of extraordinary privileges to the religious Orders. Moreover, in places where there was no bishop within a reasonable distance, the local missionary prelates were authorized to exercise quasi-episcopal jurisdiction in certain specified cases. The friars were very jealous of these privileges and resented any encroachment on them by the bishops. Although the early concessions were modified by later bulls and decrees of the Councils, the tradition of independence remained strong in remote mission areas such as New Mexico and resulted in bitter disputes over jurisdiction.<sup>5</sup>

As has been said, the New Mexico missions did not achieve provincial status within the Franciscan organization. In the hierarchy of the Church as a whole, petitions for the creation of a bishopric in New Mexico failed. The first attempt was made in the 1630's. While the matter was under consideration, there was considerable difference of opinion as to the advisability of such a step. Fray Alonso de Benavides expended considerable effort in 1630-1635 in the hope of attaining this end. The papers he presented in Spain included memorials by Fray Juan de Santander, Commissary General of the Indies, and Fray Francisco de Sosa, Commissary at Court and Secretary General of the Francis-

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5. For a detailed discussion of the early ecclesiastical organization in New Mexico, see Scholes, "Problems in the early ecclesiastical history of New Mexico," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, vol. 7 (1932), pp. 32-74.

can Order, supporting the project. The Council of the Indies referred the petition to Don Juan de Solórzano, then fiscal of the Council, for an opinion in 1631. Although Solórzano favored the erection of a bishopric in New Mexico and suggested that the episcopal office should be conferred upon a member of the Franciscan Order, the Council advised the King to make no decision before receiving reports from the Viceroy and the Archbishop of Mexico.<sup>6</sup>

In 1638 Fray Juan de Prada, Commissary General of New Spain, replied to Viceroy Cadereyta's request for information on the state of affairs in New Mexico by offering strong and considered arguments against the erection of a bishopric there. He pointed out the poverty of settlers and Indians alike and the consequent impossibility of supporting the prelate. Father Prada, however, was also opposed to placing the region under the authority of the Bishop of Durango, and he saw little prospect of episcopal visitations in view of the distance between Durango and Santa Fe and the hazards of the journey. "For this reason he [the Bishop of Durango] would only have the title of bishop of New Mexico, and those new Christians would never come to enjoy the spiritual favors of his high office. As a result, having a bishop would be the same as not having one." He did not feel that the lack of a bishop would cause any detriment, "for in those provinces the custodian and prelate of the religious has plenary authority, granted by the apostolic grant, and repeatedly conceded by many briefs of the highest pontiffs. They [the custodians] are able to give absolution and to absolve in all cases in which the señores bishops are privileged to do so, and to administer the sacraments, even to that of the confirmation of the newly converted." According to Prada, *visitadores* sent by the bishops would have less authority than the local Franciscan prelates, and their coming would bring about innumerable difficulties in regard to ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Nevertheless, on February 28, 1639, the viceroy recommended for the second time the es-

6. The royal cédula asking for such reports had been dispatched the previous May. *Consulta of the Council of the Indies, September 16, 1631.* AGI, Aud. de Guadaluajara, leg. 63.

establishment of a bishopric in New Mexico. His advice was not heeded.<sup>7</sup>

The opinions expressed by Prada and Cadereyta were probably closely related to a violent quarrel which was taking place in New Mexico at the time. Throughout the seventeenth century, New Mexico was torn by periodic disputes between the civil authorities and the Franciscans who represented the authority of the Church. In 1637 Governor Luis de Rosas, who had been appointed by the viceroy, arrived in the province. His conduct and the extreme opposition he aroused among the clerical party brought the bitter rivalry between the two parties to a climax.<sup>8</sup> When Cadereyta recommended the establishment of a bishopric in New Mexico, the fact that Rosas was his appointee may have had some influence, but he may also have felt that the introduction of effective episcopal authority in the province might help to solve the conflict between Church and State. Father Prada, on the other hand, was inclined to uphold the jurisdiction of the missionary prelates and their interpretation of their powers.

Meanwhile the second bishop of Durango, Don Alonso Franco y Luna (1633-1639), found time for an occasional troubled glance at the behavior of the Franciscans in New Mexico. In a letter to one Dr. Soltero, apparently an official of the Holy Office, this prelate refers to an earlier communication in which he had charged that the New Mexico friars were exceeding their authority by conferring minor orders and performing the rite of confirmation. It was his belief that such privileges had been revoked by the Council of Trent. The bearer of the letter was a captain from New

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7. C. W. Hackett. *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approches thereto, to 1773*. Vol. 3, Washington, 1937. Introduction, pp. 8-14; Expediente relating to the provinces of Sinaloa and New Mexico, 1634-1641, pp. 75-93; Autos which came with letters from the Viceroy, dated February 28, 1639, concerning whether the division of bishoprics in New Mexico and doctrinas of Sinaloa would be advisable, pp. 94-127. The quotations from Father Prada's petition are taken from pp. 113 and 114.

8. For a full discussion of this aspect of New Mexico history see F. V. Scholes' illuminating studies. *Church and State in New Mexico, 1610-1650* (New Mexico Historical Society, *Publications in History*, vol. 7 (Albuquerque, 1937)); also in *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, vol. 11, 12 (1936 and 1937). *Troublous Times in New Mexico*. . . . "The first decade of the Inquisition in New Mexico," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, vol. 10 (1935), pp. 195-241.



Mexico on his way to Mexico City as procurator general to complain of the Franciscans before the viceroy. The bishop asked Dr. Soltero to hear this man and bring the matter to the attention of the Tribunal of the Inquisition.<sup>9</sup>

Obviously Bishop Franco's mind and conscience were not entirely at ease about the state of affairs in New Mexico. Still, he does not appear to have contemplated any direct personal intervention. In 1638 he and the cathedral chapter advised the viceroy that they did not think it would be feasible to found any secular missions there for the time being. With regard to the proposed bishopric, they stated that although New Mexico fell within the district of the bishopric of Durango, "in conformity with the demarcation which was made at the time of its division, which runs as far as the North Sea," the distance was so great that "it would be advisable to place there an abbot for confirming and in order to issue minor orders. He would be supported by the tithes collected in the said province, which, as has been learned from trustworthy persons coming from there, amount to two thousand pesos. These persons say that they are enjoyed and collected today by the religious teachers, but without this chapter having learned or understood by what title they enjoy them."<sup>10</sup>

The complaints that the New Mexico Franciscans were exceeding their authority came to the attention of the King, who indicated his disapproval in a communication to his ambassador in Rome in 1642:

. . . In a letter which Don Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, Bishop of Puebla de los Angeles and visitor general of the Audiencia of Mexico, wrote to me on December 18 of last year, 1641, he states that the fathers of the Order of St. Francis who serve in New Mexico in New Spain use the crosier and mitre and perform confirmations and ordinations. . . .

Even though, after consideration in my Royal Council of

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9. *Letter of the Bishop of Durango to Dr. Soltero, Durango, March 8, 1637.* Archivo General de la Nación, México (cited hereinafter as AGN), Inquisición, tomo 304. Late in 1636 Governor Francisco Martínez de Baeza had compiled evidence concerning the excommunications pronounced by the friars, and Bishop Franco's informant may have been the messenger who took them to New Spain. At the same period the friars dispatched a collection of letters of complaint against the governor. Scholes, *Church and State*, pp. 106-114.

10. Hackett (1937), p. 116.

the Indies, a letter was written to the bishop telling him to call in any apostolic briefs of this nature there may be in those regions, I have thought it well to advise you of the foregoing so that you may be fully informed about it. And I charge you to use all possible means to prevent these religious from obtaining any brief from his Holiness in contravention of the cédulas that have been issued. And if you should find that they have obtained one, you shall ask for its revocation. I trust in your zeal that you will give this matter the attention that its gravity and importance demand.<sup>11</sup>

Don Alonso Franco y Luna was succeeded by Fray Francisco de Evia y Valdés, who was bishop of Durango from 1639 to 1654. It is said that he considered making a visitation of New Mexico but was prevented from doing so by more urgent matters.<sup>12</sup> In 1652 and 1653 Bishop Evia and the cathedral chapter of Durango petitioned the King as follows:

. . . that he grant them the favor of ordering the New Kingdom of Mexico to recognize the cathedral church of New Vizcaya and its prelate in all spiritual matters and that it be joined to his jurisdiction. They ask to have the ministers of *doctrinas* receive from the bishop's hand all the dispatches required for the administration of the holy sacraments, stating that because that kingdom is next to and continues from the bishopric of New Vizcaya, the bishop can easily visit it in person, better than the province of Sinaloa. They also ask that the tithes collected in New Mexico be paid to the bishopric, wherewith the prebendaries will have some relief and support.<sup>13</sup>

These communications reminded the authorities in Spain that the question of a bishopric for New Mexico had been raised in the 1630's. A royal cédula of 1656, addressed to the Duke of Alburquerque, Viceroy of New Spain, included the cédula of May 19, 1631, asking for a report on this subject, and the above summary of the letters of the bishop and chapter of Durango. The Viceroy was to fulfill the 1631 cédula by getting detailed information about the advisabil-

11. *Royal cédula to D. Juan Humacero y Carrillo, Cuenca, June 12, 1642.* AGI, Indiferente General, leg. 2873.

12. *Letter of Bishop Barrientos to his Majesty, Durango, August 22, 1658.* AGI, Aud. de Guadalajara, leg. 63.

13. *Royal cédula to the Viceroy of New Spain, Madrid, December 22, 1656.* AGI, Aud. de Guadalajara, leg. 236.

ity of erecting a cathedral in New Mexico. The King desired a complete description of the province:

. . . what its boundaries are and whether it borders on one or more bishoprics and which ones; and the present state of its conversions, how many religious have charge of them, and of what Order, and how much it costs per year; and whether there are any secular priests serving in them, and if so, how many; and about how many converted Indians there are, and to how many settlements they have been reduced and the population of each; what crops are gathered in that New Kingdom; and what is the annual amount of the fees pertaining to the King. And you shall also send a detailed description and map. . . .

In addition to filling this rather large order, the Viceroy was to give his opinion on the claim of the Bishop of New Vizcaya to New Mexico and its tithes.<sup>14</sup> We have not found the viceroy's reply. The next bishop, Don Pedro Barrientos (1656-1658), wrote to the King in 1658, making the usual complaints that the Franciscan religious were usurping his episcopal jurisdiction. He offered to send proofs to induce the Crown to take action to prevent so many illegal acts "in so delicate a matter as the administration of the holy sacraments."<sup>15</sup>

The failure of their appeals for definite support from the Crown in dealing with the recalcitrant Custody of New Mexico does not seem to have deterred the Durangan prelates from further attempts to bring the friars to heel. Early in 1668 the Franciscan Commissary General of New Spain, Fray Hernando de la Rúa, said that it had come to his attention that Don Juan de Gorospe y Aguirre, bishop of Durango (1660-1671), had been trying to upset the authority of Fray Juan de Paz, who was custos of New Mexico in 1665-1667, by making various demands and notifications. Recently, upon receipt of a letter from the cabildo of Santa Fe, in which they complained that the friars were in the habit of exceeding their authority, the bishop had instituted proceedings before the governor of New Vizcaya. Although

14. *Ibid.*

15. *Letter of Bishop Barrientos to his Majesty, Durango, August 22, 1658.* AGI, Aud. de Guadalajara, leg. 63.

the bishop claimed that he was doing this in order to refer the matter to the viceroy, there was no indication that he had done so. The Franciscan Commissary General therefore appealed to the Inquisition and to the viceroy "as patron of the ecclesiastical state in his Majesty's name . . . to whom the government of all the aforesaid Custody and conversion pertains." Rúa considered Bishop Gorospe's attempt to subject New Mexico to his jurisdiction a violation of the royal patronage, for, he said, the general decree of the Council of Trent placing territories such as New Mexico under the authority of the nearest bishopric applied only where the royal patronage did not exist. Therefore, the papal privileges on which the Franciscans of New Mexico based their ecclesiastical powers were still in force, and he hotly denied the bishop's right to challenge the authority of the *custos*. The viceroy and *audiencia* of New Spain were impressed by the serious nature of the disagreement, and the bishop was ordered to present his arguments in reply to Fray Hernando's objections.<sup>16</sup> Again no definite action was taken, and the New Mexico friars continued to use ecclesiastical authority in accordance with their interpretation of their rights. In so doing they usually had at least the tacit assent of the highest governmental authorities of New Spain.

Many years later Father Menchero stated that the Franciscans renewed the discussion about a separate bishopric for New Mexico in the 1660's. No supporting evidence has been found, and it is possible that Menchero's date is in error and that he was actually referring to the recommendations made in the 1630's.<sup>17</sup>

The next major crisis in the struggle between the New Mexico friars and the bishop of Durango occurred shortly after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, when the Spanish refugees

16. Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico (hereinafter cited as BNM), leg. 1, nos. 22, 26; *Diligencias contra el guardián de Santa Fe del Nuevo México, Durango, 1667*, in Archivo de la ciudad de Hidalgo del Parral, Chihuahua.

17. ". . . in the year 1666 the holy *custodia* had increased so much that his Majesty was advised on the part of the Order to form it into a bishopric . . . but the matter had not been decided nor the proposal put in effect when, in the year 1680, the Indians of Moqui, with all those of the interior of the kingdom of New Mexico, revolted." *Declaration of Fray Miguel de Menchero, Santa Bárbara, May 10, 1744*. Hackett (1937), pp. 396-397.

had settled in the El Paso area. Fray Bartolomé de Escañuela, a Franciscan, had ascended the episcopal throne of Durango in 1676. His interpretation of his claim to jurisdiction over New Mexico as a whole is ambiguous, for he based his intervention in 1681 on the "migration of the faithful Catholics of that Kingdom to the territory, jurisdiction, and limits of this our diocese." Because they had taken up residence "within the certain, well-known, and undeniable jurisdiction and territory of this bishopric," he felt obliged to appoint a parish priest, whom he also made his vicar and ecclesiastical judge of the El Paso jurisdiction and the subordinate churches in the vicinity as far as, but not including, Casas Grandes. Since there were no secular priests at El Paso, the bishop issued this appointment to Fray Juan Alvarez on January 4, 1681.<sup>18</sup>

The Provincial and Definitors of the Province of the Holy Gospel received a copy of the Alvarez appointment and lost no time before protesting. Since Escañuela was a member of their Order, they went out of their way to convince him of their profound regard and respect, saying that if he were to be bishop forever, then they would gladly accept his authority. But since he would have successors, they could only point out that he had been misinformed about the episcopal jurisdiction over El Paso. "It never has been, and is not, subject to Vizcaya; neither it nor any other convent of the Custody of New Mexico. No predecessor of your Lordship as lord bishop has performed any act of jurisdiction in person or through his ministers." They trusted that he would realize that they were bound to uphold their convictions in matters of jurisdiction.<sup>19</sup>

It should be noted here that a similar dispute over the status of the El Paso area was also going on between the secular authorities of New Mexico and New Vizcaya. In any case, Bishop Escañuela also felt obligated to uphold

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18. BNM, leg. 2, no. 2. Apparently this was not the first time that Bishop Escañuela had exercised jurisdiction over El Paso, for he says that he had met Alvarez during a visitation of Casas Grandes. Father Alvarez was then in charge of "the doctrina and mission of the Indians of El Paso and of another new foundation for the erection of which we gave him authority."

19. BNM, leg. 2, nos. 3 and 4.

his convictions in matters of jurisdiction. On July 4, 1681, he replied to his brethren of the Province of the Holy Gospel, citing the decrees of the Council of Trent, apostolic canons, and royal cédulas on which he based his stand. Moreover, according to the demarcation of his diocese, it "runs from the Río Grande de Santa Elena via the haciendas of San Francisco de Patos and Valley of Santa María de Parras to the North Sea." Accordingly he now conferred upon Fray Francisco de Ayeta, "preacher, habitual custos of the said Custody of New Mexico, and at present visitor of it and commissary general of the Holy Office of the Inquisition of New Spain," the titles he had previously given to Alvarez, with some increase in authority. In his absence, the custos was to hold the offices.<sup>20</sup> Unfortunately we do not know what response Ayeta or his superiors made to this move. Father Ayeta was then on his way back to El Paso, bearing instructions about the projected reconquest of the interior and confirmation of the New Mexico governor's jurisdiction in El Paso. He had been consulted about the Order's reply to the Alvarez appointment and had mentioned the viceroy's order to the governor and captain general of New Vizcaya, forbidding him to place officials in the El Paso territory because they might interfere with the expedition against the rebellious Indians.

A later bishop of Durango stated that Escañuela had considered making a visitation of New Mexico. The Custody dissuaded him, alleging that the journey was too long and difficult for one of his delicate health. But the Franciscan bishop made it plain that his failure to go was in no way to serve as a precedent or to prejudice the rights of his successors.<sup>21</sup> Bishop Escañuela died in 1684.

His successor, Fray Manuel de Herrera (1686-1689), of the Order of the Minims, used Escañuela's appointments of Alvarez and Ayeta as a precedent when he issued a similar title to Custos Fray Francisco de Vargas on October 24, 1688. Bishop Herrera made his conception of the epis-

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Bishop Benito Crespo to Fray Fernando Alonso González, Durango, August 10, 1728.* AGM, Arzobispos, tomo 7. Bishop Crespo based his statements on documents in the episcopal archives of Durango.

copal jurisdiction plain by entitling himself "Bishop of this kingdom of New Vizcaya, its provinces and confines, Río del Norte and New Mexico." In view of the usual Franciscan attitude toward the Durangan prelates, it is difficult to explain the fact that Father Vargas not only received this title in Durango in person, but that he apparently asked for it. He was made "vicar and ecclesiastical judge and chief parish priest of all the Kingdom of the North and of all the doctrinas and reductions now established in it, and of all the parishes of Spaniards, mestizos, negroes, and mulattoes, or any other mixture which there may be in the said Río del Norte, and of all the other settlements or reductions which may be made beyond the Río del Norte." Moreover he was to report any action he might take to the bishop and let him know "the number of conversions, doctrinas, parishes, and ministers in the territory." Bishop Herrera also thought of making a visitation of the missions pertaining to New Mexico. He said that his appointment of Vargas was a temporary expedient until he could judge from his own observation of conditions during his forthcoming visitation what measures would be most conducive to the service of God and the King.<sup>22</sup>

In theory, at least, it would seem that by accepting such an appointment Father Vargas ran the risk of seriously undermining the traditional Franciscan claims to independent jurisdiction in New Mexico. It would be interesting to know the opinion of his superiors at this time, but the com-

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22. BNM, leg. 3, no. 3. A royal cédula dated at San Lorenzo el Real, July 30, 1721, summarizes earlier legislation regarding the right of the bishops to send *visitadores* and appoint vicars in areas assigned to the regular clergy. A dispatch of September 24, 1688, obtained by Fray Francisco de Ayeta as procurator general of the Indies, applied to the bishops of the provinces of New Spain a cédula of October 15, 1595, to the Archbishop of Lima. This ordered that when the bishops were unable to make visitations of *doctrinas* in charge of the religious Orders in person, they were to send friars of the same Order and not secular priests. Another cédula of October 25, 1694, clarified this further by ordering the archbishops and bishops of the provinces of New Spain and Peru to abstain from appointing outsiders as vicars in the districts of their dioceses and to withdraw any they had placed in the capitals of mission areas. The Franciscan procurator of Lima then complained that not all the bishops were observing the foregoing. After consideration in the Council of the Indies, the preceding cédulas were revoked and recalled by a dispatch dated at Barcelona, October 2, 1701. Now the Archbishop of Mexico charged that the regular clergy's refusal to observe the 1701 cédula was leading to much unrest and litigation. He therefore requested its revalidation. The Crown ordered its fulfillment by the Archbishop of Mexico and his suffragan bishops. AGM, Arzobispos, tomo 7.

plete story of this episode is not known. In fact, we have practically no data about the relations between the Custody of New Mexico and the Bishopric of Durango for the next thirty years. Apparently the bishops managed to obtain some token acknowledgment of their authority, for we are told that the patents of missionaries who traveled to New Mexico via Durango were countersigned there and recorded in the administrative books.<sup>23</sup> Perhaps neither the Bishopric nor the Order saw reason to press their conflicting claims with energy at a period when the whole future of the province was most uncertain. But some years after the reconquest and the reestablishment of Spanish rule in New Mexico, the question was reopened and both parties endeavored to push it to a definite conclusion.

In 1723 Benito Crespo, a former dean of Oaxaca who had taught at Salamanca, became bishop of Durango. He served until 1734, and during these years the controversy between the bishops and the Franciscan Order began in earnest. The case dragged on for many years, and the details are so numerous and complex that even to outline them would require a separate, and lengthy, study. Not only are the legal arguments on which the parties based their conflicting claims to jurisdiction exhaustively presented and considered, but bulky reports on conditions in New Mexico and its missions were made in the interests of the opposing groups. In general, whatever the allegiance of the particular writer, these leave us with a deplorable picture of the state of affairs there in the eighteenth century.<sup>24</sup>

Bishop Crespo started the ball rolling by including the

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23. *Crespo to González, Durango, August 10, 1723.* AGM, Arzobispos, tomo 7.

24. The source material for this suit is voluminous and different parts of it are to be found in a number of archives and collections. I shall not attempt to cite them all in connection with this brief summary. The Archive of the Indies has a comprehensive record of the case up to 1738 in *Escribanía de Cámara*, leg. 207A. It comprises nearly a thousand folios and undoubtedly contains copies of supporting documents dating from earlier times which might throw much light on some of the gaps and inconsistencies in the present attempt to give the general background of the controversy. This is based on such documents as I have been able to see and occasional references to be found in Bancroft and later authors. The *Escribanía de Cámara* record of the suit is not available here, and my knowledge of it consists of a brief account of its contents. In a printed memorial to his Majesty, dated at Madrid on April 7, 1724, Fray Mathias Saenz de San Antonio had again suggested that New Mexico needed a bishop of its own. His description of conditions there in ecclesiastical, civil, and military affairs followed the usual depressing pattern. AGI, Aud. de Guadalajara, leg. 209.



El Paso area in his episcopal visitation in 1725. He had intended to visit interior New Mexico as well, but gave up the idea, so he said, because he had been misinformed about the distance and had made insufficient preparations for the journey. Apparently he was treated with reasonable courtesy on this occasion, and in return he made some conciliatory gestures. He issued a title as vicar and ecclesiastical judge to Fray Salvador López, the vice-custos at El Paso, and his successors *ex officio*, or, failing them, to the guardian of the El Paso mission. He also sent a similar title to the custos, who had left for Santa Fe in haste to avoid meeting the bishop. Undoubtedly the New Mexico Franciscans made no strong protest at this time because the bishop did not insist upon proceeding beyond El Paso. This gave them time to consult their superiors in Mexico City. The latter immediately took up the cause, and in 1728, when Bishop Crespo announced his intention of making a second visitation, to include interior New Mexico, the Commissary General of New Spain, Fray Fernando Alonso González, politely, but very firmly, questioned his right to do so.<sup>25</sup> He also sent a petition to the King, begging him to forbid the Bishop of Durango to molest the kingdom of New Mexico by making a visitation. This petition failed, for a royal cédula of December 7, 1729, gave the bishop permission to visit the New Mexican pueblos and others on the borders of his diocese. As a matter of fact Crespo did not receive this cédula until after he had returned from his visitation of 1730.<sup>26</sup>

If anything, the Franciscan objections strengthened Bishop Crespo's determination to enforce what he considered his rightful episcopal authority. This time, when he arrived in El Paso in July, 1730, he found his Franciscan opponents prepared to show active resistance. The leader of the friars was their custos, Fray Andrés Varo. Both parties stubbornly refused to make any concessions, fearing to prejudice their case in future. So the bishop proceeded to Santa Fe and made the rounds of the mission pueblos, returning to El Paso in September. Father Varo, who had

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25. Some of the correspondence between Crespo and González in 1728 can be found in AGM, Arzobispos, tomo 7.

26. AGI, Aud. de Guadalajara, legs. 206, 209.

received orders from the Commissary General of New Spain and the Provincial of the Province of the Holy Gospel not to allow the bishop to exercise jurisdiction, did succeed in preventing Crespo from making a formal visitation of the churches, parish records, etc., or publishing edicts. The bishop performed the rite of confirmation in Santa Fe and most of the missions. He also appointed Don Santiago Roibal, a secular priest, as his vicar and ecclesiastical judge at Santa Fe. Roibal was to hold this office for many years, although the legality of his appointment was long in question.<sup>27</sup>

Bishop Crespo had already instituted proceedings to force the Order to recognize the episcopal jurisdiction of Durango over New Mexico. Although the final decision was deferred again and again, the tendency of the Crown and the viceregal authorities was to authorize the bishops of Durango to use limited episcopal powers in New Mexico pending the outcome of the suit. A viceregal decree of February 17, 1731, revoked Crespo's appointment of Roibal as vicar. By the autumn of 1732 the Crown had received a number of communications from both parties. Father Varo and Father González again protested that the Bishop of Durango had no legal right to jurisdiction in New Mexico. In addition, they renewed the petition of a century before for the erection of a separate bishopric. Bishop Crespo had also been heard from. A royal cédula of October 1, 1732, referred the dispute to the viceroy for a decision. Another of the same date requested the Audiencia of New Spain for information as to whether New Mexico was part of the diocese of Durango. And the Commissary of the Franciscans received orders to provide a sufficient number of competent priests with knowledge of the native languages to serve in the New Mexico missions.<sup>28</sup>

27. Don Santiago Roibal was a native of Santa Fe who had been educated for the priesthood in Mexico. When the time came for him to be ordained the Archbishop sent him to the Bishop of Durango, as his "legitimate prelate." A chaplaincy had been founded for him in Santa Fe a few years earlier after his ordination. AGM, Arzobispos, leg. 7. Cf. note 22, *supra*, and note 33, *infra*. See also Fr. Angelico Chavez, "El Vicario Don Santiago Roybal," *El Palacio*, vol. 55 (1948), pp. 231-252.

28. AGI, Aud. de Guadalajara, leg. 79. The Coronado Collection of the University of New Mexico Library also has a photograph of a printed memorial of 1731 by Fray Fernando Alonso González from the collection of F. Gómez de Orozco.

By a decree of July 24, 1733, the viceroy upheld the right of the bishop to exercise diocesan jurisdiction over New Mexico and ordered the Franciscans to present the bulls and privileges on which they based their claim to exemption so that a final decision could be reached after both parties had been heard.<sup>29</sup>

Martín de Elizacochea, who served as bishop of Durango from 1736 to 1747, continued the suit initiated by his predecessor. He made a visitation of New Mexico in 1737, but we have no details regarding his reception.<sup>30</sup> In December, 1738, the Council of the Indies upheld the viceregal decrees of 1733 permitting the Durangan prelates to make visitations of New Mexico. On the other hand, they ordered the enforcement of the decree of February 17, 1731, which forbade him to leave a vicar and ecclesiastical judge there. The Franciscan Order was to be given every opportunity to present its case to the authorities in New Spain. The viceroy and audiencia were again ordered to report whether New Mexico was included in the demarcation of the Bishopric of Durango or that of any other dioceses in the vicinity. If not, what was their opinion on the question of erecting a new bishopric?<sup>31</sup> In May, 1739, a royal cédula to the Bishop of Durango informed him that the case had been remitted to the viceroy. It gave him permission to visit New Mexico but revoked his appointment of an ecclesiastical judge.<sup>32</sup>

The case against the New Mexico Franciscans had always rested partly upon derogatory opinions of their administration of the missions. Bishop Crespo had found much to deplore in this respect and made serious charges. Following the old tradition, settlers and provincial officials continued to accuse the friars whenever they found an occasion. For their part, the Franciscans covered reams of paper hotly defending themselves against these attacks.

Before the suit over ecclesiastical jurisdiction initiated

29. AGI, Aud. de Guadalajara, leg. 80.

30. The list of the material in AGI, Escribanía de Cámara 207A mentions papers remitted to Spain in the years 1738-1743, and it may be that these could provide some information about Elizacochea's visitation.

31. AGI, Escribanía de Cámara, leg. 960.

32. AGI, Aud. de Guadalajara, leg. 80.

by Bishop Crespo had come to any definite conclusion, the internal conflict between the Franciscans and the civil government reached another violent crisis in 1749. Early in that year Fray Andrés Varo, an old and indefatigable warrior in the Franciscan cause, had made reports concerning New Mexican affairs which were presented to the viceroy.<sup>33</sup> Before coming to a decision about Varo's recommendations, the viceroy decided to send Don Juan Antonio de Ornedal y Maza to New Mexico on an official tour of inspection. His account of the conditions he found was highly unfavorable to the missionaries. His charges and the reforms he recommended drew sizzling replies from Varo and other friars,

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33. BNM, leg. 8, no. 57. I have been unable to locate any information about the final disposition of the case. Bishop Tamarón tells us that although he entered New Mexico with some misgivings because of the inflexible opposition of the Franciscan Order to accepting the jurisdiction of the bishops of Durango, he was gratified to find that he "was made free of everything, as if they were secular priests." The legal situation, however, cannot have been completely clarified, for the royal cédula ordering the removal of the secular vicar had never been revoked, even though the bishops had appealed from it. Roibal had apparently retained his dubious title to the vicarship for thirty years. BNM, leg. 9, no. 59. A translation of part of this manuscript follows Tamarón's general description of New Mexico and the Itinerary of his visitation, *infra*. Tamarón's reports and criticisms raised the usual storm of protest, but once more the Crown seems to have made no final decision in the jurisdictional dispute. It may be that the division made when the new Bishopric of Sonora was erected in 1781 left New Vizcaya's claim to jurisdiction over New Mexico beyond further argument. The decision to divide the Bishopric of Durango was probably related to the new administrative organization of the frontier provinces, known as the Provincias Internas. The Bishopric of Sonora was given ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Sonora, Sinaloa, and the Californias. If we are to believe Don Pedro Bautista Pino, New Mexico received the minimum of attention from the bishops of Durango after Bishop Tamarón's visitation in 1760. According to his *Exposición* of 1812, 26 Indian pueblos and 102 Spanish settlements were served by 22 Franciscan missionaries, with secular priests at Santa Fe and one pueblo in the El Paso district. "For more than fifty years no one has known that there was a bishop; nor has a bishop been seen in the province during this time. Consequently, the sovereign provisions and the instructions of ecclesiastical discipline have not been fulfilled. The misfortunes suffered by those settlers are infinite because of the lack of a primate. Persons who have been born during these fifty years have not been confirmed. The poor people who wish, by means of a dispensation, to get married to relatives cannot do so because of the great cost of traveling a distance of more than 400 leagues to Durango. Consequently, many people, compelled by love, live and rear families in adultery. The zeal of the ministers of the church is unable to prevent this and many other abuses which are suffered because of the aforesaid lack of ministers. It is truly grievous that in spite of the fact that from 9,000 to 10,000 duros are paid by that province in tithes, for fifty years the people have not had an opportunity to see the face of their bishop. I, an old man, did not know how bishops dressed until I came to Cádiz." Pino, Barreiro, and Escudero, *Three New Mexico Chronicles*, Tr. by H. B. Carroll and J. Villasana Haggard (*Quivira Soc. Publ.*, vol. 11, Albuquerque, 1942), pp. 50-51.

to say nothing of bitter denunciations of the civil government, whose side had been espoused by Ornedal.<sup>34</sup>

Within the province the missionary influence often ran counter to the personal profit sought by lay settlers and officials. On the other hand, it would be hard to deny that in some cases the friars were not exerting themselves unduly in promoting the spiritual welfare of their charges. The curious failure of the New Mexico Franciscans to master the native languages is hard to understand in comparison with the brilliant success of their brethren in other parts of the New World in the fields of linguistics and ethnology. It is true that they had to deal with several languages and a number of different tribes within a single area. It is also true that inside the province interests often dictated criticism of the friars, and in the world beyond there was scarcely any real comprehension of the problems they faced and the inadequacy of their numbers and equipment to cope with them. The wonder is that so many of them refused to succumb to discouragement and with selfless fervor made herculean efforts to carry on their evangelical tasks in the face of overwhelming obstacles. Still, some of their own visitors and brethren were forced at times to make criticisms not unlike those of their opponents.

Along with all this, the unhappy kingdom of New Mexico was beset by a multitude of other ills—drought, famine, disease, and increasingly bold and destructive attacks by enemy infidel Indians. The picture was much the same, or worse, a few years later when Bishop Tamarón arrived to make the third episcopal visitation of the province.

## II

### *Bishop Tamarón and his visitation of New Mexico*

Pedro Tamarón y Romeral was born in the Villa de la Guardia in the Archdiocese of Toledo about 1695. The available accounts of his life say nothing about his early

34. H. W. Kelley has summarized this dispute in "Franciscan missions of New Mexico, 1740-1760," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, vol. 16 (1941), pp. 148-170. See also Hackett (1937), pp. 36-41.

years and education in Spain. In 1719 he accompanied Bishop Juan José de Escalona y Calatayud to Caracas. He completed his studies there and received the doctorate in canon law from the University of Caracas founded a few years after his arrival in the New World.<sup>35</sup> He is sometimes referred to as one of the founders of this university,<sup>36</sup> in which he held the chair of canon law. By the end of 1727 he had already taken his degree and was serving as *cura rector* of the cathedral.<sup>37</sup> He remained in Caracas for the next thirty years and held many important ecclesiastical posts, including those of precentor and *maestrescuela* of the cathedral, vicar of the diocese, and commissary and censor of the Inquisition. During this time he published two books: *Triunfo glorioso y Carro de Elías* (Mexico, 1733) and *Triunfos de la Gracia en la Santísima Imagen de María, que con el título del Socorro se venera en la Nueva Valencia del Obispado de Caracas* (Madrid, 1749). He may also have been working on a general history of Caracas, which was still in manuscript at the time of his death.<sup>38</sup>

Dr. Tamarón became bishop of Durango in 1758 and arrived in his cathedral city on March 29, 1759. A few months later, on October 5, 1759, he announced his intention to begin his general visitation and his reasons for doing so:

And I am about to undertake my general visitation, and I will leave on the twenty-second of this month via the sierra

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35. Bishop Baños y Sotomayor founded and endowed the Seminary of Santa Rosa at Caracas in 1696. By a royal cédula of 1721, which was confirmed by Innocent XIII in 1722, it was elevated to the status of a royal and pontifical university with the same privileges as Salamanca. R. M. Baralt, *Resumen de la historia de Venezuela* (Bruges and Paris, 1939), pp. 435-436; J. T. Lanning, *Academic culture in the Spanish colonies* (London, New York, and Toronto, 1940), pp. 30-31.

36. As in the dedication to him of panegyric sermons preached by José Díaz de Alcántara on the day the high altar of the Durango cathedral was inaugurated, and printed in Mexico in 1760. J. T. Medina, *La Imprenta en México*, vol. 5 (Santiago de Chile, 1910), pp. 393-394. See also Tamarón (1937), p. v.

37. *Relación de los méritos y grados del Doctor en Sagrados Canones Don Pedro Tamarón y Romeral, Cura Rector actual de la Iglesia de la Ciudad de Santiago de León de Caracas en la Provincia de Venezuela, 1727*. Listed by Medina in *Biblioteca Hispano Americana*, vol. 4 (Santiago de Chile, 1901), p. 191.

38. J. M. Beristain de Souza, *Biblioteca Hispano Americana Septentrional*, 3d ed. (Mexico, [1947]); F. A. Lorenzana, *Concilios provinciales primero, y segundo, celebrados en la muy noble, y muy leal ciudad de México* (Mexico, 1769), pp. 374-375; Tamarón (1937), pp. v-vi.

and a very difficult road by which I will traverse little-traveled places in order to take in some pueblos where no bishop has ever been. From there I will go on to the Tierra Caliente, along the coast of the South Sea, and the whole government of Sinaloa and Sonora; I will enter that of New Mexico and go down to Pimería and to Chihuahua where the governor of New Vizcaya resides. According to what they tell me, this journey may be all of 1500 leagues. I have hastened to make this visitation in spite of the lack of revenue, which is three years in arrears, because of the news I receive daily about the incursions the pagan Indians are making in various places, killing people and carrying off the horses and destroying haciendas. And the reason for this is the preceding viceroy's reduction of the presidios. I will talk with the governors and obtain information from intelligent persons, and then I shall be able to cry out to his Majesty for a remedy with the hope of being believed.<sup>39</sup>

In another place he tells us that he started his visitation before he had even made one of his cathedral "in order to take advantage of the best season of the year for crossing the Sierra Madre and to acquire the knowledge of the vast provinces [in the diocese] necessary for their spiritual government."<sup>40</sup>

Before his departure he issued several edicts, which were sent on ahead by relay to all the places he proposed to visit. One of them, dated July 7, 1759, outlined the duties of the priests and the manner in which they were to perform them. Another of October 12, 1759, included more specific instructions about the necessary preparations for receiving the prelate.<sup>41</sup> Then

I waited until the rains were over, and, before the ice froze or I should encounter heavy snows in the sierra, I began my journey, an undertaking whose magnitude I did not fully appreciate until I was well on my way. Although my family consisted only of three persons in clerical collars, two secular amanuenses, or scribes, the cook, and two negroes, the necessary baggage mounted up to thirty loads of sufficient weight to require triple the number of mules in order to traverse eighty leagues of the sierra over the very rugged

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39. *Letter of Bishop Tamarón to his Majesty, Durango, October 5, 1759.* AGI, Aud. de Guadalajara, leg. 206.

40. Tamarón (1937), p. 370.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 371-74. The edicts will be translated *infra*.

route we took. The same was true of the saddle animals. The muleteers and hostlers, with additional hands, formed a large squadron, which astounded me when I took a look at almost all of them together at a long table like that of a refectory in the house of the priest of the Villa of San Sebastián. I immediately rectified matters, dismissed a large number, and continued with as few as I could.<sup>42</sup>

Bishop Tamarón was sixty-three when he set forth on this arduous and often perilous journey, which was to take him nearly two years before he again reached the city of Durango on July 15, 1761. In spite of the inevitable hardships and occasional distressing episodes, his account leaves us with the impression that on the whole he enjoyed himself thoroughly. He was one of those inveterate tourists who delight in new scenes and little-frequented places and have a flair for collecting odd bits of interesting information. His statements about the routine business of the visitation are often summary in comparison with the loving way in which he dwells upon local peculiarities or incidents which captured his fancy. This does not imply, however, that he forgot for one moment the importance and dignity of his mission. He took an extremely broad and conscientious view of his responsibility as prelate of an enormous frontier area suffering from a plethora of worldly and spiritual ills. He was aware that the cures for both were to a large degree interdependent. His wide interests and his remarkable powers of observation impelled him to give serious consideration to problems of civil government and military strategy as well as to those of more effective ecclesiastical administration. And he never underestimated the value of seeing for himself before evolving theories about methods for improving matters. His sense of duty had set him an almost impossible task. Whether or not his conclusions were always right, and regardless of the resentment some of them aroused, he did not spare himself in his scrupulous effort to perform it.

We are concerned here only with Bishop Tamarón's visitation of New Mexico in 1760. Although the problems of this unhappy kingdom were but a fraction of the multi-

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42. *Ibid.*, p. 374.



tudinous troubles of the Bishopric of Durango and the frontier provinces as a whole, they naturally obscured the broader issues in the minds of most of the local people, both clergy and laymen.

Now that two or three centuries have passed, there is sometimes a tendency to minimize the unpleasant aspects of life and society in New Mexico in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Those who have leafed through the thousands of dusty folios preserved in the archives and libraries of Spain and Mexico cannot feel that romantic idealization of a very human history is either necessary or advisable. The men, religious and laymen, who for one reason or another spent years or all of their lives in a remote and backward frontier province, cut off from the amenities of the civilization of their time, had all the ordinary human failings and many human virtues. The harsh conditions under which they labored were bound to exaggerate both. This was all their world and it was not a kindly one. The living accounts of their daily perils and struggles, and those of their bitter internecine quarrels, are written in blood and vitriol. Time and again New Mexico faced extinction, and time and again the ill-fated little kingdom managed to stay alive, a part, if only the least, of one of the greatest empires ever known. By comparison, the history of its long and terrible battle for existence during the Spanish period almost makes the shorter story of the westward expansion of the United States seem a bedtime tale for children. If life on such a frontier often brought out the worst in men, it could also inspire their best and most unselfish efforts. And it was not impossible for both tendencies to exist in the same individual. We cannot see the whole, or appreciate the good and heroic at its true worth, if we refuse to look at both sides of the medal. New Mexico produced heroes and martyrs, and not in vain. The inspiration of such lives always adds to the sum and value of human endeavor toward the highest goal. But unfortunately its history as a whole during the colonial period is one of failure in both the worldly and evangelical senses. It was too poor, too remote,

and its problems were too little understood to make any other outcome possible.

From the point of view of the Franciscan missionaries, conditions at the time of Bishop Tamarón's arrival had not improved since Ornedal's slanderous report had put them more than ever on the defensive in their dealings with the civil authorities. Perhaps influenced by Ornedal's opinions, the New Mexico governors of the 1750's seem to have been extremely unfriendly toward the local religious. So the friars reported, and at considerable length. Some of them managed to express themselves with reasonable restraint and objectivity. But the feelings of others were so violent that their virulent rhetoric, however justifiable, makes very distressing reading. Father Varo's outburst of 1750 in reply to Ornedal's charges falls into this category. This was intended for presentation to the viceroy in 1751, but Provincial Fray José Ximeno withheld it and rested the Franciscan case for the time being on the refutation he himself had submitted in March, 1750.<sup>43</sup> The reasons for this are clear from a statement made by the archivist of the Province of the Holy Gospel, Fray Francisco Antonio de la Rosa Figueroa, ten years later when the viceroy again made a request for information about the state of the Custody.

The prudence of our said Reverend Father Provincial may have had several motives for not presenting this report of the Reverend Father Varo to the Lord Viceroy in the year 1751. Perhaps, because it is very diffuse, he may either have thought that it would be too great an imposition on the Viceroy's attention, or following the same line of thought, that it might delay his decision. Perhaps, because he may have reflected that since over a year had passed since his Reverend Paternity had replied, it might seem untimely and vindictive to add to the incontestable answers of the aforesaid earlier report; and that it would have been necessary to present with it a large number of other original papers which might have been lost. Perhaps because Governor don Tomás Vélez Cachupín [1749-1754] (a declared enemy of the Custody) was related to the Viceroy and the Vicereine and had been their equerry; and since the wicked Ornedal also belonged to

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43. Hackett (1937), pp. 438-459.

the Viceroy's family, it might have been ill received or even concealed by the Viceroy lest the iniquities of the two members of his family be revealed.<sup>44</sup>

In a report to Provincial Serrano, Figueroa had already disclosed the fact that Varo's reply to Ornedal was too indiscreet for presentation to the Viceroy in its original form.

. . . the first thing I did was to copy in my hand the very zealous report which the Reverend Father Andrés Varo remitted to our Father Ximeno, who was provincial in the year 1751, . . . against the sacrilegious report which don Juan Antonio Ornedal made to the Lord Viceroy in the year 1749 against the Custody. But I copied it in such a way (as the copy shows) that on the one hand it was necessary to add seventeen leaves in order to incorporate the very special information I had sifted from the archive concerning both the progress and the evangelical labors of missionaries of old and modern times; and, on the other hand, it was necessary to alter a number of passages. These contained various paragraphs of invective inspired by the Reverend Father Varo's sorrow and his zeal to vindicate the honor of the religious against the denigrative report of the calumniators and the cruelties and injustices of the governors, alcaldes, etc. [These had to be amended] lest they should sound like satirical apostrophes against the viceroys. All my changes and additions are indicated in my said copy where there are vertical lines in the margin. So that the inference will be that the report in its present form, under the Reverend Father Varo's name, is just as it came to our Reverend Father Ximeno from the Custody, and in order that it may be presented as the original at any time, I counterfeited the signature and complimentary close, etc. of the Reverend Father Varo.<sup>45</sup>

During the 1750's the governors were able to prevent the friars from sending out many accounts of their side of the never-ending quarrel.<sup>46</sup> But toward the end of the decade and in the early 1760's we again have letters reca-

44. *Letter of Fray Francisco Antonio de la Rosa Figueroa to Commissary General Fray Manuel de Nájera, October, 1761.* BNM, leg. 9, no. 52. Cf. the report of Provincial Serrano to the Viceroy in 1761, Hackett (1937), pp. 480-482, 496.

45. BNM, leg. 9, no. 49.

46. Fray Juan Sanz de Lezaún, *Noticias Lamentables, 1760.* Translated in Hackett (1937), pp. 468-479, from the Bandelier transcript of the manuscript in AGM, Historia 25. There is another copy in BNM, leg. 9, no. 46. See also Hackett (1937), p. 497.

pitulating their accumulated grievances, as well as reports from religious who had returned to Mexico City. We have already heard that Governor Vélez was "a declared enemy of the Custody." His successor, Don Francisco Marín del Valle (1754-1760), lost no time in establishing the same reputation.

Fray Jacobo de Castro became Custos of New Mexico about 1751 and served as such for the next ten years or more.<sup>47</sup> Late in June, 1757, he and Governor Marín left El Paso on a tour of the missions. Both of them made formal visitations and returned to El Paso on December 1. In January, 1758, Father Castro sent his report of this unpleasant journey to his provincial, Fray Juan José Moreyra. According to the Custos, the mission fathers leaned over backwards in their attempts to mollify the governor by showing him all honor and respect. With cross and cope they awaited him at the church door, at which an altar with lighted candles had been placed. In response to such courtesy, Governor Marín found fault with the manner in which they conducted the ceremony, or simply left the friar waiting. Father Castro suspected that his insulting behavior was intended to provoke the Franciscans to reply in kind, and he made every effort not to give the governor this satisfaction.

Nothing has sufficed to sooth his restless spirit, the passion, or hatred, with which he has looked upon all of us religious from the time he entered this kingdom, for he has always sought means to lower us in the estimation of the Indians and the settlers and to make us hated by them. This is common knowledge, without our having given him the slightest reason for it, since in doing him honor, all the friars have gone far beyond the customary attentions to his predecessors. Yet we have all found that his visitation has been an extremely rigorous judicial investigation [*residencia*] of the conduct of each friar.<sup>48</sup>

In each pueblo the governor retired to the community

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47. Letter of Fray Jacobo de Castro to Governor Manuel Portillo Urrisola, El Paso, August 10, 1761. BNM, leg. 9, no. 47.

48. Letter of Fray Jacobo de Castro to Provincial Fray Juan José Moreyra, El Paso, January 14, 1758. BNM, leg. 9, no. 44.

house with the Indians and interrogated them about the behavior of the missionary. The Spanish *alcaldes* were ordered to watch everything the friars did and send full reports to Governor Marín. Some of them had shown the Custos his letters ordering them to do this. "And although I do not know what authority he may have for this, I do know that this has been his practice; and he has ordered the Indians to come to him whenever they have anything against the fathers."

Father Castro said that he was finding it difficult to prevent the religious from leaving the kingdom. In spite of his promises to inform his superiors about what was going on, they replied that "the hostility they suffer from is great, and since there is no remedy, they anxiously yearn to flee to the refuge of their cells." Moreover, "the disorder of this government is such that even the settlers and Indians of this kingdom no longer know what to do. Ten of them found it necessary to flee, with obvious risk to their lives, in order to go to that city [of Mexico] to complain to his Excellency." Castro suggested that the Provincial could obtain from them information which he was unable to put in writing. Nevertheless, the missions were still occupied, and the fathers were doing their best to instruct the Indians in Christian doctrine. The Indians were restive about the excessive demands for service made by the *alcaldes* and the governors. They complained about their lot to the friars, but the latter were in no position to help them.<sup>49</sup>

This was the Franciscan view of the situation in New Mexico when, in April, 1760, Bishop Tamarón arrived at the borders of the province to begin his episcopal visitation. The possible advantages to them of a report by a less biased critic may explain why the friars put few obstacles in his way and even gave him a welcome. As has been said, the progress of the suit over the episcopal jurisdiction after 1738 is obscure. The New Mexico missionaries may well have been too absorbed in defending themselves against lay attacks to worry much about their status in relation to the Bishopric of Durango. Early in 1749, a year before

49. *Ibid.* Cf. Hackett (1937), pp. 470-477, 498.

the storm over Ornedal's report broke, Father Varo had made this statement about the episcopal jurisdiction.

The inconvenience resulting from the distance of more than four hundred leagues between the said missions and Durango, which is the capital where the bishops reside, is no less. To this diocese, as the nearest one, it seems that the new curacies which may be founded should be joined, for in the said Custody there are not the number of ministers necessary for its maintenance and progress. This will be seen in the description to be made of the missions, because most of them have only one minister, even when they extend long distances and have a large population, as is the case at Zuñi and other missions. It would then [if the New Mexico missions were subject to the Bishopric of Durango] be necessary to abandon them for a long time, in order to come for the presentations to and bestowing of the benefices, to suffer the inconveniences, expenses, and delays of such a long journey, along with the other charges which the regular clergy bear as a result of the poor way in which the lords bishop usually carry on their administration, and especially when they get the idea that they are of some use and profit. The suit which the said Custody has carried on for many years with the Mitre of Durango in order not to submit to it, but remain separate and under the government which Apostolic privileges allow them, is constant. [The Custody] has used and enjoys these privileges because it is still in the category of living conversions and it is not yet in a state which permits episcopal jurisdiction there, because more harm than benefit would result from the exercise of it. And the only merit [of the case of the bishopric] is that a lord bishop trod part of those very remote lands, intruding without the consent of our King and lord (God keep him). And without any title to the addition, he has used all his force in his pretensions to make it his own territory, exercising jurisdiction and taking the tithes to himself. They have not allowed his Majesty's decisions to deter them from following their course with determination. The inconveniences involved are insuperable because of the difficulty in making appeals, especially in such serious matters as those of jurisdiction, upon which the spiritual administration and health of so many souls depend.<sup>50</sup>

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50. *Informe del estado de la Nueva México a su Majestad según su cédula de 1748.* BNM, leg. 8, no. 57. H. R. Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest, 1542-1794* (Quivira Soc. Publ., vol. 7, Albuquerque, 1937), Part II, pp. 388-389, lists an *Informe* by P. I.

The question of the collection of tithes is not at all clear. In 1760 Fray Juan Sanz de Lezaún said that the governors had been collecting tithes for more than thirty years and forcing the Indians to haul them to Santa Fe at their own expense. Theoretically the Indians were not subject to them, which makes part of his remarks on the subject even more difficult to understand.

For about thirty years the governors have collected the tithes; all the tithes from down the river are collected in the villa of Albuquerque (a Spanish villa), the *alcalde mayor* of which has the duty of receiving them. The Indians haul them gratis, and at the proper time take their own in wagons to the villa of Santa Fe.<sup>51</sup>

The bishop tells us that Father Roibal was paid 300 pesos a year from the tithes. As we shall see, Bishop Tamarón found that the missionaries were collecting obventions and first-fruits from the Spanish citizens in their parishes and enjoyed them in addition to the annual amount granted by the Crown for the support of each friar. We learn from other sources that the settlers were rather capricious about meeting such obligations, depending upon their circumstances at the moment and whether the friar was inclined to press for payment.<sup>52</sup>

The most important evidence that the Bishopric of Durango had continued to keep a foothold in the Custody of New Mexico is the fact that three secular priests were serving there when Tamarón came. There were two in the El Paso area, one of whom held the office of vicar and

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Altamirano, the Jesuit representative at court, submitted in a lawsuit with Bishop Pedro Sánchez de Tagle (1749-1757) over visitations of Sinaloa, Sonora, and other mission areas. If there was a decision in favor of the bishop in this case, it might also have applied to the New Mexico Franciscans and explain their changed attitude when Bishop Tamarón came. In any case, it indicates that the matter of the jurisdiction of the Bishopric of Durango over mission areas in charge of the religious Orders was still in the courts in the 1750's.

51. Hackett (1937), p. 470.

52. A distinction must be made between obventions and first-fruits and tithes (*obvenciones*, *primicias*, and *diezmos*). Obventions were the fees for baptisms, marriages, funerals, etc. These were usually levied in accordance with a fixed schedule, with one at a lower rate for the Indians. In the sense used here, first-fruits were an offering from the harvests and herds, and the Indians seldom paid this.

ecclesiastical judge, and Don Santiago Roibal still maintained his precarious title to the same office in Santa Fe.

Whatever their inner feelings about the bishop and their dislike for one another, the secular authorities and the Franciscans joined in receiving the prelate with due solemnity. When he neared El Paso, Don Manuel de San Juan, captain of the presidio and chief magistrate, the Custos, Fray Jacobo de Castro, and the vicar went out to the Río de Santa María to meet him. They even persuaded him to spend an extra night in the dangerous open country so that proper preparations for the ceremonies honoring his entrance to El Paso could be completed. The Custos accompanied the bishop to the interior of New Mexico, where he was also received with every evidence of respect and coöperation. Governor Marín del Valle sent an escort to meet him at Sandia and came out to greet him in person shortly before he reached Santo Domingo. The reception at Santa Fe accorded him full ritual honors as prelate. To establish his jurisdiction on a firmer basis, and in the hope of avoiding future litigation, the bishop gave appointments as his vicar to three Franciscans: to the custos for El Paso, and to the missionaries of Albuquerque and La Cañada for their respective districts. They were pleased to accept and acknowledged the clauses in them reserving the episcopal right to make such appointments at will.

As his itinerary shows, Bishop Tamarón gave himself no time to rest, but carried out his visitation with the utmost dispatch. He reached Tomé, the first settlement of the interior, on May 18. By July 7, when he returned to Tomé, he had visited all the Spanish settlements and missions as far as Taos, except Zuñi and a few other pueblos which he was unable to reach because of adverse traveling conditions. On July 18 he was again at El Paso, ready to continue his journey through other provinces of his diocese for yet another year.

Even in so short a time, it is improbable that the bitter feelings which were agitating all classes of society in New Mexico can have entirely escaped the notice of a man as



observant as Bishop Tamarón, although he did not see fit to discuss them in his official reports of his visitation. He seems to have maintained courteous, if rather distant, relations with the Franciscans and their prelate, whom he never condescends to mention by name. There is no evidence that he was on more intimate terms with Governor Marín del Valle, who was still in office at the time.<sup>53</sup> Apparently he leaned more heavily on information and opinions from Father Santiago Roibal, whom he may have considered a comparatively neutral observer, as well as one who was bound by his own interests to be sincere with the Bishop of Durango. Correspondence he quotes shows that he later kept in touch with New Mexico affairs in spite of his many other serious preoccupations. There are letters from the custos, from Don Santiago Roibal, and from the governors. The fact that he was aware of certain defects in civil administration is evident from some severe remarks he made elsewhere about the *alcaldes mayores* in many parts of his diocese, including New Mexico:

. . . some poor men whom the governors install as *alcaldes mayores*, individuals who have not prospered in other office or who have been ruined in trade; or deserters from studies by which they did not profit, who become paper shufflers and swindlers. Such are usually the qualifications of these *alcaldes mayores*, a career aspired to by useless or ruined men. What are individuals of this kind to do except oppress and squeeze the population in order to eat and to obtain and pay the contribution agreed upon to the one who gave them employment?<sup>54</sup>

He devoted most of his criticism and recommendations to two major problems. The first was the fact that the Christianization of the Indians was hardly more than a superficial conformity to a few outward practices which they did not understand or have much interest in. Like

53. The exact date when Marín del Valle left New Mexico is not known. A statement by Bishop Tamarón, *infra*, mentioning a campaign against the Comanches indicates that he could not have left before September, 1760. After his departure Don Mateo Antonio de Mendoza apparently served as governor *ad interim* until early January, 1761. He was succeeded by another interim governor, Don Manuel del Portillo y Urrisola, who held the office until February, 1762.

54. Tamarón (1937), p. 219.

other critics of earlier and later times, he believed that one of the chief reasons for the failure to indoctrinate them was the language difficulty. Only a few of the New Mexico Franciscans had ever had sufficient mastery of the native languages to minister to their flocks without the help of interpreters. And although a number of Indians knew some Spanish, their understanding of it was insufficient for them to grasp abstract religious ideas. The friars resented this criticism from outsiders and made many attempts to refute such charges, but the weight of the evidence is overwhelming that there was much truth in this point of view. Among themselves, the more objective missionaries admitted and deplored this handicap in terms as strong as those of their opponents.

Just why they had never been able to improve this situation in nearly two hundred years remains a question. Part of the answer may lie in the character and strong traditional culture of the Indians with whom they had to deal. It must be remembered how few missionaries there were in proportion to the work they were expected to accomplish, and with little or no aid from the lay Spanish population. This led to a very unnatural way of life which may well have affected the ability of many to deal successfully with their charges—the physical and psychological difficulties confronting a lonely man, cut off from normal intercourse with his equals and expected to guide and teach an alien and indifferent, if not hostile, community.

Bishop Tamarón felt that a more determined effort to solve the language problem would provide the most efficacious solution. The records do not indicate that his fervent commands and exhortations to this end succeeded to any great degree. His criticisms of the spiritual state of the Indians struck at the very foundations of the mission system in New Mexico. Certainly they were nothing new, nor do we find anything new or constructive in the inevitable rebuttals. If his recommendations for solving the linguistic problem had been heeded, perhaps they would have brought about some improvement. Little was done, and some fifteen years later a Franciscan visitor was to

feel the same distress at finding the Indians still neophytes after so many years of Christian teaching.<sup>55</sup>

Bishop Tamarón was rigid in his assumption of the valid right of the Diocese of Durango to jurisdiction in New Mexico. He believed that more effective control by the bishops would help to remedy matters. He therefore recommended that four Spanish parishes—El Paso, Santa Fe, Albuquerque, and La Cañada—be turned over to the bishop. The secular priests appointed would be vicars and would have sufficient income from obventions and first-fruits to support assistants. This was not the first time such a suggestion had been made, and as always it was resented by the Franciscans.<sup>56</sup> Although the bishops now and again succeeded in introducing secular clergy in a few New Mexico parishes, this innovation seldom lasted long or brought about any real change.<sup>57</sup>

The second major problem which alarmed and disturbed Bishop Tamarón was the ineffective defence against the incursions of hostile Indians. This was a danger which threatened the very life of the frontier provinces as a whole. The bishop had definite ideas about a more successful method of coping with this menace, and in particular he advised greater use of infantry. His suggestions are included among the translations which follow.

