A CONCISE HISTORY OF NEW MEXICO

PRINCE

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of New Mexico

THE CAPITOL AT SANTA FE

A Concise History of New Mexico

BY

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PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

In presenting this Second Edition, I wish, in the first place, to return my acknowledgments to the history-loving public, for their appreciation and support. It is particularly gratifying that through the adoption of this work by the New Mexico Teachers' Reading Circle, in 1913, so many of those who are training the new generation have had their attention drawn to the history of our own state. The exhaustion of the edition before all were supplied is much regretted.

I take advantage of the issue of this Second Edition to add to the volume that which was an obvious want, in a comprehensive Index, which will add much to its value and convenience.

Constant attention has been given to the discovery of errors requiring correction, but during the two years since the publication of the First Edition, not a single mis-statement has been brought to light; a few typographical errors, which had escaped the proof-reader, are corrected in this edition.

L. Bradford Prince

Santa Fé, July 1, 1914

PREFACE

After the publication of the *Historical Sketches of New Mexico* in 1883, and especially after the burning of the plates of that book at Kansas City, two pieces of historical work were constantly pressed upon me: First, the writing of an enlarged and revised History of New Mexico, which should include all of the important matter which has been made available since 1883; and second, the preparation of a condensed volume which would contain the essential facts in comparatively small space, so as to be available for the general reader and for use in the schools of New Mexico.

For the first of these purposes, a large amount of material, much of it from original sources and the statements of eye witnesses as to recent events, was accumulated; but the opportunity for putting it in proper form never presented itself, and the publication of the admirable histories by Colonel Twitchell and Hon. B. M. Read has now made such a work unnecessary. The new state, as well as the distinguished authors, is to be congratulated on the successful completion of these works, and on the amount of valuable and interesting information thus presented to the New Mexican people.

The condensation and revision of the matter in the *Historical Sketches*, in order to accomplish the second work above referred to, was done to quite an extent over twenty years ago, but was interrupted by other matters that required exclusive attention; and about ten years since was almost completed, but again was laid aside to meet other engagements. Meantime, the acquisition by the New Mexico Historical Society of rare literary treasures, and especially of the remarkable original documents which it had the good fortune to secure, gave an opportunity for correction

and revision that had been impossible before; so that I do not regret the long delay in accomplishing the design.

The end of the territorial era by the acquisition of statehood seemed to present the proper opportunity for the completion of this work; and the recent requirements of law relative to the teaching of New Mexican history in the public schools has caused a wide-spread request for immediate action. The result is the little volume now presented.

It aims to be simply what its name implies, a "concise" History of New Mexico. Many a time in its preparation, when some subject of peculiar importance, or as to which there has been some controversy, has been involved, the temptation has been great to go into details which could scarcely fail to be interesting; but that temptation has always been resisted in order not to exceed the prescribed brevity of treatment.

The one idea that has been uppermost is, that, whatever is omitted, *the facts that are stated shall be absolutely accurate*; so that at any rate no false impressions may be given nor current mistakes perpetuated.

If I have succeeded in this I shall be fully content. But as nothing human is infallible, I will welcome any suggestions of correction; and be glad to make them useful in perfecting future editions.

L. Bradford Prince

Santa Fé, August 15, 1912

CHAPTER I

New Mexico in General — Name, Boundaries, Population, Capital

NAME

The name of New Mexico is the oldest in the United States except that of Florida.

The latter, as is well known, was given to the peninsula by Ponce de Leon on his discovery of its shore in 1512; some consider it was so named on account of the discovery being made on Easter Day, called by the Spaniards "Pascua Florida"; and others, that it was to designate it as the "Land of Flowers," its exuberant beauty in that respect being very striking on the bright spring day when the sight of its vegetation gladdened the eyes of the Spanish explorers.

The name of New Mexico first appears in the narrative of Antonio de Espejo, in 1583, having been given to the fifteen provinces which he discovered on his expedition, as we are told by the historian Gonzales de Mendoza, "because it is similar in many things to the other Mexico already discovered." The narrative of Espejo's exploration reached Europe and was published in Madrid in 1586, and was found to be of such interest that it was speedily translated into French by Luc de la Porte, and printed in Paris but one year later, and also appeared in Italian and English; so that the description of the newly found region in the interior of North America was soon known to all the world. The name, New Mexico, immediately received the ratification of universal adoption, and was continuously applied to all the portions of the continent north of Old Mexico, for hundreds of years.

Boundaries

The boundaries and dimensions of New Mexico, from the first, were very indefinite. On the west it reached to the South Sea, as the Pacific Ocean was then called, and on the north there was no claimant to prevent its extension to the Arctic regions. On the south, it began where the northern provinces of Mexico — New Galicia and New Biscay — ended, but with no established boundary; and on the east, for over a century, it divided the country with Florida, which occupied all the region commencing at the Atlantic and extending westward beyond the Mississippi.

After settlements were made along the Mississippi, and the valley of that river became known as Louisiana, there were three divisions in the midst of the continent, instead of two, Louisiana coming between Florida and New Mexico; and after another interval, the Pacific Coast separated itself and was distinguished as California. The changes can be traced better by maps printed from time to time, than from any documents.

On Sanson's map, dated 1656, of *Le Nouveau Mexique et la Floride*, New Mexico extends north indefinitely, and is bounded on the east by Canada or New France, and by Florida; being separated from the latter by an imaginary range of mountains, represented as running north and south about 200 miles west of the Mississippi, which is called on this map, "Rio de Espiritu Santo." In the opposite direction New Mexico extends west to the South Sea and the Gulf of California, here named "Mar Vermeio."