A Franciscan copy of the part of Bishop Tamarón's

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55. E. B. Adams, "Two colonial New Mexico libraries, 1704, 1776," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, vol. 19 (1944), pp. 141-143. The relevant part of this article was based on letters and reports by Fray Francisco Atanasio Domínguez, who made a visitation of New Mexico in 1776, in *BNM*, leg. 10, nos. 42-49. A translation of the documents concerning Domínguez' visitation is now being prepared for publication.

56. In the same year that Tamarón visited New Mexico, one of the governors, apparently Don Mateo Antonio de Mendoza, tried to impose his own solutions and implement his dislike of the New Mexico Franciscans from the Province of the Holy Gospel. He told Fathers Lezaún and Abadiano that he had decided, as vice-patron, to "turn over the missions of the north to the province of Zacatecas." This was after he "had felt out the minds of the Jesuit fathers in various conversations, with a view to introducing them into these missions." The Jesuit *visitador* had replied "that this could not be, in view of the fact that the Franciscan fathers were in possession and, as he had been credibly informed, had failed in nothing." Hackett (1937), pp. 499-500. As a matter of fact, the Jesuits had similar troubles, more serious in the end than those of the Franciscans, for they were expelled from New Spain in 1767. Bishop Tamarón was chagrined because the Franciscans forestalled him by placing their friars in many of the former Jesuit missions to which he had hoped to send secular clergy. Tamarón (1937), pp. x-xi.

57. Cf. note 33, *supra*.

report to the Crown of 1765 pertaining to the Franciscan missions in his diocese is followed by a few remarks worth noting. They are as good an indication as any of what the friars thought of it.

I reflect that in the discourse and comparisons of this report the Lord [Bishop] Tamarón makes specific statements with regard to the missions where the King gives something to the Province; but where he gives nothing, he makes no note of it, perhaps so that the King may not know of our services. And even when he finds great need of aid, he does not ask for it as he does for the curacies of his secular priests, and even perhaps where there is no need, or at least not the greatest.<sup>58</sup>

Tamarón was bishop of Durango until late in 1768, when he died, active to the end, at Bamoa, Sinaloa, on December 21, at the age of 73. So far as we know, he was the last bishop to enter New Mexico during the colonial period.

The translation of his description of New Mexico and of excerpts from other portions of his *Demostración del vastísimo obispado de la Nueva Vizcaya, 1765* is based on Vito Alessio Robles' edition published in Mexico in 1937. The sources of a few supplementary translations from manuscripts will be given in their place. The Alessio Robles edition was made from a copy in the Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico.<sup>59</sup> Although the present translation is deliberately rather free in places in order to make it more readable in English, the sense of the original has not been changed.

(To be continued)

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58. BNM, leg. 9, no. 59.

59. For further bibliographical information, see Tamarón (1937), pp. xii-xiv.

## PHILIP ST. GEORGE COOKE AND THE APACHE, 1854

By HAMILTON GARDNER\*

WHEN Lieutenant Colonel Philip St. George Cooke, 2d Dragoons, reported for duty at Fort Union November 4, 1853,<sup>1</sup> he was no stranger to New Mexico. Seven years earlier, as Captain, 1st Dragoons, he had marched along the Santa Fe Trail with Brigadier General Stephen Watts Kearny's Army of the West. On August 1, near Bent's Fort, the General sent him in advance to Santa Fe with a message for Mexican Governor Armijo, where he arrived eleven days later. After several conferences with the Governor he re-joined the Army in time to participate in the occupation of the Capital August 18. He left there September 25 with General Kearny's pitifully small advance party of 300 dragoons, bound westward, but he was not destined to complete the march. "The melancholy information of the death of Capt. Allen, 1st Drags., having been this day received," directed the General in an order dated October 2, "Capt. Cooke, 1st Drags., will return to Santa Fe, and assume command of the Battalion of Mormons on its arrival at that place . . . which forces he will conduct to Upper California following the route now being taken by the Dragoons. . . ."<sup>2</sup> Cooke reached Santa Fe October 7; took over command of the Battalion on its arrival six days later; and departed afoot October 19 towards the Pacific.<sup>3</sup>

Exact data as to the Indian population in the Territory

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1. National Archives and Records Service, War Records Branch, Washington, D. C. This agency was formerly designated as the Old Files Section, Adjutant General's Office, War Department. It will be cited hereinafter as N.A.R.S.W.R.B.

A brief biography of Cooke may be found in *Exploring Southwestern Trails 1846-1854*, VII, 17-30, edited by Ralph P. Bieber (Glendale, Calif., 1938)

2. "Head Qrs Army of the West, Camp on the Rio del Norte near Joya, October 2d, 1846. Orders No. 33." N.A.R.S.W.R.B.

3. Philip St. George Cooke, *The Conquest of New Mexico and California, an Historical and Personal Narrative*, 6-90 (New York, 1878). See also Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The History of the Military Occupation of New Mexico, from 1846 to 1851*, 41-43 (Denver, 1909)

of New Mexico in the mid-1850's is not available, and the estimates vary considerably. Governor Meriwether in his 1854 report<sup>4</sup> as Superintendent of Indian Affairs guessed that the Utahs in the northern and northwestern parts of the Territory numbered from 5,000 to 6,000 and the Apaches in scattered bands totalled 8,000. Of the latter the Jicarillas, roving generally in the eastern and southern regions, supported at least 150 warriors. Henry R. Schoolcraft<sup>5</sup> showed the Apaches with a total strength of 5,500, occupying 850 lodges and furnishing 1,100 fighting men, of whom the Jicarillas constituted 100. Ralph H. Ogle<sup>6</sup> estimated the Apaches as being 25,000 to 30,000 strong, including the Jicarillas of 5,000 to 7,000. Figures for the Navajos and the Pueblo Indians were not included. Finally Jefferson Davis, Secretary of War, in his annual report,<sup>7</sup> December 4, 1854, spoke of "an Indian population of 50,000, a great proportion of whom are bands who do not acknowledge the authority of the United States."

Of all the New Mexico Indians the Jicarillas were rated the most troublesome.<sup>8</sup> Superintendent Meriwether said in his 1854 report:<sup>9</sup> "It is confidently believed that no other single band of Indians have committed an equal amount of depredations upon, and caused so much trouble and annoyance to the people of this Territory, as the Jicarillas." And E. A. Graves, Indian agent at Albuquerque, had stated the year previously<sup>10</sup> that "they are the most daring, brave and heartless tribe of Indians who inhabit New Mexico."

In 1853 "but few outrages of an aggravated character have been reported as having occurred among the Indians in New Mexico," stated George W. Manypenny, Commis-

4. Santa Fe, September 1, 1854, Appendix to the report of the Secretary of the Interior, *H. Ex. Doc. 1, 33d Cong., 2d Sess.*, 376-8.

5. *Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, I, 519 (Philadelphia, 1850)

6. "Federal Control of the Western Apaches," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XIV, 319 (Oct., 1939)

7. *H. Ex. Doc. 1, 33d Cong., 2d Sess.*, 6.

8. Ogle, *op. cit.*, 315, explains the relationship of the Jicarillas to the other tribes of the Apache nation. See also: Frederick Webb Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of Ethnology, Bulletin 30, *H. Ex. Doc. 926, 59th Cong., 1st Sess.*, I, 66 (Washington, 1905)

9. *Op. cit.* [note 4], p. 378.

10. August 31, 1853, *H. Ex. Doc. 1, 33d Cong., 1st Sess.*, 484.

sioner of Indian Affairs, in his annual report,<sup>11</sup> November 26. But he also called attention to an incident which later proved to be one of the causes of the Jicarilla uprising in 1854. That was the treaty made by his predecessor, Governor William Carr Lane, with the Indians to remove them from their present locations, colonize them west of the Rio Grande, and keep them pacified by feeding them. Manypenny disapproved this arrangement and it ceased. Next year Governor Meriwether lamented that he was embarrassed by his inability to explain to the Indians why he had discontinued supplying them with food.<sup>12</sup>

The 9th Military Department, comprising the then Territory of New Mexico, was activated July 19, 1851, when Colonel E. V. Sumner took command, although it had been previously authorized. Following a short interim under Lieutenant Colonel Dixon S. Miles, 3d Infantry, Brevet Brigadier General John Garland<sup>13</sup> became the Department Commander, July 20, 1853, with headquarters at Albuquerque.<sup>14</sup>

At the close of 1853, out of a total Army authorized strength of 13,821, of which only 10,495 were actually in service,<sup>15</sup> 1,678 officers and men were stationed in New Mexico.<sup>16</sup> These were made up of several companies of the 1st Dragoons, two companies of artillery and the 3d Infantry. They were scattered out in the forts then established in

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11. *33 Cong., 1 sess., Sen. Ex. Doc. 1*, p. 257. See also: Report of the Secretary of War, December 4, 1853, *H. Ex. Doc. 1, Part 2*, Vol. 1, p. 3; and Oliver L. Spaulding, Jr., *The United States Army in War and Peace*, 232 (New York, 1937)

12. *Op. cit.* [note 4], 374-6. See also: Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, II, 299, 302 (Cedar Rapids, 1912)

13. John Garland was born in Virginia in 1792 and appointed 1st Lieutenant, 35th Infantry, March 31, 1813, during the War of 1812. He served with distinction in the Seminole Indian campaign in Florida, 1836-1842; and during the Mexican War participated in most of the principal battles of the armies of both General Zachary Taylor and General Winfield Scott, being severely wounded at the taking of the City of Mexico. He received his brevet rank as brigadier general "for gallant and meritorious conduct at the Battles of Contreras and Churubusco." Garland died at New York City on June 5, 1861. (Records in the Library, United States Military Academy, West Point, New York)

14. A. B. Bender, "Frontier Defense in the Territory of New Mexico, 1846-1853," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, IX, 247-271 (July, 1934)

15. Report of the General in Chief, Major General Winfield Scott, November 16, 1853, *H. Ex. Doc. 1, Part 2*, Vol. 1, p. 12, *33d Cong., 1st Sess.*

16. *Ibid.*, 120-1.

the Territory, the usual garrison consisting of equal components of mounted and dismounted men.

The Army's handling of the local Indian problem in this period satisfied no one, least of all the Army itself. President Pierce,<sup>17</sup> Secretary of War Davis<sup>18</sup> and General Garland<sup>19</sup> all urged an increase in the forces required to police the extended frontier. But the Congress, as usual, remained niggardly in its appropriations. The historian, Hubert Howe Bancroft, ascribed the fault to the policy, or lack of policy, of the Federal Government. The Army commanders, he asserted, were generally efficient and competent and the soldiers fought bravely; but they found it difficult to follow directives which alternated between exterminating the Indians on the one hand and feeding them on the other. What they most generally sensed was a Government policy of letting matters drift. They realized their mission was to provide the people of New Mexico with protection against the Indians, as promised by General Kearny in 1846, but they simply did not possess the forces to do so.<sup>20</sup>

As stated, Cooke arrived at Fort Union on November 3, 1853. For more than a year he had been stationed at Fort Mason, Texas. Even though he did not receive his promotion to Lieutenant Colonel, 2d Dragoons, until July 15, 1853,<sup>21</sup> he had been in actual command of the regiment as a major, its nominal Commanding Officer being Colonel William S. Harney. He began to sign the regimental returns in May, 1854, and continued to do so until 1858.<sup>22</sup>

During his entire tour in New Mexico, Cooke was in

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17. Second Annual Message, December 4, 1854.

18. 1853 Report, *33 Cong., 1 Sess., Sen. Ex. Doc. 1*, 4-6; 1854 Report, *op. cit.* [note 7], 6.

19. Letter to War Department, April 1, 1854, Albuquerque, Appendix to Report of the Secretary of War, *op. cit.* [note 7], 34:

"If hostilities are continued—and I have little doubt such will be the case—I will be forced to call upon the governor of this Territory for two or three companies of volunteers.

"It is very desirable that a strong mounted force, with a good supply of horses, be sent out early in the spring."

20. H. H. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 656-8 (San Francisco, 1889)

21. Albert G. Brackett, *History of the United States Cavalry*, 130 (New York, 1875)

22. N.A.R.S.W.R.B.



command at Fort Union, except for two details to Santa Fe on courtmartial duty, March 16 and July 1, 1854.<sup>23</sup>

Four major engagements against the Indians occurred in New Mexico in 1854. Cooke regarded them as an extremely interesting part of his experiences as Commanding Officer, 2d Dragoons. Hence about 1875, two years after his retirement, he wrote at length concerning them in his "Personal Recollections," which constitutes a chapter in Colonel Theophilus F. Rodenbough's, *From Everglade to Cañon With the Second Dragoons*.<sup>24</sup>

The first encounter with the Jicarillas took place March 5 when Company H, 2d Dragoons, under command of 2d Lieutenant David Bell, won a decided victory. General Garland reported it to the War Department March 29:<sup>25</sup>

I have the honor to report, for the information of the major general commanding the army, that a very spirited affair came off on the 5th instant, some sixty miles from Fort Union, between the Jicarilla Apaches and a detachment of the second dragoons, commanded by Second Lieutenant Bell. The parties were about equally matched as to numbers—say twenty-four warriors each—and both ready to measure their strength. The result of the conflict is, that the Indians lost five killed and many wounded, the detachment of dragoons lost two killed and four wounded. The Indians fled in great disorder to the canons and gorges of the Canadian. This is a part of the band which captured and killed Mrs. White, and subsequently killed off the mail party near Wagon Mound. The chief most prominent in these operations—"Lobo"—was killed by Lieutenant Bell, who has certainly managed this affair with discretion and gallantry. . . .

On April 1, 1854, General Garland reported a second encounter with the Indians which had taken place a few days before:<sup>26</sup>

The Indians, Jicarilla, Apaches, and Utahs have managed to combine a force of two-hundred and fifty (250) warriors and unexpectedly attacked a Company of Dragoons sixty (60) strong, about

23. *Ibid.*

24. New York, 1875.

25. Appendix to Report of the Secretary of War, 1854, *op. cit.* [note 7], 33-4. Cooke gave a detailed and especially well-written account of this affray in his "Personal Recollections," Rodenbough, *op. cit.* [note 24], 135.

26. N.A.R.S.W.R.B. See also: A. B. Bender, "Frontier Defense . . ." *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, IX, 348-9 (Oct., 1934)

twenty-five (25) miles from Fernandez de Taos, under the command of Lieutenant J. M. Davidson, First Dragoons, and succeeded after a desperate conflict in overwhelming it. Lieutenant Davidson and Assistant Surgeon Magruder, both wounded, returned from the battle field with about seventeen (17) men, most of them wounded.

The troops displayed a gallantry seldom equalled in this or any other country, and the officer in command, Lieutenant Davidson, has given evidence of soldiership in the highest degree creditable to him. To have sustained a deadly control three hours when he was so greatly outnumbered, and then to have returned with the fragment of a Company crippled up, is amazing and calls for the admiration of every true soldier.

To prevent further disaster, I have ordered Lieutenant Colonel Cooke, Second Dragoons, to take the field with about two hundred (200) Dragoons and a Company of Artillery armed with rifles.

In a report to General Garland, dated at Fort Union, May 24, 1854, almost two months after the event, Cooke detailed his pursuit of the marauders:<sup>27</sup>

On the 31st of March at this post, I received at 8½ A. M. from Major Blake at Fort Burgwin a hasty report of an action of Dragoons under First Lieutenant Davidson, with the Apaches, which resulted in his leaving from thirty-five to forty dead and bringing in seventeen wounded.

My aid was asked for. I did not hesitate a moment to order preparations for the march of all troops that could be prudently drawn from this post. At noon I set out at the head of the detachment of First Dragoons, under Lieutenant Sturges and of Company H, of the Second, under Lieutenant Bell; about ninety-two (92) sabres, and was followed immediately by Company D, Second Artillery, serving as riflemen under Brevet Captain Sykes. . . . All of the Dragoons had returned within thirty-six (36) hours from marches of two-hundred miles in search of the Apaches in which a heavy snow storm had been encountered.

I arrived with the cavalry at Fort Burgwin at sunset the next day, finding it threatened by a strong party of the enemy in the low mountains which overlook it. I spent the next day, April 2nd, gaining information and determining upon and organizing a plan and a force to pursue the enemy, who I learned had crossed the Del Norte at Embuda to seek shelter or a position in the San Juan Mountains. I resolved to employ about thirty (30) New Mexicans and Pueblo Indians, as essential for guides and trackers, and, with a life experience in all the cunning and tactics of Indians, they would be important as irregular light troops in a very broken and little known

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27. N.A.R.S.W.R.B.

wilderness, to which the enemy had retired. I thought this measure advisable in order to break up a very suspicious intercourse with the Apaches, held by the outsettlers, for which their habitual exposure is some excuse; "American" property had been carefully selected for depredation. It was with much gratification that I learned that in all these measures, I was literally executing orders which the General was at the very moment dictating at Department Headquarters.<sup>28</sup>

April 3rd, I marched to San Fernando de Javs [Taos] and completed this organization, having found for the irregulars an efficient leader in Mr. J. H. Quinn. I was able to add twenty-two men of F Company, First Dragoons, to my force. On the 4th, I took to the field with one-hundred and ten (110) sabres. . . . Major Blake, First Dragoons, had joined his regiment and Mr. Carson, Apaches agent, had volunteered for the campaign. . . .

I chose the difficult Canon Crossing of the Del Norte called Arayo Houde [Arroyo Hondo]. . . . I made without important incident some hard marches, dropping some stragglers, through a very broken and exceedingly precipitous country, finding, following, and once leaving the Indian trail—a hopeful risk, whereby I gained two days upon their intricate and designedly difficult wanderings. On the 8th of April, I still followed it, evidently very fresh in snow showers, over a mountain with two feet of snow, lying in the forest which covered it, deep ravines and its lofty top, and, then, through a chaos of deep slopes, rock, snow and bog. In the afternoon, very soon after a halt to allow the long and broken single file to close to the front, the enemy's camp was discovered and his presence announced by sharp fire between him and the spy company which was a few hundred yards in advance.

I then found myself in an open space, before the enemy in a position of singular strength. The Agua Caliente (or Ojo Caliente)<sup>29</sup> comes to force its way from the right into a vast ravine formed by two parallel mountains and turns to the left, running by one flank at the foot of the precipitous rocks and snows of the other mountain. That on the right, makes a shoulder as if turned back before us by the river, but descends by precipitous crags, rapidly to a point, leaving between that point and the mountains to the left a narrow defile, the passage of which is almost forbidden by the torrents which in several channels amidst trees and thickets, rushes over rolling

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28. From Cooke's reports it is clear that no troops of the New Mexico Territorial Militia served with his expeditions in 1854. Incomplete data indicate that some militia units were called out, variously estimated in the correspondence between the Territory and the War Department as 200 or 400. Twitchell states that Acting Governor William S. Messervy mobilized a part of the militia of Rio Arriba and San Miguel Counties, "but for want of ammunition and equipment they were of little service"; *The Leading Facts* . . . , II, 299.

29. Located northwest of Santa Fe in the present Rio Arriba County, on or near the border of Taos County.

rocks. The crags in front of us being scaled, we look down upon a river in a profound chasm; it is impossible to descend, but the opposite side presents a virtual precipice and thus the Agua Caliente is seen from toward the right impassable. A peculiar strength of this position was that it could not be turned but by a march of hours.

In the crags then, the Apaches, having hurried off their women on horses, and leaving their camp standing in the open spaces, were in position and received my skirmishes with a warm fire. Captain Sykes' rifles were leading. I immediately ordered him to deploy as skirmishers and to march forward to support the irregulars; and at the same time ordered the Dragoons to the front. Captain Sykes, notwithstanding his energy and coolness and my personal assistance, for some minutes found delay in getting his men forward into line.

Meanwhile, Lieutenant Bell, whose Company H, Second Dragoons, that day led the cavalry column, passed at the gallop handsomely to the front, through the fire of the enemy, up into the angle of the cliffs and the mountains, dismounted his men and siezed [*sic*] a position below the mountain top but on the flank of the enemy in the crags, although fired upon from above.

In the meantime, Major Blake had marched to the front with Sturges' small squadron, First Dragoons, which I ordered to dismount and led myself to attack the enemy's front in the ledge of rocks. This, which we found formidable in itself, we scaled, only to find the enemy in retreat. Bell's fire on their flank from above had apparently given them a panic and they fled. At the moment some of their horses were seen far down to the left and front over the river, and I ordered Lieutenant Maxwell to take a portion of the reserve with our horses and to endeavor to capture them.

Captain Sykes, in this time, with Lieutenant Moore, First Dragoons, Company A platoon, had passed down to the river bank at the defile to attack or turn back the enemy's right and I now saw that a portion of his rifles had crossed the river and were entering the woods of the low mountains beyond, to the left of the precipice, reserving a few of his men to replace the horse guard I had detached. I now ordered Blake to make his way down the rocks, cross the river, join the right of the rifles and push the enemy on the mountain beyond where he kept up a brisk fire. I mounted then with Bell's Company and we galloped down to the left, plunged through the river and followed rapidly the very rough side of the mountain ravine in front, without trees and through which runs a branch, to join the river at the defile (as we passed, a dragoon who had been some minutes shot down, arose, stood erect a moment and then fell quite dead). After we had passed the flank of the rifles and the irregulars, we were fired upon from the trees of the high slope impracticable for a cavalry charge. I then dismounted the Company and with Lieutenant

Bell led a charge on foot. The enemy did not await it, but dispensed a dropping fire, while we pursued a mile further in the pine forest, until there was no indication of his presence and the trail made in the ravine by the horses and women was run out.

I then turned the skirmishers with a sweep and covered the top of the little mountain back toward the original ground, and soon after having descended, found the other troops, who had all crossed the hill and had assembled in the ravine near the river. Lieutenant Maxwell was later; he had penetrated the forest with much boldness, though forced to dismount and had intercepted the retreat of some of the enemy who abandoned three horses which he captured.

I then ordered all to retire to the horses at the Indian camp, for the enemy having dispersed in every direction to the extent of a semi-circle, as shown by their fire and tracks everywhere in snow and cold; the horse trail was lost, the infantry force being quite exhausted and it being late.

In the afternoon, I reluctantly abandoned the idea of further immediate pursuit as impracticable. There remained in my hands [Indian weapons, horse equipment and mounts] their lodges, great quantities of robes, skins, clothing, implements and provisions. Our horses were fed on their corn and wheat. This property I ordered to be burned.

The enemy force, commanded by Head Chief Chacon, there is every reason to believe, at least equalled the lowest estimate of double the number of lodges. There were seventy-seven (77). They were therefore above one-hundred and fifty (150) and superior to my force engaged which was one-hundred and forty (140). His loss as since ascertained through the principal Utahs and their agent, Carson, as acknowledged, was four or five killed and five or six wounded. They have also reported seventeen (17) women and children missing which they supposed were prisoners. They were no doubt lost and frozen in their long flight in the night through the deep snow of the mountain. . . .

Our loss was but one killed and one severely wounded in front of the enemy's first position. It is scarcely necessary to say that all of the officers exhibited energy and gallantry and I would thus include Captain Quinn of the Spies; and Mr. Carson showed his well known activity and boldness. But it would be injustice to pass over . . . the handsome charge of Lieutenant Bell, in which the superior instruction and discipline of his company served him well. The fortunate position which he took penetrated the enemy lines, had the effect of striking him with force and perhaps decided the victory at the first blow. I commend this, his second distinguished service under my orders, to the most favorable consideration.

That the Apaches intended to offer battle here rather than pene-

trate farther into the snow of the San Juan Mountains, is confirmed by the position of their camp on the bank of the Ojo Caliente; ever before and after they were found on mountains and peaks.

At sundown, Major Carleton, First Dragoons, joined me with his Company. Very early on the 9th, having sent the wounded men with escort to Vallecito, the pursuit was renewed. I found after some miles that the enemy's horse tracks converged in the snow on a mountain side. There had been broken a path two feet deep which led over the great obstacles of a forest of aspen and pines prostrated by storm, through bogs where mules had to be unpacked, up and down steep mountain sides, from whose summit, above the growth of trees, a world of bleak snow spread unlimited to the West, over a stream half bridged with ice and snow, where the horses fell and every mule had to be unpacked. The beef cattle were forced through the snow so slowly, as to add to these delays of hours. A horse losing the path floundered dangerously. American horses, led in file first, broke the path of the retreat. Such was the scene of the enemy's flight by moonlight; the tracks that bore diminutive feet left a feeble memorial of its sufferings.

The 10th it was the same until afternoon, when we found that the snow had conquered and the trail led southwest into the valley of the Cagelon. On the 11th, the indefatigable Quinn, on the extreme flank of his spies, caught sight of four of the enemy on an upright hill close to our right, and so gave the alarm that none who saw him doubted they were in force. I ordered a deployment and disposition for action, which was performed in an incredibly short time, the Dragoons taking position at the gallop, and all the troops exhibiting the greatest alacrity and eagerness. But the Indians on foot escaped like deer into the cover of their native fastnesses. Through snow, the trail led us steeply up a mountain as we thought, but it proved to be a most lofty tableland and the march was very long for want of water. These trails were lightened or forgotten at times in sudden views of great sublimity. None will forget the magnificence of the scenery when suddenly we stood upon a precipice terminating this tableland and overhanging a fine view, the chasm 2,000 feet.<sup>30</sup> The trail led to a dangerous descent which occupied the head of the column an hour and a quarter.

Many dead horses (and some of them had been butchered) marked their retreat; and signal smoke, now in several directions, and other signs indicated that the hard pressed tribe had divided and sought

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30. Attention is called to Cooke's language and literary style. Even in his official reports he was prone to record his impressions of the beauty and magnificence of his surroundings. Such expressions as "diminutive feet," "flight by moonlight," "views of great sublimity" denote a poetical side to this very orthodox professional soldier. These characteristics appear conspicuously in his first book: *Scenes and Adventures in the Army, or the Romance of Military Life* (Philadelphia, 1857). It conveys his impressions of the Frontier West from the time he graduated from the United States Military Academy in the Class of 1827 until 1845.

temporary retreats in the rocky and lofty mountains, everywhere to be seen.

April 12 I scaled one of the highest, and in one of its small valleys the trail ran out. In an hour thirty Indians and Mexicans, all admirable trailers, discovered some tracks on a steep ridge about five hundred feet above us, but I found on ascending that they were greatly discouraged, commander and all, and had not moved on. I ordered them forward. When covering a quarter mile of forest, they followed only single tracks. Thus was reached another precipice, still more lofty, which seemed to overlook the territory. The few tracks had converged at the only practicable descent and were followed to its foot. Here in a plain the trail was lost.

The spy company was awaiting me again and I was assured by their commander, by the guides, by Carson, all on whom I depended for showing me the way to the enemy, that there could be no further pursuit unless of some family or party of two or three. I was very reluctant and assembled the officers, but found them unanimous in the same opinion and it appeared that the horses were becoming very feeble and a number had been abandoned that day.

It was with much pain I then gave the order to turn toward the settlement on the chama only some twenty miles distant for food and rest for the animals. I sent that night a courier for Headquarters and expressed my resolve to turn no further aside unless ordered.<sup>31</sup>

In spite of the thorough chastisement which Cooke had inflicted on the Jicarillas at Agua Caliente and in the subsequent pursuit, they still remained unregenerate. Late in May Lieutenant Davidson with 60 dragoons from Cantonment Burgwin, while on a scouting trip, discovered a band of Apaches encamped on a ridge near Cieneguilla. They numbered approximately 200 braves. Notwithstanding the disparity in forces, Davidson attacked and suffered some 20 casualties. He then pulled back to Taos, while the savages moved west of the Rio Grande.<sup>32</sup> So began the third major Indian conflict of the year.

Again Lieutenant Colonel Cooke was directed to lead a punitive column against the renegades and this time his route led into the extreme northern part of the present State of New Mexico and over the border into Colorado.

31. A soldier, who participated in Cooke's expedition until he was wounded, kept a journal of his experiences. This was later published in the *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*: James A. Bennett, *A Dragoon in New Mexico, 1850-1856*, XXII, 51 and 140 (January and April, 1947); edited by Clinton E. Brooks and Frank D. Reeve.

32. Bender, *op. cit.*, 349.

From his temporary camp in the Raton Mountains he reported to General Garland on June 5, 1854:<sup>33</sup>

In compliance with your orders, this column left Don Fernando de Jays [Taos] on the 25th of May and proceeded without any incident worthy of note in the direction of Fort Massachusetts near which it arrived on the 27th of the same month. Up to this point no trail of the Apaches could be found, nor could any tidings of their whereabouts be ascertained. It was believed by the Indian agent, Mr. Christopher Carson (Kit Carson) of Rocky Mountain celebrity, who accompanied the column, that the Apaches were either lying concealed in the valley along the western side of White Mountain or had gone through the Mosca Pass which divides the White Mountain from the Western Mountain range, and thence had proceeded by the Valley of the Huerfano toward the Wah-a-to-Yohs (the Spanish Peaks) on the morning of the 28th of May.

Captain Quinn with his company of spies was detached from the column, with instructions, with thirty-eight men of his company supplied with rations for three days, around the western base of the Sierra Blanca to the Mosca Pass and through the north of those mountains to the Valley of the Huerfano. The object for which he was sent was to ascertain whether or not the Apaches were on that side of the mountain between Fort Massachusetts and the pass which is forty miles north of the Fort. To accomplish this, Captain Quinn was directed to exercise all foresight and caution that he might discover the Indians without being seen himself, and if he found them in force to avoid bringing on an action and to communicate immediately with Major Carleton. . . .

Agreeably with the purpose indicated in these instructions, the column left the same morning and proceeded around the eastern base of the Sierra Blanca, struck the Sangre de Christo River and followed it upward to what is called the Vallacita of the Sangre de Christo Pass, a fine well sheltered break in the mountains near the summit and just below the snow line. Therein it struck across the pass discovered by Captain Gunnison to the Huerfano River where it arrived on the 29th of May. In marching from the Sangre de Christo Pass to the Huerfano River, Mr. Carson discovered in a small valley an Indian trail which he at once pronounced to be that of Jicarilla Apaches. This trail was so cold the grass and weeds had grown in the footprints of the horses, which were now otherwise nearly obliterated by recent heavy rains. There was a slight prospect that all the Indians who had crossed the Rio Grande had not passed over this trail, but were lying concealed in the western valley of the Sierra Blanca, or in the Mosca Pass.

To provide for this and carry out the plan indicated in the instructions to Captain Quinn, it was decided to proceed to the

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33. N.A.R.S.W.R.B.



Huerfano, there to lie in ambush for such of the Apaches as might run through the Mosca Pass in the belief that the company of spies was but the arrant couriers of a large force proceeding against them on that side. The next morning it was found that Captain Quinn had seen no Indians in his whole route from Fort Massachusetts through the Mosca Pass to the Huerfano.

But immediately in the pass he found where they had encamped to the number of thirty-three lodges and here too he found the trail and followed it down into the plains. Lieutenant Moore's Dragoons with sixteen rank and file and Kit Carson went, together with Captain Quinn and his spy company, down to the Huerfano River to the road that leads through the Sangre de Christo Pass to the Arkansas River, whilst Major Carleton with the rest of the column took the back trail to the same point. In this way, every part of the country which the Apaches could have passed over was reconnoitred. Here near where Mr. Carson had discovered the trail the day before, the whole command was united again.

It immediately started southward in the direction of the Spanish Peaks by the way of a rugged and elevated mountain valley known as Maxwell's Pass. Here were found the remains of an Indian camp, and evidence that those who made it had been in Lieutenant Davidson's battle at Cieneguilla. This camp offered positive proof that Mr. Carson was right when he pronounced the dim trail of yesterday to be that of the Jicarillas. The command took heart at this. It was now settled beyond a doubt that after so many days of search it had finally got upon the right track.

Captain Quinn's trailers (Indians from the Pueblo of Javs [Taos] and some picked Mexicans) with an instinct that was truly wonderful, then led off, and on the evening of the 31st of May, after winding through deep woods, tangled undergrowth, up and down mountains, through gorges, across deep streams and wide marshes, and through prairies and open woodlands, the column was encamped within a few hundred feet of the eternal snows of the northernmost of the Spanish Peaks.

Here again we found another encampment perched like an eyrie high up the mountain side in an almost inaccessible grove of quaking aspens. This encampment indicated that the Indians had stayed in it at least three days.

From this point around the eastern base of the Spanish Peak to the deep gorge which divides the twin mountains, it is twenty-five miles over the most difficult country imaginable. . . . In this distance the column passed two encampments more and the sign was apparent that the space was rapidly diminishing between it and the Indians. From the watch in the peaks, the trail led off to the southeast and for some fifteen miles down a beautiful well grassed valley, walled in by sandstone bluffs and ornamented by open pine glades.

It has a fine spring of water about midway its length known by hunters as the Carrington Springs. This valley is said to be a favorite resort of the Apaches. To identify it as a point on the march it was called the Dragoon Park. From the foot of this valley, the trail led across Purgatory River directly into the Raton Mountains, say twenty-five miles west of the point where the Bent's Fort road crosses the range.<sup>34</sup> This road was reached in the morning of the 4th of June about six miles west of the summit of the mountains. For the last three days, the column had passed three Apache camps a day and was now on what is called a warm trail.

Near where the Bent's Fort road was struck, fresh "signs" were seen to have come back on the trail, indicating that spies had been sent to see if there was any pursuit. When these footprints were discovered, Mr. Carson said the command would be sure to overtake the Apaches by two o'clock that day. From the road, the trail led immediately up the side of the lofty precipice known as Fischer's Peak.<sup>35</sup> The utmost precaution was necessary in passing up the mountain side, to prevent observation from the top. Fortunately a deep channel filled with timber afforded cover for most of the distance; the last five-hundred feet was over blocks of scoriac and nearly as steep, block by block, as any stairs could be. Finally, leading a single file and after much toil and the giving out of many horses, the spy company and the head of the column reached the summit. Here the top of the mountain was found to be level table land and at this point it was not over one-hundred yards in width forming a deep amphitheatre, coming in from the great prairie on the northern side, cutting this towering mesa nearly asunder. This amphitheatre contains many thousands of acres. Its left half, looking toward the north upon the prairie as upon a stage, was covered with grass near the summit; its right was filled by the most impenetrable of woods. A stream of water ran northward through the center. As soon as Mr. Carson, who was ahead, could look over into this amphitheatre, he saw a herd of horses feeding some three or four hundred yards below and in the edge of the thick timber on the right some Indian lodges.

He made sign to those who were behind to keep concealed until he could make further observation. Major Carleton went forward to find if possible a way for the troops to descend to this camp. Fortunately, the only place where horses could be ridden down was immediately in front of him. This place was very steep and very rough, and just wide enough for two horses to move abreast. This tread of the horses passing across the top of the mesa as the troops one by one succeeded in reaching the summit, was heard by the Indians below. The moment it was seen they had taken the alarm, the column was ordered to advance; when with a shout and amidst the fire and whoop of the

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34. The older or western branch of the Santa Fe Trail.

35. A conspicuous landmark located southeast of Trinidad, Colorado.

Pueblos and Mexicans, who dashed furiously down over the rocks, it descended at a gallop into the amphitheatre below. The Apaches were panic stricken. Three of them endeavored to save the cavallada of horses, but nearly all the rest fled to the cover of the deep woods in rear. A few rushed down the same way with the horses. These were fired into and it is believed, from pools of blood which were seen at the point and from other evidence, that several of them were killed or wounded.

Captain Quinn with his spy company went rapidly down the creek to capture the horses of the Indians and Lieutenant Davidson, with his company of dragoons, moved at a gallop to the same point to cut off any Apaches who might attempt to escape in that direction. The men of Company G, First Dragoons, were dismounted and moved as skirmishers directly upon the camp where the women and children were believed to be, and where, it was supposed, if the Indians made a stand at all, some little sharp fighting might be expected. Lieutenant Johnston, First Dragoons, was ordered to join these men. The men of Company K,<sup>36</sup> First Dragoons, under Lieutenant Moore, were ordered back up on the mesa again, thence to pass around to the right along the upper edge, to cut off any Indians who might get through the woods and attempt escape by clambering up to the prairies above. The woods were so thick and so filled with large boulders . . . and the precipice side of the mountain afforded so many ledges and holes for concealment, it was finally ordered that Lieutenant Davidson should dismount his men near the mouth of the amphitheatre and deploy them across the woods toward Company K, under Lieutenant Moore, who by this time had arrived on a point of the mesa opposite to Lieutenant Davidson, and which was at least four-hundred feet above him. Lieutenant Moore was ordered to take all these men of Company K, except four to guard the horses, and descend off the precipice, and deploy as skirmishers so as to unite with Lieutenant Davidson, when they two were to sweep the whole woods back to the camp. It may be imagined how difficult it was for Lieutenant Moore and his men to descend the precipice, when it is stated they had to go down a tree to the first shelf where they could get a footing and from that point by a single rope to the next. This rope was formed of two lariats tied together. . . . By this the Lieutenant and his men descended from the shelf by the aid of branches and rocks and succeeded in reaching the woods where Lieutenant Davidson's men were deployed. The skirmishers of these two companies then commenced moving back toward the point where the column had first charged down from the summit. Lieutenant Johnston with a party of men was now posted along the upper edge of the prairie to destroy any Indians that might avoid these skirmishers. The woods were thus swept through, but the Indians had concealed themselves so effectively not one could be found.

36. This had been Cooke's old company just before the Mexican War when he was Captain, 1st Dragoons.

The "Assembly" was then sounded and the troops came together at the Indian camp. Here it was found that the Apaches had abandoned their lodges in such haste they could have taken nothing away. Their food was still cooking on the fire. Their dried meat, dressed skins, horse equipage, and even powder and balls, were left behind. Of the whole cavallada they succeeded in getting away but one horse and one mule. Every other horse, thirty-eight in all, which they had was captured. Perhaps the capture of these horses may not be considered a military act, as it left the Indians nothing by which the column could trail them any farther. It was found by Mr. Carson and Captain Quinn and the very best trailers in the command that it was impossible to pursue the Indians as, over precipice and rocks, on foot as they were, not a sign was left to indicate the direction they might take. Accordingly it was ordered that the column should recross Fisher's Peak to the good grass and water along its southern slope, and there encamp. But before leaving the amphitheatre, everything belonging to the Apaches was destroyed. Lieutenant Johnston, Lieutenant Moore and Captain Quinn with forty men were left concealed in the deep woods of the amphitheatre . . . to destroy any Apaches who might return after the column had departed. . . .

. . . The moral effect of pursuing these Indians on a cold trail over such a country, and finally surprising them in broad day in one of the most inaccessible positions that can be conceived of, must be very great indeed. They lost everything and have been taught the fact that with all their cunning the Americans can pursue and find them.

. . . Kit Carson, who had been in mountains for thirty years and who is justly celebrated as being the best tracker among the white men in the *world*, says that in *all* his experience he never saw such wonderful trailing in his life as was made on this campaign by Captain Quinn and his Mexican and Indian spies; and he willingly admitted that these men had kept on the track when he himself would have given up. . . . Therefore, to Carson and Quinn and the spy company is due *all* the credit, which may be accorded for whatever success this column may have had in finding the Apaches. . . .

You are aware that the regulars of this column are all of the First Dragoons and it may truly be said that for patience and fortitude in this arduous march . . . for promptness when called upon for any and every duty, and for gallantry in sweeping the Apaches out of their camp, they made themselves equal to the men who rode knee to knee in the calmest days of the regiment.<sup>37</sup> Fortunately, not one of them

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37. Here speaks old regimental esprit. Cooke had been one of the original officers of the 1st Dragoons when it was activated at Jefferson Barracks, Missouri, March 4, 1833. In fact he was promoted 1st Lieutenant the same day. Stephen W. Kearny was the initial Lieutenant Colonel. Cooke served with this, the first cavalry regiment in the Army, until his promotion to Major, 2d Dragoons, while he was in California, on February 16, 1847. N.A.R.S.W.R.B.

has been injured. The officers of this command, Lieutenant Davidson, Lieutenant Johnston, and Lieutenant Moore, all subalterns in the 1st Regiment of Dragoons, afforded the commander of the column the most cheerful support throughout this campaign by manifesting the utmost zeal and alacrity in the performance of their duties. . . .

Lieutenant Colonel Cooke did not participate in the fourth principal campaign against the Indians in 1854. That was an expedition to punish the Mescalero Apaches for molesting the mail caravans between El Paso and San Antonio.<sup>38</sup>

At the conclusion of his season's operations against the Apaches, Cooke and his subordinates received notable commendations from their superior officers.

Writing to the General in Chief on April 30, General Garland referred to Cooke as then "suffering with chills and fever" as a result of the battle and pursuit at Agua Caliente and added that his "prompt and energetic movement reflects the highest credit on this officer."<sup>39</sup>

Again, following the expedition culminating in the routing of the Jicarillas at Fischer's Peak, Garland reported, June 30:<sup>40</sup>

In making report of the military operations against the Jicarilla Apaches under the eye and orders of Lieutenant Colonel Cooke, 2d Dragoons, for the information of the general-in-chief, I will confine myself to the simple remark that all has been done which was in the power of troops to do.

I approve most cordially the manner in which Lieutenant Colonel Cooke has conducted his campaign.

Not the least noteworthy tribute to Cooke was paid by Kit Carson: "He is as efficient an officer to make campaigns against Indians as I have ever accompanied, that he is brave and gallant all know."<sup>41</sup>

38. Garland, Santa Fe, June 30, 1854; *op. cit.*, [note 19], 36.

39. *Op. cit.*, [note 19], 34.

40. *Ibid.*, 36.

41. Edwin L. Sabin, *Kit Carson Days*, II, 664 (New York, 1935). This praise appears all the more remarkable when it is considered that Cooke and Carson were on opposite sides in the bitter controversy between General Kearny and Brevet Lieutenant Colonel John C. Fremont in California during 1847. Carson had been Fremont's guide and friend, while Cooke had served with Kearny in the 1st Dragoons since 1833, remained intensely loyal to him, and was one of the principal witnesses against Fremont at the latter's famous courtmartial early in 1848, which rocked Washington for weeks. See: *Sen. Ex. Doc. 33, 30th Cong., 1st Sess.*

Finally the ultimate in commendation came in a Presidential citation from the War Department in General Orders No. 9, dated June 21, 1854:<sup>42</sup>

The Secretary of War has received from the Departments of Texas and New Mexico, the official accounts of the engagements which have recently taken place between detachments of the Army and hostile bands of warlike tribes of Indians inhabiting those regions of country. In these various encounters, the conduct of Lieut. Col. P. St. George Cooke, 2d Dragoons, 1st Lieut. John W. Davidson, 1st Dragoons, 2d Lieut. David Bell, 2d Dragoons, 2d Lieut. George B. Cosby, Mounted Riflemen, and Sergeants C. H. McNally, John Green, and John Williams, of the same regiment, severally in command on the different occasions, merit special praise. The gallantry, fortitude, and devotion exhibited by the troops in every instance of combat and in the most arduous pursuit of the enemy, are creditable to the Army, and receive the marked approbation of the President and of the Department. The measures adopted by Brevet Major General Smith and Brevet Brigadier General Garland, respectively in command of the Military Departments of Texas and New Mexico, are approved.

Cooke departed from Fort Union September 13, 1854, five days before Colonel Thomas T. Fauntleroy officially took over command.<sup>43</sup> With a miscellaneous detachment of soldiers and civilians he proceeded to Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, where most of the companies of the 2d Dragoons were then stationed. From that post, in 1855, he was destined to add still further to his Indian fighting experience. This time it was to be against the Brulé Sioux in Nebraska, culminating in the Battle of Blue Water on September 3.

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42. N.A.R.S.W.R.B.

43. N.A.R.S.W.R.B. See also: Percival G. Lowe, *Five Years a Dragoon*, 181 (Kansas City, Mo., 1906)

## ALBERT FRANKLIN BANTA: ARIZONA PIONEER

*Edited by* FRANK D. REEVE

*(Concluded)*

Along in the summer of '96 I sold the *Argus*. The "Cross of Gold" [speech] gave Bryan the democratic nomination, and from that day to this the "God of Gold" has been Mr. Bryan's most adored Deity. "Bucky" O'Neill,<sup>202</sup> a personal friend, was a candidate for Congress on the Populist ticket. He came to Holbrook on his campaign itinerary and put up with me. At this time I had about made up my mind to try Alaska; reports had just come in of rich gold discoveries on the Yukon river. This I mentioned to "Bucky" and he said, "Cut that out, you are too old and never can stand that climate; go down to Phoenix and after the close of the present election buy the *Arizona Populist*." He gave me a long talk about that paper and said I think it would be a good investment, and much more to the same effect. I went to Phoenix in October same year. John Q. White was editor of the *Populist*; as soon as I had reached Phoenix, White wanted me to take the *Arizona Populist* off his hands. I refused to do so at that and told White I was not a Populist although a warm friend of "Bucky" O'Neil.

President McKinley appointed Myron H. McCord<sup>203</sup> to be Governor of Arizona. In the meantime I had purchased the *Arizona Populist*<sup>204</sup> and at "Bucky's" suggestion re-

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202. Captain William Owen O'Neill was born in St. Louis, Mo., February 2, 1860. He came to Arizona in 1879 with a law degree from the National University, Washington. When the Spanish-American war broke out, he was Mayor of Prescott, but joined the Rough Riders in command of Troop A. He was killed in action and lies buried in Arlington National Cemetery. He was "Without question one of the most popular citizens of Arizona. . . ." *Portrait and Biographical Record of Arizona*. His death is described in Theodore Roosevelt, *The Rough Riders*, p. 123 (Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1919). The 23rd Legislative Assembly appropriated \$10,000 to erect a monument of Captain O'Neill which now stands in the courthouse square at Prescott. Kelly, *Arizona*, p. 245.

203. Myron H. McCord was commissioned Governor on July 29, 1897. Fish, *Manuscript*, 2:366. But he resigned August 1, 1898, to become Colonel of the 1st Arizona Regiment for service in the Spanish-American war. Kelly, *Arizona*.

204. The *Arizona Populist* (Phoenix) is listed for the years 1894-1896 and the *Pick and Drill* for 1897 to 1899 in Gregory, *American Newspapers*.

named the paper *The Pick and Drill* and moved it to Prescott. Governor McCord appointed me a Lieutenant-Colonel<sup>205</sup> of Cavalry on his staff. The Spanish war came on and everybody went wild over that matter. O'Neill and McCord hated each other as bad as the devil hates holy water. One day I dropt into the office of the *Prescott Courier*, and meeting O'Neil there I said, "'Bucky' why don't you raise a company, all the boys are ready and anxious to go with you as their Captain." He replied, "That s--n of a b--h McCord would see me in h--l before he would give me a commission as Captain or anything else." Telling him I thought I could fix the matter for him, he said I wish you would Charly, I want to go awfully bad.

I immediately took the train for Phoenix where I called upon the Governor and stated my mission. The Governor flared up at once and said he'd be d----d first. However, I reasoned with Mc., giving some good reasons why it would be a good policy to appoint O'Neil Captain. The Governor mused for a few minutes and then said, "I believe you are right Colonel, go back and tell O'Neil to raise his company, send the roll down to me and he shall have the appointment as Captain of the company." Returning to Prescott I gave O'Neil the result of my mission. He was highly elated and said, "You are the only man in Arizona that could have accomplished that *coup d'etat*, and I shall always remember it and if I return from the war I shall make it my study to reciprocate to the best of my ability." He never returned. "Bucky" said to me one day, "If the war lasts long enough, I will return with a star." Meaning the rank of a Brigadier-General.

Oakes Murphy went on to Washington; soon afterwards Governor McCord was authorized to raise a regiment of volunteers; this he did and was made Colonel of the regiment; Oakes secured the appointment as Governor to succeed McCord. My good friend Oakes was a smooth worker and politician. The war was of short duration; I picked on Aleck

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205. The story of this appointment and the story concerning O'Neill is retold in the *Prescott Courier*, June 21, 1924.



O. Brodie<sup>206</sup> as a candidate for Congress, hoping to elect him on his war record. Brodie had gone to the war as the senior Major of the Rough Rider Regiment, and came out a Lieutenant-Colonel. I had Brodie's name at the head of my paper; some of the wise Republican politicians were opposed to Brodie being a candidate. Mark A. Smith<sup>207</sup> flatly refused to accept the Democratic nomination; he feared Brodie would defeat him and did not want to lose prestige in the Territory, so Colonel J. F. Wilson received that nomination. Although the weakest man the Democrats had, he nevertheless won [won] out against Brodie.

I attended the Territorial convention at Phoenix as a member of the Yavapai county delegation, at which we were to elect Delegates to the Republican National convention of 1900. Ike T. Stoddard was our candidate—he got left.

The big fire<sup>208</sup> that burnt up the business part of Prescott cleaned me out root and branch. Without a dollar I went down to Naco; out to the Cananea mines owned by Bill Green.<sup>209</sup> Returning from the Cananeas I went to the new town of Douglas. Being certain that here was soon to be a big town I started the *Douglas Dispatch*,<sup>210</sup> the first paper in

206. Alexander Oswald Brodie graduated from West Point and was commissioned 2nd Lieut. in the Cavalry on June 15, 1870. He resigned, September 30, 1877. He entered the Spanish-American war with the rank of Major, 1st United States Volunteer Cavalry, May 4, 1898. Heitman, *Register*. He arrived in Arizona in 1870, was the Republican candidate for Delegate in 1898, and became Governor by appointment in July, 1902, resigning, February 15, 1905, to re-enter the regular army. Kelly, *Arizona*, pp. 221, 234.

207. Banta might be mixed up on this matter. John F. Wilson withdrew from the race in 1900 in favor of Marcus A. Smith in order to maintain party harmony. Fish, *Manuscript*, 3:706. Smith was Territorial Delegate at the time of the bid for statehood in 1902 when the Beveridge Committee visited the Southwest. He also served as one of the two first Senators when Arizona entered the Union in 1912. Wyllys, *Arizona*, pp. 298, 315.

John F. Wilson, political rival of Smith, served in the Confederate army. A lawyer by training, he arrived in Arizona in 1887; served as Attorney General in 1896, Territorial Delegate in 1898, and again in 1902. Fish, *Manuscript*, 3:705.

208. The story of this disaster was described recently in J. S. Allen, "Yavapai Inferno: The Story of the Great Prescott Fire." *Arizona Highways*, vol. 17, no. 5 (May, 1941). It is also reported in *The Arizona Republican*, July 16, 1900, and *Holbrook Argus*, July 21, 1900.

209. Bill Greene is reported as having killed Jim Burnett at Tombstone on July 5, 1897. *Arizona Journal Miner*, July 6, 1897.

210. The *Douglas Dispatch* was started by Banta on March 15, 1902. *Arizona Journal-Miner*, March 20, 1902. Charlie Banta's new paper, the *Douglas Dispatch*,

the new town. Having no means to keep up my lick I sold it to Dorr. Leaving Douglas I went to Yuma to join "Arizona" Charly's expedition to subjugate the Indians and take possession of the Tiburon Island in the Gulf of California. The scheme fell through. Remaining all winter at Yuma, I determined on going out prospecting, as the only alternative to recuperate my "fallen fortunes." Going back to Tucson I prospected in the Santa Catalinas for a time without any success. I then went to work for Bartlett of the Legal Tender until Tucson closed; then to Phoenix until that place closed. In Phoenix I worked in the Casino. After Phoenix closed I went directly to Yuma where I worked in the Exchange without missing a shift until midnight March 31, 1907. April 1st I boarded the S[outhern] P[acific] for Phoenix. Here I remained about seventeen days playing panguingia<sup>211</sup> at which I made my expenses and fare to Ash Fork. From Ash Fork I went to Albuquerque and thence to El Paso. After a time I reached New Orleans where I remained for some time. From New Orleans I took ship for Colon and thence across the Isthmus by rail to the city of Panama.

The city of Colon is situate on a low swampy island; the mean tide of the Caribbean sea at this place is twelve inches; hence the island is never overflowed by the tides. Panama is located upon a rock pininsula extending into the Gulf of Panama. It is surrounded by water except on the north side. By survey the isthmus is a fraction over thirty-one miles across from salt water to salt water. Panama is twenty-one miles east of Colon,<sup>212</sup> and the sun rises out of the Gulf of Panama. This seems strange but is owing to the configuration of the isthmus. It was very puzzling to see the sun come up out of the Pacific waters and go down behind Ancon hill, towards Colon and the Caribbean sea. The mean tides at

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was established on March 19, 1902. He sold it October 8, 1902. *Arizona Sentinel*, October 8, 1902. The beginning date is given as March 15 in Gregory, *American Newspapers*.

211. Panguingui: A Tagalog gambling game. *Websters International Dictionary* (Unabridged. 2nd edition). Tagalogs are Filipinos. This game, played in Arizona, may illustrate the influence of the Islands on Spanish America from the days of Spanish imperial control.

212. Banta means that Panama lies twenty-one miles east of Colón on a north-south line. In other words, Panama is southeast of Colón.

Panama are eighteen feet, the highest tides being twenty-three feet. The rainy season begins about the middle of May and ends about the middle of December. During the five months of the dry season the rain-fall is not so heavy. The rain-fall for the year will average about twelve feet. A line drawn from Panama to San Francisco would cut thru the Caribbean sea, the Gulf of Mexico and thru Arizona to San Francisco. Panama has no deep water for shipping and all vessels must anchor about two miles out; passengers and freight are then transfered to shore by boats. At the *boca del toro* is a wharf, but only light draught boats can reach it. The Pacific outlet of the Canal is at this place, but the Government will have to do plenty of dredging here before our battleships can reach the deep water of the Gulf. The native population of Panama is 90 per cent negro, and the other ten per cent run the country. The 90 per cent class have kinky hair, the other ten have black or other colored hair. Since our Government took the matter in hand, the city of Panama is one of the cleanest and is as healthy as any of the Gulf cities of our country. The climate is delightful and it would [be] a veritable paradise if one could have health.

While at Panama I thought to do some prospecting and tried the jungle, but it was useless, I could not go anywhere without cutting [a] way with a *macheta* and at that rate could not make a mile in a month—gave it up. The temperature of Panama seldom rises above 82 degrees, or below 69 degrees, making an average variation of 10 degrees the year round. Considering the rainfall of the isthmus one would naturally suppose the mosquitos to be very much in evidence. But such is not the case and no mosquitos are met with in the jungle. Much ado has been made by the press of the States over "our poor boys suffering with the heat in Panama." The truth is, the heat down there is never so bad as it is in the States. The heat of the Salt River valley in Arizona makes the heat of Panama look like thirty cents. All the time I was there I had to sleep under an extra blanket. The soil is exceedingly rich and grass grows from two to three feet high in a month. I am of the opinion that the two oceans were connected by a strait at the isthmus; or, the

country had been slightly elevated at some time. I made an examination of the formations between the two oceans and found it all to be sedimentary, composed principally of sea-shells. The apparently solid rock, on breaking, was simply a rotten mass of shells. Even Culebre cut, the hardest of all, and the highest point along the Canal, resembles pudding stone, having shells scattered thru it. In fact the Government could not find any stone on the isthmus with which to construct the great dams, but was obliged to bring the stone from Porto Bello.

There is no such thing as a "Panama hat." Being curious to see how such hats were made, and the material used, I looked all over the city to find a hat factory and failed. Going to the office of the *Star & Herald*, the oldest paper in Panama, founded in 1849, I asked Mr. Duque, the proprietor, about the matter. He laughed and said, "Most foreigners call the hat 'Panama' but it is not made here, and there never was a hat factory in this city. The so called 'Panama' hats are made in Guayaquil, Ecuador, and are really an Ecuadorian hat." So much for another myth of my youth.

The jungle is so interlaced with vines that it is impossible to penetrate it without cutting your way thru with a *macheta*. One specie of vine is used by the natives for ropes. It is about the size of bed-cord and cannot be broken; it may be tied into a hard knot but will not break. How long it grows I do not know, but I have seen it fully sixty feet long, without a leaf or other growth on it. This vine is used by the natives in the construction of their houses, in which not a nail or other piece [of] iron is used. Owing to the humidity of the atmosphere iron is absolutely worthless. All iron or steel tools must be kept covered with thick grease when not in use. All tropical fruits grow wild and in abundance; I have seen places in the jungle that the ground was literally covered with big fine lemons. Four kinds of bananas grow wild; pine apples, mangoes, papayas, mameis [mammee], and other kinds of fruits grow wild. Every cove along the beach is full of cocoa trees; a cocoanut tree will bear a nut for each day in the year or from three to four hundred per year; there are millions of cocoanuts no bigger than a wal-

nut, each one a perfect nut. The first calabash-tree I saw, I supposed the calabash[e]s were gourds and looked for the vine but no vine could I find; the calabash were the fruit of the tree. Not a spear of grass grows in the jungle, the surface of the ground is black, damp and bare; but clear away the jungle and up comes the grass and young banana sprouts, as thick as they can be—grass and bananas require sunlight, in the jungle the sun's rays never reach the ground.

All farming is done upon the high grounds and the hills, too much water on the low parts. It takes from five to seven years to get entirely rid of the jungle growth, roots, etc. etc. In nature the banana plant is like our mescal plant, its seedling ends its life. The banana has one bunch of bananas and then dies. The one great mystery to me is where the banana comes from. For instance, take the jungle where the sun's rays has not touch[ed] since the tropics began, perhaps thousands of years and more—the banana never grows in the jungle, it must have sunlight—cut away the jungle and the banana shoots up at once. Whence the seed or germ? As soon as the sun's rays touch the ground up springs the grass and bananas. However, the wise guys can tell about it.

In the matter of the papaw that grows all over Missouri, my Webster's Universal Dictionary says the papaw and the papaya are one and the same fruit. It says the papaw grows to the height of twenty-feet "with a soft herbaceous stem naked nearly to the top, where the leaves issue on every side, on long footstalks." How is that Mr. Missourian for a discription of a papaw tree? Its discription of the fruit is even worse. Now here is my discription of the papaya fruit that grows only in the tropics: In appearance it resembles a green squash, is six or eight inches long and four to five inches in diameter; cut open it is a rich yellow meat, and is eaten as a breakfast food like the cantaloup; in the center of the fruit is a small cavity containing a few seeds. Here is what the "wise guy" says about the Papaya: "The juice is acrid and milky, but the fruit when boiled is eaten with meat, like other vegetables." It is safe to say that the fellow writing the above never saw either a papaw or a papaya. So much for the "wise knowalls." However, the above is on

a par with the "Panama hat" matter; when a boy the book said, "The principal industry of Panama was the manufacture and exportation of Panama hats." I have also found from experience that our "wise" naturalists are away off in many things; and as great a chump as myself can tell them many things in nature that they are wholly ignorant of. But like the preachers, they can tell a lot about things they are ignorant of.

The natives make their *cayucas* [cayucos] (canoes) out of mahogany trees; so do the San Blas Indians. The country of the San Blas Indians is up the South American coast; it is called "up" either way from the isthmus. These Indians have their own government and they justly pride themselves as being "pure blood," unmixed with any other blood. The stranger passing thru is welcome but must not tarry more than three days in any village, or longer in any part of their domain; he or they must move on. I have seen these Indians out in the bay or on the Caribbean sea with their *cayucas*, and if one should get filled with water, all jump out, some on one side and some on the other, and catching hold of the sides of the canoe, they shake it back and forth thus throwing out a quantity of water; this done they climb into the canoe and bail out the remainder and go along as tho nothing had happened. Seeing this I determined to take a trip in a *cayuca* on the Caribbean sea.

Accompanied by a boy about sixteen years old, I took the train from Panama to Colon. At Colon I found a sloop rigged small boat that plied between Colon and Porto Bello, owned and Captained by a negro. On this we took passage for Porto Bello, the fare was two dollars each in Panamenia money. The weather was so fine, the atmosphere so balmy, that without thinking everything was put under hatch. Along in the night rain set in and being without a coat or other covering, I really suffered with the cold. That night a huge shark cut across our stern about twenty feet away; his dorsal fins just above the water, made a hissing noise as the brute shot past the boat. The following morning we put in to the pretty little bay of Porto Bello, but had to lay to until the custom-house official gave us permission to go

ashore. This seemed ridiculous to me, for a custom-house officer to examine coast-wise traders. But it is the law. At Porto Bello I found but one white man, that is a person whose hair is not kinky. There being no such thing as a stove or even a fireplace in the country, I was obliged to dry myself in the sun. No matter how well seasoned wood may be it will not burn in that country, and brasiers must be used for all purposes.

At this place I hired a *cayuca* (canoe) made of mahogany and eighteen feet long, for a trip up the coast on the Caribbean sea. We used paddles and sat in the stern and the boy in front. Out in the big rollers, on the crest of one, we had a good view around, but when we descended into the trough of the sea, nothing but a wall of water was to be seen in any direction. With the bow of the canoe pointed downward, and a big roller coming head on, it looked like we were to be buried under an hundred thousand tons of water. But I had observed the manner of ducks and geese riding the waves, so I steared the canoe to conform to the same manner. Going up the south coast I put in at every cove, at those large enough I found a little village, but never an individual without kinky hair. All coves were filled with coconut trees, with fruit at every stage of ripeness. In some no sweet water was to be found and in such cases we used coconut milk to make our coffee, and to drink.

Numerous small islands were seen enroute, some were occupied and others not. At Isla Grande (large island) on which is a light-house at the entrance of the Golfo del Nombre de Dios (what a ridiculous name—the Gulf of the name of God) we put ashore. Here was a little store owned by a Spaniard—the only white man on the island—where I purchased a few edibles. The strait between the island and mainland was about two miles wide, this we paddled across the next morning and found another pretty cove in which was a native hut. This hut like all others had a palm-leaf thatch roof, but was more pretentious than many or all others, it had a floor in it. We put our plunder in the house in case of rain, there being no one occupying the house. That afternoon a big burly negro came along; he was a Jamaica

negro and an English subject, and spoke fairly good English. Finding we had gone into the house he said it was his property, but "it was all right as we know how to treat our people when they come along." He had bought the plat of ground for \$50, and was then cutting ties for the Railroad for which he received forty cents each in Panamenia money. Here I undertook to cook a pot of beans. I set up three rocks and with a little coal oil started a fire out of the driest shavings I could find, but to keep the fire going was obliged to fan it with my hat until the beans were cooked; to stop a second was to see the fire go out of business.

I had decided to turn back from this place, but looking out to sea I saw too many white caps to venture out that day so lay over a day here. These warm southern seas abound in sharks, but the animal is cowardly and will flee if you strike the water with a paddle or even with your hand; did they have no fear and exercised their power a little canoe would be no protection at all. Our canoe had only four or five inches above the water, besides it leaked some and needed more or less bailing out. The whole coast is lined with a dirty white coral; this coral is built up to within a few inches of the surface of the water and this causes the water to show white, from its shallowness above the coral. In order to reach the beach it is necessary to get thru the reef of coral; this is done by passing in between two beds of coral; the space between is sometimes wide enough to admit a canoe, and sometimes wide enough to admit a small ship. When outside and desiring to run in, it is necessary to watch the coast for a black space showing between white water on both sides. The black looking space indicates deep water free of coral, and the canoe would be headed straight for the black looking space. At times it became necessary to get inside the reef in a hurry, as our little frail canoe could not stand much of a storm on the outside. On two or three occasions after passing the outside reef our canoe would strike some obstruction which caused a delay of a few seconds, and in each instance the canoe would be filled with water from the oncoming roller. But we did not mind this much as we were merely met with salt water instead of rain.



To give an idea of the rainfall in these tropical countries, once we had gotten inside the coral reef and a storm suddenly came up; we jumped out of the canoe, made for a native hut nearby; the storm lasted perhaps ten minutes—they are never of any length—and going to the canoe it was found to be full of water. The rains here do not fall in drops but comes down in solid sheets of water. At such times it is necessary to have some sort of covering for the head else one cannot breath; comparatively speaking it is like a tub of water being poured over the head. We encountered the roughest seas when rounding a promontory, and were always obliged to keep well out at sea for obvious reasons.

In time we returned to Porto Bello. This place was well fortified by the early Spaniards, there being no less than seven old forts here. The largest fort being at the terminus of the Royal paved trail, from old Panama to Porto Bello. It was over this trail all the gold, silver and other stuff, the Spaniards plundered of the Peruvians and others of South America, was brought by pack trains to Porto Bello and stored in the vaults beneath this fort to await the ships from Spain. This particular fort was surrounded by a solid wall of masonry; the main entrance led into a small court. In this court is now a tree five feet in diameter; another door led from the court thru another thick wall of masonry, and beneath the main fort into a corrider. Here was found the "gold room," and upon either side of the gold room were the "silver" galleries, extending back perhaps seventy feet. The corrider was five feet wide; the gold room was about fifteen feet deep and eight feet wide, the roof was oval and seven feet high. The two galleries were about six feet wide and oval roofs seven feet in height. These treasury vaults were under the fort and above them was solid masonry.

In and about these old forts I counted forty-one old fashioned cannon, which were fired with a torch. In one of the under-ground dungeons, where not a ray of light had ever penetrated, we found an old fashioned firelock, perhaps one of the first made; it was bell-mouth and also fired by a torch. It had perhaps lain there for two or three hundred years; the natives—all negroes—never daring to enter those old hidden

recesses of those old forts. I wanted to bring the thing away with me for a curiosity, but the official said it was government property, and he took possession of my precious relic.

The harbor of Porto Bello is not very large, but is a safe one as it is completely landlocked; it is about two miles long and a mile and a quarter wide, with a sufficient depth of water for large ships. Colon has no harbor, simply an open roadstead, and in a very severe storm all shipping at Colon must seek refuge in the harbor of Porto Bello, or else put out to sea for safety. The Caribbean waters are so warm the fish are not fit to eat, and in order to get good solid fish it is necessary to go out twenty miles or more, and then fish for deep-water fish at a depth of two or three hundred feet. The fishing is done with wire traps with bate inside of them. This fish is sold to the ocean steamers at a good figure.

Leaving the Government stone-quarry, opposite to Porto Bello, on a Government tugboat, we went back to Colon, or rather to Cristobal, the name of that part claimed by the U.S. The following day took the train for Panama, completing the sixteen day trip on the ocean in an eighteen foot canoe, and in which we were thoroughly drenched every day by daily rains and sea water.

Old Panama is five or six miles northeast of the present Panama; it was destroyed by the English bucaneer Henry Morgan in 1680. Morgan fortified the island of Taboga [Tabago] and made that island his rendezvous for a considerable length of time; this island is fourteen miles from the present city of Panama, and is now used by the U. S. hospital service as a convalescent; it is the healthiest place in that section and has less rainfall. Old Panama is the oldest city in the New World, and was founded in 1518, by edict of the King of Spain declared a City in 1521. Here was the resort of pirates of all nationalities; but the English pirate—Drake and Morgan—were the terror of the Spaniard, and both these gentlemen were Knighted for successful piracies against the Spaniard. However, 'tis a pity Drake had not intercepted and wiped out the plundering and murdering Cortez, and the equally infamous Pizarro. Had Drake did this for humanity his piracies would have been gladly for-

given, and the fanatical priests prevented from destroying the historical records of these interesting peoples.

A large volume could be written about the big ditch of the Isthmus, and if the truth was told would disclose the greatest graft and steal the world ever witnessed; in fact, nine-tenths of the many millions spent by the Government upon this project was stolen or grafted.

There are only two points of egress and ingress to Panama—one by way of Colon and the other by way of Panama. No roads nor wagons in the whole country; only trails and these must be cut out with *machetas* almost daily, or all evidence of a trail would soon be obliterated, the growth of vegetation is so rapid in that wet and warm climate. To the northeast of the city of Panama are a low range of mountains, of an average altitude of 3,500 feet, with some elevations of perhaps 5,000 feet. They are over in the Darien country, and the source of the river Chagres, the largest and only river in the Republic. I attempted to reach these mountains but failed owing to the dense intervening jungle. I tried the old Royal paved trail, but this simply led me to the crossing of the Chagres, and not to the mountains, and I was forced to give up the project. Still I think these mountains contain mineral, but it is h—l and then some to reach them from either Colon or Panama.

Panama streets are so crooked, they lead everywhere and nowhere in particular; all are narrow, and the one crossing the peninsular upon which the city is built, and in front of the Cathedral—8th street—is only four feet wide between the side-walks which are two feet wide. In some places a side-walk may begin with a width of fifteen feet, but as one follows it the walk gradually narrows until [it] ends in a sharp point, and thence on it is the street. All in all Panama is a quaint and curious city, and worth the trouble of going to see. Having been here almost a year, and seen "Paris" to my entire satisfaction, I returned to the States.

At Cristoval I took steamer for New York, where I remained a month looking over Gotham, but soon had enough of its box canyons. The steamer *Concho* carried me to Galveston; at Key West a stop was made for twelve hours, giv-

ing me opportunity to see that very interesting and most southern point of territory within the United States. The Key is a coral island about sixty miles from the mainland of Florida (Florida is Spanish, meaning "flowery"). There are numerous keys, more or less sandy, and the breeding places for sea-turtle, many of which were to be seen floating about feeding upon "Portuguese men-of-war." From Key West to Havana is ninety miles, and I think the place was first used by pirates and smugglers in the early days. From Key West our course lay northwest for Galveston, but why Galveston? If the whole Gulf Coast had been searched for a town-site, no worse place could have been found than the site of Galveston, Texas. It is built upon a sandbar and surrounded by water—a dune in fact. It has no harbor nor deep water for ships of deep draught, it has simply an open roadstead and nothing more. A breakwater has been built to form some sort of harbor, yet ordinary ships entering usually stir up the mud from off the bottom. To prevent the city from being washed away by the sea-water, a large sea-wall had to be built for that purpose; and again I say, "Why Galveston?"

From here I went to Pueblo, Colorado, thence by the D. and R. G., to Durango—from strawberries to snow. After two months of cold and snow in Colorado I made the trip across country to Gallup, New Mexico. September 23, 1908, I started for a prospecting trip which carried me over a major portion of Arizona, and finally settled at Wickenburg in 1914. I can truthfully say without boasting that I know more of the topography of Arizona than any living man, not even excepting the Apaches themselves.

I am now a member of the Home for Pioneers, entering January 19, 1916. But the everlasting lure of the hills still possesses my soul, and I cannot shake off that feeling. Am liable to make another hike this Spring and next summer, *quien sabe* [who knows?] <sup>213</sup>

A perusal of the *History of Arizona* will give much in-

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213. I have seen a newspaper clipping without name or date which reads: "Charlie Banta will spend the next few months prospecting the Catalinas, having secured a vacation from the Pioneers Home where he has been a guest for some time."

formation of and about the writer, particularly in vol. 8, by Colonel TOM E. FARISH, STATE HISTORIAN.

(*The End*)

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My dear Miss Hall:

i have put down some of my "pastimes" but not all x it would take pages to record my doings the past 47-50 years x i have had a most strenuous and eventful career, and it cannot be put down in a few words x i have been raised on the frontiers, in log cabins, with no opportunities for education, and the little i do know, which of course is not much, has been gathered from observation and a voracious appetite for reading any and everything obtainable x i have jotted down some of my "occupations" but only a few, as there is not room for more x Have done almost everything under the sun excepting, of course, holding up stages—all else however has been my "occupation."<sup>214</sup>

A. F. Banta

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214. This letter was written on an official printed form of enquiry mailed from the office of the Arizona Historian, Phoenix, April 2, 1911. The printed form was only four pages long, so there was not much room for Banta to write on. The addressee was probably Sharlot Hall for whom the Sharlott Hall Museum at Prescott is named. Banta, *Papers*, State Department of Archives and Library, Phoenix, Arizona.

The letter represents an early attempt to collect the story of Banta's life, a task which he later carried out himself.

## Notes and Documents

RUPERT FRANZ ASPLUND, educator, economic expert, author, journalist, tax authority, widely acclaimed by the press as New Mexico's most useful citizen, died Sunday forenoon, December 7, 1952, at St. Vincent's Hospital, Santa Fe. He had been taken there from his home where he had suffered a heart attack. Only the evening before he had been an honored and jovial guest at the annual Phi Beta Kappa banquet in Albuquerque.

Asplund was born at Little Indian, Ill., on June 26, 1875, son of John and Clara Johnson Asplund. There he attended the rural school, later entering Whipple Academy at Jacksonville, Ill. Graduating with the BA degree from Illinois College in 1896, he received the MA degree in 1921 and LLD in 1946. Teacher in Illinois public schools 1896-1898, he became instructor in Whipple Academy and Illinois College 1898 to 1900, he served as principal of Whipple Academy 1900-1902, and instructor in Latin and Greek in Illinois College. In 1902 he accepted the professorship of Latin and Greek in the University of New Mexico at Albuquerque, an incumbent until 1909, when he was named chief clerk of the State Department of Education of New Mexico in Santa Fe, holding that position from 1909 to 1916. Secretary of the New Mexico Tax Commission 1917 and 1918, he accepted the directorship of the New Mexico Taxpayers Association in the latter year, holding that post until the time of his death.

Asplund was editor and publisher of the *New Mexico Journal of Education*, edited for many years *The New Mexico Tax Bulletin*, was author of numerous articles on economics and taxation, published far and wide; was author of *Elementary History and Civics of New Mexico*, and *New Mexico Tax Structure* as well as *One Hundred Years of Masonry in New Mexico*. Frequently called upon to lecture on tax legislation and other financial subjects, his acquaintances and friendships were nation-wide. His counsel was frequently sought by legislative bodies and executive officials

but he always refused to become a candidate for public office although importuned at frequent intervals. While dedicated to economy in government, he also gave sympathetic ear to the needs of public institutions and causes.

A member of the regional committee of the National Municipal League, of the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, the National Conference of Taxpayers Association Executives and the Tax Advisory Committee for the New Mexico and Mid-Continent Oil and Gas Association, he was also a leading member of the Little Hoover Commission which recently recommended important changes in New Mexico's government. Locally, Asplund had served on the City Council, was president of the Mutual Building and Loan Association, was a member of the Santa Fe Chamber of Commerce, of the Santa Fe Planning Commission, of the New Mexico Historical and Archaeological Societies. Surviving him are his widow and a daughter, Caroline, wife of Dr. Munro K. Ruch of Pasadena, California, two grandsons, and a nephew, Theodore Asplund of Santa Fe. Asplund was a Republican, an Episcopalian and 33d degree Mason. Funeral services were led in the Scottish Rite Cathedral and at the grave by the Rev. C. J. Kinsolving III, rector of the Episcopal Church of the Holy Faith of Santa Fe, and by Masonic Grand Lodge Officers who had come from various parts of the State and pronounced the following eulogy:

#### *Masonic Record*

Worshipful Master Montezuma Lodge No. 1, 1924

Grand Master of Masons in New Mexico, 1947-1948

Charter Member Red Cross of Constantine

Member Santa Fe Chapter Royal Arch Masons

Member New Mexico Council, Royal Arch Masons

Member Royal Order of Scotland

Coroneted 33° Mason, Scottish Rite, Oct. 21, 1931

Deputy of the Supreme Council, Scottish Rite in New Mexico since 1935

Author *One Hundred Years of Masonry in New Mexico*.

Voluminous writings and lectures on Masonic subjects for many years.

These briefly are the highlights of his Masonic service among us. Masons in general in this State and Scottish Rite in particular owe

him a debt of gratitude for the long years of most valuable service in their cause, and the splendid leadership which he has rendered in his stewardship over these long years of tenure in high office.

It is a debt which never can be paid, except in the kindly thoughts of his host of Masonic friends, and the satisfaction he must have felt in the knowledge of a work well done.

We will not dwell at length upon the details of his service of over forty years to the institutions and government of this State. The details of this service have lately been emphasized in the public press.

Service as a professor in our university; in the educational department of our State; in the State Tax Commission; on the Little Hoover Commission; but most of all service as the director of the Taxpayers Association for the past thirty-five years.

It was in the latter field that his deep interest in public problems chiefly lay, and he has been of inestimable value to the State in the guidance of its financial problems, by analysis and advice.

Due largely to the implicit trust in his ability, integrity and analysis of State problems, the legislators and public officials have welcomed and sought his aid, down through the years, with untold benefit to its citizens, as reflected in laws and regulations suggested, and limitations adopted as standards in our tax laws and budget systems, looking to the stability of our finances.

As friends of long standing may we offer a brief appreciation of Rupert, the man.

He was a Christian gentleman in all the true meaning of that word;—a man of unusual industry and effective performance. In his passing our State has lost perhaps the most useful person ever to have served her and Masonry has lost a splendid Mason and a very dear brother.

To his wife and family we extend our deepest sympathy in this hour of bereavement and the loss they have sustained, in which loss we all share.

We will remember him for the good deeds he hath wrought;—for the sincerity of his purposes;—for the kindness of his thoughts;—for the outstanding quality of his intellect;—for his virtues of industry;—and the charity of his mind;—for his upright character, and the use he has made of the opportunities of this life to serve the common good.

We are comforted in the belief that in that transition to the new life, he will receive a well merited reward.

Peace be with you my Brother.

The *Santa Fe New Mexican* editorially appraised Asplund's career as a civic servant in the following words:

Santa Fe and the entire state has suffered a loss in the passing of Rupert F. Asplund, who died here Sunday afternoon.



As the executive director of the Taxpayers Association of New Mexico for the past third of a century, he had served his fellow-citizens as faithfully and as truly as those who held public office.

Rupert Asplund was genuinely concerned with furthering the sound progress of his adopted state. He was more interested in the sensible expenditure of tax revenues than in merely preventing an increase of such revenues.

More than any other one individual, he was responsible for the adoption of modern budgetary practices in New Mexico's state government. He was a staunch protector of the 20-mill tax limitation in effect here, yet he always supported the idea of more realistic property assessments.

Rupert Asplund was offered public office on many occasions—and probably could have been the Republican nominee for Governor on at least three occasions. Yet he sought no honors other than those which accompanied the important but usually inconspicuous career he had chosen to follow.

## Book Reviews

*Black Robes in Lower California.* By Peter Masten Dunne, S.J. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1952. Pp. xiii, 540. \$6.50.

The story of the Jesuit missionary adventure in Baja California has thus far been sadly neglected by modern historians, except for a few articles, the works of Bancroft, and a number of unpublished studies. Now this fascinating topic is presented in detailed, compact form, and based upon carefully balanced sources. It is easily the first important contribution to the subject since the English translation of Francisco Javier Clavigero's *History of (Lower) California* was published fifteen years ago. Incidentally, it is also the fourth study by Father Dunne concerning Jesuit mission enterprise in Mexico.

As in the author's previous volumes, the organization and procedure of this work are simple and straightforward. They carry the story of Baja California's Jesuit penetration directly and plainly from 1697 to the expulsion of 1768. Interpretations and conclusions are mostly based upon careful research, with a wealth of footnote references; and there is little evidence that the writer is unduly swayed by loyalty to his order. An improvement upon some of his earlier studies is a more thorough appreciation of missionary techniques and of geographical and economic factors, which certainly ought not to be neglected in dealing with such a formidable country as Lower California. Six of the thirty-two chapters (I, VI, XVII, XVIII, XXVI and XXVII), deal more or less with these phases of the subject, and still more of them are covered in the Appendix and footnotes.

Father Dunne shows considerable skill in delineating character, and in describing the fifty-six Jesuit padres and fifteen missions of Baja California he has ample opportunity to display it. Salvatierra, Ugarte, Pícolo, Bravo, Baegert, Sistiaga, Link, Guillén, Consag and Taraval are his favored heroes, and rightly so, along with the martyrs Tamaral and Carranco. They form a gallery of portraits and show a

range of character, mostly praiseworthy, seldom found in the annals of any frontier.

At the same time the author does not conceal or minimize the methods of persuasion used by the missionaries and their soldier aides upon the peninsular Indians—combinations of threats, benevolence and exhortation. It is quite evident that much of the padres' influence upon the hungry natives was based upon the practice of regularly feeding them, although the principle is certainly not unknown in other religious fields and faiths. What may be called the technique of interrupted punishment and eleventh-hour pardon for rebellious Indians was also very effective, as Father Dunne indicates. When all is said on this matter, though, the fact remains that we can never positively know what the Indians themselves actually thought of the mission system as a whole. There were of course examples of extreme devotion toward some padres as individual protectors and benefactors. But the extent to which the Indians were truly civilized or were loyal to white men or to the Christian faith in general, will probably always remain unknown. And as the author and many of his sources of authority freely admit, the gathering of the natives into close and well-clothed communities, exposed to a wide variety of new diseases, could be nothing less than catastrophic to them, individually and racially, whether they appreciated the fact or not.

Here and there the book might have been better balanced. For example, some of the space devoted in Chapter XXIV to the details of Jesuit travel from Europe to Baja California, might well have been spent in rounding out the whole peninsular mission story by briefly describing the post-Jesuit Dominican régime in Baja California in Chapter XXXII. If the Dominican story lies outside the province of a Jesuit historian, so does the Franciscan northward advance into Alta California, to which so much consideration is given in this final chapter.

A few small errors might be noted and a few questions raised. On most maps the low, sandy island at the mouth of the Rio Colorado is listed as Montague, not "Montabue" (p. 212). A ship is usually said to founder rather than

to "flounder" (p. 57). We are left in doubt as to whether Padre Miguel Barco was an Italian (p. 311), or a Spaniard (p. 452). Is not the island of "Angel Custodio" visited by Padre Link in 1765 (p. 383), the same as Angel de la Guardia, off the east coast of the peninsula? (Cf. Clavigero, pp. 20, 345). If so, it must surely have been discovered by an earlier Gulf navigator than Ugarte. And why cannot the first or eastern location of Todos Santos mission be more clearly indicated (p. 193)? The fold-in map which, together with some good photographic illustrations, accompanies the work, could have been made much more useful by the addition of a few more details such as peninsular river valleys, harbors, mountains and islands, as well as by a few routes of explorers.

In general, however, this is an excellent piece of historical literature. If at times the Jesuit peninsular mission system seems a little fatuous, and if the traces of its labors are few and rare today, it is still undeniable that the padres separately and collectively put forth a splendid effort. Their mistakes were largely the common mistakes of their cultural period in Europe as well as in America. Their achievements were mainly transitory and in the realm of the spirit, but some of them added to the world's geographical and scientific knowledge. Father Dunne has narrated the failures, mistakes and triumphs with a commendable degree of objectivity as well as understanding and kindly sympathy. His book is to be highly recommended.

Arizona State College.

RUFUS KAY WYLLYS

*The Comanches: Lords of the South Plains.* By Ernest Wallace and E. Adamson Hoebel. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1952. Pp. xviii, 382. \$5.00.

The latest volume of the University of Oklahoma's Civilization of the American Indian Series is a definitive account of the life of a tribe long needing such analysis. Successful in their purpose of writing a popular yet instructive description of the Comanches, the authors have combined their historical and anthropological knowledge in a

book presenting all the advantages and few apparent disadvantages of collaboration. The historian can regret that historical information seems rather hurried, scant, and generally indicative of further significant detail unrevealed. Yet the anthropologist, who will certainly welcome the wealth of facts depicting peculiar Comanche customs, may also be aroused to wish for more than this type of book can provide.

A tremendous amount of the material now so competently provided for public use, was gathered by a party of The Santa Fe Laboratory of Anthropology in 1933 under the direction of Professor Ralph Linton of Yale with Mr. Hoebel as one of its members. To New Mexicans, so compact yet thorough a coverage of the life of their northeastern neighbors will prove of much value. Historical details of the part played by the tribe in New Mexican development will need to be sought elsewhere; but how the Comanches lived and loved, hunted and rode, worked and played, and fought and worshipped will probably never be so clearly and fully described by others within such reasonable limits. The authors so completely distinguished the Comanches from their related neighbors of the Plains that no reader will ever again feel justified in over-generalizing regarding Indians. To any one primarily acquainted with Pueblo Indians, such a book will provide an excellent description of an antithetical yet not geographically distant type of life. While Texans and Mexicans will remember the Comanches only with keen disgust, New Mexicans peculiarly will have reason to regard them at times even as having been collaborators. The transition of the Comanches from mustang-mounted warriors to peyote-drugged cattle leasers is told without evident prejudice. A life now gone is recaptured as reminiscences of the last survivors enable verification of Comanche legends and traditions.

As one has learned to expect, the publishers have produced a beautiful book. Footnotes are at the bottom of the pages and a satisfactory bibliography and index are included. The reviewer noticed only one typographical error, as a Pennsylvanian being quite astounded to find a Co-

manche interpreter referred to as a "Carlyle" graduate (p. 160). His surprise at the moment is indicative of his admiration for a book he hopes New Mexicans and other Comanche neighbors will find most useful. His wish for more historical detail will some day be fulfilled and in the meantime the anthropological presentation will serve as a model for those writing about other tribes.

Lycoming College

LORING B. PRIEST

*History of the Americas.* By John Francis Bannon. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1952. Vol. I, "The Colonial Americas," pp. xii, 582; Vol. II, "The American Nations," pp. xi, 568. Maps. Each volume \$5.50.

The scholar who sets out to compress the history of all the Americas between the covers of two volumes of less than gigantic size is undertaking a task of no mean proportions. Nothing less than a brave man would approach the project, knowing that the Americas cover more than 15,000,000 square miles, give sustenance to more than 300,000,000 people, and comprise twenty-two nations, not to mention the numerous colonial segments here and there.

The nature of the task requires a combination of the topical and the chronological arrangements. The author pursues the story of the Anglo-American sections a certain distance, shifts to the Latin-American for a time, then back, thus covering the colonial period in the first volume. He concludes this volume, of course, with the story of the American Revolution—not neglecting the "Early Years of British Canada"—then sketches the revolutions in Spanish and Portuguese America. A very helpful chapter entitled "The Colonial Centuries in Retrospect" concludes the first volume.

The second, covering as it does the history of the period of independence of the twenty-two nations, presents problems which were perhaps more difficult of solution than those of the earlier period. But the student (these volumes are intended for use as textbooks) is piloted skilfully through the maze in such fashion that he should come out

with some very definite ideas and with some appreciation of the individuality of the score or more of nations. The first hundred pages relate United States history through the Civil War. The next section of a hundred pages takes the student through the history of the Latin Americas to about 1880. The Anglo-Americas then get their innings, the story carrying the United States and Canada down to about the First World War. Come next the World War and the Americas, and the final sections cover the later period of the 1900's.

Necessarily, the writer must compress. This entails a great deal of omission, but omissions have been made judiciously and the style in which the material is presented is such that the reader does not feel that he is reading merely a catalogue of facts and dates.

There are many helpful maps, though some are so inclusive as to be difficult to read. Other illustrations have not been used—which amounts, perhaps, to a gentle criticism.

The tone of the volumes is liberal; the presentation of controversial matter is objective and, the reviewer believes, fair. Altogether, one must conclude that Professor Bannon has performed a difficult task in an admirable fashion.

State University of New York,  
College for Teachers, Albany.

WATT STEWART

*Thunder in the Southwest: Echoes from the Wild Frontier.*

By Oren Arnold. Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press. Pp. 237. \$3.75.

As stated in the prologue this collection of sixteen tales is neither fiction nor history in the conventional sense.

The stories are interesting enough although some are shopworn and could do without retelling. Others, however, are comparatively unknown and stand up better. The author has not only used folklore freely but has at times reverted to the style of Ned Buntline or some contemporary of his. The guns go "Crack! Crack!" or "Bang! Bang!" or, on occasion, "Pow!" And after all that has a certain charm.

The illustrations by Eggenhoffer are good. Nick Eggenhoffer's illustrations are usually good.

All in all the book accomplishes what it set out to do. Again borrowing from the prologue, it is "a happy, hybrid combination of fact and folklore." Not an essential for the western shelf but a pleasant addition.

Albuquerque, N. M.

BENNETT FOSTER

*Man Without a Star.* By Dee Linford. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc. Pp. 312. \$3.50.

Dee Linford's first novel is a "Western" with a difference. In situation, characters, and solution it is not much different from a thousand other examples of Wild West fiction. But Mr. Linford comes from an old Wyoming ranch family and has a feeling for the landscape and history of his country which only a native could have.

Jeff Jimson is an orphan boy when the story opens. He does slave labor for an old Scrooge of an uncle until he can't stand it any longer. Then he rides the rods to Wyoming. He falls in love with Abby Garrett, daughter of the owner of the great Man Head ranch, and begins a long campaign to become a man big enough to interest her.

This involves rearranging his system of ethics. In Wyoming in the eighties the big men had it all their own way. The little men had no chance at all. The only way to rise was to become the humble and useful servant of one of the "bullionaires." By nature Jeff was proud and loyal to his friends, but he schooled himself to subservience and double-dealing. He gained his reward when Wate Garrett approved his engagement to Abby. But by that time the feud between the big cattlemen and the settlers was reaching a climax and Jeff had to take the side of the little men.

Eventually his return to conscience paid off. Garrett had to turn to Jeff when the whole country rose against him and mob violence flared up. But the whole system had to be broken before the little men had a chance.

This conventional plot is based on situations which actually existed. The domination of the range country by a few big cattlemen who actually owned only a small part of



their dominions—the forcible discouragement of settlers—the tie-ups with officials in the state government—the baronial establishments of the rich and the hopelessness of the small operators—all these things are part of history, and Dee Linford knows about them.

In addition he knows how people in the range country talk, and how they feel about things. He knows about bone pickers and box socials and wild horses. He understands land hunger and men with Jehovah complexes and the strong ties which grow up between lonely human beings.

He has not freed himself from formula writing enough to have written a first-class novel, but he has the basic understanding and information to do more significant work in the future.

Texas Western College

C. L. SONNICHSEN

*The United States as Seen by Spanish American Writers, (1776-1890).* By José de Onís. New York: Hispanic Institute in the United States, 1952. Pp. 226.

A question often asked of travelers returning from Spanish America is: "What do they think of the United States?" Dr. José de Onís has answered this and many other questions related to it in his systematic study of attitudes expressed south of the Rio Grande over two important periods in the history of Inter-American relations. The book is divided into four principal parts, aside from the conclusions, with a good although brief account of the origin of the relations between the two Americas, as a first part. Two others deal with the two periods (1776-1822 and 1823-1890), and the last one deals exclusively with the writings of Sarmiento. The project is not simple, in fact, it might be too ambitious considering the threefold task which the author has undertaken. He says:

It is the purpose of this study to determine the attitude of the Spanish American authors toward the United States during two main periods, namely: the era of the Independence (1776-1822), and the era of the formation of the Spanish American nations (1823-1890). Its object is to analyze the available works pertaining to this subject written by Spanish Americans, to ascertain the attitude of the outstanding, rep-

representative authors, as well as the characteristics common to all writers of each period, and to trace the evolution of certain fundamental ideas in the literary and political thought of these two epochs.

The reader can see at a glance that the project is not limited to a study of attitudes, but it includes literary criticism and content evaluation. How to keep these three elements in focus and combine them into a well integrated whole constitutes a difficult problem which the author has solved very successfully. It is quite apparent that Onís had a considerable amount of material from which to select, and that in many instances he found it necessary to compress a great deal in order to be brief. He also tells us a great deal of what writers in the United States were saying about Spanish America, suggesting perhaps a future project to be undertaken as a counterpart to this study.

The author points out that there was some degree of coincidence between the two cultures and "a marked similarity between the psychology of the people of the two Americas" at the time of colonization, because of the similarity of circumstances. While this is a passing statement, it raises a question which is fundamental in differentiating between English and Spanish cultures. It was the difference in the "psychology" of colonization that produced such diametrically opposed results as we now see in Anglo-America and Spanish-America.

Professor Onís has made a very careful selection of authors in various fields in order to give a wide coverage to the opinions expressed, and at the same time he has selected these writers on the basis of their literary merit and serious ideas. He includes the works of outstanding political writers, travelers, statesmen, literary men and teachers.

Many readers will discover that the attitude of a good number of Spanish American writers was not one of rabid nationalism, and that many have gone so far as to advocate the annexation of their respective countries to the United States. This does not mean that Professor Onís has been one-sided or partial in presenting his finds. On the contrary,

he has avoided this pitfall by adhering to his original statement:

We have tried to find out and present to the reader what the various authors thought about the United States and why they thought as they did, rather than to prove whether their opinions were right or wrong.

Anyone acquainted with the role of Domingo Faustino Sarmiento will readily see why his case had to be treated in a separate chapter. One would expect to find in this portion of the book, however, considerable material regarding Sarmiento's keen observations about American life. Professor Onís passed up a very good opportunity to add to the human interest of his story including the Argentinian's account of American family life, personal relations and other details in which he manifested a keen sense of humor and understanding. At this point, Onís seems a bit too scholarly.

The book does not end with the Conclusions as one would expect, for Professor Onís continues his discussion to the very last page. This seems to indicate that he had much more material than the extent of his study allowed him to use. For the actual summing up of his finds one must go back to the body of study and get the conclusions progressively.

Today, when we are advocating a more intelligent understanding and a closer working relationship between the United States and other nations, a book such as this one by José de Onís is indeed timely, informative, and useful. His study is not merely a collection of opinions by a miscellaneous group of Spanish American writers, but a careful selection of authors whom the Spanish Americans themselves consider their best spokesmen. Each writer is discussed within the framework of ideas which prevailed at the time both in Spanish America and in the United States. It is hoped that Dr. Onís will undertake what appears to be a sequel to his present work, namely, what writers in the United States think about Spanish America.

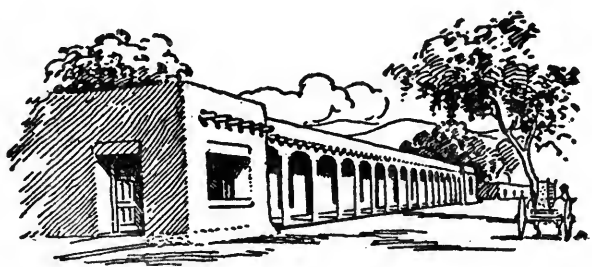
University of Denver

ARTHUR L. CAMPA



Key

# *New Mexico Historical Review*



Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe

NO.  
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AUG - 6 1953

*July, 1953*

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VOL. XXVIII

JULY, 1953

No. 3

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THE NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW is published jointly by the Historical Society of New Mexico and the University of New Mexico. Subscription to the quarterly is \$3.00 a year in advance; single numbers, except those which have become scarce, are \$1.00 each.

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# NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XXVIII

JULY, 1953

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## NEW MEXICO DURING THE CIVIL WAR\*

By WILLIAM I. WALDRIP

### *I Confederate and Union Interest in New Mexico*

AT THE outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, it was conceivable that the conflict would have slight bearing on the Territory of New Mexico, which at that time was a remote, sparsely populated and relatively little known section of the United States. Yet the opportunity to acquire potential mineral wealth, military equipment and personnel, and a route to other richer territories proved attractive to the Confederate States.

Texas was especially interested in New Mexico, not only because of the contiguity of New Mexico, but because of animosities aroused by the ill-fated Santa Fe-Texas Expedition of 1841. Texas had considered the Rio Grande as her western boundary, and intended, if possible, to make good her claim. If this were not possible, the expedition expected to open trade with Santa Fe.<sup>1</sup> The Texans were captured by General Manuel Armijo and unceremoniously taken to Mexico City before being released.<sup>2</sup> Although the boundary matter was settled by the Compromise of 1850,<sup>3</sup> the memory of 1841 undoubtedly rankled in Texas hearts.

\*Master of Arts thesis, Department of History, University of New Mexico, 1950.

1. Herbert E. Bolton and Eugene C. Barker, editors, *With the Makers of Texas* (New York: American Book Company, 1904), in *Objects of the Santa Fe Expedition* by George Wilkins Kendall, pp. 236-8.

2. Ralph E. Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1911-1917), II, 78-9.

3. J. G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company, 1937), p. 124.

The mineral wealth of the West was a further incentive for Confederate conquest. Colonel John R. Baylor, a Confederate military leader, recognized the value of "the vast mineral resources of Arizona. . .,"<sup>4</sup> while the gold of California would assuredly be important to the South which was cut off from such precious metals.<sup>5</sup> However, before minerals from these areas could be made available to the Confederacy, New Mexico must necessarily be conquered. The North was not insensible to western gold. President Lincoln considered it ". . . the life blood of our financial credit."<sup>6</sup>

Aside from metallic ores, there was other wealth in the West. Secretary of War John B. Floyd<sup>7</sup> of the Buchanan administration sent vast quantities of supplies to western and southwestern forts, and New Mexico received its share.<sup>8</sup> The suggestion was made to Confederate President Jefferson Davis that

Now might it not be well, secretly of course and at an early moment, to fit out an expedition to New Mexico. . . ? The stores, supplies, and munitions of war within New Mexico and Arizona are immense, and I am decidedly of opinion that the game is well worth the ammunition. This movement, if undertaken soon enough, would undoubtedly have the effect to overawe and intimidate the Mexican element, which comprises at least nineteen-twentieths of our population.<sup>9</sup>

The South needed manpower as well as money and supplies. Major T. T. Teel of the Confederate forces believed

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4. U. S. War Department, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1881-1901), I, 4:23. Baylor to Van Dorn, August 14, 1861. (The Records hereafter are cited as *O. R.*)

5. William C. Whitford, *Colorado Volunteers in the Civil War: New Mexico Campaign in 1862* (Denver: The State Historical and Natural History Society, 1906), p. 12. (Preface by Jerome C. Smiley)

6. Charles S. Walker, "Causes of the Confederate Invasion of New Mexico," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 8:85, April 1933. Citing Latham Anderson, "Canby's Services in the New Mexican Campaign," *Battles and Leaders*, II, 697.

7. Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, editors, *Dictionary of American Biography, under the Auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928-1936), VI, 482-3. Floyd, a former governor of Virginia, transferred a large number of flint-lock muskets to southern arsenals to make room for a new type percussion rifle. Although attempts were made, it was not possible to sell all of the older type weapon, thus the transfer. Floyd, until his retirement from the position of Secretary of War, was a strong opponent of secession.

8. Whitford, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

9. *O. R.*, I, 4:97. McWillie to President Davis, June 30, 1861, quoted in letter from A. T. Bledsoe to General Ben McCullough, August 1, 1861.



that ". . . there were scattered all over the Western States and Territories Southern men who were anxiously awaiting an opportunity to join the Confederate army; . . ." <sup>10</sup> Baylor also believed that the South would be able ". . . to get hundreds of good Southern men, well armed and mounted, who are anxious to join our cause. . . ." <sup>11</sup> To allow for this possibility, authorization was given ". . . to take into the Confederate States service all disaffected officers and soldiers on the original commissions of the former and enlistments of the latter." <sup>12</sup>

Material resources were important to the South, but the intangible assets of prestige and political advantage were no less so. The Union military leadership in New Mexico itself believed that "the conquest of it [New Mexico] is a great political feature of the rebellion. It will gain the rebels a name and prestige over Europe, and operate against the Union cause." <sup>13</sup>

A Union leader in reflecting on the invasion concluded that

the remote and unimportant territory of New Mexico was not the real object of the invasion. The Confederate leaders were striking at much higher game—no less than the conquest of California, Sonora, Chihuahua, New Mexico, Arizona, and Utah. <sup>14</sup>

However, even if New Mexico was not the main target, its conquest was necessary if the larger scheme was to be achieved. Aside from New Mexico being necessary as a gateway to California it also contained the shortest, easiest, and cheapest route to the Coast. <sup>15</sup> Too, New Mexico was bounded on the south by Mexico, the only neutral country from which the Confederates could gain supplies by land, and also export goods. <sup>16</sup>

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10. Whitford, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

11. *O. R.*, I, 4:135. Baylor to McCullough, November 10, 1861.

12. *Ibid.*, I, 4:93. Cooper to Sibley, July 8, 1861.

13. *Ibid.*, I, 9:634. Report from N. M. Hq. to General Halleck, February 23, 1862.

14. Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

15. Sylvester Mowry, *Arizona and Sonora: The Geography, History, and Resources of the Silver Region of North America* (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1866), pp. 223-4.

16. Frank L. Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1931), p. 88.

Although Bancroft judged that an invasion gave the Texans, who were primarily involved in such a move, a chance to display their patriotism,<sup>17</sup> possibly the attempt would not have been made if there had not been indications that conquest would prove simple. As early as September, 1861, Baylor wrote optimistically that "New Mexico can now be easily taken."<sup>18</sup>

One of the primary reasons for this optimistic outlook lay in the passage of an act by the legislature to protect slave property in the Territory.<sup>19</sup> Although repealed in December, 1861, superficially its passage indicated slavery sentiment; the law was branded in Congress as one that ". . . would mantle with blushes the face of Caligula."<sup>20</sup>

Southern leadership was well aware of the dissatisfaction among the regular Federal troops because of "want of pay," and also of the lack of Union reinforcements.<sup>21</sup> Canby urgently requested supplies,<sup>22</sup> and complained especially of the lack of funds to pay regulars and volunteers alike.<sup>23</sup> He cited the "very great embarrassments" caused by lack of money for troop payments.<sup>24</sup> Complaints were heard too of alleged attempts "by secret agents of Texas" to encourage desertion in the Union ranks.<sup>25</sup>

Brigadier-General H. H. Sibley, the Union leader who went over to the Texans, regretted his "sickly sentimentality" in not bringing his old command with him.<sup>26</sup> Captain Smith Simpson, U. S. A., who doubted if any success would have crowned such an attempt, stated that, "I don't think he [Sibley] tried any missionary work with anybody, for

17. Hubert H. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888* (San Francisco: The History Company, Publishers, 1888), p. 686.

18. *O. R.*, I, 4:109. Baylor to Van Dorn, September 24, 1861.

19. *Laws of the Territory of New Mexico. Passed by the Legislative Assembly, Session of 1861-62* (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Putnam O'Brien, Printer, 1862), p. 6.

20. *Congressional Globe*, 36th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 515.

21. *O. R.*, I, 4:128. Baylor to Hart, October 24, 1861.

22. *Ibid.*, I, 4:65 Canby to Western Dept. Hq., August 16, 1861.

23. *Ibid.*, I, 4:75. Canby to Paymaster-General, November 18, 1861.

24. *Ibid.*, I, 4:79. Canby to Washington Hq., December 8, 1861.

25. *Ibid.*, I, 4:39. Major G. R. Paul to N. M. Hq., June 16, 1861. However, Horace Greeley in his *American Conflict* says that "of the 1,200 regulars in New Mexico, one only deserted during this time of trial, and he, it is believed, did not join the enemy."

26. *O. R.*, I, 4:55. Sibley to Loring, June 12, 1861.

there were men who had their opinion on the North and the South."<sup>27</sup>

The Indians were an important element in any invasion attempt. Bancroft held that the Apaches and Navahos were factors in the war, not as partisans, but because troops were necessarily diverted against them.<sup>28</sup> Secretary of the Interior Smith accused "disloyal" Texans of stirring up the Indians in New Mexico.<sup>29</sup> Whether the above was true or not, the Indians north of the Red River were considered allies of the Confederates.<sup>30</sup> The ubiquitous M. H. McWillie suggested the use of Cherokees and Choctaws against the native population.<sup>31</sup>

Finally, the South placed some reliance upon what they believed was a strong secession movement in the West, which they hoped to encourage. The Mormons in Utah were depended upon because of their differences with the Federal government over polygamy,<sup>32</sup> while there were known secessionists in Arizona<sup>33</sup> and Colorado.<sup>34</sup> The native New Mexicans were expected to do their part,<sup>35</sup> and Confederate hopes were so high farther West that Baylor requested that troops be placed in Arizona, as "California is on the eve of a revolution."<sup>36</sup> A soldier with Sibley recalled that a group of "renegades in California and Oregon" asked that 3,000 Texans be sent to Tucson where 10,000 westerners would meet them and the whole group

. . . . would switch off down in and take Sonora, Chihuahua, Durango and Tamaulipas and add them to the Confederacy.

27. Edwin L. Sabin, *Kit Carson Days, 1809-1836* (New York: The Press of the Pioneers, Inc., 1935), II, 676.

28. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 686.

29. *Congressional Globe*, 37th Congress, 2nd Session, November 30, 1861, Appendix, p. 12.

30. *O. R.*, I, 1:628. Major E. Kirby Smith to Secretary of War, April 20, 1861.

31. *Ibid.*, I, 4:97. McWillie to Davis, June 30, 1861.

32. C. H. Claudy, editor, *My Story by Anson Mills: Brigadier General, U.S.A.*, (Washington, D. C.: Press of Byron S. Adams, 1918), p. 106. Mills, in a conversation with Brigham Young after the war, was told that the U. S. Flag flew over the temple every day during the conflict.

33. Whitford, *op. cit.*, p. 27. Whitford held that Arizona was almost unanimously for the Confederacy.

34. *O. R.*, I, 4:73. Governor Gilpin of Colorado to Canby, October 26, 1861. Gilpin placed the number of secessionists at 7,500.

35. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 686.

36. *O. R.*, I, 4:149. Baylor to Secretary of War, November 2, 1861.

Whereupon Mr. Jefferson Davis commissioned one H. H. Sibley . . . as a Brigadier General, . . . to proceed forthwith without the loss of time or failure to swipec the whole thing.<sup>37</sup>

While the South was aware of the importance of the Territory of New Mexico and was planning its seizure, Washington apparently lacked a similar interest, or was perhaps too occupied elsewhere. Secretary of Interior Caleb B. Smith, however, wrote to Secretary of War Simon Cameron calling attention to the danger to which New Mexico was exposed, and also reporting that disloyalty was evident in the Union army there.<sup>38</sup> The reply, which was not entirely satisfactory, stated that “. . . measures have been or will be taken commensurate with its [New Mexico’s] importance.”<sup>39</sup> Cameron received further advice when it was suggested to him that if that “. . . imperfectly loyalized region of our country . . .” was to be saved, protection against both Indians “. . . and the rebellious domestic foe . . .” must be provided.<sup>40</sup> Smith continued these efforts,<sup>41</sup> but the Territory was largely ignored.<sup>42</sup>

Poor communications with the East were further cause for neglect of the Territory. There was not a railroad or telegraph within a thousand miles of southern New Mexico.<sup>43</sup> The nearest telegraph, a single wire, served Colorado, the northern neighbor of the Territory.<sup>44</sup> This wire reached Julesburg, Colorado, in 1861, but was not extended farther west until the end of 1863.<sup>45</sup> If the East was indifferent and uninformed, New Mexico too found herself relying largely on rumors as to what actually was transpiring on the outside.<sup>46</sup>

37. Theophilus Noel, *Autobiography and Reminiscences of Theophilus Noel* (Chicago: The Noel Company Print, 1904), pp. 56-57.

38. *O. R.*, I, 53:490. Smith to Cameron, May 11, 1861.

39. *Ibid.*, I, 1:605. Cameron to Smith, May 20, 1861.

40. *Ibid.*, I, 4:53. Perry E. Broechus to Cameron, July 3, 1861.

41. W. W. Mills, *Forty Years at El Paso, 1858-1898* (El Paso, Texas, 1901), p. 71.

42. A. A. Hayes, Jr., *New Colorado and the Santa Fe Trail* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1880), p. 165.

43. Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

44. Whitford, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

45. Ovando J. Hollister, *The Mines of Colorado* (Springfield, Massachusetts: Samuel Bowles and Company, 1867), p. 124.

46. Loomis M. Ganaway, *New Mexico and the Sectional Controversy, 1846-1861* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1944), p. 93. Citing Rencher to Bates, June 4, 1861. [Vol. XII, Historical Society of New Mexico, Publications in History.]

*II Confederate Successes*

Shortly before actual hostilities began in the East, Colonel W. W. Loring, a native of Florida, when assuming command of the New Mexico Department for the Federal government, reported unrest among both the troops and the civilians.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless orders were received in New Mexico for the transfer of a large part of the regular troops to Leavenworth. Lieutenant-Colonel Edward R. S. Canby was to accompany them.<sup>2</sup>

As the North and South squared off for battle, the Territory shared in the alignments of loyalty which were taking place over the nation. Loring, placing Canby in charge, left for Fort Fillmore to await action on his request for discharge.<sup>3</sup> Although Canby assumed command, there were reports that Frederick P. Stanton, a former acting governor of Kansas, had received the appointment as commanding general in New Mexico and was on his way West.<sup>4</sup>

Canby, warming to his task, soon began to alert Washington as to the possible danger which the Territory must face. He reported that

... it is positively known that a considerable force of Texan troops is now on the march for El Paso or that neighborhood, with the ostensible object of garrisoning Forts Quitman and Bliss.<sup>5</sup>

A week later a similar report was sent, although the attack was then anticipated along the Canadian River.<sup>6</sup>

While keeping higher headquarters informed as to the situation, Canby at the same time warned his own outer defenses. Major Isaac Lynde at Fillmore was relied upon to exert his "zeal and judgement" in defending his post, and

1. *O. R.*, I, 1:599. Loring to Thomas, March 23, 1861.

2. *Ibid.*, I, 1:604. Special Order No. 86½, May 17, 1861.

3. *Ibid.*, I, 1:606. Canby to Wash. Hq., June 11, 1861.

4. Office of Indian Affairs, *Letters Received* (National Archive, Washington, D. C. Microfilm copy in Library, University of New Mexico). (Hereafter cited as *L. R.*) Micro. No. 155, F. M. Army to Charles E. Mix, June 26, 1861. *Dictionary of American Biography* mentions that Stanton, a former congressman from Tennessee, had gone to Kansas as secretary of the territory with a pro-slavery background. He later became a Free-State party member, partially because of his dismissal from office, XVII, 523-4.

5. *O. R.*, I, 4:44. Canby to Wash. Hq., June 23, 1861.

6. *Ibid.*, I, 4:50. Canby to Wash. Hq., June 30, 1861.

also encouraged to attempt the seizure of El Paso.<sup>7</sup> A short time later he was advised that “. . . it is positively known that movements against New Mexico are on foot, . . .”<sup>8</sup> Although emphasis was placed on possible attack from the south, Fort Union to the northeast was prompted against possible assault on Union wagon trains arriving from Missouri.<sup>9</sup>

Granting that valiant efforts were made by the Federal leadership in the Territory to save New Mexico to the Union, the number of troops involved was scarcely commensurate with that effort. The aggregate reported by the New Mexico Department for the middle of June, 1861, totaled only 2,466,<sup>10</sup> although by the end of the year, 5,646 were listed.<sup>11</sup> Realizing that his own troops were few, Canby complained that the Texans had 4,000 men in Arizona and New Mexico early in 1862. He further emphasized the need for concentration of troops against any possible attack, while pointing out that the invader was under no such restriction.<sup>12</sup>

The number of volunteers from the Territory itself was estimated at 1,000,<sup>13</sup> but fear was voiced that “our Mexican volunteers, . . . are far from being certain in a contest with Texans.”<sup>14</sup> Because of this doubt as to how the volunteers would react, and inasmuch as part of the regulars were expected to be recalled, a request was made upon Colorado to supply troops for Fort Garland.<sup>15</sup>

Rumors of a Confederate invasion were not unfounded as New Mexico learned when Fort Bliss was occupied in July, 1861, by Lieutenant-Colonel John R. Baylor.<sup>16</sup> Although the occupation was achieved with little difficulty, a

7. *Ibid.*, I, 4:45. N. M. Hq. to Lynde, June 23, 1861.

8. *Ibid.*, I, 4:51. N. M. Hq. to Lynde, June 30, 1861.

9. *Ibid.*, I, 1:605. N. M. Hq. to Commanding Officer, Fort Union, June 10, 1861.

10. *Ibid.*, III, 1:301. Abstract of Returns, Dept. of N. M., June 30, 1861.

11. *Ibid.*, III, 1:775. Abstract of Returns, Dept. of N. M., December 31, 1861.

12. *Ibid.*, I, 4:87. Canby to Connelly, January 21, 1862.

13. *Congressional Globe*, 37th Congress, 2nd Session, Cameron Report to President, Appendix, p. 16.

14. *L. R.*, Micro. No. 160. Collins to Dole, July 20, 1861. Twitchell in his *Leading Facts of New Mexican History* says that Canby like other American generals “. . . had a very erroneous idea of the Mexican character,” but was probably influenced by “Americans” living there. II, 375, note.

15. *O. R.*, I, 4:53. Canby to Gov. of Colorado, July 6, 1861.

16. Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

resident and loyal Unionist, W. W. Mills, considered that in El Paso ". . . there was a strong latent Union sentiment even among the Americans, and with the Mexicans it was universal; . . ."17

Baylor, expecting an attack upon El Paso, decided to take the initiative, and with 258 men proceeded toward Mesilla, New Mexico.18 Mills, arrested as a spy, from his vantage point in the guardhouse, observed the leader of the Texans launch his attack, believing that it would succeed even though he (Baylor) was outnumbered.19 On July 25, Baylor forced Major Lynde, the Union commander at Fort Fillmore, to retreat from Mesilla, and on the twenty-seventh was able to capture his entire force.20

The defeat and subsequent surrender of Lynde created a storm of protest from all sides. The Major was made the scapegoat, although possibly there were extenuating circumstances surrounding the whole affair. Mills, who was familiar with the Mesilla region, had written, prior to the Texas attack, to John S. Watts, Territorial Representative, about the disloyalty of both the military and the citizenry, and this information had been relayed to the Union commander in the Territory.21 Mills also had personally told Canby of the unwillingness of Captain Lane, Lynde's predecessor, to attack El Paso and of his alleged disloyalty. Lane was relieved, and Major Lynde, in whom Canby had a great deal of confidence, was placed in charge of Fillmore.22

Lynde adopted a confident manner in his early messages to his superior. Although doubting a Texas attack, Lynde reported, ". . . but if they do, I think we shall give them a warm reception."23 When actual contact with the enemy developed, this confidence apparently dissipated.

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17. Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

18. *O. R.*, I, 4:17. Baylor Report, September 21, 1861. Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 174, states that Sibley was ordered to El Paso from San Antonio by A. M. Jackson, Assistant Adjutant General of the Army of New Mexico, and former secretary of the territory. Canby believed that the invasion had been arranged by Jackson.

19. Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

20. *O. R.*, I, 4:16. Baylor Report, August 3, 1861.

21. Mills, *op. cit.*, pp. 41-42.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 45.

23. *O. R.*, I, 4:59. Lynde to Canby, July 7, 1861.

On July 24, Lynde learned from a deserter (sent by Mills)<sup>24</sup> that the Texans were coming up the Rio Grande. The next day the Union troops were ordered to Mesilla, but the enemy was already on the ground. An indecisive skirmish ensued, and Lynde decided to return to Fillmore. He had ordered the Texans to surrender, but they suggested that he take the town instead. Asserting that the Texans numbered 700, Lynde placed his own troops at only 380.<sup>25</sup>

On the twenty-seventh Lynde decided to abandon Fillmore<sup>26</sup> because of its alleged "indefensible" position, and its lack of water. En route to Fort Stanton via St. Augustine Springs the troops ". . . suffered severely with the intense heat and want of water. . . ." With the Confederates in hot pursuit, his men in bad condition with only one hundred fit for duty, Lynde felt that

Under the circumstances I considered our case hopeless; that it was worse than useless to resist; that honor did not demand the sacrifice of blood after the terrible suffering that our troops had already undergone, and when that sacrifice would be totally useless . . . I surrendered command to Lieutenant-Colonel Baylor. . . .<sup>27</sup>

Baylor, in jubilantly reporting the successful pursuit and capture of the thirst-crazed foe, found that "the road for 5 miles was lined with the fainting, famished soldiers, who threw down their arms as we passed and begged for water." With the disregard for accurate figures characteristic of both sides, Baylor claimed the seizure of 700 by a mere 200 Confederates.<sup>28</sup> In addition to the troop capture, Baylor was gleeful over taking \$9,500 in "Federal drafts" from Fort Fillmore,<sup>29</sup> and the creation of ". . . a stampede among the

24. Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

25. *O. R.*, I, 4:4. Lynde to N. M. Hq., July 26, 1861.

26. Colonel M. L. Crimmins, "Fort Fillmore," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 6:333, October, 1931. Crimmins notes that Fillmore was never reoccupied by the Federal government.

27. *O. R.*, I, 4:5-6. Lynde to N. M. Hq., August 7, 1861.

28. *Ibid.*, I, 4:18-19. Baylor Report to Hq., September 21, 1861. Crimmins in his "Fort Fillmore" states that hospital whiskey was placed in Union canteens rather than water. This possibly accounts for the extreme thirst of the Union troops (p. 332).

29. *Ibid.*, I, 4:157. Baylor to Secretary of War Benjamin, December 14, 1861.



United States troops . . ." at Fort Stanton which was abandoned.<sup>30</sup>

The Union troops involved in the surrender officially were exonerated as having "proved themselves with a few dishonorable exceptions, loyal and faithful soldiers of the Union."<sup>31</sup> It was further reported that these victims of "cowardice and imbecility" wept "like children" at the news of the surrender.<sup>32</sup> The opinion as to the conduct of the officers was divided. Captain Biggs of the Union spoke of the unanimous protest which arose when the surrender was made known,<sup>33</sup> but Mills believed that "none, so far as I know, . . . ever did much fighting."<sup>34</sup>

Although the officers and men were partially or wholly cleared, the commanding officer for the Union was roundly condemned from all sides. The "d--d old scoundrel [who] has surrendered us!"<sup>35</sup> was not deemed so much a traitor, but more an incompetent.<sup>36</sup> Captain McNally considered that 300 could have held Fort Fillmore against 3,000.<sup>37</sup> Mills believed that Lynde ". . . was not treacherous, he was weak, and he was deceived to his ruin and the disgrace of his flag."<sup>38</sup> Lynde, in attempting to defend himself, asserted that "surrounded by open or secret enemies, no reliable information could be obtained, and [with] disaffection prevailing in my own command, . . ." he was helpless to prevent the disaster which overtook him and his troops.<sup>39</sup>

This defeat was a crushing blow to the Union cause in New Mexico. The Texans now had a good foothold in the Territory, and Federal prestige had been lowered. To explain the defeat and also to serve as a warning, it was neces-

30. *Ibid.*, I, 4:19. Baylor to Hq., September 21, 1861.

31. *Ibid.*, I, 4:3. General Order No. 31, August 27, 1861.

32. *Ibid.*, I, 4:11. Assistant Surgeon J. Cooper McKee Report, August 16, 1861.

33. *Ibid.*, I, 4:8. Captain Alfred Biggs Report, August 6, 1861.

34. Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

35. *O. R.*, I, 4:13. Captain C. H. McNally Statement, August 16, 1861.

36. George Griggs, *History of Mesilla Valley or the Gadsden Purchase* (Mesilla, New Mexico: n.n., 1930), pp. 61-2. Griggs quoting Mrs. Lydia Lane, wife of the Captain, whom Lynde replaced.

37. *O. R.*, I, 4:13. McNally Statement, August 16, 1861.

38. Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

39. *O. R.*, I, 4:6. Lynde to N. M. Hq., August 7, 1861. Lynde in corresponding with Mills in 1891 said that he did ". . . not believe then that my junior officers would act toward me as they did." *Op. cit.*, p. 47.

sary to place responsibility for the loss on the shoulders of someone. Lynde was selected. Canby considered the report of the Major as “. . . in all respects unsatisfactory, . . .” although he considered the defeat as having one favorable aspect—the news supposedly aroused the natives from their lethargy.<sup>40</sup>

A resolution was introduced in the House of Representatives by the delegate from New Mexico, John S. Watts, requesting that the Secretary of War report the action taken concerning the St. Augustine fiasco.<sup>41</sup> The Army, however, had acted and Major Lynde was “. . . dropped from the rolls of the army. . . .”<sup>42</sup>

Both sides now renewed their efforts after the Confederate victory. Baylor set about organizing a government for what he termed the Arizona Territory. This area consisted of southern present-day Arizona, and included much of what is now southern New Mexico as well. The Arizona region was provided with a military government because of the war and unsettled conditions, and “. . . all that portion of New Mexico lying South of the thirty-fourth parallel of north latitude” was incorporated within it.<sup>43</sup>

Canby, aroused by the surrender, requested four companies of volunteers from Governor Henry Connelly of New Mexico,<sup>44</sup> and a little later a like number from Governor William Gilpin of Colorado.<sup>45</sup> Washington, although still desiring the regular troops stationed in the Territory, was willing to wait until a sufficient number of volunteers were raised to replace them.<sup>46</sup> Canby reported that “the greatest exertions are being used to organize a respectable volunteer force, . . .” but that he was disappointed over the progress that was being made.<sup>47</sup>

In the meantime Sibley, who was preparing an army at San Antonio, was expected to begin his march West to rein-

40. *Ibid.*, I, 4:2. Canby to Wash. Hq., August 4, 1861.

41. *Congressional Globe*, 37th Congress, 2nd Session, December 5, 1861, p. 16.

42. *O. R.*, I, 4:16. General Order No. 102, November 25, 1861.

43. *Ibid.*, I, 4:20. Baylor Proclamation, August 1, 1861.

44. *Ibid.*, I, 4:61. Canby to Connelly, August 2, 1861.

45. *Ibid.*, I, 4:69. Canby to Gilpin, September 8, 1861.

46. *Ibid.*, I, 4:62. Washington Hq., August 11, 1861.

47. *Ibid.*, I, 4:3. Canby to Washington Hq., August 11, 1861.

force Baylor.<sup>48</sup> Baylor, fearing that Canby would soon be upon him, sarcastically suggested that if reinforcements were not forthcoming that many of “. . . the friends of our cause . . .” would suffer in New Mexico, and that “if it is the wish of the colonel commanding the department that Arizona should be abandoned, and I presume it is, he can congratulate himself upon the consummation of that event.”<sup>49</sup>

Rumors that Union troops were being massed in Mexico were further cause for Confederate concern.<sup>50</sup>

In November Sibley was ready to start for New Mexico after many delays.<sup>51</sup> The men who left San Antonio were a hardy group, described by one of the party as

. . . three thousand five hundred of . . . the best that ever threw leg over a horse or that had ever sworn allegiance to any cause. All-around men, natural-born soldiers, they were under twenty-five, with a liberal sprinkling of older ones who had seen more or less service on the frontier.<sup>52</sup>

The country between San Antonio and El Paso was rugged. The Indians too presented an additional problem. These were pacified temporarily, however, because “. . . Sibley's friendship with . . . [them] was very great, while that of his brother-in-law, Canby, commander of the Federal forces at Fort Craig, was nil.”<sup>53</sup>

By the middle of December Sibley appeared at Fort Bliss and took command of all Confederate forces in New Mexico and Arizona.<sup>54</sup> John R. Baylor, although outranked, retained power as civil and military governor of Arizona.<sup>55</sup>

Meanwhile Canby considered that his regular soldiers were in good condition, but fretted about the possibilities of ever getting the volunteers into fighting trim and about the

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48. *Ibid.*, I, 4:116. C. O. of C. S. Prov. Army to C. O. Dept. of Texas, October 4, 1861.

49. *Ibid.*, I, 4:129. Baylor to C. O. Texas Department, October 25, 1861.

50. *Ibid.*, I, 4:147. George L. McManus to C. O. at Fort Davis to Sibley, November 6, 1861.

51. *Ibid.*, I, 4:141. Sibley to Cooper, November 16, 1861.

52. Noel, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

53. *Ibid.*, p. 59.

54. *O. R.*, I, 4:157. General Order No. 10, December 14, 1861.

55. *Ibid.*, I, 4:158-9. General Order No. 12, December 20, 1861.

lack of equipment and money.<sup>56</sup> However, by the end of the year, Canby had an aggregate of 5,646.<sup>57</sup> In answer to complaints regarding his inactivity, Canby tartly said

. . . that I will move when I get ready to move; and that will be when I know that the country behind me is secured from a revolutionary movement. The present clamor I know to be instigated by enemies of the Government, fomented by emissaries, who have been busy in the exercise of this baneful influence since the middle of last month, but who have hitherto escaped detection.<sup>58</sup>

If Canby was not ready to move, Sibley was. By the first of the year, 1862, word was received that the Texans were on their way to the North.<sup>59</sup> Canby was faced with serious difficulties. A shortage of money was creating unrest among the troops, and desertions were expected among the volunteers.<sup>60</sup> Revolts did occur at both Fort Union and Camp Connelly because of Union inability to pay and clothe the men as promised.<sup>61</sup>

Governor Connelly, who had married into a prominent native family, voiced confidence in the 4,000 volunteers and militia men whom he considered to be “. . . under fair discipline . . .,” although he worried about the “. . . continual spoliation of property” caused by the Indians who had greater leeway because of the Texan invasion.<sup>62</sup> The governor was confident because

The spirit of our people is good and I have here and en route 1,000 and more of the elite of the yeomanry of the country to aid in defending their homes and firesides.<sup>63</sup>

In February Canby reported that 3,000 Confederates were moving up the Rio Grande valley, but that he had 4,000 troops ready, and further that “the . . . population appear[ed] to be animated by a very good spirit.”<sup>64</sup> Additional

56. *Ibid.*, I, 4:78-79. Canby to Wash. Hq., December 8, 1861.

57. *Ibid.*, I, 4:81. Abstract, December 31, 1861.

58. *Ibid.*, I, 4:88. Canby to Major James L. Donaldson January 25, (?) 1862.

59. *Ibid.*, I, 4:82. Canby to Connelly, January 1, 1862.

60. *Ibid.*, I, 4:85. Canby to Wash. Hq., January 13, 1862.

61. *Ibid.*, I, 4:87. Canby to Wash. Hq., January 20, 1862.

62. *Ibid.*, I, 9:620. Connelly to Seward, January 11, 1862.

63. *Ibid.*, I, 9:644. Connelly to Seward, February 14, 1862.

64. *Ibid.*, I, 9:632. Canby to Wash. Hq., February 14, 1862.

assistance was received from another quarter. James L. Collins, the Indian agent, and the governor were on the scene to encourage the volunteers because

. . . some doubt has been entertained with regard to the courage of the Mexican when coming in contact with Texans, and we desire to give them every possible incentive to acquit themselves creditably.<sup>65</sup>

The natives were credited with having “. . . turned out with a spirit that is truly commendable, the best and most influential men in the Territory are here and will take part in the battle.”<sup>66</sup>

With Canby at Fort Craig and Sibley marching up the valley, the stage was set for the Battle of Valverde—a conflict which has been termed, possibly in exaggeration, as “. . . perhaps, the bloodiest battle for the number engaged, in the whole war.”<sup>67</sup>

On the sixteenth of February, the forces led by Sibley were within a mile and one half of Fort Craig, about thirty miles south of Socorro. At this point the Confederate general had a choice of tactics. He could engage the troops from the fort, who marched out to give battle, or he could retire from the scene. Twitchell believed that Sibley was maneuvering at this juncture, so that a river crossing might be more easily accomplished.<sup>68</sup> On the seventeenth and eighteenth, a typical New Mexico dust storm halted any action by either side. The next day the Texans retreated to the south and crossed the Rio Grande to the east of the fort where they hoped to bombard Craig from the heights, but Canby prevented this by occupying the site first. Sibley then continued north, on the eastern side of the river, to Valverde a few miles distant. He hoped thus to cut Craig off from Santa Fe and the North.<sup>69</sup>

Both leaders presented estimates of the number of soldiers involved, but were at variance. Sibley stated that the

65. *L. R.*, Micro. No. 170. Collins to Dole, January 25, 1862.

66. *Ibid.*, Micro. No. 170. Collins to Dole, February 11, 1862.

67. Claudy, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

68. Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, II, 374. Bancroft in his *Arizona and New Mexico* concurs with this, p. 691.

69. *L. R.*, Micro No. 170. Collins to Dole, March 1, 1862.

Union had at least 5,000, with a reserve of 3,000 in the fort, while claiming that the Confederates numbered only 1,750.<sup>70</sup> Canby judged the numbers differently, placing his own at 3,810, and the opposition at 2,600.<sup>71</sup>

At the river ford, five or six miles north of Fort Craig, the actual battle of Valverde (near what was the settlement of San Marcial) began on the morning of February 21, 1862, when the Union troops marched out to prevent the Confederate crossing.<sup>72</sup> A two hour artillery and small arms battle marked the first clash which resulted in the repelling of the Confederates.<sup>73</sup> Heartened by this, the Union Cavalry crossed the river and engaged the enemy successfully.<sup>74</sup> In the afternoon Canby took personal charge of the battle and ordered his artillery to cross the river. The enemy concentrated their fire on the Union leader and

the fighting became general from that moment, and it was so severe that General Canby was in great peril on several occasions, and he had three horses killed under him that day.<sup>75</sup>

Then occurred the crisis which was to prove the turning point of the day. Canby, realizing that a direct assault might not be successful, decided to outflank the enemy,<sup>76</sup> but the Texans had other plans. A Union battery under the command of Captain McRae had previously crossed the river. The Confederates with a desperate, concentrated charge were able to capture the guns and the supporting Union troops gave way.<sup>77</sup> Canby now decided upon withdrawal, but claimed that he could not restore order among the volunteers, although the regulars were more easily collected.<sup>78</sup>

Efforts to place responsibility for the loss of the battery, and the subsequent withdrawal of the Union forces, brought out conflicting testimony. Major B. S. Roberts, who had

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70. *O. R.*, I, 9:508. Sibley Report, May 4, 1862.

71. *Ibid.*, I, 9:488. Canby to Wash. Hq., March 1, 1862.

72. Crimmins, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

73. *O. R.*, I, 9:489. Canby to Wash. Hq., March 1, 1862.

74. Sabin, *op. cit.*, Appendix II, 844.

75. *Ibid.*, II, 845.

76. *O. R.*, I, 9:490. Canby to Wash. Hq., March 1, 1862.

77. Twitchell, *op. cit.*, II, 376-78.

78. *O. R.*, I, 9:491. Canby to Wash. Hq., March 1, 1862.

been in charge of the field for the Union before Canby took over, believed that ". . . the subsequent misfortunes of the day would not have occurred," if a fellow officer had seized a position near the ford as ordered.<sup>79</sup> Canby, however, thought that ". . . the immediate cause of the disaster was the refusal of one of the volunteer regiments to cross the river and support the left wing of the army."<sup>80</sup>

There were various shades of opinion regarding the action of the volunteers aside from that presented by Canby. Governor Connelly partially exonerated the volunteers, who had followed the example of two regular companies which had refused to charge.<sup>81</sup> Collins, who was present also, did not attempt to differentiate between regulars and volunteers, but thought that the action of both ". . . was shamefully disgraceful and cowardly."<sup>82</sup> Major Chacon, another witness, in defense of the natives denied that any of the regiment of Kit Carson had been ordered into a critical position. However, when the order to retreat was given, that part of the militia which had not participated fled.<sup>83</sup> Twitchell, taking a more detached view, felt that the volunteers were not all to be blamed for their part in the retirement.<sup>84</sup> Bancroft, while conceding that the victory belonged to the Texans, did not wish to blame or praise although he opined that the outcome ". . . reflected little credit on the federal arms."<sup>85</sup>

Although a large number of native troops left for home after the battle, Canby felt that ". . . this adds to rather than diminishes our strength."<sup>86</sup> Washington was informed that the volunteers and militia could not be relied upon as "they have a traditional fear of the Texans, and will not face them in the field."<sup>87</sup> Canby was given permission to discharge

79. *Ibid.*, I, 9:501. Reports to Major Thomas Duncan, March 8, 1862.

80. *Ibid.*, I, 9:487. Canby to Wash. Hq., February 22, 1862.

81. *Ibid.*, I, 9:629. Connelly to Seward, March 1, 1862.

82. *L. R.*, Micro. No. 170. Collins to Dole, March 1, 1862.

83. Sabin, *op. cit.*, Chacon Mss., Appendix II, 845-6.

84. Ralph E. Twitchell, "The Confederate Invasion of New Mexico—1861-1862," *Old Santa Fe: A Magazine of History, Archaeology, Genealogy, and Biography*. 3:35, January, 1916. Charles F. Coan in his *A Shorter History of New Mexico* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, 1928) blamed the failure on part of the volunteers and some of the regulars, p. 210.

85. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 692.

86. *O. R.*, I, 9:487. Canby to Wash. Hq., February 22, 1862.

87. *Ibid.*, I, 9:636. Donaldson to Wash. Hq., March 1, 1862.

them soon after.<sup>88</sup> The governor agreed finally that the natives would do more for the cause by "... preparing their lands for the coming harvest . . ." than in remaining to fight.<sup>89</sup> Later, in evaluating the New Mexico native troops, the *Rio Abajo* conceded that they lacked education and were not well drilled, but maintained that their discipline was good, and that their ability to fight Indians well was recognized.<sup>90</sup> Another possible cause for native lack of fighting spirit could be laid to the lack of consideration and contemptuous treatment meted out to the volunteers by regular army officers during the training period at Fort Craig prior to the battle.<sup>91</sup>

Aside from the matter of the volunteer troops, Canby attempted to explain the results of this encounter by declaring that "... the superiority in numbers ..." and "... the superior mobility of its force ..." tipped the scales in favor of the Confederates.<sup>92</sup> The General himself was not held entirely blameless, however, although his personal bravery was lauded. Mills said that

I admired General Canby . . . , but I believe that if Colonel Roberts had been left to carry out his plans that day Valverde would have been a Union victory and the campaign closed.<sup>93</sup>

A later commentator mentions that many of the soldiers led by Carson believed that the victory would have been won, but was actually lost through mismanagement.<sup>94</sup>

Another factor in the Confederate success was a positive one. The ferocity of the Texans was certainly a contributing cause. "Never were double-barreled shot-guns used to better effect," said a Confederate leader.<sup>95</sup> It has been suggested that this fierceness was due to the great thirst for water as the Texans had been kept from the river since morning.<sup>96</sup>

88. *Ibid.*, III, 2:4. Wash. Hq., to Canby, April 4, 1862.

89. *Ibid.*, I, 9:645. Connelly to Seward, March 11, 1862.

90. *Rio Abajo Weekly Press*, February 2, 1864.

91. Notes and Documents, Letter from Santiago Valdez to C. Carson, *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 23:243-44, July, 1948.

92. *O. R.*, I, 9:492. Canby to Wash. Hq., March 1, 1862.

93. Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

94. Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

95. *O. R.*, I, 9:506. Sibley Report, February 22, 1862.

96. Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 167.



Sibley praised “. . . the spirit, valor and invincible determination of Texas troops. Nobly have they emulated the fame of their San Jacinto ancestors.”<sup>97</sup> Although his personal inactivity was noticed,<sup>98</sup> Sibley said “. . . in consequence of severe and prolonged illness and weakness resulting from it, . . .” that it was necessary for him to retire early.<sup>99</sup> A Confederate soldier had another explanation for the absence of Sibley. The Confederate leader allegedly was “. . . so much under the influence of liquor that Colonel Tom Green was obliged to assume command.”<sup>100</sup>

Immediately after the battle a misunderstanding, which caused some recrimination, arose between the opposing forces. Sibley petulantly complained that a flag of truce which his troops understood as “. . . a proposition to surrender” was used by the Federals to ease their return to Craig. The next day the North again availed themselves of the “generosity and confidence” of the Texans. Ostensibly intending to gather the dead and wounded, the Federals loaded their wagons with small arms from the battleground and also recovered a cannon from the river.<sup>101</sup>

Sibley had a much greater problem. After remaining on the field for two days to bury the dead and care for the wounded, rations were reduced to a scant five day supply. There were two choices open—attack the fort or continue north. Sibley decided to go up the river,<sup>102</sup> exhibiting little fear of the Northern troops who were thus left to his rear.<sup>103</sup> The shortage of food and supplies was evident, and had been noted at the time of the Confederate advance from El Paso.<sup>104</sup> The position of the Texans was precarious and called for action which Sibley recognized, and which prompted him to move.

Canby was in a difficult position, too. In listing his losses the Union leader found that 260 were killed, wounded, or

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97. *O. R.*, *loc. cit.*

98. Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

99. *O. R.*, *loc. cit.*

100. Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, II, 377.

101. *O. R.*, I, 9:508-9. Sibley Report, May 4, 1862.

102. *Ibid.*, I, 9:509.

103. Twitchell, *op. cit.*, II, 379.

104. *O. R.*, I, 4:89. Canby to Wash. Hq., January 25, 1862.

missing. While needing additional troops, Canby and his men were not dispirited.<sup>105</sup> The Texans did not attack the fort again,<sup>106</sup> so the Northern general chose to remain at rather than abandon it or bring on another battle. He decided that he would maintain his position because he was outnumbered and believed that

If there is any consistency of purpose or persistence of effort in the people of New Mexico, the enemy will be able to add but little to his resources from a temporary occupation of the country.<sup>107</sup>

At this point Union military fortunes were at a low ebb. Unwillingness to adopt an aggressive policy had permitted the invaders to force the campaign about as they wished. The volunteers at the disposal of Canby were untrained, but if allowed to fight in their own way, possibly would have given a better account of themselves. The native population was unenthusiastic over the conflict, but this could readily be understood as very few spoke English, and the Territory had been in the Union for only a little over a decade. Too, Canby was responsible for defending many points while the Texans had greater mobility, and little liability for the welfare of private citizens. Defense against Indian attacks also was a greater problem to the Union than to the Confederacy. Even though granting the greater responsibilities that faced Canby and his officers, the Texans had gained the upper hand by their greater enterprise, and were now threatening the entire Territory.

*(To be continued)*

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105. *Ibid.*, I, 9:492-3. Canby to Wash. Hq., March 1, 1862. Ralph E. Twitchell in his *Old Santa Fe* (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Santa Fe New Mexican Publishing Corporation, 1925), p. 380 remarks that Governor Gilpin of Colorado, upon hearing of the results from Valverde, sent troops to Raton Pass.

106. Coan, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

107. *O. R.*, I, 9:633. Canby to Wash. Hq., February 23, 1862.

## THE FIRST SANTA FE FIESTA COUNCIL, 1712

By FRAY ANGELICO CHAVEZ

IT WAS a wet and stormy day in September, 1712, when several citizens of Santa Fe joined the City Council in a special meeting to formulate plans for a perennial fiesta in commemoration of General DeVargas' first Reconquest of the ancient Capital. But let the original minutes and ordinances<sup>1</sup> speak for themselves in the quaint rambling phraseology of those times:

In the Villa of Santa Fe, on the sixteenth day of the month of September of the year seventeen hundred and twelve, gathered and met together in the house of residence of the General, Juan Paez Hurtado, Lieutenant Governor and Captain General,

because the official meeting houses were unfit as a result of the continuous rains that have fallen since the thirteenth day of the present month, as also the lightning storms not seen before [*at this time of year*],

the purpose being that, recalling how this Villa had been conquered on the Fourteenth day of September of the past year of sixteen hundred and ninety-two<sup>2</sup> by the General Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Lujan Ponce de Leon, Marquis of La Nava de Brazinas,

and that in twenty years no fiesta had been observed, as this Villa should have, in honor of the Salutary Rood of Our Redemption,

and so that in the future the said fourteenth day be celebrated, with Vespers, Mass, sermon, and procession through the Main Plaza,

all the gentlemen of the Illustrious City Council, Justice and Magistracy, remaining bound to its observance by this writ, through the solemn oath which those of the Present [*Council*] made at the hands of the Reverend Father Guardian of said Villa, Fray Antonio Camargo,

whom said Illustrious City Council had invited to graciously attend said meeting with the rest of the citizens of the Villa, [*especially*] those who have received decorations, and former council members,

1. R. E. Twitchell, *Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, II, no. 179. Keeping the old sentence structure, I have broken up the page-long sentences into paragraphs.

2. This was DeVargas' first Entry with troops only; the ceremonies are minutely described by him. See J. M. Espinosa, *First Expedition of Vargas into New Mexico*, 1892, pp. 95-7.

being that a formal invitation had already been presented by the Captain, Alfonso Rael de Aguilar, Magistrate Ordinary, and the Adjutant and Regent, Salvador Montoya, to the Lord Marquis of la Peñuela, Governor and Captain General of this Kingdom, in order that his Lordship might assist at said meeting as President,

who [*in turn*] gave an order to the aforesaid his Lieutenant General to preside over it, who in compliance with it thus carried it out.

And said Fiesta, since the Fourteenth Day was past, which is the one designated for future years, we determined to celebrate on the Seventeenth Day, which is the one in which the Church Our Mother celebrates the Bleeding Wounds of the Lord St. Francis,<sup>3</sup>

in whose Church<sup>4</sup> it is our will that it be celebrated for all time, a Fiesta in honor of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross.

And we oblige, in the manner with which we are empowered, all those who should succeed us in said Illustrious City Council,

in whose charge will be the burden of collecting the contributions, as well as assigning the sermon to the Person whom it should please, who will be given twenty-five *pesos*;

and of the rest that should be collected thirty *pesos* will be paid out for the Vespers, Mass, and Procession,

which is what we the Present ones bind ourselves to, and we bind those who should succeed us, as we likewise oblige ourselves to furnish the beeswax that should be needed,

and if, perhaps, with the passing of time this Villa should have some of its own funds, a portion of them will be designated for said festivity, which, as we have finished saying, we swear in due form of law;

I, the General, Juan Paez Hurtado, President in the place of said Lord Marquis of la Peñuela—the Captain, Alfonso Rael de Aguilar, Magistrate Ordinary—the Captain, Don Felix Martinez, Regent—the Adjutant, Salvador Montoya, Regent—Miguel de Dios Sandoval Martinez, Secretary of the Council—the Field Commander, Lorenzo Madrid, Council

3. The "Stigmata" or Wounds of Christ Crucified which St. Francis of Assisi received towards the end of his life, and commemorated on September 17. (*Roman Missal and Breviary.*)

4. The church of St. Francis serving as parish church at this time was a small structure outside the north wall, erected sometime after DeVargas' second Entry in 1693. *Sp. Arch.*, I, no. 758; II, no. 94a; NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. 24, p. 90. The permanent church of St. Francis, on the site of the present Cathedral, was then in construction, and was ready for use in 1714. *Ibid.*, p. 89; "Our Lady of the Conquest," *Ibid.*, Vol. 23, pp. 39, 74-5.

Member—the Captain, Antonio Montoya, Council Member—the Captain, Juan Garcia de la Riva, Council Member—the Captain, Francisco Lorenzo de Casados, Council Member—

And we declare that the beeswax which is [*left over after being*] burned in said festivity shall be gathered up by said Illustrious Council, or the person it should assign for the purpose, and this we do because of the scarcity in this land,

and all together we bind ourselves to assist at Vespers, Mass, Sermon, and Procession, and we swear to the Most Holy Cross for its [*being*] Patron [*i.e. Title*]<sup>5</sup> of this Villa of Santa Fe.

And we sign this writing and obligation on said day, month, and year.

(*Here follow the signatures of the nine men sworn.*)

As plainly stated in the document, the occasion these people wished to commemorate was, not the general pacification of the Pueblos of New Mexico by DeVargas in 1692, but his triumphal entry, *Entrada*, into Santa Fe itself, with the attendant ceremonies which DeVargas himself colorfully described in his Journal. In short, it was a strictly local enterprise, a Santa Fe Fiesta. DeVargas had made a similar entry into Santa Fe the following year, in December, and this time with the colonists; similar ceremonies had taken place, but this time after a crucial battle for the city. Perhaps these soldiers wished to ignore this second and more important *Entrada*, or they automatically included it with the first, since the weather in December would be too severe for a Fiesta. At any rate, September 14, titular feast of the Military Garrison, was to be the day. Now to the persons who conceived the idea of the Fiesta.

### *Principals of First Fiesta Council*

The principals in the Fiesta document, not all those present at the meeting are mentioned, are the Lieutenant Governor, the City Council members, and other major offi-

5. "The Most Holy Cross" was the name and title of the Spanish Presidio in Santa Fe from 1693 until the end of the Spanish regime. Here the City Council, almost all military, considered it also as the city's ecclesiastical title. After the erection of the parish church, 1714-17, however, St. Francis was the city's official Patron while the garrison continued under the title of the Holy Cross.

cials. Only three, the Montoyas and Madrid, are old New Mexicans. The rest are newcomers, soldiers or colonists recruited by DeVargas for the Reconquest. It is interesting to note their different origins as well as the interrelations that had taken place through marriage since 1693.

JUAN PAEZ HURTADO, Lieutenant Governor, and representing the Marquis Governor, was a native of Villafranca de los Palacios, near Las Cabezas in Andalucía. He was the son of Domingo Hurtado and Ana Rubio y Vásquez, both deceased.<sup>6</sup> Before or after coming to the New World he was recruited for the Reconquest of New Mexico by DeVargas, who appointed him the leader of military recruits. In 1692 Paez Hurtado brought up reinforcements from Parral.<sup>7</sup> He also recruited new colonists in Zacatecas.<sup>8</sup> All through DeVargas' two terms of governorship, he was his Lieutenant Governor and right-hand man, as well as commander of many of his Indian Campaigns. He was also the executor of DeVargas' last will in 1704,<sup>9</sup> and for a time was interim Governor.

Paez Hurtado's first wife was a Pascuala Lopez de Vera, who died in 1693, shortly before the colonists set out for New Mexico.<sup>10</sup> He brought along a little daughter, Ana, whom she had borne him, and this girl married a Pedro Ortiz Escudero in Santa Fe, Jan. 6, 1716.<sup>11</sup> He himself married Teodora de la Riva, or de la Rivas, daughter of Captain Miguel Garcia de la Riva and Micaela Velasco, all three natives of the City of Mexico. The wedding took place on June 20, 1704.<sup>12</sup> He and Teodora had three children: Antonia, who became the wife of Jose Terrus;<sup>13</sup> Gertrudis, who married Nicolas Ortiz III;<sup>14</sup> and Juan Domingo, mentioned in the last will of Jose Terrus.

6. Archdiocese of Santa Fe, *Informaciones Matrimoniales*, 1704, no. 6.

7. Espinosa, *op. cit.*, pp. 55, 116.

8. *Sp. Arch.*, I, no. 402; Bancroft Collection (Berkeley), *New Mexico Originals*; NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. 25, p. 248.

9. *Sp. Arch.*, I, nos. 99, 1027.

10. *Inf. Matrim.*, 1704, no. 6.

11. *Ibid.*, 1715, no. 8.

12. *Ibid.*, 1704, no. 6.

13. Terrus Will in *Sp. Arch.*, I, no. 966.

14. Cf. "Ramon Ortiz, etc.," NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. 25, notes, pp. 265-8.

Juan Paez Hurtado died in 1742, and was buried on May 5 under the altar of *La Conquistadora*, of whose Confraternity he was a devoted head;<sup>15</sup> his bones should lie under the altar against the north wall of the north chapel of the Santa Fe Cathedral. His second wife, Doña Teodora Garcia, had died six years before and was buried in the sanctuary of the same chapel, Nov. 17, 1736.<sup>16</sup>

To all appearances, Paez Hurtado was the originator and prime mover of this idea of a Fiesta in honor of DeVargas' Reconquest of Santa Fe, for the great Reconquistador had not only been his hero, but also his close friend, patron, and benefactor. A Spanish Governor of New Mexico was not inclined by nature and custom to commemorate the achievements of predecessors, especially close ones, and so the Marquis of la Peñuela, Don José Chacón Medina Salazar y Villaseñor, Governor in 1712, absented himself from a meeting which he apparently considered of little moment. Ironically, he gets the credit for the ordinance creating the Fiesta.<sup>17</sup>

DON FELIX MARTINEZ was one of the hundred soldiers recruited by DeVargas in Spain. He was a native of Galicia. After formally signing up in April, 1693, he took part in the Reconquest of that year, not in the *Entrada* of 1692. In 1695 he commanded the Presidio at Guadalupe del Paso.<sup>18</sup> Martinez succeeded Mogollon as Governor of New Mexico in 1716, but soon after was ordered by the Viceroy to return to the City of Mexico.<sup>19</sup> The exact year of his return is not definitely established, but he did not come back to New Mexico, nor did he leave any descendants. His title of Don, not shared by the rest of the Council, even the Lieutenant Governor himself, showed that he belonged at least to the lesser nobility.

He, too, had reasons for perpetuating the memory and glories of DeVargas, for with Paez Hurtado he owed everything to him.<sup>20</sup>

15. "Our Lady of the Conquest," *ibid.*, Vol. 23, pp. 41, 66-7.

16. *Ibid.*

17. NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. 6, p. 323.

18. Archivo General de Indias, Mexico, Audiencia, legajo 377.

19. NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. 6, p. 158.

20. *Ibid.*, Vol. 14, p. 411.

ALFONSO RAEL DE AGUILAR was born in the City of Lorca near the southeast coast of Spain.<sup>21</sup> He had reached Guadalupe del Paso as early as 1683, for there on October 24 of that year he married a New Mexican, Josefa Garcia de Noriega.<sup>22</sup> Josefa (Ana) Garcia was the daughter of Alonso Garcia de Noriega and Teresa Varela.<sup>23</sup> Alfonso's name appears often in documents of his day, either as notary, secretary of war, or an actor in the events described.

His children were: Alonso II, who married Tomasa Montoya, most likely a daughter of the Antonio Montoya in the Council, and later Melchora de Sandoval, daughter of Miguel de Dios Sandoval Martinez, also present at the Fiesta meeting; also, Eusebio, Juan, Antonia, Francisca, and Felicitana.<sup>24</sup> The latter eventually became the wife of Juan Garcia de la Riva, present in the Council.

Alfonso Rael de Aguilar was buried in the Conquistadora chapel on April 10, 1734, and his wife followed him on August 12 of the same year.<sup>25</sup>

SALVADOR MONTOYA, born in New Mexico, was the son of Diego Montoya and Josefa de Hinojos, who had escaped with their family when the Indians rebelled in 1680.<sup>26</sup> On April 25, 1700, he married Manuela Garcia in Bernalillo; she was a sister of Juan Garcia de la Riva, present at the Council meeting. They had the following children: Jose Francisco, who went to live in Nueva Vizcaya; Miguel, who married Rosa Baca; Jose Manuel; Francisca, and Josefa.<sup>27</sup>

ANTONIO MONTOYA was also a native New Mexican who escaped the 1680 massacre with his wife and children. His wife, Maria Hurtado, was a first cousin of Rael de Aguilar's first wife.<sup>28</sup> Antonio died sometime before his wife; she made her will in 1725 and was buried on March 22, 1726, in

21. AGN, *Mexico, Inquisición*, t. 735, f. 280.

22. First Marriage Book of El Paso del Norte, Bandelier Notes.

23. Deduced from New Mexico Family charts.

24. *Sp. Arch.*, I, no. 765.

25. "Our Lady of the Conquest," *op. cit.*, pp. 40-1.

26. *Sp. Arch.*, I, no. 512.

27. Baptisms-13, Bernalillo, Marriage Section; *Sp. Arch.*, *loc. cit.*

28. *Sp. Arch.*, II, no. 35.



the Conquistadora chapel.<sup>29</sup> Ten children are mentioned in the will: Juan Antonio, Andres, Angela, Juana, Antonia, Nicolasa, Antonio, Manuela, Tomasa, and Maria.<sup>30</sup>

MIGUEL DE DIOS SANDOVAL MARTINEZ came to New Mexico in 1694 with his parents, the only son of Juan de Dios Sandoval Martinez and Juana de Medina. He was eighteen at the time, and all were natives of the City of Mexico.<sup>31</sup> From his last will, Nov. 26, 1755, we learn that his mother's name was also "de Hernandez," and that his wife was Lucia Gómez, to whom he had been married fifty-eight years and two months. They had eight children, who dropped the "Martinez" and perpetuated the name "Sandoval." These were: Manuela, Juana, Melchora, Andres, Antonio, Juan Manuel, Miguel, and Felipe.<sup>32</sup> Of these, Melchora became the second wife of Alfonso Rael de Aguilar, while Juan Manuel married Josefa Rael de Aguilar.

LORENZO MADRID, the son of Francisco Madrid II and elder brother of Roque Madrid, boasted in 1697 that he was the oldest Conquistador and settler living in the Kingdom.<sup>33</sup> At Guadalupe del Paso, when the 1680 Indian Rebellion broke out, he passed muster there, and was described as a native of New Mexico, married, forty-seven years old, tall and swarthy, with black hair and beard. He was also lame in one arm.<sup>34</sup> According to his last will, he had had a wife before the Rebellion by the name of Antonia Ortiz [Baca], who bore him these sons: Nicolás, José, Simon, and Francisco Tomás Simon.<sup>35</sup> Of these, José seemed to be the only one living in 1680. His second wife, the one with him in 1680, was Ana de Anaya Almazan, widow of Andres Lopez Sambrano, by whom he had no children; however, they had adopted six orphans, the eldest of whom might be the Lucia

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29. "Our Lady of the Conquest," *op. cit.*, p. 40.

30. *Sp. Arch.*, I, no. 405.

31. Biblioteca Nacional, Mexico, leg. 4, pt. 1, pp. 790-5.

32. *Sp. Arch.*, I, no. 855.

33. *Inf. Matrim.*, 1697, no. 17b.

34. C. W. Hackett, *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians*, I, pp. 35, 143; II, pp. 66, 129.

35. *Sp. Arch.*, I, no. 502.

Madrid, captured by Indians in 1680, who was rescued by her "brother" José in 1692.<sup>36</sup>

JUAN GARCIA DE LA RIVA was the son of Miguel Garcia de la Riva and Micaela Velasco, who brought their family from the City of Mexico in 1694.<sup>37</sup> Of their six children, Teodora married Juan Paez Hurtado, Juan married Felicitana Rael de Aguilar, and Maria Manuela was the wife of Salvador Montoya. This family was certainly well represented in the Fiesta Council.

FRANCISCO LORENZO DE CASADOS, a native of Cadiz, had known Juan Paez Hurtado in Spain, and so testified at the latter's wedding.<sup>38</sup> The name of his wife is not known, nor is there any kinship to be found with other members of the Council. He had one son, Francisco José, who later married Maria de Archibeque.<sup>39</sup>

### *The Santa Fe Fiesta*

No one knows for how long the decree of the first Fiesta Council was carried out. The Fiesta might have been observed only in that year of 1712, if the rains allowed any external festivities, or the tradition then founded might have been kept up for many years afterward. For this there is no documentary evidence at all, though we might presume that the Fiesta did last as long as Juan Paez Hurtado was alive.

The present Santa Fe Fiesta, which this year will advertise itself as the 241st, dates from the period around the First World War, when public-minded citizens, "Anglos" who appreciated the unique Spanish historical background of Santa Fe, became aware of the grand possibilities inherent in this decree of 1712. They animated the "Hispanos" with pride concerning their forebears, and got them to participate in one big spontaneous folk festival. Though not Catholics for the most part, they got the Franciscan Fathers, newly returned to the City of the Holy Faith, to take part

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36. *Ibid.*; *Inf. Matrim.*, 1694, no. 34; AGI, *Guadalajara*, leg. 139.

37. BNM, leg. 1, pt. 1, p. 790.

38. *Inf. Matrim.*, 1704, no. 6.

39. *Sp. Arch.*, I, no. 13.

as the successors of Fray Antonio Camargo; thus the "Vespers, Mass, and Sermon" were resumed, and the special candlelight Procession to the Cross of the Martyrs inaugurated. But gradually this simplicity was lost.

For the first few years the Santa Fe Fiesta was a genuine Spanish-American folk festival, as it should be, with a touch of Indian participation. Then for a time, certain individuals who took charge emphasized Indian dances and exhibits. For the past decade, "Western" or Hollywood cowboy costumes and hillbilly music have gained the ascendancy. Whatever was left of Spanish-American folklore has been drowned by Mexican music and costuming. This is not to decry the Cowboy-Rodeo-Indian-Mexican influence in the Fiesta, as these elements are all an integral part of the Southwest's historical scene. However, the vacation season has ample room for cowboy, Mexican, and Indian festivities. There are special annual Rodeos already all over the State and in Santa Fe, as well as Indian ceremonies and ceremonials. The Santa Fe Fiesta ought to be a genuine Spanish-American folk festival and nothing else, though not excluding some Pueblo Indian participation, which the Fiesta's original event calls for.

BISHOP TAMARÓN'S VISITATION  
OF NEW MEXICO, 1760

*Edited by Eleanor B. Adams*

*(Continued)*

THE KINGDOM OF NEW MEXICO, 1760<sup>60</sup>

THE boundaries of New Mexico, if we seek them from Sonora and Janos, are the Santa María River on the west, and the line with Vizcaya is in that region. From there it is fifty leagues to El Paso, and I took this route when I made my episcopal visitation. The captain of Janos and his men left me there and returned to their presidio thirty leagues away. In the south the boundary is Carrizal, which is thirty-six leagues from El Paso. The eastern boundary is eighty leagues downstream from El Paso at the junction with the Conchos River. The northern limit is unknown. On the west flank there are Gila, Navaho, and Ute Indians; on the northeast, Apaches and Faraones, and various other tribes.

*El Paso*

This town's population is made up of Spaniards, Europeanized mixtures,<sup>61</sup> and Indians. Its patron saints are Our Lady of the Pillar [of Saragossa] and St. Joseph.<sup>62</sup> There is a royal presidio with a captain and fifty soldiers in the pay of the King.

The cure of souls is in charge of the Franciscan friars of the Province of the Holy Gospel of Mexico. Two friars are serving there. One is the Custos, who is prelate of all the New Mexico missionaries. The other, who has the title of guardian, is the parish priest of that large town. Two

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60. Translated from Tamarón (1937), pp. 325-355.

61. "Gente de razón." This term is sometimes translated as "whites." It was generally applied to all those of mixed blood, including mestizos and mulattoes, whose way of life followed Spanish rather than indigenous customs. By contrast the Indians were sometimes detractively referred to as "sin razón." The term "gente blanca," literally "white people," was applied to a certain mixture of Spanish and mulatto blood. N. León, *Las castas del México colonial, o Nueva España* (Mexico, 1924), pp. 23, 27. It will be noted that Bishop Tamarón distinguished among Spaniards, i.e. individuals of pure European blood, *gente de razón*, and Indians.

62. These were the patron saints of the presidio. The mission was dedicated to Our Lady of Guadalupe and El Paso is usually called by this name.

secular priests also reside there. I found that one of them held the office of vicar and ecclesiastical judge, and for good reasons I decided to give the vicariate to the Father Custos, without prejudice to the rights of the episcopal jurisdiction, even though the one who was exercising it had given no cause for his removal from this office.

El Paso has 354 families of Spanish and Europeanized citizens, with 2479 persons. There are 72 Indian families with 249 persons.<sup>63</sup>

They gave me a solemn reception here, for not only did the captain of the presidio, Don Manuel de San Juan, who is also the chief magistrate, the Father Custos, and the vicar come out to the Río de Santa María, but when I entered El Paso, everyone came marching out in fine order and display. This cost me a night's sojourn in the country three leagues from El Paso, which I did not like at all, because it is a very dangerous region, even though I had been in the same situation for the six preceding nights from the time I left Janos since there are no settlements en route. But this last night was at their request so that they might make better preparations for my reception, for I was then near enough to have been able to enter El Paso that night. But I arrived on the following day, April 23, 1760.

El Paso is in latitude 32°9', longitude 261°40'.

There is a large irrigation ditch with which they bleed the Río del Norte. It is large enough to receive half its waters. This ditch is subdivided into others which run through broad plains, irrigating them. By this means they maintain a large number of vineyards, from which they make

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63. BNM, leg. 9, no. 59, part of which will be translated *infra*, gives a briefer account of Bishop Tamarón's visitation but does include further details in a few cases. Variations and additions will be given in this and succeeding notes. With regard to El Paso, this manuscript adds that the soldiers of the presidio were mounted. One of the secular priests in residence there, "who holds the title of parish priest and vicar of Nuestra Señora de las Caldas, which was abandoned because of the continual incursions by the enemy [Indians], handed over to me the parish books, which were placed in my secretariat, and I deposited the vestments and sacred vessels with him." Cf. note 113, *infra*. The Indian population is given as 27 families, with 294 persons, but this may be a mistake by the copyist. The figures for the citizens included the soldiers of the presidio. In 1749 Father Varo had reported that the mission of Our Lady of Guadalupe of El Paso had a population of "more than 200 Indians and more than 1000 Spaniards and other Europeanized individuals." BNM, leg. 8, no. 81.

*generoso*<sup>64</sup> wines even better than those from Parras, and also brandy, but not as much. They grow wheat, maize, and other grains of the region, as well as fruit trees, apples, pears, peaches, figs. It is delightful country in summer.

That settlement suffers a great deal of trouble caused by the river. Every year the freshet carries away the conduit they make to drain off its waters. The flood season lasts three months, May, June, and July. They told me about this before I came, and I traveled with more speed, since I had to cross it before it was in flood. Three or four days after my arrival, I went to see the river, a trip which requires an armed escort. It was already rising. It is at its peak on May 3. It was necessary for me to wait while supplies for the journey to the interior of New Mexico were made ready.

The method of restoring the conduit every year is to make some large round baskets of rather thick rods. When the freshets are over, they put them in the current, filling them with stones, and they act as dams and force the water to seek the mouth of the ditch. This is not necessary when the river is in flood. Indeed, so much water flows that if the river is somewhat higher than usual, they are alarmed, fearing that they may be flooded and innundated with great damage.

Although this river carries a great deal of water, except for the three months when it rises it can be forded, although there is always danger because of its sandy and turbulent bottom. I inquired in El Paso about the reason for this. They attribute it to a river that joins it higher up, which they call the Río Puerco. I had this in mind when I went upstream. I crossed the Río Puerco twice and found it completely dry, without water. And higher up, throughout New Mexico, it [the Río Grande] flows as turbulently as in El Paso, and all the rivers I crossed that would eventually join it are very clear. The common opinion is that its freshets during the aforesaid three months are the result of melting snow. I do not agree with this. The water which

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64. It is impossible to translate this term, which has reference to the type and quality of certain wines.

melts from snow is very clear, as one observes in the many powerful rivers which come from the Sierra Madre and flow into the South Sea through the government of Sinaloa. I entered New Mexico in the month of May, and almost all the snow in all the sierras had melted. Indeed, a few streaks were visible, but it was obvious that they were only fragments of the large amount that had gone. I went up to the most remote place, which is Taos. I was there on June 10, and at the peak of the great sierra at whose foot the pueblo lies a few patches of snow were visible, and they were small. Although the heavy snows fall from November to February, the freshets do not begin until the end of April, and this is always the case.

On June 13 I was in the pueblo of San Juan, which I visited on my return from Taos. Part of the road was downstream. Astonished to see so much water, I was convinced that there would be few people for me to confirm, since most of the parishioners have their houses on the other side of the river. I reached the pueblo; I made inquiries, and the missionary assured me that everyone had crossed. In astonishment I asked whether canoes could navigate there. They replied that everyone crossed on horseback. The river was divided into seven arms. They crossed three by running and flying, for this is how they describe it when they swim and touch bottom, and four by swimming. They ride the horses bareback; they are now expert; and in this fashion old men and women, boys and girls, and all kinds of people crossed without a single accident.

Higher up in New Mexico this river freezes many years, and they cross the ice on horseback and with wagons.

The headwaters of this river are not known, nor is there any definite account of its source. There are very interesting stories about it, and in spite of its abundance at El Paso, the year 1752 is remembered, when it diminished and dried up there. It flowed to within about thirty leagues above El Paso, and twenty leagues below El Paso its current again emerged, while the intervening fifty leagues remained dry with no water except what was caught in the wells they opened in the channel. They found themselves in a

sad state, because they needed the irrigation from this river. Freshets because of rainfall are unknown. The freshets are confined to their three months. These characteristics are worthy of remark, because of the inferences that may be drawn.

El Paso is located between two sierras, and the river, which comes almost directly from the north, runs through the wide mouth between them. The river comes from even beyond New Mexico, always declining southward, and shortly before it reaches El Paso it twists and bends to the east and continues in this direction to the Gulf of Mexico.

#### *San Lorenzo*

This pueblo is called the Realito, but I was never told that there had been mines there. Its inhabitants are Europeanized citizens and Indians. There are 32 families of citizens with 192 persons. There are 21 Indian families with 58 persons. A Franciscan parish priest ministers to these people in the capacity of missionary. It is one league over a plain to the east of El Paso, downstream.<sup>65</sup> Its church is 23 varas long and five and a half wide.

#### *Senecu*

This pueblo is two leagues from San Lorenzo and three from El Paso, downstream over the plain to the east. Its Franciscan missionary, who resides there permanently, has 111 families of Piro Indians, with 425 persons; 18 families of Suma Indians, with 52 persons; and also some infidel Sumas who were being taught the catechism, 28 persons; 29 families of citizens and Europeanized mixtures, with 141 persons. His church is thirty-six and three-fourths varas long, five and a half wide, and the priest's house measures nine varas.<sup>66</sup>

#### *La Isleta*

The titular patrons of this pueblo are Corpus Christi and St. Anthony. It has a Franciscan missionary, with

65. BNM, leg. 9, no. 59 gives the distance as three leagues from El Paso and three from Senecu. Cf. *Itinerary, infra*. According to Father Varo, it had about 150 Suma Indians and 150 Spaniards in the vicinity in 1749. BNM, leg. 8, no. 81.

66. BNM, leg. 9, no. 59 gives the number of Suma families as 12. Varo's figures for 1749 are about 384 Indians and 102 Spaniards and Europeanized mixtures. BNM, leg. 8, no. 81.



80 families of Piros Indians and 429 persons; 18 families of citizens with 131 persons.<sup>67</sup> It is two flat leagues east of Senecu and five from El Paso, downstream. The church is thirty-six varas long by five and one half wide, and the priest's house measures nine varas.

### *El Socorro*

This pueblo of Our Lady of Socorro has a Franciscan missionary, with 46 families of Suma Indians and 182 persons. It is one league east of Isleta and six from El Paso, downstream. There are 82 families of citizens, including those of Tiburcio, with 424 persons.<sup>68</sup> The church is thirty-six varas long and seven wide, and the transept measures fourteen and three-fourths varas. Each of these four pueblos has a friar in residence. They are as fertile and luxuriant as El Paso, with irrigation ditches which the river fills without need for a conduit.

### *Carrizal*

This pueblo is new, and its titular patron is San Fernando. It was founded in the year 1758 by Captain Don Manuel de San Juan, who paid the expenses of fifty settlers equipped as soldiers and with what was necessary for their farms out of his own private means. A secular priest was appointed, with 400 pesos paid to him by the King. For the protection of these people, twenty soldiers from the presidio of El Paso are stationed here, and they are replaced at regular intervals. When I visited there, the church was started, and the priest has since written me that it is finished. He also asked me for vestments, which I will give as soon as I receive another report on the state of affairs there, for I fear that it will not survive, although it is a very necessary outpost. It has lands with abundant irrigation. It is thirty-six leagues south of El Paso on the way to Chihuahua. There are 41 families, with 171 persons. It belongs to New Mexico.

67. About 500 Indians and 54 Spaniards in 1749. *Ibid.*

68. BNM, leg. 9, no. 59, gives the number of citizens as 444. According to the 1749 estimate, there were about 250 Indians, including children receiving religious instruction, and about 250 Spaniards and half-breeds, including children. BNM, leg. 8, no. 81.

El Paso is the gateway to the interior of New Mexico, and it may be that this circumstance is the origin of its name; not because New Mexico has any barriers, since it is easily entered from all quarters. When I was in Bassaraca [Bacerac], the general of the Opatas, Don Jerónimo, offered, if I liked, to take me from there to New Mexico in a few days, for he knew a much shorter route than the one I planned to take via El Paso. The latter is the gateway because it is the one that has always been used, and, once there, it is the most direct and the one traveled by all. According to what I heard, it would not be difficult to open a road on the west side of the river, and I should have returned that way to avoid two crossings of the river, which were troublesome enough at that season.

The captain prepared a raft in order to cross that formidable river. May 7 was designated for my embarkation. On the sixth the loads, mules, horses, muleteers, one hundred live sheep for food in the uninhabited areas, and other supplies were taken across. They took me to the river early on the seventh. It was very high and overflowing. That place and those nearby which crown the shore were abandoned. When I boarded the raft, the river was covered by Indian swimmers, some pulling lines, others making them fast. I made a happy crossing to the other side with most of my family, although I left part of it in El Paso. It was necessary to wait on the other bank until the two volantes, or two-wheeled calashes, were brought across. They were dismantled and taken on the raft. These operations and bringing the rest of the people across took until nearly midday. When the volantes were assembled, the journey upstream began.

One does not lose sight of this river all the way to New Mexico. Only from Albuquerque on is any other water encountered, not even an arroyo or a spring. It is worth noting that on that eastern route from El Paso to New Mexico, the Sierra of the Mansos apparently does not send down a single small arroyo. At the Jornada del Muerto alone, the river recedes, and there are difficulties with regard to water.

On this day [May 8] five leagues of rather rough road were traveled, and there was a review of the people of our camp. They included eleven soldiers from the presidio, twelve citizen soldiers, eighteen Indian soldiers, and eight travelers. Therefore, including my servants, the Father Custos, and myself, we were sixty-four men in all.

On the following day [May 9] the journey continued for only five leagues, and four on the one after that [May 10], because they were rounding up a herd of horses from those belonging to the presidio, which they keep on the other bank of the river.

On May 11 it was freezing at dawn. On this day we reached the dread site of Robledo, where we spent the night. It is an unavoidable stopping place. The river flows between two sierras. The one on the west is called Robledo, and the one on the east Doña Ana. Camp is pitched between the latter and the river. The place is frightening, and the danger one runs there increases this aspect, for most travelers are attacked by infidel Indians, which is a very frequent occurrence at that place. And two of my most illustrious predecessors who entered New Mexico learned this from experience, because some of their mules were shot with arrows. But I had such good fortune in my travels that not even threats were known, except, indeed, on May 12, which found us in Robledo at a frosty dawn, when smokes were seen in the nearby Doña Ana sierra. This gave us some anxiety, but when we continued our journey, we began to realize that the great amount of smoke indicated that a forest was burning. And a little farther on, opposite the conflagration, we found a black cross about a vara and a half high and as thick as a man's thumb at the side of the road, and at its foot a deerskin sack containing two pieces of fresh venison and a deerskin. The Apaches, who must have been in the Doña Ana sierra, put it there. By this means they indicated that they were at peace and that we should give them food and buy the deerskin. The experienced guides gave this interpretation. And therefore they left a knife in exchange for the deerskin and kept putting pieces of bread and tobacco leaf in the sack. And a short

distance away, for we were on the lookout, two Indians on horseback were sighted. They were coming to see what had been left for them.

On this day, the twelfth of the month and the sixth of the journey, we came to the Jornada del Muerto. To prepare for it, a detour is made to seek the river at a place called San Diego. The night is spent there. Everything necessary is made ready. It is about half a league from the river. Barrels are brought for the purpose. These are filled with water for the people. On the morning of the thirteenth the horses were taken to the river to drink. Somewhat later all the food for the journey was prepared, and at half past seven we left that post with considerable speed, stopping only to change horses. During this interval we ate what there was, and we traveled in this fashion until eight-thirty at night, when we halted opposite the Sierra of Fray Cristobal.

On the fourteenth day of May, the eighth day of our journey, we made an early start. We reached the river at eleven-thirty. The livestock were so thirsty that they ran to reach the water. After this fashion were the thirty leagues of this difficult stage traveled. We stopped there this day. And on the next, which was the feast of the Glorious Ascension of Our Lord, three masses were said, and then the trip was continued with a short day's journey because of the tiring one that had preceded it. The site they call San Pascual was reached. There was a pueblo there before the revolt of the kingdom, and only traces of the church and houses are visible. If it were rebuilt, it would be a great consolation and relief to travelers on that road.

On the sixteenth there was also a short day's journey as far as the site called Luis López because he had an hacienda there before the revolt.

On the seventeenth we went over a road full of ravines, and in one of them the volante in which I and the Father Custos were riding suffered a severe upset. The Father Custos fell from the side and received a blow which hurt him. I escaped injury, because I fell on him. Therefore I took a horse and continued my journey on it. On this day the re-

mains of the pueblo of Socorro were seen on the other side of the river. The walls of the church are standing, and there are peach trees. And they say that an arroyo which rises in the sierra comes down on that side. This pueblo was also lost with the kingdom. On this day a stop was made at the site of Alamito [Alamillo]. That afternoon I wrote to the governor of the kingdom advising him of my coming, and also to the vicar and ecclesiastical judge. Three men were dispatched with my letters and those of the Father Custos.

On the following day, in the middle of the journey, we came to the site where the pueblo of Sevilleta stood, and a little beyond it the ruined estancia of Felipe Romero. Both were lost with the kingdom.

On the nineteenth we passed the house they call Colorado, also in ruins, and from that point on we began to see pens of ewes, corrals, and small houses, for there is good pasturage. On this same day the houses of the settlement of Belén on the other side of the river came into view; and from there on great poplar groves begin to cover the countryside. Here we were received by the alcalde of Tomé with the citizens of his town, of Belén, and of Isleta. The last two are on the other side of the river. We reached Tomé at ten and made a stop there.

### *Tomé*

This is a new settlement of Spanish citizens which could become the best in the kingdom because of its extensive lands and the ease of running an irrigation ditch from the river, which keeps flowing there. A decent church has already been built. It is thirty-three varas long by eight wide, with a transept and three altars. It is dedicated to the Immaculate Conception. There is a house for the parish priest, who is the one of the villa of Albuquerque. I confirmed 402 persons that afternoon.<sup>69</sup> The population of this settlement is not recorded here because it was included in the census of the town to which it is subordinate [Albuquerque]. The Father Custos was charged to assign a friar to Tomé, separate from Albuquerque, and I believe that he has already done so.

69. Cf. *Itinerary, infra*, which gives the number of confirmations as 606. BNM, leg. 9, no. 59, agrees with the above.

*Albuquerque*<sup>70</sup>

This villa is composed of Spanish citizens and Europeanized mixtures. Their parish priest and missionary is a Franciscan friar. It is ten leagues north of Tomé. There are 270 families and 1814 persons.<sup>71</sup>

On the following day, May 21, I celebrated the announcement of my visitation. The edict concerning public sins was read, and then the commands of the Roman ritual were executed. The parish books were examined. Various faculties were conferred on the parish priest, and the title of vicar and ecclesiastical judge of this villa was issued to him because of the distance from Santa Fe, for there had never been one there.

The secular priest who is vicar of Santa Fe, Don Santiago Roibal, arrived here with his notary on this day.

Because some of his parishioners are on the other side of the river, this parish priest of Albuquerque, called Fray Manuel Rojo, is obliged to cross it when summoned. This kept him under apprehension, and above all he emphasized to me that when the river froze, it was necessary to cross on the ice. He elaborated this point by saying that when the ice thundered, he thought he was on the way to the bottom, because when one crosses it, it creaks as if it were about to break.

*Sandia*

This pueblo of Moqui and Tigua Indians is new. It is four leagues north of Albuquerque. There is a very decent chapel on the way there. I inspected it, and while I was doing so, twenty soldiers with a lieutenant captain arrived, whom the governor of the kingdom had sent to me as an escort.

I made my visitation and confirmations in this pueblo of Sandia. There is a Franciscan missionary parish priest there, who administers 35 families of settlers, with 222 persons. The Indians live apart in their tenements, separated after

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70. I have used the modern spelling of the name of this city. The original, of course, has the old and correct version, Alburquerque.

71. The census for 1750 in BNM, leg. 8, no. 81, shows 191 families with about 1312 persons. Father Varo's 1749 estimate was 500 non-Indians and 200 Indians. Possibly Varo's estimate did not include the subordinate settlements.

the manner customary in this kingdom, as will be explained later.

The tenement of the Tigua Indians houses 51 families and 196 persons, and that of the converted Moqui Indians, 16 families, with 95 persons.<sup>72</sup>

### *Santo Domingo*

This pueblo of Keres Indians is six leagues north of Sandia upriver. There are no settlers here. The mission priest is a Franciscan friar. It comprises 67 families, with 424 persons.<sup>73</sup>

Four leagues before we reached this pueblo, we passed opposite another called San Felipe, which is on the other bank of the river. And on this other side they arranged a nice arbor and under it a fine lunch, for in few places would a better one be made. The mission priest of San Felipe prepared it at his own expense. And after it was over and we had proceeded a quarter of a league, the aforesaid governor of the kingdom came out to meet us in his two-seated chaise, and from there we traveled together to Santo Domingo. He dined there and returned to his capital, but he left the chaise at my disposal.

Having made my visitation and confirmations, I left for Santa Fe on the twenty-fourth day of May, now leaving the river and traveling toward the east. I reached the house of El Alamo, six leagues from Santo Domingo. It is large, with an upper story and many corridors. There the governor had left everything for the midday meal ready.

Here the captain of the peaceful Apache Indians came to call on me. This man is esteemed in the kingdom because of his old loyalty. He warns of the coming of Comanches, and in war he and his men are a safe ally. But they have not been able to persuade him to become a Christian. I begged and exhorted him. He excused himself on the ground that he was now too old to [learn how] to recite the catechism. I

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72. A note in BNM, leg. 8, no. 81, states that the census of Nuestra Señora de Dolores of Sandia, which was resettled in 1748 with Tigua and Moqui Indians, had not arrived, but that there were about 440 Indians.

73. According to the census of 1750, Santo Domingo had about 42 households with 300 Indians, including children. *Ibid.*

endeavored to facilitate matters for him. I got nowhere. Everyone desires his conversion because he displays good qualities, and they hope that the same thing may happen to him as to another captain who was unwilling while he was in good health, but who asked for baptism when he was on the point of death, which would be going to see the Great Captain, for so they call God. And as soon as he received holy baptism, he died.

### *Santa Fe*

This villa is the capital of New Mexico. It is four leagues east of the house of El Alamo, which I left the afternoon of the same day. And a half a league before we reached Santa Fe, the governor came forth with a numerous and brilliant retinue. He dismounted from his horse and joined me in the coach. This reception was very noteworthy. We proceeded to the villa among a crowd of people, and my entrance to Santa Fe was made with the same solemnity that the Roman ceremonial prescribes for cathedrals. After this function the governor himself lodged me in the very *casas reales*, and he moved to another house. And he provided food during my sojourn there. I accepted this, and the same from the captain at El Paso, because there was no other way of obtaining it; and they conformed, according to what I heard, to the practice of their predecessors with my predecessors, as likewise with regard to providing mules and horses.

On May 25, which was Whitsunday, the visitation was made with all possible solemnity in the principal church, which serves as the parish church. It is large, with a spacious nave and a transept adorned by altars and altarscreens, all of which, as well as the baptismal font and the other things mentioned in the Roman ritual, were inspected after the edict concerning public sins had been read and a sermon on the aims of the visitation given.

Two Franciscan friars serve continually in this villa, one with the title of Vice-Custos and the other as parish priest, with the status of missionary. To each of these friars, and to all who serve in New Mexico, the King contributes 300 pesos annually; and in addition to this, they receive their



obventions in accordance with a fixed schedule. A secular priest also serves in that villa as vicar. He is paid 300 pesos a year from the tithes. This was the only vicar in the kingdom, and for that reason I decided to add the vicarship of Albuquerque and that of the Villa de la Cañada, so that decisions might be handed down with greater ease.<sup>74</sup>

This villa of Santa Fe has 379 families of citizens of Spanish and mixed blood, with 1285 persons. Since I have confirmed 1532 persons in the said villa, I am convinced that the census they gave me is very much on the low side, and I do not doubt that the number of persons must be at least twice that given in the census.<sup>75</sup>

In this villa I visited another church dedicated to the Archangel St. Michael. It is fairly decent; at that time they were repairing the roof.

In the plaza, a very fine church dedicated to the Most Holy Mother of Light was being built. It is thirty varas long and nine wide, with a transept. Eight leagues from there a vein of very white stone had been discovered, and the amount necessary for an altar screen large enough to fill a third [of the wall] of the high altar was brought from this place. This was then almost carved. Later both it and the church were finished. The dedication of this church was also celebrated, and I was informed that it was all well adorned. The chief founder of this church was the governor himself, Don Francisco Marín del Valle, who simultaneously arranged for the founding of a confraternity which was established while I was there. I attended the first meeting and approved everything.<sup>76</sup>

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74. Don Santiago Roibal was the only secular priest in interior New Mexico. "He has been serving as vicar for more than twenty years, and when he is gone, it will be difficult to find another one." BNM, leg. 9, no. 59.

75. BNM, leg. 8, no. 81, gives three figures for the population of Santa Fe in 1749-1750. After listing the names of the inhabitants by households, Fray Manuel de San Juan said there were 1205 adults and 514 children, making a total of 1719, including all races. In the margin, however, he gave the figure for adults as 1025, in which case the total would be 1539. A note citing Father Varo says that in 1749 there were 965 Spaniards and half-castes, and 570 Indians, or a total of 1535.

76. For an account of the founding and later history of this church, see A. von Wuthenau, "The Spanish military chapels in Santa Fe and reredos of Our Lady of Light," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, vol. 10 (1935), pp. 175-194; E. B. Adams, "The chapel and cofradía of Our Lady of Light in Santa Fe," *Ibid.*, vol. 22 (1947), pp. 327-341.

The buildings of this villa, both churches and houses, are all adobe. There is no fortress there, nor any formal presidio building. The garrison consists of 80 mounted soldiers in the pay of the King. In that villa, in Galisteo, and in Taos there was need of a stone fort in the vicinity of each. Santa Fe is a very open place; the houses are far apart; and therefore it does not have the least defence. If there had been a fort at the time of the uprising in the year 1680, the Indians would not have dared to do what they did.

This villa lies at the foot of a sierra, which is east of it and runs to the north. Water is scarce, because the river that traverses it dries up entirely in the months just before harvest, when only an inadequate small spring remains for drinking water, in addition to the wells. On May 25 it rained and hailed, and the sierra was covered with snow which soon melted. That people rejoiced, since they thought that such early precipitation augured a good winter. The villa of Santa Fe is located in latitude  $37^{\circ}28'$ , longitude  $262^{\circ}40'$ .

Since the two pueblos of Pecos and Galisteo are off the beaten track, the decision to break off the visitation of Santa Fe and to proceed to make that of the said two pueblos was taken.

### *Pecos*

A Franciscan missionary parish priest resides in this Indian pueblo. It is eight leagues from Santa Fe to the south-east. There are 168 families, with 344 persons, and 192 persons were confirmed.<sup>77</sup>

Here the failure of the Indians to confess except at the point of death is more noticeable, because they do not know the Spanish language and the missionaries do not know those of the Indians. They have one or two interpreters in each pueblo, with whose aid the missionaries manage to confess them when they are in danger of dying. And although they recite some of the Christian doctrine in Spanish, since they do not understand the language, they might as well not know it.

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77. The 1750 census lists about 300 persons, although Father Varo's estimate of 1749 had been more than a thousand adults and children. BNM, leg. 8, no. 81.

This point saddened and upset me more in that kingdom than in any other, and I felt scruples about confirming adults. I remonstrated vehemently with the Father Custos and the missionaries, who tried to excuse themselves by claiming that they could not learn those languages. In my writs of visitation I ordered them to learn them, and I repeatedly urged them to apply themselves to this and to formulate catechisms and guides to confession, of which I would pay the printing costs.<sup>78</sup> I asked the Father Custos to give me a report about this in writing, and he gave me the one contained in a paragraph of a letter dated November 7, 1761, which reads as follows:

Father Fray Tomás Murciano has worked hard on the formulation of an aid to confession in the native language, but so far he has had no success because the interpreters have confused him so greatly by the variety of terms in which they express things that he assured me that he had found no road to follow. And I told him to write it all down and learn it, and then to try to observe with great care the ordinary manner of speaking among them, and that in this way he would succeed. Nevertheless, in many pueblos this year it did come about that a number of people made their confessions, and I am in no way relaxing my efforts in this regard, and, for my part, I am doing all I can. Perhaps it may be God's will that there be success.

The letter is quoted to this point. I have again urged the extreme importance of this matter for the good of those souls. Finally, in a letter of December 12, 1763, the same Father Custos, at my instance, makes the following statement:

And although I am ill, I have not neglected the least detail of the things which your Illustrious Lordship charged me to foster, especially the matter of confessions. In this regard I have made and am making every possible effort, for since the time when your Illustrious Lordship made your visitation, I have not failed to go to New Mexico once a year. And although I have not accomplished all that your Illustrious Lordship and I desire, because of the rebelliousness of the people,

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78. The bishop was more successful in fomenting language studies elsewhere in his diocese. A *Doctrina Christiana* in the Opata language by Father Manuel de Aguirre, a Jesuit, was printed in Mexico, 1765, and dedicated to Bishop Tamarón. Wagner, *Spanish Southwest*, II, 446-447.

still some progress has been made, and I hope that with the help of God and by persistence our end may be attained.

It is a shame that most of those Indians lack the benefit of confession. I take little satisfaction in these confessions through an interpreter when the latter is an Indian or a negro. I had experience of this when I was a parish priest in Caracas with the negroes brought there under the English contract. Many died soon after they arrived. I made repeated experiments with those of their own nation who had been in the land for some time. Although we granted confession, I never felt reassurance when this means was used. And I attempted to accomplish something in New Mexico by using interpreters, and their version is nothing but confusion on the subject of catechism and confession. In trade and temporal business where profit is involved, the Indians and Spaniards of New Mexico understand one another completely. In such matters they are knowing and avaricious. This does not extend to the spiritual realm, with regard to which they display great tepidity and indifference. And because of their scanty store of virtue and sacred things, they will hurl themselves into such wickedness as I am about to relate.

*Extraordinary happening in Pecos*<sup>79</sup>

On May 29, 1760, I went to the pueblo of the Pecos Indians. They received me with demonstrations of rejoicing. They come out on horseback; they perform many tilts to show how skillful and practiced they are in riding.

I inspected that church, and I confirmed them. An escort of soldiers and the Father Custos accompanied me. Among my family I took with me a Spanish-speaking and civilized negro as my body servant. He is corpulent and has a good presence, and he must have excited the imagination of the Indians.

I finished my visitation of that kingdom and I left for

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79. Bishop Tamarón published his account of this episode in the same words under the title: *Relación del atentado sacrilegio cometido por tres indios de un pueblo de la provincia del Nuevo México; y del severo castigo, que executó la Divina Justicia con el factor principal de ellos*, Mexico, 1763. The Coronado Collection of the University of New Mexico Library has a photograph of the copy in the collection of F. Gómez de Orozco. See also Wagner, *Spanish Southwest*, II, 438-439.

the outside world in July. During the month of September those Indians of Pecos arranged a function similar to my reception and to other ceremonies I celebrated there. The originator of this performance was one of the Indian principal men of that pueblo, called Agustín Guichí, a carpenter by trade. He made himself bishop, and, in order to present himself to his people as such, he designed and cut pontifical vestments. Making the mitre of parchment, he stained it with white earth. Out of a cloak (*tilma*), he made a cape like the cope used at confirmations, and he fashioned the rochet out of another cloak. He made a sort of pastoral crosier from a reed.

The aforesaid Agustín donned all this, mounted an ass, and two other Indians got themselves up to accompany him in the capacity of assistants. One took the part of the Father Custos. They put a garment like the Franciscan habit on him, and they painted the other black to represent my man. These two also rode on similar mounts, and, after all the Indian population had assembled along with others who were not Indians, to the accompaniment of a muffled drum and loud huzzas, the whole crew, followed by the three mounted men with Agustín, the make-believe bishop garbed as such in his fashion, in the middle, departed for the pueblo. They entered it at one o'clock on the fourteenth day of September, 1760. They went straight to the plaza, where the Indian women were kneeling in two rows. And Agustín, the make-believe bishop, went between them distributing blessings. In this manner they proceeded to the place where they had prepared a great arbor with two seats in it. Agustín, who was playing the part of the bishop, occupied the chief one, and Mateo Cru, who was acting the Custos, the other.

And the latter immediately rose and informed the crowd in a loud voice that the bishop ordered them to approach to be confirmed. They promptly obeyed, and Agustín, garbed as a bishop, used the following method of confirming each one who came to him: He made a cross on his forehead with water, and when he gave him a buffet, that one left and the next one came forward. In this occupation he spent all the time necessary to dispatch his people, and after the confirma-

tions were over, the meal which had been prepared for the occasion was served. Then the dance with which they completed the afternoon followed. On the next day the diversion and festivities continued, beginning with a mass which Bishop Agustín pretended to say in the same arbor. During it he distributed pieces of tortillas made of wheat flour in imitation of communion. And the rest of the day the amusement was dancing, and the same continued on the third day which brought those disorders and entertainments to an end.

On the fourth day, when the memorable Agustín no longer found occupation in the mockery of his burlesque pastimes as bishop, he went about the business of looking after his property. He went to visit his milpa, or corn field, which was half a league away near the river. Then he sat down at the foot of a cedar tree opposite the maize. He was still there very late in the afternoon when night was drawing in, and a bear attacked him from behind, so fiercely that, clawing his head, he tore the skin from the place over which the mitre must have rested. He proceeded to the right hand and tore it to pieces, gave him other bites on the breast, and went away to the sierra.

The wounded man's brother, José Churune, states that after his brother was wounded, he came to see what had happened to him and that Agustín received him, saying, "Brother, God has already punished me." Agustín Turifundi, Agustín Guichí's son, relates in his statement that after his father was wounded and when he had been taken to his house, he summoned him and ordered him to shut the door. And when they were alone he gave him the following admonition: "Son, I have committed a great sin, and God is punishing me for it. And so I order you that you and your brothers are not to do likewise. Counsel them every day and every hour." This was the exhortation he made before he died.

The fiscal of the pueblo, Juan Domingo Tarizari, testifies that he went to examine the bear's track and that he followed its prints and saw that when the bear came down from the sierra, he did not go to the milpas, but that he made the whole journey until he wounded Agustín Guichí and returned to the sierra immediately thereafter without eating maize.

The fiscal says this and also that bears do not attack men except when the latter chase them. And the other witnesses confirmed his deposition.

Agustín Guichí confessed with the aid of an interpreter, who, at Pecos, is an Indian named Lorenzo. This man relates in his statement that Father Fray Joaquín Xerez, missionary of that pueblo, summoned him to be present as interpreter at the confession, and that he gave him the holy oil of Extreme Unction afterwards. The same mission father certifies that he interred the body of Agustín Guichí, carpenter, in that church on the twenty-first day of September, 1760.

A formal investigation and report and a juridical indictment with regard to all the foregoing circumstances were drawn up by virtue of a decree I issued, granting a commission for this purpose to Don Santiago Roibal, vicar and ecclesiastical judge of the villa of Santa Fe and its district. He examined nine witnesses, three of them Spanish soldiers attached to that royal presidio who were in Pecos on escort duty and were present at the festivities and burlesque function, and who testify as eyewitnesses. Another was neither soldier nor Indian. He is called Juan Gallegos, and he was present.

The Most High Lord of Heaven and Earth willed this very exemplary happening so that it should serve as a warning to those remote tribes and so that they might show due respect for the functions of His Holy Church and her ministers, and so that we might all be more careful to venerate holy and sacred things; for the punishment that befell does not permit its noteworthy circumstances to be attributed to worldly coincidences.

### *Galisteo*

A Franciscan missionary parish priest resides in this Indian pueblo. When there is a shortage of missionaries, he has charge of this pueblo and of the pueblo of Pecos, from which it lies nine leagues to the west over a flat and open road. Only a few pines and firs are encountered. The latter abound in that kingdom, and they produce piñon nuts, as in Spain.

Galisteo is surrounded by adobe walls, and there is a

gate with which they shut themselves in. Here is the usual theatre of the war with the Comanches, who keep this pueblo in a bad way. There is not an abundance of water. It is the outpost for the defence of Santa Fe, from which it is seven leagues to the south. There are 80 families, with 255 persons.<sup>80</sup> Most of these Indians confess annually, and they know the catechism.

A quarter of a league before we reached Galisteo, which must have been about ten o'clock in the morning, an alférez who was in command of the escort came to me and said: "My lord, make all haste, for the Comanches are already upon us." The soldiers put their hands to their weapons; I spurred my horse well. I had a good fright, and there were no Comanches. They had mistaken the Galisteo Indians for them, because, in order to make the reception more festive in their way, they had scattered on horseback through some hills, from which they emerged suddenly with their courses and tiltings. And because these people live in terror of the Comanches there, they thought they were attacking us.

From Galisteo I returned to Santa Fe. I also experienced another alarm about the Comanches, the news of whose coming was given by the peaceful heathen Apaches. The governor took precautions, and the Comanches went in another direction. And the force marched on the day of Corpus, on which I celebrated a pontifical high mass and organized the procession with His Divine Majesty. The street through which the procession passed was decorated with branches and splendid altars; there were salvos by the military squadrons, and a large crowd was present. I consecrated six altar stones at Santa Fe.

Here I received a petition which I shall relate because of its unusual nature. A woman fifteen years of age, who had already been married for five years, presented herself, asking for the annulment of her marriage because she had been married at the age of ten. Then the husband, who was a soldier of the presidio, appeared. The fact that the marriage

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80. BNM, leg. 9, no. 59, gives the number of persons as 225. Fray Juan José Toledo's census of 1750 shows 52 households with 220 persons. Father Varo's estimate of 1749 was 350 persons. BNM, leg. 8, no. 81.



had taken place when she was ten years old was verified, but there was also proof that she immediately conceived and bore a son, and then another, and that she was already pregnant with the first child at the age of eleven. For this reason her petition was not valid, and the couple was ordered to continue in the state of matrimony.

### *Tesuque*

This Indian pueblo is a *visita*<sup>81</sup> of Santa Fe. It is three leagues to the north of the place from which it is administered. I arrived there on June 6.

These Indians are somewhat more civilized. They had not confessed in accordance with the commandment which prescribes annual confession, because of illness, according to what the missionary parish priest told me. And another friar was charged to hear their confessions at once. There are 31 families in this pueblo, with 232 persons.<sup>82</sup>

### *Nambe*

This Indian pueblo is a head mission. Its missionary parish priest is a Franciscan friar. It is three leagues north of Tesuque. There are 49 families, with 204 persons. There is a small settlement of Europeanized citizens, which consists of 27 families, with 118 persons.<sup>83</sup>

This pueblo is very pleasant, with many plantings and a river that always has water, and this delicious for drinking. An irrigation ditch is taken from it. But the plague, or swarm, of bedbugs was encountered, for there is a multitude of them in every part of the house. The following pueblo is a *visita* of this mission:

### *Pojoaque*

The titular patron of this Indian pueblo is Our Lady of Guadalupe. It belongs to the Tewa nation. It is on the road

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81. A subordinate mission administered by a friar in residence at another mission in the vicinity.

82. BNM, leg. 9, no. 59, gives the number of persons as 223. The 1750 census shows 44 households with 171 persons. BNM, leg. 8, no. 81.

83. BNM, leg. 9, no. 59, gives the number of persons as 187. The 1750 census shows 46 households with 199 persons. Father Varo's estimate for 1749 seems to have been 100 settlers and 350 Indians. This may have included Pojoaque. BNM, leg. 8, no. 81.

halfway between Tesuque and Nambe. By some chance, for which I do not know the reason, they did not take me to it, which I regretted. It has 31 families, with 99 persons.<sup>84</sup> It is half a league south of Nambe.

### *Picuris*

A Franciscan missionary resides in this Indian pueblo, the patron saint of which is San Lorenzo. And before reaching it, one crosses a valley they call Chimay, which is traversed by a river. Those people came out to receive me. They have good irrigated lands.

Afterwards we reached the Truchas pass, which is already in the sierra. There is *pimería*<sup>85</sup> there. Many men and women came out to the road. They also have irrigated lands.

At about eleven o'clock in the morning, when we were enduring great heat, we encountered a beautiful little spring of spouting water, from which we drank. It was like snow water and very thin. A midday stop was made at the site of Trampas, where there are some settlers. License to build a church was left for them. This license was also drawn up to provide that the church should be inside their walled tenement and that it should be thirty varas long including the transept.

The journey was continued in the afternoon. The two rivers of Santa Barbara and Picuris were crossed by bridges. They are very rapid and were carrying a great deal of water.

We entered Picuris when the sun was about to set. We had traveled eleven leagues to the north, the distance between Picuris and Nambe. The road is twisting.

This pueblo of Picuris has 51 families of Indians, with 328 persons, and 37 families of citizens, with 208 persons.<sup>86</sup>

84. According to the 1750 census the pueblo of "Pojoaque and Cuyamungue" had 15 ranchos and houses with 130 persons. *Ibid.*

85. None of the possible meanings of this word make sense in relation to the location. Perhaps the original was misread.

86. BNM, leg. 9, no. 59, gives the following figures: 55 Indian families with 328 persons; 39 families of citizens with 208 persons. The 1750 census says there were 150 settlers, including 20 married couples, 2 widowers, 4 widows, 49 unmarried men, 38 unmarried women, 3 men servants, and 14 women servants. The Indians numbered 247: 47 married men, 15 widowers, 3 unmarried men, 29 widows, 2 unmarried women, 50 boys under religious instruction, 65 girls under religious instruction, 26 small boys, 10 small girls. The figures in the table, apparently based on Father Varo's estimate of 1749, state that there were 50 settlers and 400 Indians. BNM, leg. 8, no. 81.

The Indians in this pueblo do not confess except when they are dying, and even the interpreters are the same. Here I labored all I could with the interpreters so that they might inspire the others to contrition. As a result one interpreter and a few others confessed, and the father missionary was charged to carry this work forward.

### *Taos*

The titular patron of this Indian pueblo is San Jerónimo. To reach it we traveled through pine forests and mountains until we descended to the spacious and beautiful valley they call the valley of Taos. In this valley we kept finding encampments of peaceful infidel Apache Indians, who have sought the protection of the Spaniards so that they may defend them from the Comanches. Then we came to a river called Trampas, which carries enough water. The midday halt was made at the large house of a wealthy Taos Indian, very civilized and well-to-do. The said house is well walled in, with arms and towers for defense. In the afternoon the journey through that valley continued. Three rivers of similar current and water were crossed. The first one in particular provides abundant ditches for irrigation. They are about a league and a half from one another. And, crossing the last one, we entered the pueblo of Taos, where a Franciscan missionary parish priest resides.

It is twelve leagues north of Picuris. It is the last and most distant pueblo of that kingdom. In this direction, it lies at the foot of a very high sierra and in latitude 40°. This pueblo has 159 families of Indians, with 505 persons. There are 36 families of Europeanized citizens, with 160 persons.<sup>87</sup> There is a very decent and capacious church.

I also put forth every effort there to induce those best acquainted with Spanish to perform the act of contrition and confess. I therefore left this group until last, confirming the children first. And in fact some did confess, and, encouraged to contrition, were confirmed. But since they do not know

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87. The 1750 census shows approximately 146 households with 456 persons, including a number of Apaches. The number of Indians given in the table is 540. There were 9 Spanish households with about 57 persons; 6 coyote, or mestizo, households with about 55 persons; and 8 genízaro households with about 25 persons. According to the table, the number of non-Indians was 125. BNM, leg. 8, no. 81. The genízaros were Indians who had been recovered from the predatory tribes.

the catechism except in Spanish, I did not feel as pleased and easy in my mind as I should have liked. Therefore I reprimanded the mission father and duly reminded him of his duty, ordering him to continue receiving their confessions.

This pueblo is divided into three many-storied tenements. It would have been better, as I told them, if they had been kept together, for one is on the other side of the river about two hundred varas away. There is a wooden bridge to cross the river. It freezes every year, and they told me that when it is thus covered with ice, the Indian women come with their naked little ones, break the ice with a stone, and bathe them in those waters, dipping them in and out. And they say it is for the purpose of making them tough and strong.

When I was in the pueblo two encampments of Ute Indians, who were friendly but infidels, had just arrived with a captive woman who had fled from the Comanches. They reported that the latter were at the Río de las Animas preparing buffalo meat in order to come to trade. They come every year to the trading, or fairs. The governor comes to those fairs, which they call *rescates* [barter, trade], every year with the majority of his garrison and people from all over the kingdom. They bring captives to sell, pieces of chamois, many buffalo skins, and, out of the plunder they have obtained elsewhere, horses, muskets, shotguns, munitions, knives, meat, and various other things. Money is not current at these fairs, but exchange of one thing for another, and so those people get provisions. I left Taos on June 12, and a few days later seventeen tents of Comanches arrived. They make these of buffalo hide, and they say that they are good and well suited for defense; and a family occupies each one. And at the end of the said month of June seventy of these field tents arrived. This was the great fair.

The character of these Comanches is such that while they are peacefully trading in Taos, others of their nation make warlike attacks on some distant pueblo. And the ones who are at peace, engaged in trade, are accustomed to say to the governor, "Don't be too trusting. Remember, there are rogues among us, just as there are among you. Hang any of them you catch."

In that year, 1760, I left that kingdom at the beginning of July. And on the fourth day of August, according to what they say, nearly three thousand Comanche men waged war with the intention of finishing this pueblo of Taos. They diverted, or provoked, them from a very large house, the greatest in all that valley, belonging to a settler called Villalpando, who, luckily for him, had left that day on business. But when they saw so many Comanches coming, many women and men of that settlement took refuge in this house as the strongest. And, trusting in the fact that it had four towers and in the large supply of muskets, powder, and balls, they say that they fired on the Comanches. The latter were infuriated by this to such a horrible degree that they broke into different parts of the house, killed all the men and some women, who also fought. And the wife of the owner of the house, seeing that they were breaking down the outside door, went to defend it with a lance, and they killed her fighting. Fifty-six women and children were carried off, and a large number of horses which the owner of the house was keeping there. Forty-nine bodies of dead Comanches were counted, and other trickles of blood were seen.

As soon as the governor, Don Francisco Marín del Valle, learned about it, he summoned his men with all possible speed. He set out on their trail with a thousand men and pursued them almost two hundred leagues. By this time the Apache auxiliaries were tired and dispirited. Food supplies were running out. They returned. They spent forty days reconnoitering a large area without accomplishing anything.

It is said, and they told me, that this numerous, strong, warlike tribe of Comanches came and showed themselves on the New Mexico front in the years 1717 or 1718. And they said that it had taken them twelve moons to travel from their lands. The immensity of those unpopulated regions may be deduced from this.

Later, in the year 1761, the events occurred that the interim governor, Don Manuel Portillo Urrisola, related in a letter to me, which runs as follows:

Most Illustrious Lord: On last October 27 I received from your Illustrious Lordship with the usual pleasure the letter

in which you condescend to inform me about your esteemed health. And although I imagine your Illustrious Lordship extremely occupied in the care of the ewes of so great a flock, I should fail in my duty if I did not trouble you with the repetition of this account, for I believe that your Illustrious Lordship will appreciate the information.

As a result of refusal to admit the Comanches during the month of August of last year until they should fulfil their offer to bring the captives, on December 18, I received a letter from the alcalde mayor of Taos, in which he informs me that eleven captains of the said tribe arrived in Taos, and with them their principal man, called Onacama. They said that their encampment, which consisted of forty tents, would arrive within three days and that they were bringing seven captive women so that the concession permitting them to trade would be made.

On the instant I collected the small force there was in this villa and in La Cañada, and with what soldiers I had, who were very few, because twenty-two were in El Paso del Norte awaiting my successor, I started off and reached Taos on the thirty-first at eight in the morning. The Comanches arrived two hours later. I went out to receive them, and after we had talked, I accompanied them to a place opposite the pueblo and had them camp near the swamp. There were sixty-eight tents. This served to make me suspicious of them, fearing some of their treachery. Therefore I kept the whole force mounted and with their weapons in their hands.

And after I had withdrawn to the pueblo, ten captains, accompanied by Onacama, came to see me at two in the afternoon. They haughtily told me that they were bringing me seven captives, three women and four boys; that they were to be well paid to their satisfaction and that permission to trade was to be granted; otherwise they would find out whether I was man enough to throw them out, as I had done in the month of August. I refused this proposal, making them confess that what they had committed in Pablo Villalpando's house had been done with treacherous treason at a time when they were at peace with us; that not only would I not pay them for the seven captives whom they were bringing, but that I would not grant them peace or trade until they should bring all the captives whom they had carried off.

Therefore they raised a tumult, wishing to leave. I prevented this, seizing them and disarming seven men. Hereupon they wanted to kill me. And, having allowed one of the aforesaid to go to bring the captives they were holding in their encampment, as soon as he reached it he sent them to me with

another captain, while he himself remained behind drawing up his forces, whom he had mount their horses, exhorting them to try to kill me first. As soon as I learned this, leaving six soldiers to guard the ten captains, with orders to kill them if they attempted flight, I mounted and went to join my men.

When I reached the encampment, I found all the Comanches on horseback, drawn up in three files, proclaiming war. Despite my small force, scorning their great numbers, trusting in the protection of the Most Holy Virgin and the justice on our side, I thrust myself into their midst with a cutlass in my hand, asking them what this tumult meant. They replied that it was nothing, everything was now over, that we were comrades. Seeing me in this peril, my men begged me, weeping, to come back. I was unwilling to do so until I found myself absolutely compelled to it because I heard shots in the pueblo. And, leaving all my mounted men under Lieutenant Tomás Madrid to surround their encampment, with orders not to permit any of them to get out and that none of our men should dismount, I returned to the pueblo and found the dangerous situation that the ten captains, as soon as they saw my tumultuous departure, had overcome the guard, and, having seized two firearms, had left fleeing via the ladders. And the soldiers, seeing that they could not hold them, fired on them. One of them fell dead, and most of them were wounded. And, not having been able to reach the open country, because the door of the house was occupied by the cavalry squadron who had come at the sound of the shots, they fortified themselves in the stable and lower rooms, from which they kept firing shots all night. They killed the horses of the soldiers of the guard, and they destroyed their saddles.

So we stood firm all night with our weapons in our hands, and those in the field did the same, until the twenty-second dawned. The lieutenant then advised me that they had come out in front of their encampment with a cross and a white banner, asking for peace, that their captains should be handed over, and that trade should be permitted. I had them told that before I conceded what they asked, they must hand over their horses to me and remain on foot; after the fair and after we had reached an agreement, I would return them so that they might depart. They refused, breaking out again and crying war.

And now that I found myself obliged to do so, invoking the Queen of Angels and men, I fired a small field cannon loaded with cartridges, and also a close volley of shotguns.

Although they returned our fire with a sufficient show of resistance, at the second close volley fired at them, they were unable to bear the scourge from heaven let loose against them and abandoned their encampment. Their women and children fled. The pagans called Utes, who made me an offer to fight on our side until death, did not bestir themselves in our assistance at all. And so, while we were occupied in pursuit of the fugitives, they sacked the camp. They carried off more than a thousand horses and mules and more than three hundred Comanche women, large and small. They went on without stopping until they reached their land. And although I saw what was going on, I could not prevent it for lack of men. And continuing the pursuit of the fugitives until we reached a place impossible to pass, we kept on killing Comanches. Those fields were covered with their bodies, for none of them were willing to surrender alive.

This glorious action was over in less than an hour, with such extraordinary signs that the All Powerful fought on our side, that although my force consisted of eighty men at the most, including both soldiers and citizens, more than four hundred Comanches died, and only two of our men, one an Indian and one a citizen, died, and ten were wounded, but superficially, for all of them are well now.

Having returned to the community house and found that the captains who were in it were unwilling to surrender under any agreement, I had fire set to it. And since this did not burn with the necessary violence, when night came four of the captains who had survived it came forth with two guns they had, hoping to escape. But only one of them succeeded. He managed to get away in the darkness of the night, but when day came, following his footprints, although it was impossible to overtake him, it is believed that he must have died because of the trail of blood he left behind him.

From a Ute woman who was a captive in the hands of this camp and who succeeded in escaping, it has been learned for certain that those who escaped from this affair out of the whole encampment numbered thirty-six, including men and women; and that as soon as they received the news of their misfortune, they set fire to everything they had, they killed all their herd of horses, they cut their ears, and they went fleeing, and the Aá nation went in pursuit of them.<sup>88</sup>

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88. This tribe has not been identified. Two French traders who came to Pecos in August, 1752, were guided by an Indian woman of the "Aé" tribe, who met them on the other side of the Río Napestle. Letter of Governor Vélez Cachupín to Viceroy Revilla Gigedo, September 18, 1752, in A. B. Thomas, *The Plains Indians and New Mexico, 1751-1758* (Albuquerque, 1940), p. 109 and note 37. Thomas says that this is the earliest reference he has seen to the "A" or "Aé" tribe, although he has found others as late as 1819. The "A" or "Aé" might possibly be an abbreviation for Apache.



As a result of this glorious victory, I had hoped for complete quiet in this kingdom because of the fear it has inspired in all the heathen tribes, and also because of the gratitude they have shown. But I believe that this hope will be frustrated by the arrival of my successor, who took office on the first day of February,<sup>89</sup> for he seems to have the intention of summoning the Comanches, sending them some of their captive women. If this is carried out, I fear, and with reason, that they will destroy the kingdom on one of these occasions when they come to trade, for experience has shown that all the wicked things which this bellicose and false tribe has committed have always occurred when they were at peace with us. May God provide the remedy and grant me His grace and my departure from this kingdom at once, because I am no longer of any use whatsoever in it.

I shall be rejoiced to hear that your Most Illustrious Lordship enjoys very perfect and entire health, placing that which the Lord grants me at your Most Illustrious Lordship's disposition most willingly, imploring the Most High to prolong the very important life of your Most Illustrious Lordship for many happy years. Villa of Santa Fe, February 24, 1762. Most Illustrious Lord, prostrate at the feet of your Most Illustrious Lordship, your most humble subject, Manuel Portillo Urrisola.

*(To be continued)*

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89. Don Tomás Vélez Cachupín became governor for the second time in 1762 and served until 1767. L. B. Bloom, "The governors of New Mexico," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, vol. 10 (1935), p. 155.

## Notes and Documents

### Documents concerning Bishop Crespo's visitation, 1730<sup>1</sup>

Two letters of Bishop Crespo which narrate the events of his visitation of New Mexico in 1730 are presented here for comparison with Bishop Tamarón's report of his visitation thirty years later. Although the later prelate made some of the same criticisms as his predecessor, especially in regard to the indoctrination of the Indians, the reforms he suggested were more carefully considered and far less drastic. The reasons for Bishop Crespo's failure to appreciate the fact that the number of missionaries in New Mexico was already inadequate and for his recommendation that it be still further reduced are obvious. Custos Fray Andrés Varo was never a diplomat when his convictions were challenged, and Bishop Crespo seems to have been little more able to compromise. As a result, feeling ran so high that neither party to the dispute was capable of true objectivity.

*Letter of Bishop Benito Crespo to Viceroy Juan Vázquez de Acuña, Marqués de Casafuerte. Bernalillo, September 8, 1730.*

Most excellent lord:

Sir: In fulfillment of my obligation, I have made an inspection to which I have given due reflection, because I have traveled through all the Indian pueblos and Spanish settlements in the district of the Villa of Santa Fe, 130 leagues from El Paso del Río del Norte, except Zuñi, Laguna, and Acoma. And I have found seven ministers of the number endowed by his Majesty (God keep him) lacking in the pueblos, and according to information, they have been lacking for a long time. The enclosed memorandum will prove this to your Excellency.

I must place before you for your superior consideration what I believe necessary for the service of God and of the King our lord, but I do not intend thereby to do more than express my opinion to your Excellency. And this is that if the ministers fulfill their obligations, the faithful can be better served at less expense, and Christianity in these regions, where there is so much grain which fails to bear fruit for lack of cultivation, can be increased.

In the Villa of Santa Fe, a Spanish settlement, whose church the citizens built at their own expense, there can be and can be founded a benefice served by a secular priest, who will have sufficient for

1. AGM, Arzobispos, tomo 7.

his sustenance without excessive expense to the royal exchequer. The same in the Villa Nueva named Santa Cruz, populated by Spaniards, together with the places called Río Arriba, Chama, and Chimayó here, because the minister it has is endowed for the pueblo of Santa Clara, where he has never resided, and it is on the other side of the river. There is a church in the said villa, which was built at the expense of its Spanish citizens. And the distance from the administrative center of the said villa to the places already named is three leagues of flat terrain. And the same in the Villa of Albuquerque, whose church was also built by the Spanish citizens at their own expense. And it can be administered by and provide sufficient sustenance for a curacy, along with the places of Alameda, Atrisco, and Bernalillo, which all lie within six leagues of flat terrain. The citizens desire this with all eagerness, and they asked me to seek it, even though, both in the said villas and in the missions, there are no other vestments than those which his Majesty (God keep him) has given. I have not observed this practice, nor does it exist, in any of the missions of this so extensive diocese, for I believe that out of a hundred, there are ninety of the sacred Order of the Society of Jesus,<sup>2</sup> the poorest of which has its church better adorned than is the one of the Villa of Santa Fe, which surpasses all those of this district, because it does not even have vestments for high mass, according to the-?,<sup>3</sup> as I have seen.

The pueblos of Tesuque and Nambe, with Santa [María de Guadalupe]<sup>4</sup> of Pojoaque, in all three of which there are 86 families and 440 persons, children and adults, Pojoaque being a quarter of a league from Nambe, and Tesuque three short leagues of flat terrain, can be well administered by a minister residing at Nambe or Tesuque.

The pueblos of San Juan de los Caballeros, which has 54 families and 300 persons, San Ildefonso, which has 60 families and 296 persons, and Santa Clara, which has 49 families and 279 persons, are within an area of three leagues of flat terrain. They can be well served by one minister, with the head mission at San Ildefonso, which is in the middle.

According to the distance between them, which is seven leagues, the pueblos of Picuris and Taos, both of which have 110 families and 732 persons, might be well administered by one minister. But three leagues are in the sierra, where the road is usually blocked by snow for some time, according to the traces and indications I observed. And I therefore find a resident minister necessary at the said pueblo of Picuris, and that of Taos, which has endowments for two, can be well administered by its single minister, who, if he is zealous, will

2. When this manuscript was bound, the right-hand margin of the versos was sewn in too closely and a number of words cannot be read. In some cases the sense is obvious, but in others it is possible only to supply what appears to be the most likely interpretation. Here the original reads: "que me parece . . . ? de ciento," etc.

3. Sewn in.

4. Id.

be able to make expeditions to Jicarilla<sup>5</sup> and Cuartelejo,<sup>6</sup> fifteen or twenty leagues away, where there are many pagan Indians who have formed settlements and sown land. And these offer great hopes of their reduction to our Holy Faith, since they worship the holy cross and have placed it in their houses and plantings. During such absences the minister of Picuris will be able to attend to the administration of the said pueblo of Taos. This pueblo of Taos is the last one of Christianity, and it lies directly to the north and is thirty leagues from the Villa of Santa Fe.

All the Indian pueblos mentioned and the population of the Villa of Santa Cruz and the other Spanish pueblos belong to the Santa Fe district, a very fertile land for all grains, especially wheat and maize; and they have gathered an abundant harvest this year, both because the weather has been favorable and because they have irrigation from perennial rivers [tributary to?]<sup>7</sup> the Río Grande del Norte.

The pueblos of Pecos, which has 98 families and 521 persons, and that of Galisteo, both eight leagues from the Villa of Santa Fe, can be well administered by one minister since they are no more than [five]<sup>8</sup> leagues of flat terrain from one another, and Galisteo does not have more than 50 families and 188 persons.

The pueblo of Jemez has 59 families and 307 persons; Zia 61 families and 3[18]<sup>9</sup> persons; and Santa Ana has 42 families and 209 persons. And the distance from Jemez to Santa Ana is six leagues of flat terrain, with Zia in between, so that after having said mass at Jemez, I was in Zia at eight-thirty. I celebrated confirmations there, and in the afternoon I went on to Santa Ana, where I also celebrated them, and there was more than enough time to reach this place [Bernalillo], which is two leagues from the aforesaid pueblo of Santa Ana.

The pueblo of Cochiti has 72 families and 372 persons; Santo Domingo has 47 families and 281 persons; and San Felipe has 45 families and 234 persons. San Felipe is four leagues of flat terrain from Cochiti, and Santo Domingo is in the middle, two leagues from each of the others. And although the said pueblo of Santo Domingo is on the other side of the river, there is a canoe at San Felipe for use in the short season when it usually rises. At this season the minister can be in Cochiti, and afterwards in Santo Domingo, and another in the pueblo of Isleta [*sic.*]

5. Three years later, in 1733, Custos Fray José Ortiz de Velasco founded a mission for the Jicarillas five leagues north of Taos. It did not last, for Governor Cruzat y Góngora ordered the soldiers of the presidio to drive the Indians off. *Declaration of Fray Miguel de Menchero, Santa Bárbara, May 10, 1744.* Hackett (1937), p. 403.

6. For speculation about the location of Cuartelejo, where some of the Pueblo Indians fled at the time of the reconquest of New Mexico after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, see Hackett (1937), p. 383, note 219.

7. Sewn in.

8. Id.

9. Id.

In the pueblo of Zuñi, which has more than 100 families and about 800 persons, one resident minister suffices. And although this mission is twenty-five leagues from the pueblos of Acoma, which has about 90 families and 600 persons, and Laguna, which has 70 families and 400 persons, all three are in charge of a single minister.

The said pueblos of Acoma and Laguna can be well administered by one minister, for they are only four short leagues of flat terrain from one another. I must place before the Christian and pious consideration of your Excellency the fact that with zealous workers, they will be able to obtain great increase in Christianity because the place of the pagans, called Cebolletas, is within seven leagues of the pueblo of Laguna. I have proof that the reason they give for not being converted is *seeing that those who have been reduced are not well converted* (these are their formal words) *because they do the same as they do with regard to idolatry.*

From the pueblo of Santa Ana to the aforesaid one of Santa Clara upstream is the numerous tribe of Navahos, who show signs of being converted if there were evangelical laborers, both because they plant and because of their great worship of the holy [cross],<sup>10</sup> which they keep in their houses like the Jicarillas mentioned above.

This, my lord, does not mean that evangelical laborers should be placed in these regions immediately, but serves to lay before your Excellency that if those in the nearby missions mentioned are zealous and vigilant for the increase of Christianity, the conversion of the said Indians will be easy, for the mission of Jemez is five leagues from the Navahos and they are trading with all the pueblos of that range. And, after God, zeal, industry, and good example, and knowledge of the language are the most efficacious attractions, because, being such materialists, they believe only what they see. I have had personal experience of this, for I assure your Excellency that in the very large number of missions in the rest of my diocese already mentioned, in the one with the shortest distance and the easiest to administer of the pueblos assigned to each minister in the provinces of Tepehuanes, Tarahumaras, Sinaloa, and Sonora, the distances are twice that here. Moreover, they are all *?-*<sup>11</sup> lands, and the habitations are different, for in all the said provinces each family has its separate dwelling at a distance from one another. So there are pueblos which cover at least half a league in circumference. And those of this province are reduced, according to their size, to one, two, three, four, or five tenements, all together, which form a town with their family divisions inside and outside by ladders to enter windows, each one having its own, with two, three, four, and five stories. And therefore the minister has no more labor for one [family] than for another.

A benefice for a priest can also be erected in the pueblo of El Paso. The church will be built with ease by the Spaniards who desire

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10. Id.

11. Id.

it so greatly, and there is sufficient for his support with the Spanish population there and in the Real de San Lorenzo, leaving a single minister in the said pueblo of El Paso, for the Indians they call Mansos and also the Indians in the Real de San Lorenzo, a short league from the aforesaid El Paso. And the said Indians consist of 72 families and about 300 persons. The other pueblos of the said El Paso district, which are Senecu, Isleta, and Socorro, which have 115 families and more than 600 persons all together, can be well administered by a single minister, since all three lie within an area of two leagues of flat terrain, with Isleta in the middle.

I have traveled through and observed all these places with the greatest thought, celebrating confirmations in all of them, preaching and confessing in all places and farming settlements where there have been Spaniards. And in order to report immediately to your Excellency, I do not enlarge further upon the places and their boundaries in all directions, and because I do not have time to do so.

For five years the five or six missions of the north at the Junta de los Ríos, also belonging to this Custody, have been without ministers.

In view of all this your Excellency will decide as you see fit.

Our Lord keep your Excellency the many years I beg for. Place of Berna[lillo], and September 8 of the year 1730.

Most excellent lord, your attentive servant kisses your Excellency's hands,

Benito, Bishop of Durango

Most Excellent Lord Marqués de Casafuerte, Viceroy of New Spain.

*Enclosure*

List of the [number of] missionary ministers endowed by his Majesty (God keep him) in the province of New Mexico, which includes the missions of El Paso del Río del Norte; and of the missionaries who are in the said province at present; and also of those who are lacking and have been lacking for a long time.

Those who

are and  
have been  
lacking

Endowments  
for

1	Villa of Santa Fe, with the pueblo of Tesuque, has	2
	Villa of Albuquerque has	1
	Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz has	1
	Pueblo of San Juan de los Caballeros has	1
1	Pueblo of Taos has	1
	Pueblo of Picuris has	1
1	Pueblo of Santa Clara has one, and there has not been one there, and it has been admin- istered by the one at Villa Nueva	1
	Pueblo of San Ildefonso has	1

	Pueblos of Nambe and Santa María Pojoaque	1	
1	Pueblo of Pecos has two	2	
	Pueblo of Galisteo has	1	
	Pueblo of Santo Domingo has	1	
	Pueblo of Cochiti has	1	
	Pueblo of San Felipe has	1	
	Pueblo of Santa Ana has	1	
	Pueblo of Zia has	1	
	Pueblo of Jemez has	1	
	Pueblo of La Isleta has	1	
1	Pueblo of La Laguna has	1	
	Pueblo of Acoma has	1	
1	Pueblo of Zuñi has	2	
Those who are and have been lacking			Endowments for
	Paso del Río del Norte		
	Pueblo of the Mansos and Spaniards has	2	
	Pueblo of San Lorenzo of Spaniards has	1	
	Pueblo of Senecu has	1	
	Pueblo of La Isleta has	1	
	Pueblo of Socorro has	1	

*Letter of Bishop Crespo to the Viceroy. El Paso, September 25, 1730.*  
Most excellent lord:

Sir: In prosecution of the general visitation of this diocese, I found the Father Custos of the missions in this province, New Mexico, with the surprising attitude, which had never crossed my mind, of opposition to my exercising jurisdiction in the said province, for he says that he has received orders from the Reverend Father Commissary General not to permit me to enter said province. And when I remonstrated with him about what the reason for this innovation could be, since in my preceding visitation of five years before no difficulty whatsoever had been made, he persisted in his contradictory stand. Thereupon I made a verbal statement to the said father and the others who were with him of the actions *de facto* and *de jure* which uphold the Mitre of Durango, courteously showing them the royal cédula of his Majesty with the decision made after seeing the allegations of the Father Procurator of their sacred Order,<sup>12</sup> my own inner certainty about the revocation of the bulls they might cite in their favor, and the original letters of the Reverend Father Commissary General. Because I am in these places, I shall not dilate further upon this subject until I reach Durango. And I refer to the

12. He refers to the royal cédula dated at San Lorenzo el Real, July 30, 1721. AGM, Arzobispos, tomo 7. The copy was made at El Paso on September 22, 1730. See Introduction, note 22, *supra*.

formal notification and demand (*requerimiento*) the original of which is enclosed, which I made to the said Father Custos in the Villa of Santa Fe because the protests he had made at this place did not satisfy him. These are also enclosed, along with the other legal instruments which are mentioned in the aforesaid notification.<sup>13</sup>

Under these circumstances I proceeded to the said capital of Santa Fe, as did the said Father Custos, whose intention was that they should not receive me as is customary and proper. When I learned this two days beforehand, I told [them]<sup>14</sup> that I was going to make my entrance in the way I should and that although the church belonged to the King our lord (God keep him) and had been built by the devotion of the Spaniards and citizens, if I found it closed, I would not avail myself of the measures the sacred declarations prescribe in such cases, but that I would have a portable altar set up in order to make my formal entrance without the assistance of ecclesiastical persons other than those in my suite. This was not necessary because the said entrance was made with due solemnity according to the Roman Pontifical. The said father and the other ministers who were present received me, and in the same manner as in the villas and most important and populous towns in this diocese. The whole population of the jurisdiction, Spaniards and Indians, came with equal demonstrations. And even beforehand, coming to the road to see me, they made them before the said Father Custos and four other friars who were present. They made their speech [of welcome] by means of an interpreter, and their statements showed that they were inspired by God, for they said that they all felt great rejoicing in their hearts, pointing to heaven with their hands, and that it came to them from there. I took the occasion to remonstrate with the said Father Custos so that he would take heed not to impede the fruits [my] ministry might be able to bring forth.

Realizing afterwards in the said [capital] that although the pretext the said father divulged for having summoned [the friars?] was that they might receive me [properly?],<sup>15</sup> since they held several meetings and in order to anticipate any foolish, conspicuous action, I made the notification mentioned above and insisted upon exercising all the acts of jurisdiction, both delegated and pertaining to the ordinary, which the occasion offered. I abstained only from making visitations of churches and demanding parish books and faculties [of

13. This *requerimiento* is dated Santa Fe, August 2, 1730, and consists chiefly of a summary of the arguments in favor of the bishop's right to exercise episcopal jurisdiction in New Mexico. It was presented to Custos Fray Andrés Varo on August 3. His reply reiterated the protests he had made at El Paso in July. On the same day Bishop Crespo issued a decree in which he declared his intention to abstain from making a formal visitation of the churches, etc., to prevent the Franciscans from ever alleging that he was in any way responsible for an unseemly clamor. But this was not to prejudice the rights of the bishopric. Cf. Introduction, *supra*.

14. Sewn in.

15. Id.



the priests to hear confessions, etc.], as is of record in the decree included in the said notification, but without allowing this to prejudice [the episcopal jurisdiction] or serve as a precedent. And I also remitted to them the investigations of matrimonial cases with regard to some dispensations I granted. They were unwilling to admit them, even though this has been done up to now, giving the same reason that they had received orders from the aforesaid Father Commissary General to act in this way. Therefore it was necessary for me to make use of the priests in my suite. I preached in the church of the said villa the three Sundays that I was there; I heard confessions; I celebrated confirmations and minor orders in the oratory of my hospice in the presence of the said Father Custos and other religious, and major orders in the said church.

And afterwards I went on as far as the last pueblo, which is Taos, preaching, hearing confessions, and celebrating confirmations in all the mission pueblos, and settlements and farming communities of Spaniards. By means of an interpreter I explained to the Indians the sacrament of confirmation, its establishment, gifts, and fruits, all included in an act of contrition for the best possible disposition for receiving the sacrament. And I omitted only the three missions of Zuñi, Acoma, and Laguna, because the said pueblo of Zuñi is forty leagues away. And in exactly the same way I performed the same acts of preaching, hearing confessions, and the rite of confirmation in all the other Indian pueblos and Spanish settlements and farming communities of the said province, lodging, except at two pueblos at the urging of the father ministers, in the community houses, without paying any attention to the nature of my reception, because I went prepared not to enter the churches if I did not find them open. But they all received me.

I have seen, understood, and heard in all the pueblos that the precept prescribing annual confession and communion is not fulfilled in any one of them, because there has not been, and is not, any minister who understands the language of the Indians. And the latter do not confess except at the point of death because they do not want to confess through an interpreter. They told me before I reached the said -?-<sup>16</sup> that they [the interpreters] made their sins public. And because I was ignorant of this, whenever I preached I exhorted -?-<sup>17</sup> and especially the Indians through an interpreter, telling them that the confessors, even though they might be killed for it, could tell nothing. The latter thanked me for it. But afterwards I learned the reason [for the Indians' reluctance], which is that they make said confessions through an interpreter belonging to the same Indians. And since the final conquest, which took place in the year 1696, there is no case when there has been a minister who knows the language of the Indians,

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16. Id.

17. Id.

which must [cause wonder?].<sup>18</sup> And as a unique thing, they tell of two, Fray Antonio Miranda and Fray Francisco Irazabal, who know the language, not in general but only that of the Zuñi Indians. [Irazabal] is at present minister of Spaniards at the aforesaid capital of Santa Fe, and he is now in this pueblo [of El Paso]. Fray Antonio Miranda is [the minister] of the Keres Indians, whose tribe consists of the pueblo of Acoma, [where] he has been about twenty years. And at present he is blind, as is evident from his statement about the place of Moqui.<sup>19</sup> And with regard to the rest, for there are many who have been in residence eighteen or twenty years, not one has dedicated himself, and they are as alien as if they had had no dealings with the said Indians. I have seen and learned this, and I have heard that the same thing has been going on since time immemorial.

For this reason not many of the pagans on the borders are converted. They are bartering and trading with them every day, as I have seen. And all the pueblos of said missions remain in their paganism and idolatry, as the fathers themselves affirm, and they apostatize daily. It is the common opinion that this has been the origin of the uprisings that have occurred in said province. And the reason why they have not revolted since the last conquest has been the royal presidio which is in the said capital. And the reciprocal lack of love, both of the father ministers for the Indians and of the latter for the said fathers, arises from this, and especially when the languages are not so difficult that they cannot be comprehended in a short period of friendly intercourse and communication; because in those I heard, I found ease of pronunciation, which is not the case with many others of this diocese. All the Indians in general complain of this, telling me that they are Christians and that for this reason they lack what is most important; as well as asking how they are to believe what is preached to them if they see the contrary done by the very father ministers in general, since scarcely four out of them all are exceptions, and two of these, newcomers to said missions. Both Indians and Spaniards say things of this kind, with opinions that they [the friars] may try to refute, and with the same insinuations that said Father Custos used to me two days' journey before we reached Santa Fe, taking occasion to do so because some Spaniards came to receive me. I replied that he was not to utter such words, because no one had said anything to me and that in case they did, I [promised]<sup>20</sup> not to give ear. This I afterwards did, without [permitting]<sup>21</sup> anyone to talk to me, when I made a secret inquiry of what there might be in need of remedy, which, thank God, I did with regard to everything that came up. For the same reason I abstained from promulgating the

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18. Id.

19. Cf. Hackett (1937), pp. 385-387.

20. Sewn in.

21. Id.

general edict [against public sins], as is of record in my last decree in the aforesaid notification. And I know by experience that in such places only seeing for oneself is the best indication of what is actually being done.

In the said villa the said Father Custos proposed that I should suggest a method to safeguard their consciences with regard to the administration of the sacraments. I replied that I was [ready to discuss it]<sup>22</sup> and that for their part, they should elucidate those they might consider most suitable, that for my part, [I] did not [wish to do so].<sup>23</sup> This was how it came out, because having [agreed]<sup>24</sup> with me that the minister who has charge of Santa Fe should have the appointment as vicar and ecclesiastical judge—and this man was ecclesiastical judge, by whose authority I do not know, but he was exercising jurisdiction by virtue of a -?- title which did not name me or any other [bishop]—at this point, when I thought everything was going harmoniously, then, within an hour, he sent me a message by two religious that they could not do it even in this way, even though there is no doubt that the dispatches I have [forwarded to]<sup>25</sup> the whole diocese on the occasions that his Majesty (God keep him) has remitted them to me by his royal cédulas, and especially the one which included the brief of his Holiness for the Holy Year Jubilee, have been published in the names of the fathers Custos, with the statement that his Majesty (God keep him) sent them to them. But I did it so that they might calm down until there is a decision by his Majesty or your Excellency. Therefore, in response to the clamorous appeals of the Spanish settlements and by virtue of the royal cédula of the year 1728, with the enclosed briefs of his Holiness, permitting the appointment of outsiders as vicars within two days' journey and revoking the privileges for dispensations, I left appointed as vicar and ecclesiastical judge the Bachelor don Santiago Roibal, priest, son of well-known Spaniards, native of the said capital, whom, as my domiciliary, I had ordained and confirmed previously and had canonically founded the chaplaincy which was established for this purpose. Although he is an exemplary priest, I warned him to make every effort to conduct himself with the greatest mildness and modesty in his relations with the said fathers.

I drew up schedules of fees according to law and according to a special order of his Majesty (God keep him), dating from the year 1725 (which I do not have here because it is in Durango), to the effect that all the regular ministers shall conform to the schedules made by the ordinaries. [I did this] because everyone said that the fees are so high and exorbitant that there was no fixed schedule except the will

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22. Id.

23. Id.

24. Id.

25. Id.

of the father ministers, even though this land is the poorest I have seen. And for the same reason I drew up another for the burial places in the Spanish settlements, since this was also arbitrarily decided by the ministers and the proceeds were not applied to repairs to the church buildings or for vestments, as is proper, for they have no others except the ones his Majesty (God keep him) has given.

On my return I came to this pueblo, which I reached on the twentieth day of this month [September], and on the twenty-first I celebrated confirmations in the church. And when I was about to go on to celebrate them in the pueblo of Isleta [and] the other pueblos (as I did), the incident which your Excellency will have evidence of from the enclosed copy of the notification and demand I made to the chief magistrate occurred.<sup>26</sup> [I must]<sup>27</sup> place before the superior consideration of your Excellency the fact that the custodes have not performed confirmations for more than forty years, because this decision was made after the final conquest, when Fray Juan de la Peña, custos twenty years ago, was prevented from performing the rite by the most Illustrious Lord Bishop of this diocese and by his own superiors, although according to the opinion of everyone in general, he died of chagrin. And this was in the pueblos of Zuñi, Acoma, and Laguna, and the said villa of Santa Fe, for in the others I confirmed all those who had been baptized.<sup>28</sup> I say all this, as is my obligation, for the Christian, superior understanding of your Excellency, as the one who may make prompt provision for peace and quiet, because I have had no other aims than considering myself compelled by my duty without paying attention to private interests, as is known, for even when the chapter of my cathedral wanted to petition the King our lord in his Royal Audiencia and Chancery of Mexico for the tithes of this province,

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26. *Requerimiento of Bishop Crespo to Don José de Alganza, El Paso, September 25, 1730. AGM, Arzobispos, tomo 7.* ". . . I decided to go to the pueblo of Isleta on the twenty-third because it is between those of Socorro and Senecu, one league from each. Therefore the natives were notified by the chief magistrate and his subordinates. When I was about to leave, [the magistrate] told me that the Indians who needed to receive the holy sacraments had been notified on behalf of the Reverend Father Fray Andrés Varo, Custos, who was in this pueblo, that they were not to go. Upon receipt of this information, I sent a message with all courtesy to the said Reverend Father Custos by Br. don Ignacio de Hasco, a cleric in minor orders, one of my suite, telling him that I had this report and that if he had done so lest the natives be inconvenienced, I would go to the said pueblos. He replied that it was true that he had given the said order because the intention was to celebrate said confirmations. Nevertheless I went to the said pueblo of Isleta. The said chief magistrate sent his ensign from there to the pueblo of Socorro to make the Indians come, and Father Fray Salvador López, minister of the said pueblo, replied that he had an order from the said Reverend Father Custos not to permit them to go. And Father Fray Diego de Espinosa, companion of said minister, told the aforesaid ensign that the Indians were by no means to go, because if they did, he would drive them back with a stick. And after the lieutenant of those pueblos repeated the order, they all came [and] I confirmed them. . . ."

27. Sewn in.

28. This is not clear. Perhaps Bishop Crespo's scribe omitted something.

I deferred it until [I should learn in my] visitation what the fathers Custos have collected and collect without having the authority of a pontifical or royal rescript for it, availing themselves only of the [custom in a?] distant benefice. And up to a short time ago, they have been very scanty, but now they have increased greatly up to four or five thousand pesos. And also, as your Excellency knows, although I have not given my express consent before fully informing myself about this whole diocese for its division, and of which I have given an incidental account to his Majesty on two occasions in relation to the state of the potential cathedral church in the Villa of San Felipe el Real de Chihuahua, and that I have always been of this mind, I am unable to make further representations at present other than those referred to and the aforesaid notification until I reach Durango.<sup>29</sup>

I humbly beg your Excellency to be pleased to issue the provisions you consider most suitable promptly.

Our Lord keep your Excellency the many years I beg Him. Pueblo of El Paso del Río del Norte, and September 25 of the year 1730.

Most excellent Lord, your humblest servant kisses your Excellency's hands.

Benito, Bishop of Durango

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29. The question of new bishoprics was under discussion. We do not have at present the documents which might clarify Bishop Crespo's reference to his opinion about the erection of a cathedral in Chihuahua.

## Book Reviews

*The Spanish Heritage of the Southwest.* By Francis L. Fugate. El Paso, Texas: Texas Western Press, 1952. Pp. 32. \$2.00 and \$5.00.

Three years ago in this book review section, I deplored a work on Marcos de Niza by Cleve Hallenbeck, but waxed enthusiastic over the illustrations by Jose Cisneros and the printing by Carl Hertzog, and concluded by calling their contribution "a fine piece of jewelry made to display a beautiful pearl that unfortunately turns out to be a bitter pill."

Cisneros and Hertzog have teamed up again to produce another beautiful book. This time, however, the author of the text draws, not criticism or censure, but the same praise shared by the other two artists in this venture. For Mr. Fugate succeeds very well with a running commentary that flows smoothly in spite of being channeled severely within the confines of a single page facing each of Cisneros' dozen drawings. These complementary pages of drawing and text vividly and charmingly reproduce the influence of Spanish colonization on our own Rio Grande Southwest—from El Paso del Norte up to Santa Fe. Their content is aptly described by the twelve chapter headings: "Elements of the Conquest, The Seeds of Christianity, The Glitter of Gold, Beginnings of Government, Building the Churches, The Coming of the Cattle, The Point of the Sword, The Flavor of the Food, Naming the Land, The Victory of the Fiesta, Telling the Adventure, and Aftermath of the Conquest."

The full-page pencil drawings are a delight to the eye and fancy because the artist, by virtue of his own style, conjures up the very atmosphere of the Southwest, besides telling a historically authentic story; for Cisneros knows his costumes and armor perfectly, and styles in arms and apparel changed with each succeeding period. In other words, here DeVargas does not wear Oñate's accoutrement.

The genius of Hertzog consists in combining, and quickening, text and illustrations into a breathing whole. The handset type, the texture of the paper, even the dun-hued

line fencing the black letters, all contribute equally and admirably to this genuine contribution to the world of fine books. In the smaller world of Southwestern fine books, this slender but large volume stands at the very top, and no lover of artistic books on the Southwest ought to be without a copy to treasure forever. By this I mean the limited five-dollar bound edition with its wonderful original binding "taken" from a real adobe. The paper-back edition of two dollars is identical except for this binding, but, in lacking this, it is minus more than the three extra dollars asked for the bound volume.

Jemez Pueblo, New Mexico

FRAY ANGELICO CHAVEZ

*Camels to California.* By Harlan D. Fowler. Stanford Transportation Series. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1950. Pp. xi, 93. Illus. Bibliographical Notes. \$3.50.

Although Uncle Sam's Camel Corps of the 1850's has been exploited in many articles and feature stories, this is the first book on the subject since 1932. It is comprehensive, starting with the voyage of *The Supply* to the Levant for the purchase of the camels, continuing through the events of the overland journey by camel caravan from San Antonio, Texas, to Fort Tejon, California, and ending with tales of the dispersed herd in the Southwest past the turn of the century.

While Fowler gives the major share of credit for sponsorship of the novel experiment to Jefferson Davis, then Secretary of War, Fred S. Perrine, writing in the *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW* and using many of the same sources (Vol. I, No. 4, October, 1926), found that the leaders in this scheme were actually the men who carried it out, namely Major Henry C. Wayne and Lieutenant Edward F. Beale, who enlisted "the support of Honorable Jefferson Davis." This interpretation is maintained also by L. B. Leslie in his *Uncle Sam's Camels* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929).

The author gave little attention to the broader setting in the intense rivalry between the North and South for the control and development of the projected transcontinental railway, for which, according to Paul Wellman (*Kansas City Times*, June 22, 1939), Jefferson Davis envisioned the establishment of a camel route as a strategic forerunner.

Nevertheless, Fowler has told well a story which has inherent interest due to the amusing incidents and peculiar vicissitudes of loading and riding the strange, spiteful, malodorous, but efficient beasts over difficult trails and among curious onlookers in the American Southwest. He has dug up new anecdotes about the phantom camels of later years and the fate of the Greek and Turk stockmen who were brought over with the original herd.

The format is superb and the proof-reading is flawless. The search of sources has been thorough. While the professional historian may regret that there are no footnote citations for his reference, the general reader may find the book more attractive for this omission.

New Mexico Highlands University

LYNN I. PERRIGO

*Ethnobotany of the Ramah Navaho.* By Paul A. Vestal. Cambridge, Mass.: Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 40, No. 4. 1952. Pp. ix, 94 (Reports of the Ramah Project, Report No. 4).

This publication is one aspect of a considerable amount of work that has been done on the Ramah Navaho within recent years by a number of investigators. Happily, Vestal brings together not only the results of his two seasons of field work among these Indians but as well the ethnobotanical data bearing on the Ramah Navaho as gleaned from the notes of Kluckhohn, Bailey, Tschopik, and Wyman.

This study presents the results of investigations on the utilization of native plants for such purposes as food, medicine, dyes, ceremony, smoking, string and rope, basketry, toilet accessories, household articles, fuel, and arrow poison.



Also, there is a treatment of cultivated plants in which the author does a creditable job not only in presenting a statement of the growing and utilization of cultivated plants but, equally important, a brief statement of techniques of cultivation. Moreover, he has made a successful attempt at giving a judgment of the extent of cultivation in terms of specific crops in relation to acreages as well as of the relative importance of specific native food plants. Of considerable interest is the fact that Vestal's study of the nature of the Ramah Navaho concept of plant classification confirms the general conclusion reached earlier by Wyman and Harris with regard to Navaho plant nomenclature in general. The list, as well as the statement, covering Navaho names for plants is most useful as are the special statements of the several categories of plant utilization.

Interesting and very useful features of the publication are the Table of Uses, the Botanical Index, and the Common Name Index which make it possible for the reader to easily make the maximum use of the study.

The field studies on which the paper is largely based have been admirably executed, and the results of the investigation have been presented in an exceptionally well-organized manner. From this reviewer's point of view the only important fault of the study lies in the fact that it is very largely botanical in outlook and fails to investigate the interrelationships between the Ramah Navaho and their plants, in other words the cultural aspects of plant utilization.

University of New Mexico

E. F. CASTETTER

*Wagon Roads West: A Study of Federal Road Surveys and Construction in the Trans-Mississippi West, 1846-1869.*  
By W. Turrentine Jackson. Berkeley and Los Angeles:  
University of California Press, 1952. Pp. xv, 422. Maps,  
bibliography, and index. \$5.00.

This well printed and excellently documented book describes the role of the federal government in the location, survey, and construction of wagon roads in the territory

west of the Mississippi before the railroad era. The author believes historians heretofore have left the impression that enterprising pioneers, alert to business opportunities, were primarily responsible for locating the roads in the west before the building of the Pacific railroads. This book was written "to alter and modify that interpretation."

Following a brief introductory chapter the author has divided his account into four unequal parts. The first, consisting of about one third of the book, is devoted to Wagon Road Surveys and Construction in the Western States and Territories by the United States Army, 1846-1861; the second part deals with Wagon Road Construction by the Department of the Interior, 1856-1861 and is based mainly on the little used Manuscript Records of the Pacific Wagon Roads Office. The author expresses the belief that no investigator had previously used this material. Part three tells how the Army continued to build roads West after the attempt of Congress to transfer all wagon road construction to the Interior Department in 1856, and part four explains the futile attempt at coöperation between the two Departments in wagon road building after the Civil War. The book is not a complete history of all wagon roads built in the West during the period, or even those built with federal aid, but is limited mainly to those initiated as national projects by Congress or by order of the Secretaries of War or Interior.

Despite sharp differences of opinion on the constitutionality of internal improvements at federal expense, the national government's contribution to western transportation was continuous and dominant during most of the nineteenth century. From 1806 to 1838, federal appropriations for the Cumberland Road alone, the first national internal improvement, totalled \$6,824,919. After the impact of the depression of 1837, federal aid for road construction within state boundaries was usually denied. It was generally recognized, however, that Congress had exclusive power to make regulations for the territories and military roads were justified on the basis of providing for the common defense. With the opening of the Great West after the Oregon Treaty and the Mexi-

can War, the necessity for communication lines over the vast distances of the new domain was immediate and pressing. Californians petitioned for wagon roads connecting their state with the Mississippi valley. Territorial assemblies memorialized Congress for a network of roads involving the expenditure of many hundred thousand dollars. The Thirty-fourth Congress approved almost \$800,000 for wagon roads in the Trans-Mississippi West. Accepting the principle that roads could be built to regulate commerce with the Indians as well as to provide for the common defense, President Pierce in 1856 signed the Fort Ridgely-South Pass Wagon Road bill, authorizing the Interior Department rather than the War Department to supervise construction. A year later the Secretary of Interior established a new agency, the Pacific Wagon Roads Office, to direct road building assigned to his Department. Previously the federal road program had been supervised almost entirely by the Bureau of Topographical Engineers of the War Department.

Division of responsibility in the federal road program between the two executive departments was most unfortunate. It was motivated in part by House Republicans who wanted to avoid the influence of Jefferson Davis and partly by western Congressmen who hoped the construction contracts would go to civilians, described as "practical men." Military roads in the territories remained under the Bureau of Topographical Engineers, but roads to be used primarily by emigrants, stage coaches, mailcarriers, and for the Indian trade were assigned to the Pacific Wagon Roads Office. The record of this civilian agency was the worst in the history of federal aid to road building, mainly because of the poor administration of the superintendents in charge of the road construction projects. Most of them were appointed because they were frontiersmen with political influence or had rendered "service to Democracy" in pivotal states. One superintendent, William M. F. Magraw, who was dismissed for chronic intoxication, chaotic financial accounts, and inability to account for extensive amounts of government property, was a long time personal friend of President Buchanan. On

the other hand, the War Department's Topographical Engineers, freer from partisan political influence and with experience in both road building and bookkeeping, have left quite a different record.

During the Civil War the road building program was dormant except for the completion of the Mullan Road. It was revived in March 1865 by a law providing for a series of roads leading to the Montana and Idaho gold mines. This road program was to be directed by the Department of the Interior. Military escorts would be necessary, however, because of the extreme hostility of the plains Indians and President Lincoln urged the War and Interior Departments to cooperate in solving the policing and transportation problems. The key road of the series was from Niobrara to Virginia City. This was strongly favored by enterprising Sioux City business men and equally opposed by the regular outfitting points of the overland trade, Council Bluffs and Omaha. The latter would prevent the opening of any other route than the regular Omaha-Salt Lake Trail. Military men considered it advisable to confine plains travel to one or two routes and judged the Niobrara route impracticable for wagon travel. The growing conflict between the two executive Departments over Indian policy was extended to the road program, rendering most attempts at cooperation futile. After 1869, the interest of transportation enthusiasts shifted to transcontinental railroads and wagon roads became of secondary importance.

The value of the book is greatly enhanced by the inclusion of over twenty excellent maps, which are a joy to the reader in keeping his bearings through the many roads discussed. Forty-six pages of footnotes, placed at the end of the book, and an eighteen page classified bibliography indicate a large amount of research and a careful study of the works of other students of wagon transportation, many of whose conclusions are integrated in this study. The following minor errors were noted: "Clark Fork" (p. 267, 284) for "Clark's Fork" of the Yellowstone; "folk" (p. 290) for "fork" of the Cheyenne; and "international" (p. 320) for "internal" im-

provements. Fort Reno must have been nearer thirty, rather than "three hundred" miles from Fort Philip Kearney (p. 286), and John Owen's Fort (p. 316) was not just below the mouth of Lolo Creek but twenty miles up the Bitterroot River to the south. But these are just minutiae and do not detract from the General excellence of the book.

Montana State University

EDWARD EARL BENNETT

*Soldiers, Indians, and Silver. The Northward Advance of New Spain, 1550-1600.* By Philip Wayne Powell. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1952. Pp. ix, 317. Maps, bibliography, and index. \$4.50.

This is a scholar's monograph and not a popular tale, despite its colorful jacket and attractive appearance. Much of the material presented in this substantial study has already seen the light of day in various historical reviews, and now Dr. Powell brings it all together with some added data to tell the story of relations between the Spaniards and the Chichemeca Indians during the half-century following the discovery of silver in Zacatecas. The rush to this bonanza in northern Mexico was well started by 1550 and continued throughout the rest of the century, insofar as the brave and skillful Chichemecas would permit. Mining operations and supply services were constantly hampered until the Indians were subdued and this carefully wrought account explains how the Spaniards achieved their final victory.

The soldiers first tried the method they knew best, fire and sword for the "dirty, uncivilized dogs" as they considered the Indians, whose martial qualities they vastly underestimated. When force failed the viceroys adopted a peace policy and provided food, clothing, gifts, and friars to tame the nomadic tribes. Franciscans and Jesuits organized a mission system, converted the Indians, taught them the ways of peace, built churches, and thus stabilized the frontier. Finally, Tlaxcalan Indians were brought from the south to aid in the civilizing process. The Marqués de Villamanrique, seventh viceroy of New Spain, was the initiator of this new

approach in 1585 but he had able successors who continued his work. As the author concludes, "it took slightly more than a decade of an intelligent 'peace by purchase' policy to achieve what four decades of warfare had not been able to accomplish." By 1600 the long northern frontier of the Spanish empire was largely at peace.

The results of laborious digging in archives are to be found on every page of this book. Indeed, manuscript material from widely scattered repositories in Spain, Mexico, and the United States is used in such abundant detail that the reader is at times bewildered if not lost. Too many documents are included in the text to make for easy perusal, and the heavily factual presentation makes for a clotted style.

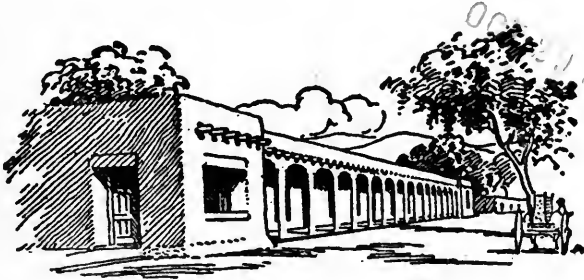
The Indian side of the encounter between these civilizations is well represented. Anthropological information is provided, but emphasis is placed on military detail. Nothing, or almost nothing, is given on social history, the development of mining, or growth of town life. The author evidently set out to write military history and this task he competently achieved using a rich variety of source material.

The University of Texas

LEWIS HANKE

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# *New Mexico Historical Review*



Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe

*October, 1953*

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VOL. XXVIII

OCTOBER, 1953

No. 4

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THE NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW is published jointly by the Historical Society of New Mexico and the University of New Mexico. Subscription to the quarterly is \$3.00 a year in advance; single numbers, except those which have become scarce, are \$1.00 each.

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# NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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VOL. XXVIII

OCTOBER, 1953

No. 4

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## NEW MEXICO AND THE SACK OF ROME: ONE HUNDRED YEARS LATER

*By* ELEANOR B. ADAMS AND JOHN E. LONGHURST\*

WITH the development of the European national state system in the early sixteenth century, ambitious secular rulers waged a successful contest with the Catholic Church for political supremacy within their own borders. National independence of control from Rome was achieved in England by a direct break under Henry VIII. In nominally Catholic France, the Gallican Church was under control of the monarch. The rulers of Catholic Spain and its vast overseas empire displayed true fervor in the defense and propagation of the Faith, but this did not prevent them from being extremely jealous of their authority and privileges in the management of Church affairs.

The Roman Church did not abdicate its claim to political power without a struggle, and the conflict between the claims of State and Church continued to rage for many years. Although the Spanish monarchs professed undying loyalty to Rome, they would tolerate no interference by the Pope with their political ambitions. This was spectacularly demonstrated in 1527 when Emperor Charles V, angry at the attempts of Pope Clement VII to force Charles from Italy, permitted his troops under the Duke of Bourbon to sack the city of Rome with a ferocity unequalled since the days of the barbarian invasions.

This humiliation of the papacy at the hands of a secular

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prince revealed to Europe the hollowness of Church claims to universal jurisdiction over high and low alike. Nor was its significance appreciated only in the Old World. A century after the sack of Rome, a Spanish governor in New Mexico cited Charles V's attack on the Holy City as a proper example to follow against a clergy which questioned the supremacy of State over Church.

The Church-State struggle which precipitated the sack of Rome was repeated in the New World empire carved out by the Spanish conquerors. All over the American continents the Church played an important political role, and its claims to authority frequently conflicted with the ambitions of those who represented secular interests. In the northern outpost of New Mexico, conflict between Church and State was an almost constant factor in provincial life from the earliest days of the colonial period. Hopeful explorers and adventurers were soon disillusioned about the rumors of the golden cities to be found in the north. When they returned, however, with reports of a large native population, ripe for conversion, the Spanish Crown felt obliged to maintain the unproductive frontier region chiefly for the sake of missionary enterprise. The Franciscan Order, entrusted with the task of saving souls in New Mexico, naturally felt that their work greatly outweighed in importance any secular aims which threatened to interfere with their spiritual labors.

On the other hand, settlers and provincial officials were unwilling to accept the complete domination of the clergy in provincial affairs. They were determined to exploit what resources there were, and the Indian population as a potential labor force was the greatest of these.

Such conflicting aims often led to irreconcilable differences, not only over matters of Indian policy, but also over the related question of who held authority in provincial affairs. Many of the leaders of both sides were stubborn, hotheaded men, tenacious in their opinions and unable to compromise, and so in the seventeenth century a bitter struggle, with only short intervals of comparative agreement, went on until the native population took the upper

hand and drove all the Spaniards, clergy and laymen alike, from New Mexico in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680.

During the early days of the Church-State struggle in the province, perhaps the most articulate proponent of secular control of New Mexico affairs was Don Juan de Eulate, who became governor at the end of 1618. Eulate was a newcomer to America when he began to serve as a representative of the Spanish Crown in one of the most remote outposts of the Spanish Empire. He had seen service in Flanders and is said to have distinguished himself at the siege of Ostend, before coming to New Spain as a captain of artillery in the 1617 fleet.<sup>1</sup> This ambitious, irreverent professional soldier held a very exalted notion of his importance and authority as the King's governor, and as a result of his anti-clerical regalism, his term of office in New Mexico from 1618 to 1625 was one of the most bitter and shocking phases of the Church-State controversy there. In *Church and State in New Mexico, 1610-1650*,<sup>2</sup> F. V. Scholes has related the story of Eulate's acrimonious dispute with Fray Esteban de Perea, who was a worthy opponent of the governor in upholding the authority of the Church. It is not necessary to repeat this story here. What we wish to emphasize is that the situation in New Mexico was but one phase of a long conflict which caused such disasters as the sack of Rome, and that it is of interest to find that both the conflict and the story of the sack extended to the outermost fringes of the Spanish Empire in America.

Eulate soon became a vociferous spokesman for the anti-clerical element in New Mexico. He made no secret of his opinions on the subject and exercised considerable influence over the thinking of his supporters, who numbered both soldiers and settlers. Nor did he hesitate to acquaint the clergy with his views; on one occasion he furiously lectured Fray Pedro de Haro on the subject of Church-State relations:

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1. Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, (hereinafter cited as AGI) Contadurfa, leg. 720.

2. Historical Society of New Mexico, *Publications in History*, vol. 7 (June, 1937), Albuquerque. First published in the *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, vol. 11 (nos. 1-4, 1936), vol. 12 (no. 1, 1937).

About a year ago [1620], he [Fray Pedro de Haro] heard Governor Don Juan de Eulate say that the prelate of this land and its churches had no jurisdiction whatsoever over any layman, but only the governor [has jurisdiction over them]; and that the lord archbishop in Mexico had no jurisdiction over any layman and that if he wished to punish or seize anyone, the Royal Audiencia immediately took the culprit away from him. And he said this with scorn for the Church and ecclesiastical persons. And on many occasions when he speaks scornfully of the Church and ecclesiastics, he speaks with such great contempt and scorn of the ecclesiastics that it seems that he wants to abase them and lay them low. In a certain conversation in which the said Governor Don Juan de Eulate and this witness took part, there was a discussion about the authority of His Holiness. The governor said that if the Pope gave him one command and the King gave him another, he would obey the King alone and not the Pope. And when this witness replied that if His Holiness' command was just and Catholic, it must be obeyed, the said governor replied with great anger, and his choler making him look like a demon, that in spite of everything he had no obligation to obey anyone but the King. . . . He has heard some persons say, and he even thinks he has heard the governor say that *el Rey es su gallo*,<sup>3</sup> and this in contradiction of the authority of the Pope and of the Church when ecclesiastical authority is under discussion.<sup>4</sup>

Eulate's chief adversary was Fray Esteban de Perea, prelate of the Franciscans in New Mexico during the first years of this governor's term of office. Perea was little impressed by the exaggerated claims of the soldier-governor, but Eulate's behavior, which was undermining respect for the Church, aroused his anger and spurred him to open resistance. Under Eulate's influence, he complained, the settlers of New Mexico

say that the secular state, especially that of war, which is their life here, is more perfect than the religious state, especially that of the

3. This cynical phrase comes from the Spanish saying *Buen gallo le cantó*: A good (or well-omened) cock crowed for him. This was said of a person who attained good fortune by the favor and help of another, and he referred to his benefactor as his *gallo* (cock). Hence the catch phrase, *El Rey es mi gallo*. Hereafter we shall translate this as "The King is my patron." Maestro Gonzalo Correas, *Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales y otras fórmulas comunes de la lengua castellana . . .*, Madrid, 1924. Correas was professor of Greek and Hebrew at the University of Salamanca in the first third of the seventeenth century and published a number of works on the Spanish language, but this *Vocabulario* remained in manuscript at his death.

4. Testimony of Fray Pedro Haro de la Cueva, Sandia, August 22, 1621, in *Ynfornacion contra D. Juan de Eulate . . . hecha por Fr. Esteban de Perea, juez ordinario*, Archivo General de la Nación, México, (hereinafter cited as AGM) Inquisición, Tomo 356.

friars, who are the only clergy here. Others say in scorn of the authority the Church has over all the faithful, "The King is my patron," meaning that they have to obey only the King and not the Church.<sup>5</sup> In the same scornful way others say that the governor [Eulate] is their patron. . . . There are those who say and affirm that there cannot be two heads here, ecclesiastical and secular, for it would be a monstrosity, but only one, who is the governor who stands in the King's place, because there is no church or prelate or head of the Church; along with other propositions offensive to pious ears, suspect, and scandalous.<sup>6</sup>

By 1623, Fray Esteban de Perea was more than ever anxious for the backing of superior authority in his battle against Eulate and all he stood for. In a letter to the Holy Office, dated at Sandia on August 14, 1623, he requested permission to go to Mexico City to give evidence about conditions in New Mexico and stated his view of his differences with Governor Eulate in no uncertain terms. He complained that "this Antichrist" was responsible for the wretched state of affairs in the province

because he persists in holding the things of God and His Holy Faith up to scorn in both words and deed. . . . I receive reports to this effect momentarily, and I fear that if this land did not belong to so Catholic a King and Lord, we should be very open to reproach in the integrity of the Faith. He has so little respect for God or prelate, being of the opinion that the King is above everything and instilling this belief in the simple minded populace, especially four or five soldiers of his own stamp, wicked men who are under sentence, who support him and approve everything he says and does because they have need of him, that with their help he is oppressing this very new plant of the Church and its prelate and friars so that there is no way of resisting him because of his overweening arrogance and the concept that the King is above everything. When anyone discusses the Church and its authority with him, in an attempt to correct his sins and reform

5. One of Eulate's captains echoed the governor on this point. Testifying at Santo Domingo before Fray Alonso de Benavides, commissary of the Holy Office in New Mexico, on June 12, 1626, Fray Jerónimo de Zárate Salmerón reported that some years before he had taken part in a conversation at Isleta, during which Captain Juan Gómez "made the affirmation that in this land the King was more than the Pope. This was heard by Father Fray Juan de Salas, guardian of the said convent, Captain Alonso Ramírez de Vargas and his wife, Captain Juan López Mederos and his wife, Juan Lujan, Captain Domingo González, and this witness, for they were present. And when this witness heard this proposition from the said Captain Juan Gómez, he reproved him for it, saying that the son was not more than the father; that the King wrote to the Pontiff addressing him as Our Most Holy Father, and the Pontiff wrote to the King as Our Son King Philip." AGM, Inquisición, Tomo 356.

6. *Ynformacion contra D. Juan de Eulate.*

him, or to oppose them, they are usually confounded by the reply that the prelate is not qualified to go into such matters with him. He says that he treats him as one who has business with his governor and not as a prelate, for the governor considers himself superior in both spiritual and temporal matters.<sup>7</sup>

Sometime between 1622 and 1625, Governor Eulate was excommunicated by Vice-Custos Fray Ascencio de Zárate. We know little of the circumstances, but obviously the governor was not greatly humbled in spirit by the powerful manifestation of ecclesiastical displeasure. When one of his captains persuaded Father Zárate to absolve Eulate, the latter at first refused to go to the friar, insisting that it was the priest's place to come to the representative of the King. It was only after considerable persuasion that Eulate consented to visit Fray Ascencio and receive absolution.<sup>8</sup>

After Eulate's stormy term as governor ended, Fray Alonso de Benavides, commissary for the Inquisition in New Mexico, took a number of depositions about his conduct for transmission to the tribunal of the Holy Office in Mexico City. Benavides forwarded them to his superiors with the following comment:

The enclosed denunciations against Don Juan de Eulate seem to me to be most important, for according to what is said and his evil and scandalous reputation, one would never finish writing it. The outstanding characteristic of this man's conversation is that he always brings in, whether it is relevant or irrelevant, the downfall of bishops and ecclesiastical persons, for he seems to have purposely studied all histories for this evil end, glorying in relating them among this ignorant Spanish population here, and as a result they get a bad impression of ecclesiastical persons. . . .<sup>9</sup>

Among the histories Eulate had read "for this evil end" was an account of the sack of Rome in 1527. The Duke of Bourbon, who led the forces of Charles V in the assault on the Holy City, did just what Eulate would have done under the same circumstances. Eulate was first and last a supporter of royal authority, which, in his eyes, was superior

7. AGM, Inquisición, Tomo 345.

8. Testimony of Captain Juan de Vitoria Carbajal, Santa Fe, May 29, 1626. AGM, Inquisición, Tomo 356.

9. Fray Alonso de Benavides to the Holy Office, New Mexico, June 29, 1626. AGM, Inquisición, Tomo 356.

to any other, including that of the Church. In the sack of Rome he saw clear-cut justification of his own position in regard to the Church-State controversy in New Mexico. An unsigned statement made on August 31, 1626, gives the following account of a conversation in which Eulate took part when he was on his way to Mexico City:

On Monday, the thirty-first day of August of the year 1626, at about four o'clock in the afternoon in the pueblo of Alamillo near the Río del Norte in these provinces of New Mexico, the following persons were seated in the shade of a house: Father Fray Esteban de Perea, Father Fray Jerónimo de Zárate, don Juan de Eulate, who had just finished his term of office as governor of the aforesaid provinces, Captain Francisco Pérez Granillo, Captain Diego de la Cruz, Captain Tomás de Albizu, and I. We were all conversing, discussing the power of the King and the scope of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, especially the authority held by the prelates of this land and whether they can or cannot punish the governors of this land when they commit irreverences or sins against the Church. Fray Esteban de Perea was defending their right to do so, because the Church had authority for everything, and he cited a text: *Spiritualis homo judicat omnia*. Don Juan de Eulate replied and said, 'I do not know where there is any law that permits them to punish one of his Majesty's ministers. I only know that the King is my patron.' Therefore Fray Esteban de Perea said to him, 'Because of those words and others like them, the soldiers are beginning to repeat them and such unbridled statements as: 'The King is my patron whatever happens.' Don Juan de Eulate replied to this, 'I say so and I say it again, and I say that if my lord the King should order me to do what Bourbon did, I would do it.' Father Fray Esteban de Perea asked him, 'What did Bourbon do?' Don Juan de Eulate replied, 'When the Emperor Charles V sent him to sack Rome, he went and he sacked it; and so I say that whatever happens I must do whatever the King may order me, wrong or right. Let him judge his orders to me, for I am obliged to obey him.' Father Fray Esteban de Perea replied to these words, 'Look, your lordship, those are heretical propositions, and they are matters that will have to come out publicly in Mexico City.' And he replied, 'These things never come out in public, for here they lurk in corners.'

When they had mounted to overtake the wagons, Captain Diego de la Cruz asked, 'Sir, what could the outcome of this league against the Pope have been?' And Don Juan replied, 'That must be concluded by now, and if the King had sent me on that expedition as captain general, I would have gone willingly, even against the Pope.' And since this conversation was becoming more impassioned with every word, Father Fray Esteban de Perea left it at that without discussing the subject any further. I related this incident to Father Fray Alonso

de Benavides, commissary of the Holy Office, who told me that he did not take action as he could because of the inconvenience involved, but that I should set down in writing the details of what had happened against the time when it might be necessary to make a statement.<sup>10</sup>

On September 8, 1626, Benavides summarized this episode in a letter to the Holy Office, and said that he had not instituted proceedings because his secretary was not present and because all the witnesses were going to Mexico City and could make their statements there.<sup>11</sup> But if the Tribunal of the Inquisition in Mexico took action against Don Juan de Eulate, the records have disappeared. A few years after these events, in the early 1630's, he was governor of Margarita, where he appears to have found an outlet for his fervor in behalf of his King in vigorous efforts to expel heretical Dutch and English intruders from the island of Trinidad nearby.<sup>12</sup> Like the Duke of Bourbon a century before, he might lay a heavy hand on the Church in the interest of his royal master, but he was no friend to heretics.

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10. AGM, Inquisición, Tomo 356.

11. AGM, Inquisición, Tomo 356.

12. AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, leg. 180.



# NEW MEXICO DURING THE CIVIL WAR

By WILLIAM I. WALDRIP

(Continued)

## III Union Successes

SOON after General Sibley had decided upon a course of action, the Confederates acted quickly, and began their trek to the North. When the Texans reached Socorro on February 22, the militia stationed there surrendered almost immediately.<sup>1</sup> The townspeople were accused of disloyalty, and complaints were also raised against the native troops who deserted as the enemy approached.<sup>2</sup> Continuing on to Albuquerque, the Texans entered the town on the second of March.

The Federals, knowing of the Confederate approach, had given away and burned much of their military supplies just prior to the entrance of the enemy. Fear of destroying private homes by fire, however, kept the destruction from being complete.<sup>3</sup> The townspeople in “. . . their insatiable desire for plunder . . .” frightened the Quartermaster into leaving much property undamaged.<sup>4</sup> The Confederates descended upon these stores voraciously. Over six million dollars worth was seized, and then foolishly destroyed. One of the troops, who saw no purpose in such destruction, opined it occurred “. . . because our men were getting drunk on the whiskey and our commander had never been sober, . . .”<sup>5</sup> On the thirteenth of March the Texans issued a proclamation which granted amnesty to all who would quit the Federal service in ten days.<sup>6</sup> This was designed to weaken further the allegiance of the natives.

Governor Connelly complained of the conduct of the invaders when he wrote:

1. *L. R.*, Micro. No. 171. *Santa Fe Gazette*, April 26, 1862.
2. *O. R.*, I, 9:605. *Major Charles E. Wesche Report*, April 25, 1862.
3. *L. R.*, *loc. cit.*
4. *O. R.*, I, 9:528. Enos to Donaldson, March 11, 1862.
5. Noel, *op. cit.*, p. 61. (Noel himself was a teetotaler, p. 40.)
6. *L. R.*, Micro. No. 171. *Santa Fe Gazette*, April 26, 1862.

I am sorry to say that the Texans have not behaved with the moderation that was expected, and that desolation has marked their progress on the Rio Grande from Craig to Bernalillo. Exactions and confiscations are of daily occurrence, and the larger portion of those who have anything to give or to lose are here [Las Vegas] on this frontier, seeking a refuge from their rapacity, and have left their houses and contents a prey to the invaders.<sup>7</sup>

This ruthlessness which may have been forced by necessity was later to prove a serious handicap when the tables were turned.

Continuing on to Santa Fe, the Confederates resumed their burning and destruction, and soon again were short of supplies.<sup>8</sup> At the same time ex-Surveyor General William Pelham was appointed Territorial Governor at Santa Fe by the Confederates, and everyone was required to swear allegiance on penalty of loss of property.<sup>9</sup>

With the Texans making such rapid progress, Canby again pleaded for more troops.<sup>10</sup> This time Secretary of War Stanton ordered Major-General Henry W. Halleck, at that time the ranking officer in the West, to "re-enforce Canby by all means. We have felt great anxiety about him."<sup>11</sup> Halleck immediately suggested sending 4,000 to 5,000 men and raising Canby to the rank of Brigadier-General.<sup>12</sup> He added, "I know General Canby well. He is one of the best officers in the service."<sup>13</sup> Washington was at last becoming aware of the conflict in New Mexico.

While Canby was pleading for additional troops, the Confederates were having their troubles. Although Union military leaders complained of the disloyalty and apathy of the natives, the Texans were equally dismayed. Not only were their stores in short supply, but they began to realize that their ruthless policy of confiscation had left them ". . . in the midst of a population of 80,000 souls possessing

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7. *O. R.*, I, 9:651. Connelly to Seward, March 23, 1862.

8. Noel, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

9. *L. R.*, Micro. No. 175. Arny to General (?), March 19, 1862.

10. *O. R.*, I, 8:627. Halleck to Stanton, March 20, 1862.

11. *Ibid.*, I, 8:628. Stanton to Halleck, March 20, 1862.

12. *Ibid.*, I, 8:629. Halleck to Stanton, March 21, 1862.

13. *Ibid.*, I, 8:633. Halleck to Stanton, March 23, 1862.

no very friendly spirit toward us. . . ." Internal command problems were also causing concern.

. . . a spirit of insubordination and prejudice against General Sibley, which appears to have been aggravated by the fact that General Sibley was sick during the battle near Fort Craig (as he had been for some days previous) and did not command on the occasion—a prejudice that goes so far as to accuse him of a deliberate plan to deliver his command into the hands of our enemies.<sup>14</sup>

Although Pelham was established as Governor of the Territory in Santa Fe, Major Pyron was in command of the Confederate troops. Sibley had originally sent men to Santa Fe because Federal reinforcements from Colorado were reported at Fort Union. The capital was held by the South for about a month, and many friendly to the Confederacy were released from "durance."<sup>15</sup> The prestige to be derived from the capture of the enemy capital was probably an additional motive for its seizure.

With Arizona and southern New Mexico under almost complete control, and the principal towns and the capital subjugated as well, the Confederate campaign had reached its apex. The position of the Texans was precarious however. With supplies running low, with the population indifferent to their welfare, if not actually hostile, the invaders could not remain idle. Too, Fort Craig to the south was manned by a strong force which cut them off from El Paso, and to the northeast was the menace of Fort Union.

In answer to the pleas from New Mexico, volunteer troops were sent to Fort Union by the Governor of Colorado.<sup>16</sup> The journey was made over difficult terrain and in inclement weather. Such was the urgency of the call that over 400 miles were covered in only thirteen days.<sup>17</sup> Al-

14. *Ibid.*, I, 3:793. Steele to Cooper, March 7, 1862.

15. *Ibid.*, I, 9:509. Sibley Report, May 4, 1862. F. S. Donnell in his "When Las Vegas Was the Capital of New Mexico," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 8:265, October, 1933, recalls that the Union government was removed to Las Vegas at this time for a short period.

16. Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 164. Governor Gilpin organized the troops from among the citizens of Colorado, and appointed John P. Slough, a lawyer and "War Democrat," as Colonel.

17. *Congressional Globe*, 37th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 2026. Bennett of Colorado, May 8, 1862.

though the additional men were welcomed, a controversy soon arose over command and strategy. Colonel J. P. Slough, leader of the Coloradoans, finding that Colonel G. R. Paul ". . . had completed the preliminary arrangements . . . by seniority of volunteer commission . . . claimed the command . . ."18

Colonel G. R. Paul, irked at being placed in a secondary position, angrily informed Washington of the action taken by Slough, and asked for the rank of Brigadier-General.<sup>19</sup> At the same time he complained that Slough planned to leave Fort Union and meet Canby en route, although he (Slough) had been ordered to remain within the fort. Paul crossly added that "my object in this communication is to throw the responsibility of any disaster which may occur on the right shoulders."<sup>20</sup>

Canby, a more cautious strategist, attempted to restrain the daring Slough by reminding him that the entire effort was intended to defeat ". . . the Confederates in such a way that an invasion of this Territory will never again be attempted."<sup>21</sup> Canby, however, did decide to leave Fort Craig for Albuquerque, although he termed the action of Slough as "premature" and ". . . at variance with my instruction . . ."22 In rebuttal Slough, either intentionally or unintentionally misinterpreting his orders, declared that ". . . the instructions of Colonel Canby are not only to protect Fort Union, but to harass the enemy."<sup>23</sup> So with 1,300 soldiers, he started toward Apache Canyon where he had heard that the enemy had 1,000 troops prepared for battle.<sup>24</sup>

Although the ensuing encounter was the turning point of the entire campaign, neither of the commanding generals participated. Canby was en route from Fort Craig, while Sibley was engaged in other pursuits. The barber who shaved Sibley on the critical morning of the 28th of February reported that the Southern leader was twenty miles

18. *O. R.*, I, 9:534. Slough to Wash. Hq., March 30, 1862.

19. *Ibid.*, I, 9:646. Paul to Wash. Hq., March 11, 1862.

20. *Ibid.*, I, 9:652. Paul to Wash. Hq., March 24, 1862.

21. *Ibid.*, I, 9:649. Canby to Slough, March 18, 1862.

22. *Ibid.*, I, 9:658. Canby to Wash. Hq., March 31, 1862.

23. *Ibid.*, I, 9:654. Slough to Paul, March 22, 1862.

24. *Ibid.*, I, 9:533. Slough to Canby, March 29, 1862.

away, and ". . . seems to have been supplied (perhaps for medicinal purposes!) with whiskey."<sup>25</sup>

The engagement between the contending forces, Slough leading the Union, and Colonel W. R. Scurry in charge of the Texans, took place between Las Vegas and Santa Fe. The actual fighting occurred at La Glorieta, a pass at the southern end of the Sangre de Cristo range of mountains. This gap is a few miles long with narrow apertures at either end which widen out to about a fourth of a mile at the center.<sup>26</sup> The western part of the pass is known as Apache Canyon.<sup>27</sup> The beautiful growth of cottonwoods and pines which covered the mountains at this point gave the area its name, and later the entire pass was thus designated.<sup>28</sup>

On March 26, the opening struggle began when a detachment under Major John M. Chivington entered Apache Canyon and met the Confederates, under Major Pyron, who were already established there. Although Chivington claimed a slight victory, only a few hundred troops were involved. The Texans retreated, but as night was falling, the Federals returned to Pigeon's ranch instead of pursuing the foe.<sup>29</sup> Bancroft deemed this engagement a Union victory,<sup>30</sup> which it was, although a small one.

The twenty-seventh saw no action, but on the twenty-eighth, the fighting was renewed. The region in which the fighting occurred made ordinary tactics difficult, and Slough, who now assumed command, termed ". . . the engagement of the bushwacking kind."<sup>31</sup> The fighting lasted over five hours, and the Union leader considered it ". . . defensive from its beginning to its end . . ." as the enemy was met unexpectedly.<sup>32</sup> Colonel Scurry, however, regarded this as ". . . another victory . . . added to the long list of Con-

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25. Hayes, *op. cit.*, p. 169. Noel, *op. cit.*, p. 62, said "The Commanding General of our forces was an old army officer, whose love for liquor exceeded that for home, country or God."

26. J. F. Santee, "The Battle of Glorieta Pass," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 6:66, January, 1931.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 71.

28. Whitford, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

29. *O. R.*, I, 9:530. Chivington to Canby, March 26, 1862.

30. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 695.

31. *O. R.*, I, 9:533. Slough to Canby, March 29, 1862.

32. *Ibid.*, I, 9:535. Slough to Canby, March 30, 1862.

federate triumphs." The Texans claimed that the fleeing Union forces were followed until exhaustion demanded that the pursuit be terminated. The Texas leader found time for recrimination, when he accused the Federals of having fired upon a chaplain, who was caring for the wounded, and who had presumed he was immune from attack because of the white flag which he was carrying.<sup>33</sup>

Regardless of the Confederate claims and charges, a successful coup by the Federals did much to bring about the Confederate retreat which followed. Colonel Chivington, who had been detached early in the morning, circled to the rear of the Texans, found their supply train, and burned the same. The Colonel found time to praise Collins, ". . . in some way connected with Indian affairs in this Territory, . . ." who acted as guide and interpreter, and who impressed Chivington with his good sense and bravery.<sup>34</sup>

Apparently Major William H. Lewis of the Union Army was an important factor in this action, but never received the proper recognition. The *Rio Abajo Weekly Press* claimed that Lewis actually led the attack, and was forced to spend two hours in persuading Chivington to proceed.<sup>35</sup> Lewis was not promoted for this action although it had much to do with the eventual retreat of the Texans from New Mexico. This led Meline to observe sarcastically that this "served him right for not being on duty in some comfortable, quiet place."<sup>36</sup>

Both sides claimed a major success. However, one Confederate soldier grandiloquently described the retreat from Glorieta as "every man for himself, nothing on the order of things. The retreat of Napoleon from Moscow would be about the only parallel in history."<sup>37</sup> Another less sanguine Confederate trooper felt that "if it had not been for those

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33. *Ibid.*, I, 9:541-2. Scurry Report, March 30, 1862.

34. *Ibid.*, I, 9:539. Chivington Report, March 28, 1862. Collins was superintendent of Indian Affairs, Department of New Mexico.

35. *Rio Abajo Weekly Press*, March 8, 1864. Chivington, an ex-Methodist elder, was later condemned by a Joint Military Commission for the Indian Massacre at Sand Creek, Colorado, in 1864, *Santa Fe Gazette*, October 7, 1865.

36. James F. Meline, *Two Thousand Miles on Horseback* (New York: The Catholic Publication Society, 1873), p. 116.

37. Noel, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

devils from Pike's Peak, this country would have been ours . . . ."<sup>38</sup> This testimony seemed to bear up the contention of Governor Gilpin of Colorado who insisted that his troops were the real victors, and started the Texans on the way out of New Mexico.<sup>39</sup> Governor Connelly, however, complained that a more smashing victory could have been achieved if a more aggressive pursuit had been carried out.<sup>40</sup> Later critics of the action at Glorieta emphasize the importance of the rear attack on the Confederate supply wagons as the primary cause for the retreat and eventual evacuation of New Mexico. Twitchell believed that the rear attack made it " . . . impossible for the Confederates to continue their offensive operations,"<sup>41</sup> while Coan thought that it prevented any plan for attacking Fort Union.<sup>42</sup> Bancroft also felt that the Confederates retreated (even though they had an apparent victory) because of the operations of the men under Chivington.<sup>43</sup>

As the Texans hastened from the Territory in small groups,<sup>44</sup> there were words of praise for some of the enemy. Mrs. Canby, the sister of General Sibley, was lauded by one of the Confederate troops for her aid to the wounded, and was declared " . . . a sympathiser [sic] with the south, . . ." The same soldier also called Canby himself " . . . one of the noblest men that ever served in any army."<sup>45</sup> Another claimed that " . . . Mrs. Canby [Canby] captured more hearts of Confederate soldiers than the old general ever captured Confederate bodies."<sup>46</sup>

The Confederate retreat down the Rio Grande was not completed without some minor military action. Canby had come from Fort Craig (hastened by the action of Slough), and had met Paul and Slough thirty miles east of Albuquer-

38. Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, II, 380-1, note 303.

39. Hollister, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-7.

40. *O. R.*, I, 9:660. Connelly to Seward, April 6, 1862.

41. Twitchell, *op. cit.*, II, 385.

42. Coan, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

43. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, pp. 696-7.

44. *L. R.*, Micro No. 171. Collins to Dole, April 26, 1862.

45. Lansing B. Bloom, editor, "Confederate Reminiscences," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 5:315-24, July, 1930; H. C. Wright letter to T. L. Greer, September 7, 1927, p. 323.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 320. Harvey Halcomb to Greer, August 5, 1927.

que.<sup>47</sup> Canby demonstrated against Albuquerque as he said, to draw the Confederates away from Santa Fe,<sup>48</sup> but the townspeople suffered more than the Texans, so this maneuver was halted.<sup>49</sup>

Sibley retreated south to Peralta, where the Union troops followed, and desultory firing by both sides was engaged in.<sup>50</sup> It was reported that the Texans became incensed at their leaders, and allegedly threatened to shoot Colonel Scurry, who had led them at Glorieta.<sup>51</sup> During the night of April 13, 1862, the Confederates slipped away, and resumed their flight south. The Union troops pursued,<sup>52</sup> but apparently without much enthusiasm. Colonel Roberts had desired to attack the Confederate position in the morning, but Canby had opposed this. He wished to drive them from the country without more killing on either side. Mills agreed that “. . . perhaps he was wise” in doing so.<sup>53</sup>

Sibley, continuing south, decided to by-pass Fort Craig and thus avoid any further military action with which it would be difficult to cope. At the same time a different route would mystify the enemy.<sup>54</sup> The Confederates reached the river near Fort Thorn (near where Rincon now is) and from there on suffered many more hardships. Noel, who traveled the entire distance related that

. . . we walked and staggered along like the reeling, hungry, thirsty wretches that we were, with no head, nobody to direct or command, with the bloodthirsty Dog Canyon Apache Indian following in our wake and scalping the poor unfortunate boys whose blistered feet and enfeebled frame made it impossible for them to march farther.

En route to San Antonio the Indians who allegedly had been friendly to Sibley on his way west were now the reverse. Kit Carson was supposedly the instigator of their terroristic acts, which included the filling of the few available wells

47. Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

48. *O. R.*, I, 9:550. Canby to Wash. Hq., April 11, 1862.

49. *L. R.*, Micro. No. 171. *Santa Fe Gazette*, April 26, 1862.

50. *O. R.*, I, 9:510. Sibley Report, May 4, 1862.

51. *L. R.*, Micro. No. 171. *Santa Fe Gazette*, April 26, 1862.

52. *O. R.*, I, 9:551. Canby Report, April 23, 1862.

53. Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

54. *O. R.*, I, 9:511. Sibley Report, May 4, 1862.



with dead sheep.<sup>55</sup> In contrast to the account by Noel another Confederate soldier reported only a few deaths on this march south and noted that the pursuit was not close.<sup>56</sup>

The Texans, although somewhat reduced in number, had managed to leave the territory. Canby was criticized for this. Bancroft mentioned that he was accused of not wishing to kill old associates (Sibley was his brother-in-law), of jealousy toward the volunteers (he complained continually about them), and even of cowardice.<sup>57</sup> Nevertheless, the enemy had left, and many lives had been spared. The lack of food and supplies was an important deterrent to a more aggressive policy. Canby had complained on numerous occasions about the lack of sustenance available to him. The floods in the southern part of the territory slowed Union action.<sup>58</sup> Meanwhile, the Colorado troops, who had played such an important role, left for home because of this same lack of food.<sup>59</sup>

Despite the Coloradoans leaving, the request for additional Federal troops was reduced from five regiments to two, as it was not thought possible to provide for more. Since the threat of another attack was believed unlikely,<sup>60</sup> Canby now set about reorganizing his military forces. Colonel B. S. Roberts was placed in command of the Central, Northern and Santa Fe Districts, and Colonels Paul and Chivington were each given columns to direct.<sup>61</sup> Slough had resigned.<sup>62</sup> The civil government also came to life again. Governor Connelly returned to Santa Fe and found that no one had taken his place. The *Gazette* noted that "the only memento they [the Texans] had left for our worthy Chief Magistrate was some of Sibley's proclamation's [sic] and empty champagne bottles."<sup>63</sup> Connelly did complain, how-

55. Noel, *op. cit.*, pp. 63-4.

56. Bloom, *op. cit.*, p. 323; Wright to Greer, September 7, 1927.

57. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 698.

58. *O. R.*, I, 9:676. Canby to Wash. Hq., June 21, 1862.

59. Hollister, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

60. *O. R.*, I, 9:669-70. Canby to Wash. Hq., June 21, 1862.

61. *Ibid.*, I, 9:664. General Order No. 30, April 16, 1862.

62. Santee, *op. cit.*, p. 75. Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, II, 385, note 309, says that Slough resigned in disgust because he was not allowed to pursue the Confederates.

63. *L. R.*, Micro. No. 171. *Santa Fe Gazette*, April 26, 1862.

ever, that the Texans had damaged his home south of Albuquerque (at Peralta) to the extent of thirty thousand dollars— “. . . much of this through a pure vandalistic spirit.”<sup>64</sup>

As the loyal forces in New Mexico were getting their house in order, General Sibley had a few parting shots ready for New Mexico. He believed that

. . . except for its political position, the Territory of New Mexico is not worth a quarter of the blood and treasure expended in its conquest. . . . The indispensable element, food, cannot be relied on.

He commented further on the difficulties of another attempt, saying “. . . sir, I cannot speak encouragingly for the future, my troops having manifested a dogged, irreconcilable detestation of the country and the people.”<sup>65</sup>

Accounts vary on the number of Texans who were able to return to the south. Mills believed that only 1,500 of the 4,000 ever got back to Texas,<sup>66</sup> while Roberts, a subordinate of Canby, said only 1,200 of the 3,000 returned and that the rest were facing complete annihilation.<sup>67</sup> A participant related that less than half who left San Antonio ever got back, “. . . and the larger half of those who did lived a life of suffering because of their extreme hardships in this campaign.”<sup>68</sup>

The campaign had been a difficult one for both sides. The Union forces, however, were to receive unexpected aid in the struggle. As early as July, 1861, troops were raised in California to protect the Overland Mail Route to the East,<sup>69</sup> but “treason stalked abroad” in the southern part of the state, and General James H. Carleton (then a Colonel of the 1st California Volunteer Infantry) was sent in that direction.<sup>70</sup> The Federal government also had prepared a

64. *O. R.*, I, 9:672. Connelly to Seward, May 17, 1862.

65. *Ibid.*, I, 9:511-12. Sibley Report, May 4, 1862.

66. Mills, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

67. *O. R.*, I, 9:666. Roberts to Wash. Hq., April 23, 1862.

68. Noel, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

69. Ray Allan Billington, with the collaboration of James Blaine Hedges, *Westward Expansion* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949), pp. 635-6.

70. *O. R.*, I, 9:594. McNulty Report, October, 1863.

plan for an army to be raised on the coast.<sup>71</sup> However, when Captain Hunter of the Confederate Army occupied Tucson with a few hundred men,<sup>72</sup> the Commanding Officer of the Pacific instructed Carleton to go forward with the object of retaking “. . . all of our forts in Arizona and New Mexico, driving the rebel forces out of that country or capturing them . . . .”<sup>73</sup> The California column thus began its arduous march across the desert with the double purpose of preventing an invasion of the coast, and at the same time aiding the Federal Government. The difficulties encountered were “almost insurmountable.”<sup>74</sup>

Early in May the California militia began its journey from Fort Yuma with over 2,000 troops,<sup>75</sup> but moved slowly because of the shortage of water.<sup>76</sup> The first important stop was Tucson, Arizona, which was occupied on May 20, 1862, “without firing a shot.”<sup>77</sup> In the face of superior numbers, the Confederates, who had boasted that “the entire population” was southern in sentiment,<sup>78</sup> retreated from this advanced outpost, while those private citizens who were sympathetic to the South departed for Mexico.<sup>79</sup>

From Tucson Carleton sent word to Canby that he was enroute, but two of the three messengers were killed by Apaches, and the third was captured by the Confederates. Expressman John Jones, although captured, was able to get his message through. The knowledge that an additional enemy was so near hurried the Confederate preparations for departure from New Mexico. On July 4, a small advance force of California troops arrived near Fort Thorn and occupied it the next day. Confederate unpopularity now began to reach a head, and rumors were heard that the

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71. Captain George H. Pettis, “The California Column,” *Historical Society of New Mexico, Publications*, No. 11 (Santa Fe, New Mexico: New Mexico Printing Company, 1908), p. 5.

72. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 690.

73. *O. R.*, I, 4:91. Wright to Carleton, January 31, 1862.

74. *Ibid.*, I, 9:595. McNulty Report, October, 1863.

75. Pettis, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

76. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

77. *O. R.*, I, 9:533. Carleton to Cal. Hq., May 25, 1862.

78. *Ibid.*, I, 9:707. Hunter to Baylor, April 5, 1862.

79. *Ibid.*, I, 9:533. Carleton to Cal. Hq., May 25, 1862.

native population was beginning to rise on all sides against the retreating Texans.<sup>80</sup>

Governor Connelly received word that the southern retreat was due to their having

. . . consumed and destroyed everything even to the growing crops. The people here are with their eyes open toward the North, in the hope of being relieved from the devastations of these locusts. More than 1,000 men are waiting with open arms to receive the liberal Government of the North.<sup>81</sup>

The Confederate policy of living off the land was turning the natives from a feeling of indifference to one of actual hatred.

Colonel William Steele, who had been left in charge of Fort Fillmore by the Confederates, retired to Fort Bliss, July 8, 1862. In enumerating his reasons for leaving, the Colonel noted that he had only 400 troops to fight 1,500 Californians, besides those marching from Craig. Furthermore, outnumbered and with ammunition running low, the natives were not willing to accept Confederate paper money. When the Texans seized supplies, the people became aroused.<sup>82</sup> In leaving New Mexico Steele informed the Union leaders that there was ill will between the Americans and the natives, and that he wanted the Americans who remained to be protected against possible reprisals.<sup>83</sup> When the Californians entered, they took advantage of this dissatisfaction and attempted to gain support by assuring the natives that ". . . the era of anarchy and misrule . . ." was at an end.<sup>84</sup>

Canby ordered Carleton to remain within the Mesilla valley,<sup>85</sup> although the latter wished to pursue the Texans down the Rio Grande as he felt that ". . . it would be a sad disappointment to those from California if they should be obliged to retrace their steps without feeling the enemy." The Californian also suggested that now might be the time

80. *Ibid.*, I, 9:554. Carleton to Cal. Hq., July 22, 1862.

81. *Ibid.*, I, 50:1140-1 (part 1). Connelly to Canby, June 15, 1862.

82. *Ibid.*, I, 9:722. Steele to Cooper, July 12, 1862.

83. *Ibid.*, I, 9:687. Steele to C. O. U. S. Forces.

84. *Ibid.*, I, 9:602. General Order No. 15, August 15, 1862.

85. *Ibid.*, I, 9:683. Canby to Carleton, July 9, 1862.

to send troops into Texas where he had heard that the time was ripe for action.<sup>86</sup> Colonel E. E. Eyre, a subordinate of Carleton, complained that he had wished to proceed to Franklin (El Paso), but had been restrained by Chivington and Howe.<sup>87</sup> However, even though Carleton was not permitted to continue his aggressive policy, the appearance of additional troops had much to do with the flight of the Texans.<sup>88</sup>

The success of this long journey was equally divided between the men and their commander. The troops were commended for their endurance and Carleton for the care taken of his charges. McNulty, the medical officer, believed that "to conduct this expedition successfully required a clear head, sound judgement, indomitable will, and perseverance. All these General Carleton possesses in an eminent degree."<sup>89</sup> A less charitable commentator felt that "the march was as good a one as could have been made under so inefficient a general."<sup>90</sup> There can be little doubt that the arrival was advantageous to the Union cause.

The aid which New Mexico and the Federal Government had received from both Colorado and California made it almost impossible for the Confederacy to achieve any lasting success. Texas alone was not able to furnish, or at least it did not furnish, enough troops or supplies. Confederate inability to gain much support from the native population was also a contributing cause to defeat.

#### *IV Military Affairs After the Invasion*

After the invasion attempt of the Texans had been repulsed, there were still many problems facing the military and civil authorities. Because the war was yet in progress in the East, and because the civil government had been superseded by the military in the Territory, the army continued to dominate the scene in New Mexico for several years. However, General Canby was not to be in charge

86. *Ibid.*, I, 9:559. Carleton to Canby, August 2, 1862.

87. *Ibid.*, I, 9:566. Carleton to Cal. Hq., September 20, 1862.

88. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, March 5, 1864.

89. *O. R.*, I, 9:602. McNulty Report, October, 1863.

90. Mowry, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

much longer, and on August 5, 1862, orders relieving him from duty in New Mexico were issued.<sup>1</sup> He had waged a successful campaign. His cautious policy had been criticized by more daring spirits, but a victory had been won with small loss. Too, his problem of defense had been more difficult than that of the Texans who were not responsible for the civilian population, and who could live from the land if they were able. Canby protected not only the private citizens, but was responsible for military supplies and personnel as well. The Texans were gone, and he could now recommend disposal of the available soldiery. He suggested that the New Mexico Volunteers be used in Indian fighting on the frontier.<sup>2</sup> The Indians had been unrestrained during the invasion, and the natives were recognized as excellent for that purpose.

General James H. Carleton now became the military representative of the Federal government,<sup>3</sup> and was expected to protect the people of the Territory.<sup>4</sup> With the Confederate departure, the most pressing remaining problem was that of subduing the Indians who had run wild during the hostilities with Texas. In handling this important matter Carleton was praised for his “. . . wisdom, energy, and indomitable perseverance . . .”<sup>5</sup> The General, however, gave much credit to the citizens of New Mexico in aiding the army to rid the country of the war-like tribes.<sup>6</sup>

Although the policy of dealing firmly with the Indians and placing them on reservations was not original with General Carleton or even completely successful under his stewardship, a forceful beginning was made. The chance for a successful execution of policy possibly would have been greater except that three governmental agencies—the military, the Indian office, and, to a lesser extent, the territorial

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1. *O. R.*, I, 9:688. S. O. No. 181 War Department, August 5, 1862.

2. *Ibid.*, I, 9:689. Canby to Wash. Hq., August 6, 1862.

3. *Ibid.*, I, 9:582. General Orders No. 84, September 18, 1862.

4. *Congressional Globe*, 37th Congress, 3rd Session, Sec'y. of War Stanton, Appendix, p. 29. December 2, 1862.

5. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1866* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1866), p. 134. Graves to Cooley.

6. *O. R.*, I, 26:32 (part 1). General Order No. 3, February 24, 1864.

officials—concerned themselves with the problem.<sup>7</sup> This division of authority created confusion and misunderstanding. Another deterrent to success was the limitation of money and supplies. Carleton thus through necessity proceeded slowly. The Mescalero Apaches in the southeastern part of the Territory were partially subdued and sent to Fort Sumner. In the spring of 1863 Carleton turned his attention toward the Navaho in the northwest.<sup>8</sup>

The problem of the Navaho was a much more difficult one. Carleton conceived the plan of placing all Navahos with the Mescaleros on a great reservation, the Bosque Redondo, at Fort Sumner.<sup>9</sup> Many of the Navahos refused to leave their ancestral home and eventually Kit Carson, who was active and effective in the field, invaded their stronghold at Canyon de Chelly in January, 1864. During the next few years force and diplomacy were indulged in to persuade a greater number to go to Fort Sumner.<sup>10</sup> However the entire group was never completely assembled.<sup>11</sup>

The reservation policy forwarded at Fort Sumner by Carleton aroused a controversial storm. Michael Steck, who succeeded Collins in New Mexico as Indian Superintendent, although not opposed to the reservation idea, spearheaded the attack on the Bosque Redondo as a home for the Navaho.<sup>12</sup> Steck and his supporters also complained of the forceful tactics used by Carleton, claiming that greater success could have been achieved with less expense by a more peaceful policy.<sup>13</sup> Steck gained the support of some citizens of New Mexico because they feared renewed Indian depredations and the loss of grazing lands. They also claimed that an additional barrier to the East was being erected.<sup>14</sup>

Although some of the charges against the Bosque reservation were not well founded, the reservation itself proved

7. Frank D. Reeve, "The Federal Indian Policy in New Mexico, 1858-1880," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 12:221, July, 1937.

8. *Ibid.*, 12:248.

9. *Ibid.*, 12:249.

10. *Ibid.*, 12:253.

11. *Ibid.*, 12:254.

12. *Ibid.*, 12:256.

13. Ralph H. Ogle, "Federal Control of the Western Apaches, 1848-1886," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 14:355, October, 1939.

14. Reeve, *op. cit.*, 12:258.

a failure for a variety of reasons. Carleton and Carson in concert did well in rounding up the inhabitants who were sent to the Bosque, but were not so successful in coping with less martial endeavors.<sup>15</sup> The Steck-Carleton controversy did much to bring about the eventual abandonment of the Bosque Redondo. However, there were other causes as well. The site lacked an adequate wood supply, and a series of crop failures plagued the Indians in their efforts to adjust to the sedentary life of agriculturists. In addition the funds available for maintenance of the reservation were inadequate, and the hostile Comanches were troublesome as well.<sup>16</sup> In evaluating the whole affair Bancroft praised Carleton for his policy of Indian removal and the vigor with which it was carried out, although he considered the location poor, and the reservation a failure as a means of civilizing the Indian.<sup>17</sup> Twitchell, too, thought the Bosque Redondo a great failure as a means of civilizing the Indian, but deemed it a wise policy as a show of Federal power.<sup>18</sup>

Although control of the Indian was a matter of great concern, Carleton had other problems and duties of importance both to New Mexico and to the Federal government. The troops under Carleton not only opened new roads in New Mexico which were vitally needed and repaired others damaged by flood, but guarded wagon trains against Indian attacks as they crossed the barren wastes of the Territory.<sup>19</sup> Some new forts were constructed during this period and old ones were repaired. The improvements made and the reconstruction work done by Carleton were held by the *Santa Fe Gazette* to be among his greatest achievements.<sup>20</sup>

Although Carleton had internal problems to solve, he prepared for another invasion by Texans. This attack was never consummated, but the preparation was made with good reason. The Union leader found that ". . . rumors are rife, . . . that another demonstration is to be made against

15. Charles Amsden, "The Navaho Exile at Bosque Redondo," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 8:44, January, 1933.

16. Reeve, *op. cit.*, 13:24.

17. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 731.

18. Twitchell, *op. cit.*, II, 433-4.

19. *Santa Fe Gazette*, March 18, 1865.

20. *Ibid.*, December 24, 1864.



this country by a rebel force. . . ."<sup>21</sup> He lamented that with such a wide area and so many entrances to defend a plan of action was necessary. The General planned to gather as much grain as possible, arrest possible enemies, and arouse the natives to the new danger and at the same time permit them to fight as guerrillas.<sup>22</sup> This was in direct contrast to the method of Canby, who had attempted to use them in the same manner as trained troops were used. Carleton, in warning Kit Carson, emphasized the different tactics, which were more suited to the surroundings, when he wrote:

If a force of rebels come you know how to annoy it—how to stir up their camps and stock by night; how to lay waste the prairies by fire; how to make the country very warm for them and the road a difficult one. Do this, . . .<sup>23</sup>

Possibly because Canby had feared an invasion either via the Canadian River or the Pecos, Carleton also kept a mounted company east of the latter.<sup>24</sup> On one occasion a group of native buffalo hunters was halted by this mounted group while going down the Pecos because it was feared that the 150 cattle which accompanied them might fall into the hands of the Texans.<sup>25</sup> A few months earlier some southern sympathizers were turned back from the Canadian.<sup>26</sup> There was, however, no report of incoming enemy troops, but Confederates were stationed not far from New Mexico.

Late in 1862 Colonel Baylor was placed in command of the northern and western Texas frontier,<sup>27</sup> although this was largely done to defend the country against Indian attack. The Colonel had his own ideas how the Indian problem should be met. He held that

. . . the general belief among the people is that the extermination of the grown Indians and making slaves of the children is the only remedy. This system has been practiced in New Mexico. There is not a family in that country but has Indian slaves derived from that source.<sup>28</sup>

21. *O. R.*, I, 15:597. Carleton to Wash. Hq., November 16, 1862.

22. *Ibid.*, I, 15:599-600. Carleton to West, November 18, 1862.

23. *Ibid.*, I, 15:579. Carleton to Carson, October 12, 1862.

24. *L. R.*, Micro. No. 173. Collins to Dole, November 13, 1862.

25. *O. R.*, I, 15:153. Captain W. H. Backus Report, December 1, 1862.

26. *Ibid.*, I, 15:158. Lt. G. L. Shoup to Backus, December 1, 1862.

27. *Ibid.*, I, 15:858. S. O. No. 26, November 8, 1862.

28. *Ibid.*, I, 15:917. Baylor to Magruder, December 29, 1862.

The Confederate Secretary of War, displeased with the attitude of Baylor concerning Indian slavery, charged that he (Baylor) could not raise troops for his enterprises in his own Department.<sup>29</sup>

Early in 1863 Carleton began to feel easier as he had heard of no new rumors, and believed that the only reason for an invasion (possibly sharing the opinion of Sibley as to the value of New Mexico) lay in ". . . the right of way to the Pacific, to which great importance is said to be attached by the Southern Confederacy . . .," or the acquisition of Sonora or Chihuahua.<sup>30</sup> Although the *Rio Abajo Weekly Press* had heard of an invasion by "Los Tejanos," the paper was confident that Carleton would handle the situation, especially since he knew how the natives could best fight,<sup>31</sup> and further that they would be allowed to do so.<sup>32</sup> The invasion threat was not an unmixed blessing, as it had the effect of keeping troops in the southern part of the Territory, where they were used to good advantage against the Indians.<sup>33</sup>

There was, however, some pressure for an invasion of Texas from New Mexico. Canby had felt that such a move was not practicable because of his lack of confidence in native troops.<sup>34</sup> General Halleck, who was not aware of actual conditions, later wanted such an effort,<sup>35</sup> but Carleton was dubious because of lack of funds, and felt that ". . . if I can block the road from Paso del Norte, it will be as much as can prudently be done, . . ."<sup>36</sup> Although differing in reason from Canby, Carleton now was no more anxious than the former for such an effort. Experience in New Mexico had brought about a change of viewpoint.

Again in 1865 the matter of a Texas invasion arose. An entry into southern Arizona from Mexico by a group of

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29. *Ibid.*, I, 15:857. G. W. Randolph to Magruder, November 7, 1862.

30. *Ibid.*, I, 15:669. Carleton to Wash. Hq., February 1, 1863.

31. *Rio Abajo Weekly Press*, April 28, 1863.

32. *Ibid.*, May 26, 1863.

33. Pettis, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

34. *O. R.*, I, 9:574. Canby to Carleton, August 11, 1862.

35. *Ibid.*, I, 34:256 (part 2). Halleck to Carleton, February 6, 1864.

36. *Ibid.*, I, 34:673 (part 2). Carleton to Halleck, March 20, 1864.

southern sympathizers,<sup>37</sup> and a raid into New Mexico itself by “. . . a band of lawless desperadoes . . .,” was expected.<sup>38</sup> Nothing resulted from these threats. However, both Governor Luis Terrazas of Chihuahua<sup>39</sup> and Governor Evans of Colorado had proffered aid previously,<sup>40</sup> and possibly could be relied upon.

Carleton and the army had some difficulties of an internal nature as well. Southern New Mexico, the seat of earlier disaffection, continued as a center of irritation. Sylvester Mowry, the alleged Confederate sympathizer, was declared an enemy of the Union by a board of officers<sup>41</sup> who probably acted more harshly because of the heat of recent conflict. Mowry, who held mining property in southern Arizona, was stripped of this under the Confiscation Act,<sup>42</sup> and in June, 1862, was placed in prison.<sup>43</sup> He immediately raised a great outcry, and accused the General of profiting financially in the matter.<sup>44</sup> The *New Mexican* recalled that United States Marshal Cutler was later able to buy this property for \$4,000.<sup>45</sup> The matter was not of tremendous importance, except to Mowry, but it was a step toward weakening the position of Carleton, and indirectly placed the military in an unfavorable light.

In addition to the Mowry incident, the people in southern New Mexico were a source of annoyance and concern to Carleton. The General had retained the system of martial law which Canby had begun, and the citizens through their Grand Jury complained bitterly.<sup>46</sup> Carleton was not entirely pleased with the arrangement, as he felt that military officers were carrying a burden which belonged to civil authority.<sup>47</sup> When General Halleck received information of military interference in strictly civil affairs, he ordered that it be

37. *Santa Fe Gazette*, April 8, 1865.

38. *Ibid.*, May 13, 1865.

39. *O. R.*, I, 15:701. Terrazas to Carleton, April 11, 1863.

40. *Ibid.*, I, 15:666. Carleton to Evans, January 28, 1863.

41. *Ibid.*, I, 9:693. S. O. No. 17, June 16, 1862.

42. Mowry, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

44. *Ibid.*, p. 208.

45. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, July 29, 1864.

46. *Ibid.*, July 1, 1864.

47. *O. R.*, I, 15:665. Carleton to Army, January 27, 1863.

discontinued, if true.<sup>48</sup> The *Gazette*, however, loyal to Carleton, denied that any military interference with civil authority had ever existed.<sup>49</sup> The southern part of the Territory was doubtless sensitive about past events and resented close surveillance by the military, although the general populace must have appreciated protection from the marauding Indians.

The military department was faced also with another matter, that of peonage and Indian slavery. The distinction between peonage and slavery was not easily determined, although the condition of peonage was brought about through debt, while slavery resulted from the capture of Indians who were forced to labor involuntarily.

The practice of peonage was recognized by law in New Mexico,<sup>50</sup> and there were actual Indian slaves in the Territory.<sup>51</sup> Except for an occasional servant of an army officer, negro slavery was never a problem. Carson, who was familiar with Indian slavery, suggested that it be continued as a means of taking care of the people, and also of breaking up the tribes.<sup>52</sup> Carleton strongly rejected the idea.<sup>53</sup> Eventually President Johnson learned of the practice and recommended its suppression.<sup>54</sup> Peonage was a more complicated matter, and had been accepted in New Mexico,<sup>55</sup> but was abolished by law in 1867.<sup>56</sup> The actual cessation was not such an easy matter, and there were slaves for many years after.

The relative merit and aid given by the troops who came from outside the Territory caused a minor tempest at the time which was touched off by a Joint Resolution passed by the New Mexico Legislature, shortly after the Texans

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48. *Ibid.*, I, 34:245 (part 2). Halleck to Carleton, February 4, 1864.

49. *Santa Fe Gazette*, May 27, 1865.

50. *L. R.*, Micro No. 182. Executive Message of Acting Governor William F. M. Arny to the Legislative Assembly of the Territory, December 2, 1862.

51. *Ibid.*, Micro. No. 155. Arny to Dole, January 6, 1862.

52. *O. R.*, I, 26:234 (part 1). Carson to Carleton, July 24, 1863.

53. *Ibid.*, I, 26:235 (part 1). Carleton to Carson, August 18, 1863.

54. James D. Richardson, editor, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897* (Washington, D. C.: Bureau of National Literature and Arts, 1908), 6:342.

55. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1866*, p. 137.

56. Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, II, 325.

were driven from the area. Both California and Colorado were tendered thanks "... for their timely aid and assistance in driving the traitors and rebels from our soil." In addition, the Californians were praised for their march, and "... the utmost confidence ..." was expressed in Carleton himself.<sup>57</sup> Carleton, too, issued an order at the time praising the troops who participated in the crossing.<sup>58</sup> The New Mexico legislators doubtless were attempting to ingratiate themselves into the good graces of Carleton without intending to belittle the role of the Pike's Peakers. One paper stated that Governor John Evans of Colorado was the only complainant regarding the Resolution, and that he was difficult to please anyway.<sup>59</sup> In answer to the complaint the Legislature attempted to atone handsomely with another Resolution, which fell short of the mark, when it stated

That it was not, nor has it been the intention of the Territory of New Mexico, to do the least injustice to the bravery and sacrifice of our neighbor Territory of Colorado, nor to place their brave and patriotic soldiers second to none in the defense of this Territory.<sup>60</sup>

The troops at the disposal of Carleton were never large in number, considering the area to be protected. After the Texans had dispersed, there were 4,680 men available.<sup>61</sup> During the year 1863 the number was decreased by approximately 1,000;<sup>62</sup> by 1864, it had leveled off at 3,454,<sup>63</sup> and was slightly less the next year.<sup>64</sup> There was a further temporary reduction at the end of the war due to the mustering out of the California troops and the discontinuance of new enlistments.<sup>65</sup> As the discharge of the Californians took place, the

57. *Laws of the Territory of New Mexico. Passed by the Legislative Assembly, Session of 1862-1863.* (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Charles Leib, Publisher of *The New Mexican*, Public Printer, 1863), p. 106.

58. *O. R.*, I, 15:575. General Order No. 85, September 21, 1862.

59. *Rio Abajo Weekly Press*, April 12, 1864.

60. *Laws of the Territory of New Mexico. Passed by the Legislative Assembly, Session of 1863-1864.* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: Hezekiah S. Johnson, Printer "Rio Abajo Press," 1864), pp. 128-30. Joint Resolution, February 3, 1864.

61. *O. R.*, I, 9:696. Carleton Report, September 20, 1862.

62. *Ibid.*, III, 3:1198. Abstract, December 31, 1863.

63. *Congressional Globe*, 39th Congress, 1st Session, Appendix p. 7. Sec'y of War Stanton, November 22, 1865.

64. *O. R.*, I, 48:703 (part 1). Abstract, January, 1865.

65. Ogle, *op. cit.*, 15:12. January, 1940.

men who had served Carleton so well raised an outcry which was heard in Washington. Even the Governor of California supported them.<sup>66</sup>

This troop protest reached its climax when the Secretary of War was asked to explain the matter to the House of Representatives.<sup>67</sup> Some of the Californians were chagrined over the amounts of travel pay received and over their discharge in New Mexico rather than in California. Carleton in rebuttal believed that many wished to remain in New Mexico (as they actually did) and also that the Territory could use such capable citizens. He advised Washington that

Political reasons connected with the filling up of the rich mineral lands by a hardy population of experienced miners, and by trained soldiers, who at any time can be called upon to defend the country, whether against savages within or rebels without its borders, should and doubtless will, have great weight with the government. Such timely forecast will give an impetus to Arizona and New Mexico which will be felt not only by these Territories but by the United States at large. For it is to such men the country must look for the speedy development of the precious metals, now so greatly needed.<sup>68</sup>

Editorial opinion in New Mexico was divided over the affair. The *Gazette* dismissed the matter as the disappointment caused by inaction. It stated that Carleton had treated the volunteers better than would have been the case if another officer had been in charge.<sup>69</sup> The *New Mexican*, which was opposed to Carleton, reported that the troops were displeased with guarding peaceful citizens instead of fighting Indians.<sup>70</sup>

Conceding that there was some dissatisfaction, Carleton had acted in a manner which reflected great concern for both the national and territorial welfare in attempting to fill a potentially valuable area with the proper type of citizenry.

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66. *House Executive Document*, No. 138. 39th Congress, 1st Session (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1866), p. 2. Low to Carleton, May 22, 1865.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 1. July 26, 1866.

68. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

69. *Santa Fe Gazette*, April 15, 1865.

70. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, January 6, 1865.

Along with the settlement of individual troop problems, the matter of peace time military reorganization presented itself. New Mexico was dependent upon expenditures of the military establishment to a great extent, and naturally was interested in any alteration of the Military District of New Mexico. At the beginning of the conflict, New Mexico had been attached to the Missouri Department; later it was transferred to California and then returned to Missouri at the termination of the war.<sup>71</sup> There was some agitation to make New Mexico a separate department, but that was unsuccessful.<sup>72</sup> If New Mexico could have achieved this status the population would have benefited financially as more funds would have been spent locally, and the military would have received equipment and supplies more expeditiously.

With the end of the war, the critics of Carleton became more vocal. Much of the criticism stemmed from the policy of Carleton in establishing the Bosque Redondo as a reservation for the Navaho. The climax was reached when the Territorial Legislature went so far as to present a memorial to the Secretary of War, which condemned Carleton and demanded a Court of Inquiry as to his stewardship.<sup>73</sup> Finally, on September 19, 1866, the General was removed. A short time previously the *Santa Fe New Mexican* had complained that although Carleton had had more troops than at any previous time, he had done nothing but reward favorites.<sup>74</sup>

Carleton had performed good service for the United States Government and for the Territory of New Mexico. His attempt to solve the Indian problem and especially his establishment of Bosque Redondo did not meet with universal approval, but it was at least an honest, forceful attempt. His defensive plans for the Territory were carefully made and well thought out, even though no further invasions were attempted by the Texans. While it is difficult to compare Canby and Carleton as each had a different problem, Carleton seemed to get greater coöperation from the natives

71. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, November 4, 1865.

72. *Ibid.*, December 9, 1865.

73. *Ibid.*, December 30, 1865.

74. *L. R.*, Micro. No. 198. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, October 27, 1866.

than did Canby. The willingness of Carleton to utilize the New Mexicans in a military way in which they were accustomed made for better understanding between the groups. Carleton was the more aggressive military commander. The *Gazette*, although an admitted partisan, deemed Carleton "... a gentleman officer who is more highly esteemed and appreciated for his genuine worth than any commanding officer we have ever had, . . ." <sup>75</sup>

### *V Politics and Loyalty to the Union*

At the outbreak of the war, the Territory was placed in a difficult position because of the questioned loyalty of part of its military and civil leadership. Although Twitchell found that the principal army officers were not loyal to the Union,<sup>1</sup> the situation was clarified when actual conflict began. Those favoring the Southern cause resigned their commissions and joined the Confederacy. It was more difficult, however, to determine loyalties among those who held civilian positions. Ganaway has found in his study of New Mexico politics prior to the War, that the loyalty of some was questionable, largely because many Southerners had received appointments to public office in the Territory.<sup>2</sup>

When hostilities began, Abraham Rencher, a former Congressman from North Carolina, was Territorial Governor.<sup>3</sup> Samuel Ellison, a close associate, considered Rencher "... conservative, honest, and intellectual. Was highly esteemed by the people of the territory."<sup>4</sup> The Governor deemed himself a loyal Democrat, who would put his duty to his country above that to his party,<sup>5</sup> while the *Gazette* felt that "he has our interest as much at heart as if he had been chosen by the free suffrages of the people."<sup>6</sup> The Terri-

75. *Santa Fe Gazette*, April 8, 1865.

1. Ralph E. Twitchell, "The Palace of the Governors," *Historical Society of New Mexico, Publications*, No. 29 (N. P., 1924), p. 27.

2. Ganaway, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

3. W. G. Ritch, compiler, *The Legislative Blue-Book of the Territory of New Mexico with the Rules of Order, Fundamental Law, Official Register and Record, Historical Data, Compendium of Facts, etc.* (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Charles W. Greene, Public Printer, 1882), p. 118.

4. J. Manuel Espinosa, "Memoir of a Kentuckian in New Mexico, 1848-1884," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 13:9, January, 1937.

5. *L. R.*, Micro. No. 133. Rencher to Collins, April 23, 1859.

6. *Ibid.*, Micro. No. 144. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, May 22, 1860.



torial Secretary at the same time was the Irish-born A. M. Jackson, whose boyhood was spent in Mississippi.<sup>7</sup>

When President Lincoln assumed office in 1861, changes were made in high civil offices in the Territory. Henry Connelly was placed in the gubernatorial chair for the duration.<sup>8</sup> The new Governor, although born in Virginia, had lived in New Mexico since 1828.<sup>9</sup> He had married into a prominent native family—the daughter of Don Pedro Perea of Bernalillo and the widow of Don Mariano Chaves.<sup>10</sup> The appointment by the President was a happy one according to Twitchell who considered Connelly to be “. . . an intensely loyal man. . . .”<sup>11</sup> Bancroft, however, said that Connelly “. . . was a weak man, of good intentions, who, notwithstanding his loyal sentiments, made no very brilliant record as a ‘war’ governor.”<sup>12</sup> Ellison also was somewhat critical, terming him as “. . . of a visionary, romantic, poetic turn, . . . [although] . . . tolerated because he was appointed from the territory. Still he was a good man.”<sup>13</sup>

At the same time that Connelly was appointed, Miguel A. Otero was given the post of Secretary. He replaced Jackson, who had gone over to the Confederates, but served only a few months because the Senate refused confirmation.<sup>14</sup> Otero had been a strong advocate of the slavery code in New Mexico, and was called “disloyal to the core” by Twitchell.<sup>15</sup> His son, Miguel A., Jr., governor of New Mexico from 1897 to 1906, has softened the charge, declaring that the sympathies of his father were with the South, although he never favored secession.<sup>16</sup> Mrs. Otero, who had a strong influence

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7. Ganaway, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

8. Ritch, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

9. Ganaway, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

10. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, November 21, 1863.

11. Twitchell, *Old Santa Fe*, p. 368.

12. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 705.

13. Espinosa, *op. cit.*, 13:9. January, 1937.

14. Miguel Antonio Otero, *My Life on the Frontier, 1864-1882* (New York: The Press of the Pioneers, Inc., 1935), p. 283. According to Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, II, 391-2, the appointments of both Connelly and Otero were made entirely on the recommendation of John S. Watts, a native of Indiana, and the Territorial Delegate from New Mexico, “. . . in whose integrity and loyalty President Lincoln had great confidence.”

15. Twitchell, *Old Santa Fe*, p. 368.

16. Otero, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

upon her husband, “. . . came from one of the most prominent Southern families, and had grown to womanhood in Charleston, S. C.”<sup>17</sup> To replace Otero, James H. Holmes of Vermont received the position, but the next year W. F. M. Army succeeded to the post and retained it until hostilities ended.<sup>18</sup>

While the Texans were within the Territory, the civil government did not function successfully. As long as the invaders occupied Santa Fe, Connelly remained in Las Vegas. When the Confederates “had been whipped out” Connelly again took charge of his office.<sup>19</sup> However, during the war the civil officers coöperated with the Commanding General in every way.<sup>20</sup>

As the conflict was about to get under way, Baylor believed that “all” of the prominent Americans with the exception of Connelly were for the South.<sup>21</sup> With many of the higher army officers and most of the government officials going over to the Confederate side, what was the position of the rank and file of the citizenry? One citizen, who had investigated the southern part of the Territory, believed that the only disaffection existed among the “Americans,” who were mostly Texans.<sup>22</sup> Canby judged the natives to be loyal, but deplored their apathy.<sup>23</sup> An editorial in the *Santa Fe Gazette* stated emphatically at the outset that New Mexico

. . . desires to be let alone. No interference from one side or the other of the sections that are now waging war. She neither wants abolitionists or secessionists from abroad to mix in her affairs at present; nor will she tolerate either. In her own good time she will say her say, and choose for herself the position she wishes to occupy. . . .<sup>24</sup>

Baylor, who had sent such a glowing report of “American” sympathy, soon learned that the natives were “. . . decidedly Northern in sentiment, . . .”<sup>25</sup> A Union investigator

17. *Ibid.*, p. 2.

18. Ritch, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

19. Espinosa, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

20. Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, II, 392.

21. *O. R.*, I, 4:109. Baylor to Texas Hq., September 24, 1861.

22. *L. R.*, Micro. No. 160. Collins to Dole, June 22, 1861.

23. *O. R.*, I, 4:65. Canby to Missouri Hq., August 16, 1861.

24. Ganaway, *op. cit.*, p. 91, quoting the *Santa Fe Gazette*, July 13, 1861.

25. *O. R.*, I, 4:133. Baylor to Sibley, October 25, 1861.

confirmed the opinion of Sibley when he wrote that "the Mexican population is with the Government," although he admitted that the natives required "encouragement" to be effective.<sup>26</sup> Very many, however, waited until the Texans were on the run before showing any great sentiment either way. It was not until the Confederates were at last repulsed that the *Santa Fe New Mexican* trumpeted that

New Mexico is under loyal control. . . . The people with some few exceptions, are loyal in their feelings and wishes. New Mexico has no other destiny, aside from the north.<sup>27</sup>

Aside from the expediency of backing the winning side, there were several factors in this apparently gradual shift from indifference to espousal of the Northern cause. The expulsion of the Texans had its effect, but there were deeper roots. Governor Connelly helped by canvassing northern New Mexico with speech and letter. He reminded the natives of the past claims of Texas, and of her ruthlessness. He attempted to stir up hatred for Texas, rather than emphasizing loyalty to the Union. He also recalled to memory that the Texans had been defeated in the past.<sup>28</sup> Fear of Indian depredation aided the Union,<sup>29</sup> especially as the war gave the redfolk greater opportunity to create havoc. The economic motive was possibly the greatest of all. Union currency, which had been spent in the past and also during the conflict, filtered into many pockets. On the other hand, the Texans, either because they were unable, or because they refused, did not pay as readily as the Union did. The natives were suspicious of the Confederate paper. Brevoort, who called the war "a great blessing to the natives," opined that

Naturally the people were inclined to favor the party that treated them fairly and seemed willing to protect them. That was the secret of their devotion to the northern side.<sup>30</sup>

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26. *L. R.*, Micro. No. 161. Steck to Collins, July 15, 1861.

27. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, November 21, 1863.

28. Ganaway, *op. cit.*, p. 96. Citing Watts to Lincoln, (N. D.: Washington, N. A.) Justice Dept. Records, Atty. Gen. Mss.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

30. Maurice G. Fulton and Paul Horgan, editors, *New Mexico's Own Chronicle* (Dallas, Texas: Banks Upshaw and Company, 1937), pp. 201-2. Extract from Elias Brevoort, "A Common Soldier's Impressions."

This matter of fair financial dealing and kind treatment rewarded the Union with tangible fruits. Although Canby complained of slow volunteer enlistments,<sup>31</sup> Connelly was "... proud to say that my loyal and patriotic fellow-citizens of New Mexico have manfully responded to their country's call, . . ." <sup>32</sup> He placed the number in the field at 3,500,<sup>33</sup> although Twitchell said that Connelly and Canby between them achieved the seemingly impossible and signed up between 5,000 and 6,000.<sup>34</sup>

The greatest sympathy that existed for the Confederacy was confined pretty largely to the south of the Jornada del Muerto. This region felt neglected by the government in Santa Fe,<sup>35</sup> and there was some sentiment for separation. As early as 1854, a representative from Doña Ana County had unsuccessfully requested division to the New Mexico legislature.<sup>36</sup> Sylvester Mowry, who later was to come in conflict with Carleton, was one of the leaders in this move. His mining interests in Arizona, which were not fully protected by the government, no doubt prompted this action, although he was lauded as a lover of that region.<sup>37</sup> Mowry wished to include within his proposed territory the settlements along the Rio Grande which lay south of the Jornada. as this area contained two-thirds of the population of Arizona, which he placed at 10,000. He believed that

The only effect of the present connection of Arizona with New Mexico is to crush out the voice and sentiment of the American people in the Territory; and years of emigration under present auspices would not serve to counterbalance or equal the influence of the 60,000 Mexican residents of New Mexico.

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31. O. R., I, 4:61. Canby to Wash. Hq., July 29, 1861.

32. *Journal of the Council of the Legislative Assembly of New Mexico, of a Session Begun and Held in the City of Santa Fe, Territory of New Mexico, on Monday, the Second Day of December, A. D., 1861, It Being the Eleventh Legislative Assembly for Said Territory* (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Putnam O'Brien, Printer, 1862), p. 20.

33. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

34. Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, II, 374.

35. F. S. Donnell, "The Confederate Territory of Arizona, As Compiled from Official Sources," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 17:148, April, 1942.

36. Patrick Hamilton, compiler, *The Resources of Arizona*, (San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft & Co., Printers, 1833), p. 13.

37. Browne, *op. cit.*, 30:282. February, 1865.

New Mexico has never encouraged American population. She is thoroughly Mexican in sentiment, and desires to remain so.<sup>38</sup>

The feeling in southern New Mexico reached a head in March, 1861, when a convention held at Mesilla resolved "... not to recognize the present Black Republican Administration. . . ." <sup>39</sup> This was strong talk, and was backed up by threats to tar and feather a representative of the Indian Service. Labadi, the agent thus threatened, was permitted to leave unharmed because he was "a Mexican."<sup>40</sup>

This Confederate sentiment was not entirely unanimous however. There were requests to the governor from Mesilla for troops,<sup>41</sup> and a Federal agent believed that

There is . . . a latent Union sentiment here, especially among the Mexicans, but they are effectually overawed. Give them something to rally to, and let them know that they have a Government worthy of their support, and they will teach their would-be masters a lesson.<sup>42</sup>

In the northern part of the Territory, where seventy per cent of the population and resources were located,<sup>43</sup> Confederate sentiment was the exception rather than the rule. There were some efforts to escape service in the militia,<sup>44</sup> but the people in most instances coöperated with the military authorities.<sup>45</sup> The Armijo brothers of Albuquerque were important Confederate sympathizers. Sibley was so grateful for their support, both moral and financial, that he recommended that they not be forgotten in the final reckoning.<sup>46</sup>

When the Texans were finally expelled from the Territory, resumption of the elective processes was in order.

38. Mowry, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-36.

39. *L. R.*, Micro. No. 160. Resolution of Convention Held at Mesilla, March 16, 1861.

40. *Ibid.*, Micro. No. 160. Labadi to Collins, June 16, 1861.

41. *O. R.*, I, 1:605. N. M. Hq. to Paul, May 19, 1861.

42. *Ibid.*, I, 4:56. Mills to Watts, June 23, 1861.

43. *Ibid.*, I, 4:46. N. M. Hq. to Lynde, June 23, 1861.

44. *Ibid.*, I, 4:71. Chapin to Russell, September 27, 1861.

45. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, May 7, 1864.

46. *O. R.*, I, 9:511. Sibley Report, May 4, 1862.

During the time of trial, politics were kept quiet, but in 1863 it was possible to hold the election for the important post of territorial delegate to the United States House of Representatives. Joab Houghton, ". . . a gentleman in every sense of the word . . .," was suggested as a likely candidate,<sup>47</sup> but he later withdrew to aid in the defeat of Jose Gallegos, ". . . the disgraced priest . . .,"<sup>48</sup> who had entered the lists. In opposition to Gallegos, who had a strong native following, Colonel Francisco Perea was entered by his friends.<sup>49</sup>

The question of the fitness of Gallegos for the post was an important factor in the campaign which ensued, although the question of statehood was an issue too. The politicians opposed to statehood were accused of resisting the idea because of the possibility of losing their government posts. Attempts were also made to raise the bogey of increased taxation, and Federal troop withdrawals, if statehood were achieved.<sup>50</sup>

In the meantime Arizona was detached from New Mexico by Act of Congress, and made into a separate territory.<sup>51</sup> There was also some sentiment in Doña Ana County for separation from New Mexico. According to Arny there was a plan afoot to merge Franklin County, Texas, and Doña Ana County into a new territory to be called Montezuma,<sup>52</sup> but this proposition was never consummated.

The Gallegos-Perea contest terminated in the quiet and comparatively honest election of September 7, 1863.<sup>53</sup> The two-to-one victory of Perea was determined by heavy majorities in Bernalillo, Valencia, and Socorro Counties, and

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47. *Rio Abajo Weekly Press*, March 17, 1863.

48. *Ibid.*, June 30, 1863. The issue of June 16, 1863, relates that Father Gallegos came in conflict with Bishop Lamy, and was forced to leave the church in 1852. Twitchell in his *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, II, p. 334, mentions that Gallegos then turned to politics, and was elected delegate from the territory in 1853.

49. W. H. H. Allison, "Colonel Francisco Perea," *Old Santa Fe: A Magazine of History, Archaeology, Genealogy, and Biography* (1:210-23, October, 1913), p. 219.

50. *Rio Abajo Weekly Press*, March 10, 1863.

51. Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, II, 409. The Act separating Arizona was passed February 24, 1863. Twitchell says that New Mexico had favored this since 1858.

52. *Rio Abajo Weekly Press*, April 21, 1863.

53. *Ibid.*, September 8, 1863.

was credited more to anti-Gallegos feeling than to any other factor.<sup>54</sup>

The election of 1865 between Perea and J. Francisco Chaves for the position of congressional delegate was, for several reasons, a more bitter struggle than that of the previous campaign. The issues were more distinct, and the personal angle was altered. The most controversial issue arose from the placing of the Navaho at Bosque Redondo.<sup>55</sup> Those who opposed the reservation policy favored Chaves,<sup>56</sup> and those who defended the plan of Carleton supported Perea. Corruption allegedly entered the New Mexico Legislature for the first time over this matter, with bribery being used to support the policy of Carleton in order to make it more palatable.<sup>57</sup>

A less controversial issue was the re-acquisition of Los Conejos, that section of New Mexico which had been granted by Congress to Colorado in 1861. The complaint was raised that the only reason for the change ". . . was to give evenness (sic) and symmetry to the southern boundary of Colorado." Further arguments in favor of reversion included the fact that the people were more closely aligned racially and linguistically with New Mexico.<sup>58</sup> Perea had introduced a bill to return the section to New Mexico, but Colorado refused to give it up.<sup>59</sup> The supporters of Chaves presumably thought that he would exert greater efforts for the return of the disputed area.

Carleton himself was an issue in the race. He was disliked by many in New Mexico,<sup>60</sup> and the long occupancy and control of the territory by the army probably wearied the citizens as well.

The campaign was a long and bitter one. Kirby Benedict, who had long held public office in New Mexico, was accused of wishing the position for himself,<sup>61</sup> although he

54. *Ibid.*, September 15, 1863.

55. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1866*, p. 131.

56. *Santa Fe Gazette*, June 10, 1865.

57. Espinosa, *op. cit.*, 13:9. January, 1937.

58. *Santa Fe Gazette*, February 18, 1865.

59. *Santa Fe Gazette*, July 23, 1864.

60. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1866*, p. 131

61. *Santa Fe Gazette*, December 24, 1864.

supported Chaves for the post.<sup>62</sup> When President Johnson removed Benedict from office, the Gazette had an opportunity to castigate its opponent (Benedict) when it chided that

He has gone up the spout, and if he is possessed of the 'fine legal attainments, and the thorough knowledge of the Spanish language and laws,' which he proclaims for himself, he will soon be in a condition to put them into re-quisition, as well as his 'extended popularity' with the people. But if his success as a practitioner should be no more 'ample and brilliant' than has been his official and editorial career it will not be much to brag on.<sup>63</sup>

Benedict continued his leadership of the anti-Carleton party, however.

Perea, who conducted a gentlemanly campaign, came out for the reservation policy of Carleton, and at the same time deplored the injection of the race issue into the election. He spoke highly of his opponent, as "friend and relative."<sup>64</sup>

Both parties filled their platforms with platitudes, but at the same time took a firm stand on the principles upon which they stood. The Union Convention which had nominated Perea supported the reservation policy, praised Carleton and promised him support, thanked the troops, recognized the supremacy of the civil government, condemned the assassination of Lincoln, and denounced the raising of the race issue.<sup>65</sup> The "administration" party, which had chosen Chaves, opposed Carleton and his policies, plumped for internal improvements, and felt that

. . . the native citizens of this territory are entitled to the same rights, privileges and liberties as any other citizens from other parts in the United States who may establish themselves among us.<sup>66</sup>

The day after the election, Chaves was proclaimed the winner by unofficial totals.<sup>67</sup> A short time later this count

62. *Ibid.*, August 5, 1865.

63. *Ibid.*, July 1, 1865. The *Gazette*, November 26, 1864, mentions that Benedict was editor of its rival, the *New Mexican*, for almost a year.

64. *Ibid.*, July 8, 1865.

65. *Ibid.*, June 21, 1865.

66. *Ibid.*, April 29, 1865.

67. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, September 8, 1865. Twitchell, in his *Leading Facts*



was made official, and Chaves was declared the victor with a majority of over 2,000 out of a total vote of over 14,000. Perea had been able to carry only Rio Arriba and Mora Counties.<sup>68</sup>

Thus, with the end of the war, New Mexico returned to the practice of selecting her delegates to the U. S. Congress. Carleton and his policies were repudiated, and the native voters entered politics to a greater extent than had been the case previously. These early territorial elections set the pattern for later heated contests which were to become common.

### *VI Economic Conditions*

Economically the Territory of New Mexico was not prosperous, but efforts were being made by her leaders to improve the situation. The strongest factor in economic retardation was the presence of the warlike Indian, but there were others as well. Lack of adequate communication with, and transportation to, the East kept the Territory in financial bondage. A short water supply and a sparse population were other important factors. The leaders of the area were aware of these difficulties, and were trying to alter or alleviate them, which boded well for the future.

To the above conditions, the war added another problem. The citizens of New Mexico had been hard hit financially. It was claimed that the war had caused an estimated loss of at least two or three million dollars.<sup>1</sup> To aid in making up this loss, various suggestions were presented. While the war was in progress, John S. Watts, the Territorial Delegate, proposed to Congress that large amounts of unsold Texas land should be confiscated and turned over to New Mexico. He pointed out that this would be just, as Texas had invaded New Mexico.<sup>2</sup> Another idea presented to Congress favored the confiscation of the property belonging to disloyal citizens. This confiscated property then might

*of New Mexican History*, II, 400, recalls that Colonel Chaves fought at Valverde and in numerous Indian campaigns. In the election of 1867 Chaves was seated after a contested election. He was re-elected in 1869, but defeated by J. M. Gallegos in 1871.

68. *Santa Fe Gazette*, September 30, 1865.

1. *Congressional Globe*, 89th Congress, 1st Session, p. 4307. J. F. Chaves.

2. *Ibid.*, 37th Congress, 2nd Session, July 9, 1862, p. 3154.

be turned over to those who had remained loyal.<sup>3</sup> Later, another plan was formulated. This called for Congress to make direct appropriations, and thus pay for the damage and loss due to "the Texas invasion."<sup>4</sup> According to Bancroft, the claims of New Mexico citizens were never paid.<sup>5</sup> Twitchell felt that the territorial delegates from New Mexico did not accomplish much for their constituents in this or other matters during this period.<sup>6</sup>

Although the Indians were a source of danger and loss, (Carson allegedly said that New Mexico would be impoverished as long as the Indian remained)<sup>7</sup> their presence was of some assistance to the territory. Twitchell opined that much of the prosperity of Santa Fe depended on army spending,<sup>8</sup> while Marcy held that not many would stay were it not for the army and the Indian contracts.<sup>9</sup> J. K. Graves, special Indian Agent for New Mexico, said, "Let the government withhold the purchase of military supplies, . . . and New Mexico would instantly assume an attitude of mourning and sorrow, . . ." <sup>10</sup>

But there was a bright side to the financial picture. If the citizenry had suffered a severe loss, and the Territory was not rich, its delegate could boast that the Territory did not owe a dollar anywhere.<sup>11</sup> This condition continued, and almost two years later her government still spoke of the ". . . truly prosperous conditions of its [New Mexico's] Finances."<sup>12</sup> Bancroft states that the Territory was never in difficult financial straits.<sup>13</sup>

Territorial leaders recognized that access to the outer world was a crying need. It was necessary to use troops to

3. *Ibid.*, 38th Congress, 1st Session, June 11, 1864, p. 149. Perea.

4. *Ibid.*, 39th Congress, 2nd Session, February 7, 1867, p. 1073.

5. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 719.

6. Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, II, 399.

7. Meline, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

8. Twitchell, *Old Santa Fe*, p. 324.

9. Randolph B. Marcy, *Border Reminiscences* (New York: Harper and Brothers, Publishers, 1872), p. 878.

10. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1866*, p. 134.

11. *Congressional Globe*, 37th Congress, 3rd Session, February 27, 1863, p. 1349.

Watts.

12. *Santa Fe Gazette*, December 10, 1864.

13. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 717.

guard and open new wagon roads.<sup>14</sup> While the lack of roads retarded progress, the need for telegraph and railroad service to the East was of greater moment. Possibly despairing of government aid, an effort had been made before the war to finance a telegraph line from Denver to Santa Fe with private capital. An attempt was made to revive the idea.<sup>15</sup> In 1862 Congress passed a bill to establish railroad and telegraph facilities between the Mississippi and the Pacific. New Mexico was hopeful that the route would pass through her lands. Perea introduced a bill in Congress to achieve this goal, but it failed to pass.<sup>16</sup>

Even though efforts along this line were unsuccessful, the agitation was continued. Some encouragement was received from Major General Dodge of the Missouri Department, who favored the building of the telegraph through the Territory, although he doubted very much whether the War Department would approve it.<sup>17</sup> In advancing the idea of a railroad through New Mexico, the *Gazette* cited the advantages which would accrue to the nation, if such a step were followed. The lower altitude, the many passes, and the supplies of coal and water were all stressed,<sup>18</sup> but to no avail, even though the need for a railroad was great.<sup>19</sup>

Trade with the East continued to grow, although more modern communication was denied the Territory. From a scant 200 wagons per year which had entered New Mexico in 1843, the number had grown to over 3,000 by the end of the war. Unfortunately, many of these were forced to return to the East empty.<sup>20</sup> During the war years almost all commerce was halted because of the Indians.<sup>21</sup> By 1863 Carleton was able to notice the increased trade, some of which was occasioned by the establishment of the Bosque,

14. *House Executive Document*, No. 70, 38th Congress, 1st Session (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1864), XVI:30. Halleck to Stanton, November 15, 1863.

15. *Santa Fe Gazette*, November 5, 1864.

16. *Ibid.*, November 5, 1864.

17. *Ibid.*, April 15, 1865.

18. *Ibid.*, October 28, 1865.

19. *Ibid.*, October 21, 1865.

20. Meline, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

21. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 644.

but thought that New Mexico would never be prosperous until the Indians had been forced out of the way.<sup>22</sup>

By 1865 the price of goods in New Mexico had risen, even though they had fallen in the East.<sup>23</sup> Part of the responsibility for this was placed on the shoulders of the speculators,<sup>24</sup> but the rise of wages and of prices of local products due to the war was a contributing factor.<sup>25</sup>

Although there was little tangible evidence that the population was increasing by immigration, the *Rio Abajo Weekly Press* hopefully expected such an influx.<sup>26</sup> The census figures, however, did not bear out this wishful thinking. In 1860 New Mexico had a total population of 93,516. Of this number 82,924 were white, with a free colored population of only 85. The Indians reputedly numbered 10,452, and half breeds were listed at 55.<sup>27</sup> Arizona County which was separated from New Mexico before the next census, was credited with a total population of only 6,428.<sup>28</sup> Acting Governor Army believed that of this total of almost 100,000 over fifty per cent could not read or write. (There was not a free school in the Territory, except those conducted by the Catholic Church.)<sup>29</sup>

When the Census was taken a decade later, New Mexico actually showed a loss in numbers. The figures then read 91,874. The loss of Arizona accounted for much of this decrease, but it was evident that the Territory was not making much progress towards increasing its population. The colored population, although negligible in number, had increased over 100 per cent from 85 to 172.<sup>30</sup>

New Mexico was able to retain some of the soldiers who had come with the California Column, but was desirous of

22. *O. R.*, I, 15:723-4. Carleton to Hq., May 10, 1863.

23. *Santa Fe Gazette*, April 1, 1865.

24. *Ibid.*, November 19, 1864.

25. *Ibid.*, November 12, 1864.

26. *Rio Abajo Weekly Press*, January 27, 1863.

27. *Census for 1860* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1864), p. 567.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 567.

29. *The Second Annual Message of Acting Governor Army to the Legislative Assembly of New Mexico. Delivered December, 1866* (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Manderfield and Tucker, Public Printer, 1862), p. 5.

30. *Census for 1870* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1872), pp. 8-12.

encouraging still further soldier immigration. The mining opportunities were emphasized to this group, as well as the chance to continue the adventuresome life which had been followed in the Army. The *Gazette* offered these "... high spirited, well-meaning fellows, but hard to manage, . . ." a chance to acquire "... not only wealth, but plenty of bush-whacking for those who have a passion for that sort of amusement."<sup>31</sup>

What resources the Territory possessed were bound up chiefly in mineral and pastoral wealth.<sup>32</sup> The Pinos Altos region in the southwestern part of the Territory was the scene of a mild boom in 1860 when gold was discovered and 1,500 people were drawn to the area,<sup>33</sup> although there had been reports of earlier gold found there by the Mexicans.<sup>34</sup> During the war, however, mining and farming were practically abandoned within the area when the troops were withdrawn in the spring of 1861.<sup>35</sup> The region prospered again in the years 1862-1864, when mining operations were resumed. A new mining rush occurred in 1866.<sup>36</sup> In 1863 the first important silver in New Mexico was found near Magdalena and Pueblo Springs.<sup>37</sup>

To encourage prospecting, or at least to assure more equitable opportunity in that field, the Legislature authorized every discoverer to register, up to the length of 600 feet, any vein found. The entire width of the vein was to be included as well.<sup>38</sup> A geologist was engaged by Watts to survey the mineral wealth of the Territory. He reported a visit to the Santa Rita area, and also to the Organ Mountains to the east of Las Cruces. Copper was the important ore in the above places. Deposits of kaolin used in the making of procelain were located in New Mexico. This was prized because known locations in the United States were

31. *Santa Fe Gazette*, August 12, 1865.

32. *Ibid.*, July 29, 1865.

33. Stuart A. Northrop, *Minerals of New Mexico* (Albuquerque, New Mexico: The University of New Mexico Press, 1944), p. 23.

34. R. S. Allen, "Pinos Altos, New Mexico," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 23:302. October, 1948.

35. Reeve, *op. cit.*, 13:284. July, 1938.

36. Allen, *op. cit.*, 23:305. October, 1948.

37. Northrop, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

38. *Santa Fe Gazette*, April 8, 1865.

few. A five foot thick coal bed also was reported in the northern part of the Territory, along with several other smaller deposits.<sup>39</sup> None of these was a recent discovery, but promised something for future prosperity. In addition, gold and anthracite were reported north of Santa Fe, and copper near the Jemez pueblo.<sup>40</sup>

Colonel Perea spoke glowingly of the mineral wealth to be derived in New Mexico, which he claimed was attracting attention in the East. He wrote of the

. . . mountains that have towered to the heavens from primeval time, in the sullen majesty of their hidden wealth, [and which] will now unbosom their treasures to the magic call of civilization, and your neglected country will rise, from the shades of an unrevealed wilderness, into the light of a brilliant and commanding development.<sup>41</sup>

Along with the optimistic predictions of wealth for New Mexico, there were definite drawbacks to utilization of the Territorial minerals. President Lincoln had noted the "great deficiency of laborers" not only in New Mexico, but in the entire West in both mineral and agricultural pursuits.<sup>42</sup> Secretary of Interior J. P. Usher stressed the need for a railroad into the area,<sup>43</sup> and later complained that the mineral wealth was being "indifferently wrought" because of its inaccessibility.<sup>44</sup> A lack of water in certain areas was an additional drawback,<sup>45</sup> while the Indians again were blamed as a factor in preventing further exploitation of the metals in the region.<sup>46</sup>

Aside from the minerals, the other principal sources of New Mexican wealth lay in pastoral and agricultural pur-

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39. *Ibid.*, November 12, 1864.

40. *Ibid.*, November 26, 1864.

41. *Ibid.*, July 23, 1864.

42. *Congressional Globe*, 38th Congress, 1st Session, Appendix, p. 1. Lincoln Address, December 8, 1863.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 26. Usher Report, December 5, 1863.

44. *Ibid.*, 38th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 21. Usher Report, December 5, 1864.

45. *Santa Fe Gazette*, April 8, 1865.

46. *Journal of the House of Representatives of the Legislative Assembly of New Mexico, of the Session Begun and Held in the City of Santa Fe, Territory of New Mexico on Monday, the Seventh Day of December, A. D. One Thousand Eight Hundred and Sixty-Three; It Being the Thirteenth Legislative Assembly for said Territory* (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Thomas S. Tucker, Public Printer, 1864), p. 21. Message of Governor Connelly, December 9, 1863.

suits. General Carleton considered the Territory as “. . . eminently a stock growing country” and thought that a market could be provided at home, if other settlement could be encouraged.<sup>47</sup> Although the possession of “many fine grazing lands” was extolled, a warning note was added that “energy and perseverance” were necessary because “drones cannot succeed.”<sup>48</sup>

Sheep, along with cattle, were also prominently in the picture. The same grazing lands were available to them. Recommendations were made for improving the stock, which would thus procure a higher price for the wool produced. New Mexican wool was bringing only fifteen cents a pound in the Eastern market in comparison with eighty cent wool from other regions.<sup>49</sup> Shortly after the Texans left, New Mexico was able to boast of at least a million pounds being shipped to Kansas City, but even though selling there for fifteen cents, it brought only four cents to the Territorial producers. These figures aided in the creation of a demand for the establishment of wool processing and manufacturing in the Territory itself.<sup>50</sup> During the next year the price paid in Kansas City per pound had risen to forty cents, which heartened the producers considerably.<sup>51</sup> Still demands for local processing were continued.<sup>52</sup>

When actual combat on New Mexican soil had terminated, the Territory still faced the problem of supplying itself with sufficient grain. In 1863 crop failures occurred in the Rio Abajo,<sup>53</sup> and the next year the eastern frontier and the area south of the Jornada suffered the same fate.<sup>54</sup> This contributed to the rise of food prices. In 1865 the region south of Albuquerque suffered, not only from frost and insects, but from river floods as well.<sup>55</sup> Although the wheat “failed entirely,” the corn crop unexpectedly yielded

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47. *Santa Fe Gazette*, January 21, 1865.

48. *Ibid.*, November 25, 1865.

49. *Rio Abajo Weekly Press*, April 7, 1863.

50. *Ibid.*, February 17, 1863.

51. *Santa Fe Gazette*, August 20, 1864.

52. *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the Year 1866*, p. 135.

53. *Santa Fe Gazette*, June 21, 1865.

54. *Ibid.*, November 5, 1864.

55. *Ibid.*, June 17, 1865.

well. Carleton, after having experienced several near famines, ordered corn and flour to be brought in, although this move later proved unnecessary.<sup>56</sup>

Irrigation, which had been practiced by the Indians for centuries, was an important answer to the problem of flood and famine which plagued New Mexico. It was suggested that if irrigation were increased, the greater acreage available would encourage further immigration, and that these new settlers would soon supply the population with the necessary food.<sup>57</sup> Systematic irrigation was expected to cover “. . . with luxuriant vegetation millions of acres.”<sup>58</sup>

The flood problem was not so easily answered, but Baldwin has blamed the war at least for the floods in the southern part of the Territory. In some cases lack of man power and finances caused by the conflict allowed irrigation ditches to be weakened, and thus fall easy prey to flood waters. The change of the course of the river which placed Mesilla on the east bank of the Rio Grande in 1865 was attributed to this.<sup>59</sup>

The Territory was aware of the need for improvement of its economic condition, but was not entirely successful in coping with the situation. The comparatively meager resources available plus the lack of interest shown by the East were insurmountable difficulties. The problems of the 1860's are to some extent still present today.

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56. *Ibid.*, December 2, 1865.

57. *House Miscellaneous Document*, No. 70, 38th Congress, 1st Session (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1864), III:1.

58. *Senate Preliminary Report on the Eighth Census, 1860*, 37th Congress, 2nd Session (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1862), p. 90.

59. P. M. Baldwin, "A Short History of the Mesilla Valley," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, 13:314-24. July 1938, p. 820.



BISHOP TAMARÓN'S VISITATION  
OF NEW MEXICO, 1760

*Edited by* ELEANOR B. ADAMS

*(Continued)*

*San Juan*

THIS pueblo of Tewa Indians is fifteen leagues southwest of Taos. We left the latter pueblo and went across the same valley, but in a westerly direction. Its four rivers were again crossed; these soon flow into the Río Grande. Leaving this Taos valley, we entered a cañada of the sierra. The mid-day halt was made near a stream of cold water.

In the afternoon the journey was continued as far as a valley which is called Embudo. In this place there is a large house and other houses belonging to citizens. Confirmations were performed, and we spent the night there. It is a district of the parish of San Juan. Those confirmed numbered ninety-six. They were prepared for it, and they recited the catechism.

There is an abundant river, which we crossed by a bridge. Near there this river also flows into the Río Grande.

On the following day, June 13, the feast of St. Anthony [of Padua], mass was said, after which the journey continued. Coming out of the pine-covered sierra, there was a drop to a plain and the shore of the Río Grande. We kept that in sight like the sea as far as San Juan, which is also near it. It is five leagues south of Embudo.

A Franciscan missionary parish priest resides in this pueblo. There are 50 Indian families, with 316 persons, in the pueblo, and 75 families of citizens, with 575 persons.<sup>90</sup>

*La Cañada*

The villa of Santa Cruz de la Cañada is two leagues from San Juan to the east. A Franciscan missionary parish priest

<sup>90</sup>. BNM, leg. 9, no. 59, gives the last figure as 175, obviously an error by the copyist. The 1750 census of San Juan shows 67 households with 261 persons. The number of Indians given in the table is 500. At Nuestra Señora de la Soledad del Río del Norte Arriba, which was in the parish of San Juan, there were 36 Spanish households with 330 persons, including servants; and 14 households of genizaros with 58 persons. According to the table, the number of non-Indians was 300. BNM, leg. 8, no. 81.

resides there. The church is rather large but has little adornment. There is no semblance of a town. The settlers are scattered over a wide area. There are 241 families of Spaniards and Europeanized mixtures with 1515 persons.<sup>91</sup>

I made this priest vicar and ecclesiastical judge. The following missionary parish priests presented themselves here: Fray Juan José de Toledo, of the pueblo of Santo Tomás de Abiquiu, 50 years old, who has served in those missions for a long time; and his mission is ten leagues north northwest of La Cañada, upstream and on the other side of the river. And the mission parish priest of the pueblo of Santa Clara, which is two leagues from La Cañada but is on the other side of the river. I desired to go there. They did not permit it because of the height of the river and the poor condition of the canoe. The genízaros of Abiquiu, Santa Clara, and Ojo Caliente were confirmed at La Cañada. The parish books of Santa Clara and Abiquiu were presented and examined. In the Abiquiu books I found a guide to confession and catechism in the Tewa and Spanish languages, upon which I admonished the fathers, but they replied that they did not agree with it and that it was useless.

### *Abiquiu*

This pueblo of genízaro Indians has a Franciscan missionary parish priest, as has already been mentioned and also the distance from La Cañada. There are 57 Indian families with 166 persons, and there are 104 families of citizens, with 617 persons.<sup>92</sup>

### *Santa Clara*

There is a Franciscan missionary in this pueblo of Tewa Indians. It is on the west side of the Río Grande, two leagues from La Cañada to the west southwest. There are 70 Indian families, with 257 persons, and 39 families of citizens, with

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91. The 1750 census shows 197 families with approximately 1303 persons, including servants. A note states that there were scarcely 100 Indians there. The table gives the number of non-Indians as 1205 and the number of Indians as 580. *Ibid.*

92. BNM, leg. 9, no. 59, gives the following figures: 75 families of genízaros with 166 persons; 24 families of citizens with 612 persons. These must be errors by the copyist.

277 persons.<sup>93</sup> I looked at this pueblo as I passed by when I went down from La Cañada to San Ildefonso. Its bells were heard, and its Indians accompanied me.

### *San Ildefonso*

This pueblo of Tewa Indians is three leagues south of La Cañada, downstream. A Franciscan missionary parish priest resides there. There are 90 Indian families, with 484 persons, and 4 families of citizens, with 30 persons.<sup>94</sup> The governor came down here for our final leave-taking.

### *Cochiti*

This pueblo of Keres Indians is about fourteen leagues south southwest of San Ildefonso. A Franciscan missionary parish priest resides there. On the west side of the river there are 105 Indian families, with 450 persons, and 40 families of citizens, with 140 persons.<sup>95</sup>

They received me in a large house belonging to a settler opposite the pueblo on the east side of the river. I wanted to cross to the other side in a canoe, but they made difficulties. And there the people had brought the Europeanized mixtures across.

The catechism was put, and the Indians were prepared. They do not confess and are like the rest. They recited in Spanish, following what the fiscals say. They promised to confess. Three hundred thirty-nine persons were confirmed.

The journey from San Ildefonso to this house at Cochiti, which lasted from four o'clock in the morning until one-thirty, all over fairly flat country, was the most grievous of the whole visitation because of the terrible heat of the sun on the day of June 20.

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93. The 1750 census shows 40 Indian families with about 188 persons. The table gives the number of Indians as 272. The settlers at Chama, part of the parish of Santa Clara, numbered 39 households with about 412 persons. Father Varo's figures for 1749, used in the table, were 21 non-Indians. BNM, leg. 8, no. 81.

94. The 1750 census gives the number of Indians, adults and children, as 371. There were 66 married couples and 26 widows and widowers. There were 7 Spanish families with 56 persons including Indian servants. The figures in the table are 68 non-Indians and 354 Indians. *Ibid.*

95. According to the 1750 census there were 64 Indian households with 521 persons, adults and children. There were 6 non-Indian households with 35 persons, including children and Indian servants. The same figures are used in the table. *Ibid.*

*San Felipe de Jesús*

This pueblo of Keres Indians has its Franciscan missionary parish priest. It is three leagues south of the house at Cochiti from which the departure was made. We went by the pueblo of Santo Domingo. This pueblo of San Felipe is on the west bank of the river, which I crossed in a good canoe. The river flows in a single channel, very deep and quiet. This is the best place to cross.

There are 89 Indian families, with 458 persons in this pueblo.<sup>96</sup> They also presented equal difficulties with regard to their confirmation. They said that thirteen had confessed. The missionary, Fray Tomás Valenciano, is very able, and I gave him effective orders. And he is the one I thought might compose the guide to confession and catechism for the Keres, and this was also entrusted to him, although no results have been attained.

*Santa Ana*

This pueblo of Keres Indians has its Franciscan missionary parish priest. It is four leagues west of San Felipe, flat country. There are 104 Indian families, with 404 persons.<sup>97</sup>

*Sia*

The titular patron of this pueblo of Keres Indians is Our Lady of the Assumption. A Franciscan missionary parish priest resides there. There are 150 Indian families, with 568 persons.<sup>98</sup> It is two long leagues from Santa Ana over dunes and sandy places.

*Jemez*

The titular patron of this pueblo of Indians who speak the Pecos language is San Diego. It is three leagues north of

96. BNM, leg. 9, no. 59, gives the number of families as 98. The 1750 census gives the following figures for the Indians of San Felipe: 71 households with 218 children under religious instruction, 26 widows and widowers, 164 married people, 51 babies, or a sum of 453 persons. The table states that there were 70 non-Indians and 400 Indians. BNM, leg. 8, no. 81.

97. BNM, leg. 9, no. 59, gives the number of families as 98. The 1750 census shows 20 households of widows and widowers and 68 households of married couples with approximately 353 persons. The table gives 100 non-Indians and 600 Indians. BNM, leg. 8, no. 81.

98. The 1750 census shows 131 Indian households with approximately 481 persons; and about 28 non-Indians. The table gives 600 Indians and 100 non-Indians. *Ibid.*

Sia. It has a Franciscan missionary parish priest. There are 109 families, with 373 persons.<sup>99</sup> The difficulties with regard to confessions and catechism continue.

### *La Laguna*

The titular patron of this pueblo of Keres Indians is San José. A Franciscan missionary parish priest resides there. It is twenty leagues west of Sia, and we spent two days on the road from there.

On the first day the midday stop was made at the place of the Cuevas.<sup>100</sup> We traveled six leagues in the afternoon. After a league and a half we came to the Río Puerco. It was dry at the crossing; there were only a few pools, where the cattle drank. The night was spent at the place called El Alamo. Water is very scarce, and from there to Laguna, a journey which tired the animals greatly, we traveled at the end of June, and the sun burned as if it were shooting fire.

On one side of this road, to the north, is the place of the Cebolletas, where Father Menchero founded the two pueblos already mentioned. The inhabitants are Navahos and Apaches, and many of them live in those cañadas. Some are heathens, and others apostates. Some of their huts were seen.

This pueblo [Laguna] has 174 Indian families, with 600 persons, and there are 20 families of citizens, with 86 persons.<sup>101</sup> The father missionary parish priest who was here is called Fray Juan José Oronzó, 62 years of age. He had served as a missionary in this kingdom for twenty-eight years, and I asked him why he had not learned the language of the Keres Indians in so many years, and why he had not formulated a guide to confession so that he might confess them annually and when they were dying without the aid of an interpreter. He appeared disconcerted by this; he

99. BNM, leg. 9, no. 59, gives the number of persons as 378. According to the 1750 census, there were 81 Indian dwellings with about 383 persons. The table uses Varo's estimate, 574 persons. BNM, leg. 8, no. 81.

100. I am indebted to F. D. Reeve for the information that there was a small settlement of three or four families, called La Cueva, in the Puerco Valley on the east side of the river. T12N, R1W, New Mexico Principal Meridian. As of June 21, 1886. Federal Land Office, Santa Fe, Land Grant File no. 49 (F93).

101. BNM, leg. 9, no. 59, gives the number of persons as 85. According to the 1750 census, there were 65 Indian households with about 528 persons. BNM, leg. 8, no. 81.

gave various excuses on the ground that because of the indifference of the Indians, which was even more marked in the women, no one confessed. I gave my orders, and the matter rested there.

The church is small, and its adornment poor. There is a great lake near there, from which a stream arises. This is the headwater of the Río Puerco. On one side there is a small spring of water as cold as snow. They send from the mesa to get it. It is very delicious.

### *Zuñi*

The titular patron of this Indian pueblo is Our Lady of Guadalupe. It has a Franciscan missionary parish priest. It is thirty leagues west of La Laguna, to which the mission parish priest came with forty Indians, including the cacique and the interpreter, bringing the parish books.

I felt an inclination and desire to go to Zuñi. I did not succeed in doing so, although I made every effort. The chief thing that prevented me was the assurance that the mules with the supplies were swollen with the extreme heat, that there was only one watering place on the way to Zuñi, and that one near there, and that the mules would die of thirst, and that there was no pasturage. I abandoned this undertaking with great regret.

I confirmed some persons, and they promised to send me others at Isleta. They are as stupid and backward in confession and catechism as the rest. Only one confessed.

I examined the parish books. I was told that the church was good and the pueblo large. This pueblo of Zuñi has 182 Indian families and 664 persons.<sup>102</sup> These were the ones who could be listed. I heard tell that this was the largest pueblo of the kingdom, and therefore it probably has a larger population. One of the difficulties alleged against my going there was that I should not find even half of the inhabitants because they are so dispersed in their ranchos. They breed live-stock, and large flocks of sheep come from there.

<sup>102</sup>. BNM, leg. 9, no. 59, gives the number of families as 181. The 1750 census of Nuestra Señora de Alona y Zuñi gives the number of Indians as 824. The table, however, says there were 2000, probably Father Varo's estimate. BNM, leg. 8, no. 81. Cf. Tamarón's comment on the population, *infra*.

While I was in Laguna, a group of Apache Navaho Indians arrived, saying that they wished to become Christians. Their captain, Tadeo, who is a Christian and roams with them, is now an old man and, they say, a great rogue, for he has three infidel wives. He confessed to me that he had one. I asked him whether the Church had given her to him, and he was silent. I questioned him about the catechism. He recited the Our Father and the Ave Maria. I admonished them to come to recite with the mission father, to build their pueblo, and he would baptize them. I entrusted this to the friar, and they went off to seek the protection of the Spaniards so that their enemies, the Utes, might not finish them off.

### *Acoma*

The titular patron of this pueblo of Keres Indians is San Esteban. It has a Franciscan missionary parish priest. It is five leagues west southwest of Laguna over flat road, but the entrance to the pueblo is very difficult and rugged. The pueblo stands on a very high mesa, a stone mesa, almost round, inaccessible on all sides. The only ascent is half over sand dunes, in which the riding beasts are buried, and the other half via great rocks, obviously perilous. Here I ascended on foot.

It is a singular thing how the round hill rises from that plain, without connection with any other; and there they put the pueblo, although there is no water. They bring it up from a spring which is below. They have concavities like water jars in the rock, and these are filled.

It is the most beautiful pueblo of the whole kingdom, with its system of streets and substantial stone houses more than a story high. The priest's house has an upper story and is well arranged. For burials they cut the cemetery, which is large, and covered it with earth which they brought up from below, because all the ground is rock.

This pueblo consists of 308 Indian families, with 1502 persons.<sup>103</sup> The missionary of this pueblo is called Fray

103. The 1750 census of Acoma says that there were 960 Indians, of whom 247 were capable of bearing arms. There were 302 married people, 44 widowers, 68 widows, 91 unmarried men, 94 unmarried women, 361 children. BNM, leg. 8, no. 81.

Pedro Ignacio del Pino. He has been a missionary for twenty years. He keeps his Indians better instructed in Christian doctrine than the rest. Some in that kingdom recite in unison and individually. They have seven interpreters. He obliges them to attend catechism and mass. He assists at catechism in person. He has had to whip them, and he keeps them in order, although not up to date with regard to confession. He understands the language, but he does not know how to speak it, and therefore in order to hear their confessions he needs an interpreter only for what he has to say to them.

The bringing up of the water struck me as a very outlandish thing. Since the view is so extensive, I went out to take the air two afternoons, and, at one side of the hill, but through its center, I saw a swarm of women and children emerge with pots and jars full of water on their heads. I inquired how that was done. The hill is pierced there as if by a narrow, very deep well. They have made hollows on the sides, or a kind of steps in which the feet barely fit, and they go in and come up by them. Although they explained it to me at length, I never succeeded in understanding how, in view of the tremendous depth, the ascent through so narrow a tube is managed, for those people frequent it at all hours with the weight they carry on their heads. They told me that two had thrown themselves down, and I admonished the missionary with regard to this.

From here we departed for *Isleta*, a two days' journey. The first day we dined at the place of *Los Alamos*, twelve leagues away. The little spring of water was very scanty. In the afternoon we covered three leagues, as far as the *Río Puerco*. Although it was dry, there were some pools, and there we spent the night.

### *La Isleta*

This pueblo of *Tigua* Indians and settlers has *San Agustín* for its patron saint. It has a Franciscan missionary parish priest. It is five fairly flat leagues from the *Río Puerco*, where we slept, and it is twenty leagues east of the pueblo of *Acoma* and fifteen from *Laguna*, which was in-



spected on the way in. It is called Isleta because it is very close to the Río Grande del Norte, and when the river is in flood, one branch surrounds it. It is not inundated because it stands on a little mound.

It has 107 families of Indians, with 304 persons, and 210 families of settlers, including those of the place of Belén, with 620 persons.<sup>104</sup> The Isleta church is single-naved, with an adorned altar. The Indians know the catechism; they confess annually, and they did so in preparation for confirmation, because they speak Spanish. The settlement of Belén is six leagues south of Isleta, downstream.

Twenty-seven Zuñi Indians arrived from that side of Isleta with an interpreter. With his help, an act of contrition was formulated for them so that they would confess in Zuñi. The interpreter confessed, and I confirmed twenty of them, for seven had already been confirmed.

The people of Isleta have good lands, with irrigation from the river. They sow wheat, maize, and other grains. They have some fruit trees, which usually fail to bear because of the frost. Vine-stocks had been planted which were already bearing grapes.

Here a canoe had been made ready to cross the river. It was old, and although they tried to repair it, it was leaking a good amount of water, which they covered so that I should not see it coming in. A crowd of Indians made up this deficiency, for otherwise the crossing in it would have been very risky, and the river is very wide there. It took about half an hour to cross to the other side, and on this day we reached Tomé, which is four leagues southeast of Isleta. It is the first settlement through which one enters and must leave that interior part of New Mexico.

In this village of Tomé the necessary preparations are

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104. BNM, leg. 9, no. 59, gives the number of Indian families as 102, and of Spanish families as 242. According to the 1750 census, there were 79 Indian households with 421 persons. The Spaniards, Europeanized mixtures, and genízaros were as follows: Pajarito, 9 households with 82 persons; Rancho de Padilla, 4 households with 31 persons; Sitio de Gutiérrez, 10 households with 59 persons; San Clemente, 12 households with 95 persons; Belén, 13 households with 98 persons; genízaros, 20 households with 68 persons. A note in another hand says: "The number of Indians here will be about 600." The table gives 100 non-Indians and 500 Indians. BNM, leg. 8, no. 81.

made for the departure for El Paso, including supplies, horses, and the escort that must be taken. The latter numbered only twenty-one soldiers, with an ensign who went as commanding officer; and in addition to these, fifty-five armed men, Spaniards and Indians. The number of persons in all was ninety-four; four hundred twenty-nine horses and mules; twenty-eight bulls; four hundred fifty sheep. The departure from Tomé with all this train took place on the eighth day of July. The daily journeys continued in the same way as when I entered. Some of the stopping places for the night were found to be flooded because of the extraordinary freshets the river had that year. The difference on the return trip was that it took two days less, because, as a result of the rains, we found water in the middle of the Jornada del Muerto at the place they call Perrillos, and we did not have to make the detour.

And at the beginning of this day's journey we found two crosses from the Indians, with sacks for food. And at this point they shouted from the hill of the San Cristobal sierra; the cries increased; they said, "We are good,"<sup>105</sup> meaning peaceful. There appeared to be a large force. Our men were ordered to assemble and take arms, but they made no other movement, and we continued our journey and reached El Paso on the eighteenth day of that month of July. We crossed the river on a raft, but it was not so full as the first time we crossed. The leagues traveled from Tomé to El Paso on our return trip were eighty-four.

I remained in El Paso until the twenty-eighth, when I left for Chihuahua, a journey of ninety-three leagues, also through unpopulated and dangerous country. The former provisions were left behind, and a new lot was taken. Therefore in the New Mexico region, they supplied me with seven different sets of provisions: First, the captain of El Paso, from the Río Santa María to his house; second, the same, from El Paso to Santa Fe; third, from Santa Fe, by the governor, to Pecos and Galisteo; fourth, the same, from Santa Fe to San Ildefonso; fifth, from there, by the aforesaid, to the return to Tomé; sixth, from there to El Paso, by

105. "Estamos bonos."

the said governor; seventh, from El Paso to Chihuahua, by the said captain; with all new supplies of food and different mules and horses, most of which were paid for by the said governor and captain, for there was no other way or means. Only with regard to food did I and the Father Custos make some provision; and on the journey from El Paso to Chihuahua, they sent a two-seated chaise and a drove of mules and a volante from the latter place, which they bought on my order, with four mules. It cost me money and was of little use.

To conclude this report of New Mexico, some particulars about that country will be given. It was discovered in the year 1581 by Father Fray Agustín Ruiz [*sic*, Rodríguez], a Franciscan religious, and by Antonio Espejo, who gave it the name of New Mexico.<sup>106</sup> Nearly a hundred years after its reduction, on August 10, 1680, those Indians and others leagued with them contrived so secret and violent a conspiracy that they rose in arms everywhere simultaneously, wreaking untold havoc on the Spanish people. They took the lives of all who fell into their hands, including twenty-one Franciscan missionary religious. They trampled the sacred images under foot and outraged them. They destroyed and leveled the churches. Those who managed to escape took the road to El Paso, where some families found a haven, and also some Indians who had not joined the rebellion. The four pueblos of El Paso were founded with these people.

Although the kingdom was reconquered afterwards, it cost great effort, and many pueblos remained in ruins. Nothing is being done about rebuilding them, and only the preservation of what has been reduced is attempted. The Spanish families are increasing somewhat, which is a means of preservation, although the Comanches are so prejudicial to this. Intelligent persons have told me that they [the Comanches] are useful in holding the rest of the Indians in check, because they all fear them and realize that the method of defending themselves against them is to resort

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106. Bishop Tamarón's knowledge of early New Mexico history was rather sketchy. Benavides also uses the form Ruiz instead of Rodríguez.

to the Spaniards for aid. The Ute tribe is very numerous on the New Mexico border. Formerly they waged war, and now they are at peace because of their fear of the Comanches. The same applies to the Faraon Apaches.

In the year 1759 a rumor spread that the Indians were going to rise on the day of Corpus Christi. The governor was alarmed; he took precautions and made inquiries, but he was unable to clarify the matter. When I was there the following year, they remembered this and told me about it.

Although I made inquiries throughout my visitation, I was unable to discover any use or practice of formal idolatry, nor was any denunciation made before me. I continued to have my suspicions. I asked questions and was not told of any defection on the basis of which I could judge this matter, to which the Indians are usually prone, as experience has shown in other regions. In New Mexico I did not approve of the so-called estufa, which they maintain in the pueblos I went to inspect, after I was informed about it and its nature. Digging three or four varas deep in the earth a circle about five varas in diameter, they build a wall about a vara and a half high all around it above ground, and they roof it like a terrace. The entrance is through the roof and looks like the hatch of a ship, with its small ladder. There is no other door or window. Outside it has the shape of the crown of a hat. There they say they hold their dances, conventicles, and meetings, and receive Indians of other places there. I did not find proof of anything evil, but I ordered them [the friars] to keep their eyes open. They argued the difficulty of depriving them of that dark and strange receptacle, which is also a temptation to evil.

The apostate Moqui tribe has its home sixty leagues northwest of the pueblo of Zuñi. Their pueblos are six: Oraibi, Mozán, Walpi, Shongopovi, Awatovi, and Janos. These stand on as many stone mesas. Water is scarce and difficult to make use of. Those missionaries are accustomed to make some expeditions there, but at long intervals because of the lack of escorts to protect them. When they obtain them, they do make a few conversions. The Moquis are now very near the Sierra Azul, which is about twelve days'

journey from there. They say that there is a great deal of silver beyond this sierra. Many relations, observations, and reports agree that the great town of bearded men and costly buildings, supplied with arms and munitions, is not far from there. This is common talk in New Mexico, and the friars who have gone to the Moquis assure me that they learned it there from the Coninas [Havasupai] Indians and that via these lands of the Moquis, it will be easier to discover the headwaters of the Colorado River and whether the Californias are an island or a peninsula.

*Itinerary*<sup>107</sup>

Itinerary taken on the diocesan visitation which began on the twenty-second day of October, 1759, on which day Dr. don Pedro Tamarón, its bishop, left the city of Durango. The memorandum is arranged in six columns, as follows: In the first the days will be noted; in the second, the directions; in the third, the number of leagues; in the fourth, the places; in the fifth, the number of persons confirmed; in the sixth, the sermons or discourses which he preached in person. To differentiate the places, the following designations will be used: Sa. means sierra. Co. that the night was spent in the field or an unpopulated place. Po. is an Indian pueblo. Va. is villa. Vo. is a settlement of Europeanized citizens. Rl. is a mining town. M.F. indicates a mission of Franciscan religious. M.J. indicates a mission of the fathers of the Society of Jesus. Hcda. means hacienda. . . .

Year 1760

KINGDOM OF NEW MEXICO

<i>Days</i>	<i>Directions</i>	<i>Leagues</i>	<i>Places</i>	<i>Confirmations</i>	<i>Sermons</i>
[April] 19	east northeast	8	Salinas .....	Co. 0000	0000
20	east northeast	12	Puertecito .....	Co. 0000	0000
21	east northeast	15	Ojito de Cholome .....	Co. 0000	0000
22	north	12	In the field .....	Co. 0000	0000

107. Tamarón (1937), pp. 382-384.

	<i>Days</i>	<i>Directions</i>	<i>Leagues</i>	<i>Places</i>	<i>Confirmations</i>	<i>Sermons</i>
	23	north		Royal presidio of El Paso	1742	0010
	30	east	6	M.F. Po. El Socorro	0383	0001
May	1	west	2	M.F. Po. Isleta	0364	0001
	2	west	2	M.F. Po. Senecu	0484	0001
	3	west	2	M.F. S. Lorenzo	0002	0001
The Río del Norte was crossed						
	7	north	5	Quemada .....Co.	0000	0000
	8	north	5	Alamitos .....Co.	0000	0000
	9	north	4	Trujillo .....Co.	0000	0000
	10	north	6	Ranchería .....Co.	0000	0000
	11	north	7	Robledo .....Co.	0000	0000
	12	north	5	San Diego .....Co.	0000	0000
	13	north	20	San Cristobal .....Co.	0000	0000
Jornada del Muerto						
	14	north	10	El Río .....Co.	0000	0000
	15	north	7	San Pascual	0000	0000
	16	north	6	Luis López .....Co.	0000	0000
	17	north	8	Alamitos .....Co.	0000	0000
	18	north	5	M.F. Tomé	0606	0000
	19	north	9	Nutrias .....Co.	0000	0000
	20	north	10	M.F. Va. de Albuquerque	0732	0004
	22	north	4	M.F. Po. Sandia	0450	0002
	23	north	6	M.F. Po. Sto. Domingo	0272	0001
	24	north	12	M.F. Va. Sta. Fe	1532	0007
	29	east	8	M.F. Pecos	0192	0001
	30	west	5	M.F. Galisteo	0169	0001
	31	north	7	M.F. Va. de Sta. Fe	0000	0000
June	6	north	3	M.F. Tesuque	0132	0001
	7	north	3	M.F. Nambe	0323	0001
	8	north	11	M.F. Picuris	0376	0002
	10	north	12	M.F. Taos	0574	0002
	12	southwest	10	Vo. Embudo	0093	0001
	13	south	5	M.F. San Juan	0486	0002
	14	east	2	M.F. Va. de la Cañada	1517	0006
	18	south	5	M.F. San Ildefonso	0467	0003
	20	south	12	Ro. de Peña	0339	0002

	<i>Days</i>	<i>Directions</i>	<i>Leagues</i>	<i>Places</i>	<i>Confirmations</i>	<i>Sermons</i>
	21	south	3	M.F. S. Felipe	0185	0001
	23	west	4	M.F. Sta. Ana	0178	0001
	24	west	2	M.F. Zia	0494	0002
	26	west	11	Cañada del Alamo .....Co.	0000	0000
	27	west	9	M.F. Laguna	0382	0003
	30	south	5	M.F. Acoma	0523	0002
July	2	east	15	Río Puerco .....Co.	0000	0000
	3	east	5	M.F. Isleta	0649	0003
	7	southeast	4	Vo. Tomé	0000	0000
	8	south	5	Nutrias .....Co.	0000	0000
	9	south	9	Alamo .....Co.	0000	0000
	10	south	3	Luis López .....Co.	0000	0000
	11	south	8	San Pascual .....Co.	0000	0000
	12	south	7	Fr. Cristobal .....Co.	0000	0000
	13	south	18	Jornada del Muerto ....Co.	0000	0000
	14	south	4	Perrillos .....Co.	0000	0000
	15	south	8	Robledo .....Co.	0000	0000
	16	south	7	Bracito .....Co.	0000	0000
	17	south	9	Alamito .....Co.	0000	0000
	18	south	8	Royal presidio of El Paso	0000	0000
	28	south	12	El Ojito .....Co.	0000	0000
	29	south	16	Ojo de Lucero .....Co.	0000	0000
	30	south	8	Vo. Carrizal	0226	0001

Copy of the report which the Most Illustrious Lord Tamarón, Bishop of Durango, makes to the King our lord (God keep him), with regard to the curacies and missions of this diocese in so far as it pertains to our friars and the missions which are in charge of the Order, both within the boundaries of this province of Zacatecas and in the Custody of New Mexico . . . 1765.<sup>108</sup>

### *Kingdom of New Mexico*

When I visited this kingdom in the year 1760, there were thirty Franciscan friars residing in this governmental district [of New Mexico], six in the pueblos of El Paso and twenty-four in the interior. They are comfortably off, each one alone in his pueblo; and the King contributes three hun-

108. BNM, leg. 9, no. 59.

dred [pesos a year for their support]. This comes to them every two years, when their share is six hundred pesos apiece. Of this, forty-eight pesos are deducted for expenses, and they net 552 pesos, which are used to buy them [what they need] in accordance with the order each interested party gives to their procurator in Mexico. This usually consists of chocolate, beeswax, habits, paper, and other necessities. In addition to this alms from the King, the Indians contribute their services. The secular priest and vicar, Br. don Santiago Roibal, gives me a statement of this in his letter of April 6, 1764. It reads as follows:

The services which the Indians give to the reverend fathers are: They sow for them three fanegas<sup>109</sup> of wheat, four almudes<sup>110</sup> of maize, two almudes of broad beans,<sup>111</sup> two of vetch;<sup>112</sup> some of them also sow two or three almudes of chick peas and half a fanega of *frijoles* and their vegetable or kitchen garden. Throughout the year they never lack firewood, which the Indians who serve weekly bring in carts or on their backs. They have forty [of these Indians who serve for a week at a time], and some have more. They have two sacristans. All the Indians give prompt obedience to the commands of the reverend father missionaries. This is true and is public knowledge in the whole kingdom.

The said vicar to this point.

The mission fathers also draw obventions in full from the citizens who are their parishioners, and also the first-fruits in accordance with their harvests of grain, as the vicar reports.

When I arrived to make my visitation, there were two vicars acting as ecclesiastical judges. They were secular priests. The Order of St. Francis has opposed with inflexibility and vigor the Bishop of Durango's being bishop of and exercising jurisdiction in New Mexico, but the King has permitted it. I went there to make a visitation, as three bishops have done, of whom I was the most recent. In view

109. As a measure for grain the fanega varies greatly in different localities. The Spanish fanega is somewhat more than one and a half bushels, the Mexican, more than two and a half bushels.

110. The almud as a dry measure varies even more than the fanega according to the locality. It can be from three to twenty-three liters.

111. "Habas." *Vicia faba*.

112. "Aberjones." *Arvejón* or *almorta*; *lathyrus sativus* L. or *vicia sativa* L.



of my information about the state of this dependency and of the fact that the latest royal cedula orders the Bishop of Durango to remove the secular priest who is now vicar, from which cedula an appeal has been made,—and the vicarship of Santa Fe has been in existence for thirty years—I entered New Mexico with some misgivings. But when I found that I was not gainsaid in anything and that I was made free of everything, as if they were secular priests, I tried not to waste the opportunity.

I soon observed that those Indians were not indoctrinated. They do recite the catechism in Spanish, following their fiscal, but since they do not know this language, they do not understand what they are saying. The missionaries do not know the languages of the Indians, and as a result the latter do not confess except at the point of death, and then with the aid of an interpreter. I remonstrated about this repeatedly, and I ordered the missionaries to learn the languages of the Indians. These mandates, along with others, were recorded in their parish books. And I have since made inquiries of the Father Custos, and I have his replies in several letters, which I am keeping, in which he expresses hopes. But they are not realized, as the secular vicar says in a letter I quote, and these are his words :

I also advise your lordship that none of the friars, old or new, apply themselves to learning the native language, nor, in my opinion, would they do anything about it even if further precepts were applied. They are little inclined to be studious, and therefore they continue as always with their fiscals and interpreters, who are used for deathbed [confessions], which is the only occasion when the sacrament of confession is administered to the Indians. I am not aware that the Indians fulfil their annual duty to the Church. Up to now, I am not aware that any father is qualified to teach, nor do they even provide any means whereby the Indians might learn the Spanish language. This would be the easiest solution, as I found by practical experience in the pueblo of Santa María de las Caldas, where I bought many primers and set them to reading. And so in a single year they were all speaking Spanish; they conversed with their fathers and mothers in the same Spanish language, and as a result all became Spanish-speaking. But I observe no effort.

Said vicar to this point.<sup>113</sup>

If other measures are not taken, experience has already shown that the Franciscan fathers will not find a way out of the difficulties in which they have thus far remained, and those poor Indians will go on, like their Christian forefathers, unindoctrinated. I do not know how to express the mental anguish I went through with regard to confirming adults. Since the parish priests are friars, who turn their backs on the bishop, his mandates lose most of their force.

The year before last the governor of New Mexico instituted proceedings concerning various idolatries committed by sorcerers and persons possessed by devils, which had not only spread their contagious infection in that government but also had jumped to the neighboring provinces. The secular priest who is vicar informed me about it, but the friars, not even the Custos nor the other two vicars, nor any other, failed to notify me.

When these proceedings were reviewed in the viceroyalty, for the said governor remitted them there, also relating the lack of indoctrination among those Indians, it was ordered that a copy be sent to the Bishop of Durango in order that, as diocesan of New Mexico, he should proceed against the idolatrous Indians and witch doctors. And since the bishop's jurisdiction is not effectual enough for him to consider it productive of results, I wrote to the Most Excellent Lord Viceroy, acknowledging receipt of the said copy of the proceedings, and with the aim of making clear to his Excellency the actual state of my jurisdiction there, asking him to undertake to clarify and expedite matters and to propose means for remedying those evils. I begged his permission to go to Mexico, but I have received no reply on this point. And therefore what progress I may make in the aforesaid cases will be very little, although I had already en-

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113. We do not know just when Roibal was at Santa María de las Caldas. In his report to Provincial Fray José Ximeno, dated at El Paso, February 5, 1751, Fray Andrés Varo gave an account of the history of this mission under the secular clergy. His picture of conditions there before its destruction in 1749 is in strong contrast to the idyllic scene suggested by Roibal's letter. Therefore a translation of Varo's statement will be found *infra*.

trusted the matter to the vicar, who is a secular priest, whose power there is very limited.

During my visitation I appointed three friars as vicars: the Custos for El Paso, and the two missionaries of Albuquerque and La Cañada for their respective districts. I issued formal titles to them, which included clauses reserving the right to appoint secular priests at the will of the bishop and stating that the Order did not acquire any rights thereby since the appointments were dispatched in my name. They accepted with pleasure and took oath to perform their office in accordance with these conditions, under which they exercise this authority. This seemed to me very conducive to the establishment of my jurisdiction on a firmer basis, without the risk of litigation.

And in order to make the bishop respected in New Mexico, an extremely important measure would be to give him four Spanish parishes. These are El Paso, Santa Fe, Albuquerque, and La Cañada. The revenue from obventions, plus first-fruits, of the first could amount to more than four thousand pesos. That of the second would not be less than three thousand pesos, and the other two would yield nearly two thousand pesos. Although I am short of priests, since these are goodly amounts there would be no lack of candidates for these four. They would be vicars and they would support assistants. And I make this proposal as a necessary first step in providing a remedy for that kingdom and so that the friars may not be such sole owners of it.

Everything up to here is a literal copy of the report made by the Most Illustrious Tamarón, dated at the Villa del Nombre de Dios on July 11, 1765, signed by his hand, sealed with his seal, and attested by his secretary, Br. D. Felipe Cantador. It comprises 47 leaves.

#### *Edicts*<sup>114</sup>

We, Dr. don Pedro Tamarón y Romeral, by the grace of God and of the Holy Apostolic See Bishop of Durango, of the provinces of New Vizcaya, and other provinces of

114. Tamarón (1937), pp. 370-374.

New Mexico, Sinaloa, and Sonora, member of his Majesty's Council, etc. To all parish priests, proprietary, provisional, assistant, deputy, or other who exercise the ministry and care of souls in this our diocese, whether they be secular or regular clergy, greeting in Our Lord Jesus Christ, Who is the true salvation.

Since our primary concern is to watch and take care that the souls whom divine condescension placed in our charge shall speedily enjoy the salutary spiritual nourishment which they need in order to obtain their eternal salvation and be free from perpetual damnation; and since the parish priests are the first who are under just obligation to prepare and minister these spiritual benefits through which the felicity of eternal joy must be attained; and in order that they may be diligent, solicitous, effective, and fervent in their distribution, and in order to avoid certain negligences and neglects pernicious to the faithful which usually occur, and in order that, in so far as is possible, they may fulfill the office of the cure of souls punctiliously; and in order that we may aid them by our pastoral solicitude in so far as it is possible for us to do so, by reminding them of the very things that the Sacred Canons and the Holy Councils have commanded, we have resolved to state the following points for the benefit of the aforesaid priests and their deputies so that they may observe, practice, and perform them with complete exactitude.

They shall preach every Sunday, expounding the Holy Gospel of that particular Sunday, concerning which they shall pronounce a sermon of moderate length, not to take more than half an hour or less than a quarter of an hour, in a serious, clear, and simple style. When they reprove vices, let it be in general terms and not directed at specific persons. The parish priest who is unable to do this from memory will make up for it by reading one of the many books in our Spanish language which expound the Holy Gospels. And they shall give the aforesaid sermon during mass after the reading of the first Gospel.

Moreover, on Sunday afternoons at four o'clock they shall ring a bell to summon the children to recite the prayers.

They shall question them about some of the Mysteries and shall give explanations of one of them in order that all may comprehend them. They might spend about another half an hour on this and recite the Most Holy Rosary afterwards. And, if arrangements can be made, they shall then lead them singing through the streets. If the priest is devout and industrious, this will be very easy for him; but if he is not, the contrary will be true, and these holy ministries will be much more trouble for them if they are preoccupied with mundane affairs or diversions.

And the priests for the Indians shall continue, as is the custom, to have those who are being indoctrinated recite the catechism daily. The said priests shall also prepare panegyric sermons to include the explanation of a point of Christian doctrine in the salutation.

And, since it is ordered that the holy oils be renewed annually, the priests shall provide themselves with them and shall take care that and arrange for decent and careful persons to carry them in vessels which will not spill.

In order that the parish priests may be acquainted with their flock and know whether they abide by the precepts of annual confession, they shall draw up lists every year between Septuagesima Sunday and Ash Wednesday, and as soon as they complete their duties to the Church, the certificates of confession and communion shall be compared with the said list, or census, in order to determine those who have failed to do so. The priests shall produce these lists during visitation or whenever we may ask for them.

And because the priests should be informed about whether their parishioners know Christian doctrine, they shall examine them all once a year. This examination shall take place before they confess in fulfilment of the precept which prescribes annual confession, and they shall give them a certificate attesting that they know it. And without this certificate, they are not to hear their confessions for this purpose. They shall attend to this personally or through the agency of other confessors, and we order them to put this into effective execution and not to consent to their taking communion in fulfilment of this obligation if

they do not have the certificate of said examination and that they have confessed. And this examination shall be given to all before the confession begins and not as a part of it.

Since death is the end of life, in order that it may be good, repeated succour from the spiritual father is necessary. And the pastor must keep well on the alert lest the infernal wolf prey on his lambs in so terrible a crisis as death. Therefore we exhort, command, and beg, *in visceribus Christi*, the priests and their deputies to make repeated visits to their moribund parishioners, to exhort, reconcile, and aid them, and to apply indulgences for their benefit, including a plenary indulgence which we concede to them. And let them read the recommendation of the soul [to God] after they have administered the Holy Sacraments to them. And let them enter upon this with love, affection, kindness, and pleasure, whether they are summoned or not, and avoid inspiring terror by ill-advised methods.

With regard to all who contract matrimony, they shall examine them beforehand in Christian doctrine and shall have them confess so that they may be worthy of approaching the holy sacrament.

In each separate entry in the baptismal records they shall note the place and day and also record the day on which the baby was born, the name of the person who performed the baptism, and those of the parents and godparents. And in the burial records they shall state what sacraments were received before death, whether the deceased made a will and in whose presence, his testamentary executors, and what he left for pious purposes.

The priests shall maintain constant residence in the confines of their parish, and they shall not leave it without leaving an approved priest there or without our permission, except for a brief period for the purpose of confessing.

And since all we have provided is exactly what their very office as parish priests implies, by virtue of holy obedience we order each of them to conform and conduct himself in accordance with the content of this our edict, warning them that we shall make charges against transgressors according to the gravity of their faults, especially during our pastoral

visitation, which, with divine favor, we intend to begin this present year, crossing the sierra, continuing to the Tierra Caliente, Sinaloa, Sonora, and New Mexico. And we notify the said priests and confessors that during it they are to be examined in moral matters, in order that they may have time to prepare themselves and so that they may have no excuse on the ground that this notice did not reach them in advance. And in order that this may come to the attention of all those to whom the observance of the provisions in these writings of ours pertains, they shall be published in our holy cathedral and shall be affixed to one of its doors, and they shall be sent to all the parishes of this our diocese by relaying them from place to place in order that the priests may also make the same proclamation. And they shall make a copy of them in any one of the parish books immediately so that their content shall be available in future for punctilious fulfilment.

Given in our episcopal palace of Durango, signed by us, sealed with our seal, and countersigned by our undersigned secretary of chamber and government, on July 7, 1759. Pedro, Bishop of Durango. By order of his Most Illustrious Lordship the Bishop, my lord, Br. Felipe Cantador, secretary.

We, Dr. don Pedro Tamarón y Romeral, by the grace of God and of the Holy Apostolic See Bishop of Durango and of the provinces of New Vizcaya and other provinces of New Mexico, Sinaloa, and Sonora, member of his Majesty's Council, etc.

Inasmuch as we have decided, subject to divine favor, to make a general visitation of all this diocese of ours to begin in the present month, we have arranged our itinerary to cross the Sierra Madre in search of Pueblo Nuevo, to proceed from there to that of Plomosas, places which, so far as is known, have not been visited by their own prelates; continuing from there to Matatán, Rosario, and all the Tierra Caliente into Culiacán, and what it is possible to take in of the sierra; and then to proceed to the provinces of Sinaloa and Sonora and to continue as far as New Mexico; then all of Vizcaya; an undertaking of the greatest magnitude which we shall only be able to carry out with the

powerful aid and assistance of the Omnipotent Lord God of Heaven and Earth, Whose Supreme Majesty we humbly beg and pray to so govern our actions that all of them may yield honor and glory to Him and benefit to souls, as we desire, and the highest success in all our ventures.

And for this purpose we have thought it well to make some preliminary dispositions in order to win the harvest we seek from so extensive and laborious a pilgrimage. Notwithstanding the edict issued by our order in this city on July 7 of this present year and sent by relay throughout the diocese, in which the priests were reminded of their principal obligations, which they were ordered to fulfill punctiliously, and which we reiterate in these our writings, we still have further admonitions to give them, which pertain especially to the ecclesiastical visitation. These are as follows:

They shall not come forth to receive us beyond the limits of their jurisdiction, and, with regard to the expenditures and compliments of our reception, the priests and vicars and other ecclesiastics shall confine themselves to what the honor of our dignity makes obligatory, especially with regard to dinners and refreshments. These shall be in accordance with the custom and practice of this diocese, regulated and measured by our person and family, without inviting any guest, not even persons of the highest esteem and authority in the towns. Let there be no worldly banquets, for they must not serve more than four different dishes at each dinner. And we also forbid them to issue invitations to costly refreshments on our arrival. And in places where it may be necessary for us to stay longer than usual, we shall take care to provide that the priests cease their contributions and the expenses will be charged to our account. We shall also do the same from the time of our arrival at places where the priests may be poor and we consider that they cannot bear the contribution that is legally due us.<sup>115</sup>

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115. "La procuración que por derecho nos pertenece." According to canon law, *procuraciones* were the food and lodging the bishop was entitled to exact when making a visitation. See P. B. Golmayo, *Instituciones del derecho canónico*, vol. 1 (Madrid, 1896), pp. 158-161; J. Donoso, *Instituciones de derecho canónico*, 3d ed. (Freiburg, 1909), p. 169.



And because we must also administer the Holy Sacrament of Confirmation while we are engaged in the visitation, it will be the duty of the priests to prepare all their adult parishioners who are to be confirmed so that they may be ready in time to receive this holy sacrament worthily, explaining its great effects to them and that they must come to it in God's grace in order to obtain them. And thus they shall encourage and exhort them to confession lest anyone excuse himself from receiving this holy sacrament.

The said priests shall also have ready lists and censuses of all their parishioners, including even the tiny children, and they shall give us a report of those who have not fulfilled the precept of annual confession and communion. They are to give us these lists. And in order that we may be able to dispatch the business of the visitation speedily, we order our vicars and priests to undertake to draw up a list of the testaments and bequests for pious purposes which they are informed have not been carried out, and of what vacancies there may be in chaplaincies, so that we may make suitable provision without delay in such a way that our provisions may have prompt and due effect. And in order that all the testamentary executors and others in whose charge the aforesaid testaments may be shall be notified in time, this edict shall be read on a feast day *inter missarum solemnias* so that the points expressed here and the dispositions to be made in anticipation of our visitation may come to the attention of all. And for this purpose it shall be sent beforehand from parish to parish.

Given in our episcopal palace of Durango, signed by us, sealed with our seal, and countersigned by our undersigned secretary of chamber and government, on October 12, 1759. Pedro, Bishop of Durango. By order of his Most Illustrious Lordship the Bishop, my lord, Br. Felipe Cantador, secretary.

*(To be continued)*

## Notes and Documents

Fray Andrés Varo's statement about Santa María de las Caldas.<sup>1</sup>

Eight leagues from the mission of Our Lady of Guadalupe of El Paso, there was an hacienda with sheep and cattle which belonged to Captain don Antonio Valverde, and later to Captain don Antonio Valentín Aganza, where their peons and skilled laborers and a number of Suma Indians, some Christian and some pagan, who worked as day laborers, lived. During its whole existence its spiritual nourishment and the administration of the sacraments were in charge of the mission fathers of Our Father St. Francis, as is of record in the books of the mission of Socorro, until the year 1730, when the most Illustrious Lord Dr. don Benito Crespo, Bishop of Guadiana, made his second entry into this kingdom in order to start his visitation. Seizing this occasion, a sudden (but false) outcry was raised that the Indians of the said farm wanted a *black priest*, that is, a secular priest, to administer them. With this term, *black priest*, the authors of this falsehood foretold the mourning to be lamented and bewailed today [because of] the fatal outcome which resulted from this outcry alone, and without the consent of the Indians nor of most of the parishioners, as they loudly confessed, and even today they shout it. His Most Illustrious Lordship celebrated this marriage, introducing as husband to the curacy of Las Caldas (for they call it by this name) Br. don Joseph de Ochoa, excluding us as unworthy to be parish priests, but leaving us with the shepherds' task. I do not know what value a marriage that is legally null *ex defecto consensu* can have, nor whether the laws 1, 8, and 16 of bk. 1, tit. 2, and law 2, bk. 1, tit. 6 of the *Nueva Recopilación* were fulfilled.<sup>2</sup> And with regard to the statement that he was informed that the said erection [of a curacy] was made in a place named El Palo Clavado, in which there was already a sumptuous chapel adorned with a lamp and other silver objects, vestments, a splendid retablo, bells, etc., the very certain truth is that if he was so informed, it is all lie upon lie and the report most false, for there was never anything, anything at all, of the foregoing during the nineteen years this unhappy (because intrusive) curacy lasted. This was established, not at Palo Clavado, but at the said farm and about two musket shots from it. They named this place the curacy of Las Caldas because there was placed in the

1. *Fray Andrés Varo to Provincial Fray José Ximeno, El Paso, February 5, 1751.* BNM, leg. 9, no. 53.

2. Bk. 1, tit. 2, law 1 orders the viceroys, presidents, and governors to send reports of the churches founded in the Indies and of those which should be founded. Law 8 orders the prelates to send two copies of the erections of churches to the Council. Law 16 orders the prelates to see that the churches and their furnishings, etc., are kept in good repair. Bk. 1, tit. 6, law 2 provides that no churches or other pious foundations may be erected without the King's permission. *Recopilación de leyes de los reinos de las Indias*, 5th ed. (Madrid, 1841).

extremely indecent chapel which I shall soon describe an image of Our Lady entitled *de las Caldas*. The purpose for which the said pueblo remained here, with all the Indians already mentioned, I do not state, for it is already clear and will become clearer in what follows. What I do, indeed, know is that said Indians allowed the said settlement under the condition that it should be at Palo Clavado, which is twenty leagues from the farm, and the Indians' reason for making the said condition was that they feared what they had reason to fear, and what I fear to state and do not dare [mention]. The pueblo, then, having been made, after some days had passed the matter of building a dwelling and house for the husband took precedence. When this was finished, I do not know whether it was because this blessed man thought it a great thing (for I must not believe that it was less than he considered it), he recalled not the magnificent temple of Solomon but the stable of Bethlehem in order to make it a house of God; since when he built this [house of God], he assigned for the purpose the very stable of his house. And this is not exaggeration or imagining what happened. It is a well-known public and manifest truth, and so much so that the Father Preacher Fray Joseph Páez says once and many times and swears *in verbo sacerdotis* that on repeated occasions he has tied his horse to the manger of this stable, and that afterward he saw it made into a chapel. I do not understand the reason why this was done. I shall only say, because this was public and well known, that divine worship was continued with less decency and reverence every day until its final destruction. . . . These were the beginnings of this foundation and spiritual marriage, which lasted nineteen years up to the past year of 1749. During this time this parochial bride had seven—I do not know whether they were provisional priests, chaplains, or missionaries—but let us call them spouses. I do not wish to name them lest their names ring all the way there from this paper, since it is necessary for me (in order to vindicate our honor against our visitor [Ornedal], who takes it from us, being silent about our services and publishing calumnies against us) to state that all these seven spouses lived so divorced from the bride that, young as she was, they left her alone and lived in El Paso del Norte. Because of these absences, the Franciscan religious were, and always were, and during all this time, the ones who dried the tears of her solitudes, illnesses, and spiritual needs, bringing the bread that her children begged for and needed, to distribute it with full hands and palms open, as is well known and everyone knows. It now happened that during a great pestilence which occurred, when no one in our missions had died without confession, in the curacy of Las Caldas many died without the sacraments, and many more would have died if they had not resorted to summoning the Minor physicians. Such was the progress of this marriage, during which all the husbands were temporary. The reasons why they were not proprietary can now

be inferred. But what were the means? Or rather, I shall say, what the ends? Among the many sorrows which this parish suffered, there was one in the year 1745 which came so close to the quick, or rather, I shall say, to the death, that, when all the Indians rose in revolt, it was almost on the point of coming to an end once and for all. At this time B. L. don Francisco Pedro Romano died. The captain of El Paso wrote me a letter, begging me to do him the favor of bringing every spiritual nourishment to that parish, which had now been reduced. I was happy to grant it, and it was served, cared for, indoctrinated, and administered with all care for seven months, from July of the said year to February 1746. Then another new secular priest came. And what were the ends? Such that in the year 1749, when the Indians rebelled completely and simultaneously, the marriage was dissolved and without remedy, the pueblo was destroyed, the farm was laid waste, everything being reduced to ashes, lamentations, tears, and, what is worst, the perdition of very many souls. All outcries which reached and will go up to penetrate the heavens, from whence alone the remedy can be hoped for.

And were these the ardors of the curacy? This the solicitude of the priests? These their efforts on behalf of their bride? And this the famous marriage? Yes, such they were. And the most comic aspect is that even when it has all come to an end, the father secular priest who was the last of the seven is still called *provisional priest of Las Caldas*. It would be better to say of the *Not Caldas*. And the title of provisional priests was truly due us, with obvious truth, all those nineteen years, because of our constant presence, service, and administration of this parish, not as intruders, but by request; not as parish priests, but because we are *shepherds*; not for profit, but for charity; not with envy or vanity, but with compassion and zeal; not vengeful, but meek, kind, and affable. Let these very fathers say so; let the whole territory say so; let the governors and the magistrates of El Paso say so; if they will. And if they will not, this sequel, written to the vice-custos by the alcalde mayor of El Paso will tell something. And although this and the letter cited above prove some of what I have said, it suffices that God, for Whom it has been done, knows it all. . . .

## Book Reviews

*The Mexican Venture: From Political to Industrial Revolution in Mexico.* By Tomme Clark Call. New York: Oxford University Press, 1953. Pp. xii, 273. \$4.50.

Mr. Call obviously enjoyed his year's leave of absence from his post as Associate Editor of the *San Antonio (Texas) Express and Evening News* while he studied and travelled some 12,000 miles through the Mexican scene on a Reid Foundation fellowship. The product of his year's activity is this volume. Its style is free-flowing and, at times, almost impressionistic as the author describes the kaleidoscope that is Mexico.

The reader, however, soon becomes aware that Mr. Call has not produced another travelogue. He is fundamentally concerned with the astonishing new social and industrial developments of our southern neighbor. He devotes whole chapters to detailing economic and social, commercial and agricultural changes of the past decade. A population growth of approximately double the rate of that of the United States causes him to endorse apparently the idea that Mexico must prepare to enjoy—or suffer from—a population that may be expected to reach fifty to sixty millions of people by the end of the twentieth century. To meet such rapidly expanding needs he agrees that government stimulation and control of industry is inevitable in view of what has already been done and of existing conditions. His conclusion is: "The eggs cannot be unscrambled at this late date, but certainly the omelet can be improved" (p. 132).

Petroleum production is one of the interesting factors in the present situation. After nationalization of the industry production fell to 33 million barrels, its lowest point, in 1932. It rose to 59 million barrels in 1948, and to approximately 80 million barrels in 1951. Even more striking is the fact that gasoline consumption in Mexico itself rose 285% from 1937 to 1950 (pp. 63-64). In other words, the quantity sold abroad actually declined while the rapidly rising production was being used for the welfare and development of the nation itself. The condition of government finances is set forth

(pp. 124-131), and the new program for the encouragement of foreign investments is explained with some care (pp. 219-226). Yet, in spite of his interest in industrialization the author realizes that the people of Mexico are fundamentally a rural folk. He points out that much real progress will have to be made in the realm of agriculture (with its background of village ownership of land through the *ejidal* system) if a rounded economy is to be established.

The author is keenly aware of the contradictions with which he is dealing. In spite of a mixed heritage, ineffective communications and tragic misgovernment for many years, he has an abiding confidence in the continued progress and development of the people concerned. For instance, serious inflation (pp. 112-114) and tragically low teachers' salaries have not blocked an astonishing school construction program (pp. 146-148). Labor unions have become a definite part of the national life and have settled down from an experimental period to a fairly steady program on behalf of the nation's workers. These and other experiments and activities he feels have resulted in a practicing democracy that enjoys a reasonable freedom of expression for the press and of elections in which popular wishes may be expressed in spite of a one-party control of affairs (chapter 11).

As a professional historian the reviewer must record that this volume is not history (the sections on history and the formation of foreign policy are so brief and the statements made are so sweeping that a number of them will cause the historian qualms)—but it is the stuff with which historians work. The reviewer's own jottings while reading Mr. Call's book include the following: Well written; Sweeping historical statements and guesses which are shrewd and usually correct; The author loves Mexico and genuinely appreciates its people and problems; Has worked hard on his statistics and uses them effectively; Has visited much of the country and skillfully interprets what he has seen. In brief, this is a first class interpretation of Mexico for the period 1940-1950. The general reader will enjoy it and the student should use it.

**CONSTITUTION**  
**OF THE**  
**HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO**  
**(As amended Nov. 25, 1941)**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Officers shall qualify on January 1st following their election, and shall hold office for the term of two years and until their successors shall have been elected and qualified.

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

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

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

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

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

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



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