Forty-three years later, on Sauerman's map of North America, published at Bremen, in 1699, Nouveau Mexique extends from the Gulf of California (Mer Rouge) to the Mississippi (Grand Fleuve Meschasipi); Florida ending at that river. On this map, Santa Fé is represented as by far the most prominent place on the continent, if we can judge by the size of type in which its name appears.

A few years after, De l'Isle's map, called *Carte de Mexique et de la Floride*, published in 1703, continues to represent New Mexico and Florida as dividing the width of the continent between

them; but the dividing line is pushed much farther westward than by Sauerman, as it runs up the Rio Grande and an easterly branch, possibly intended for the Pecos.

These three maps, printed before the existence of Louisiana, show how entirely indefinite the eastern boundary was; in fact, the whole interior of the continent was occupied solely by Indians, so that any claims to ownership were purely theoretical.

Passing on more than half a century, we find a radical change made by the introduction of Louisiana. This is shown on Bonne's map of New Spain, published at Paris in 1771, where Florida occupies the eastern division, Louisiana includes the whole Mississippi Valley on both sides of the river, and New Mexico takes the remainder of the continent to the Pacific. The division line between New Mexico and Louisiana runs northwesterly from a point on the Gulf of Mexico at the mouth of the Sabine. It is noticeable that at that time, the Rio Grande is called the "Riviere du Nord ou de Nouveau Mexique."

The English maps of Eman Bowen, published before the middle of the eighteenth century, show this same three-fold division. But the boundary between New Mexico and Louisiana is placed east of the Rio Grande ("North River") and the Pecos, and west of the Colorado River of Texas.

Dutch and Italian maps of a somewhat later date, the former called *Kaart van Nieuw Mexiko, 1774*, and the latter, of *Nuovo Messico*, being published by Zatta, at Venice, in 1785, both give substantially the same boundary between Louisiana and New Mexico as on Bonne's map; and down to the time of the purchase of Louisiana by the United States, in 1803, the line was far from being so definitely established as to be beyond dispute.

After the independence of Mexico, by the treaty of January 12, 1828, between the two republics, the hundredth degree of longitude became the eastern boundary of New Mexico, and the Nepesta or Arkansas River its limit on the north.

To add to the confusion, Texas, when it declared its independence, claimed to own all the territory east of the Rio Grande; a claim utterly without foundation, and absurd when it is re-

membered that it would have taken Santa Fé, which during almost two and a half centuries had been the capital of New Mexico, out of the country of which it was the political center; but, as will be seen hereafter, various efforts were made to enforce the claim.

When General Kearny occupied Santa Fé, in August, 1846, he proclaimed that "as he had taken possession of Santa Fé, the Capital of the Department of New Mexico, he now announces his intention to hold the Department, with its original boundaries, on both sides of the Del Norte, as a part of the United States, and under the name of the Territory of New Mexico."

By the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, all of New Mexico was ceded to the United States, and on the final ratification of that treaty, on May 30, 1848, it became an integral part of the American Republic. While its southern boundary was definitely fixed by the treaty, in other directions its extent was left indefinite; and this condition continued until the organization by Congress of the Territory of New Mexico, by the Act of September 9, 1850, with boundaries which appear as follows in the law: "Beginning at a point in the Colorado River where the boundary-line with the Republic of Mexico crosses the same; thence eastwardly with that boundary-line to the Rio Grande; thence following the main channel of the Rio Grande to the parallel of the thirty-second degree of north latitude; thence east with that degree to its intersection with the one hundred and third degree of longitude west of Greenwich; thence north with that degree of longitude to the parallel of thirty-eighth degree of north latitude; thence west with said parallel to the summit of Sierra Madre; thence south with the crest of those mountains to the thirty-seventh parallel of north latitude; thence west with that parallel to its intersection with the boundary-line of the State of California; thence with such boundary-line to the place of beginning."

At the same time, the northwesterly portion of what had heretofore been New Mexico was made into the Territory of Utah.

But New Mexico was to undergo many changes of area, both gains and losses, before it became a state, notwithstanding the language of the Act of 1850.

On December 30, 1853, the Gadsden Purchase treaty was signed, by which the United States bought from Mexico a long strip of territory, extending from the Rio Grande to the Gila, for ten million dollars; and by Act of Congress of August 4, 1854, this was added to New Mexico.

In 1859 the people of southern New Mexico, including the Mesilla Valley and the settlements in the vicinity of Tucson, applied to Congress to form a new territory out of their section of New Mexico, to be called Arizona. No congressional action was taken, but the next legislature, by Act approved February 1, 1860, organized a county of Arizona consisting of all of Doña Ana county west of "a point one mile distant eastwardly from the Overland Mail Station at Apache Cañon," with its county seat at Tubac. In 1863, Congress established the Territory of Arizona, consisting of all of New Mexico west of the 109th meridian, and on December 29th of that year, the new territory was officially organized at Navajo Springs.

This reduced the area of New Mexico almost one-half, and it was further curtailed a few years later, when, by the Act of Congress of March 2, 1867, all that portion of the territory north of the 37th parallel of latitude was attached to Colorado. This left it as it still exists, with an average width of 335 miles, a length on its eastern boundary of 345 miles, and on the western boundary of 390; and with a total area of 121,469 square miles.

Capital

For fully three centuries the city of Santa Fé has been the capital of New Mexico. For seven years after the first colonization, from 1598-1605, the seat of the new government was at San Gabriel, at the junction of the Rio Grande and the Chama; but it was then removed to Santa Fé, where it has ever since remained.

Among all the capitals of the United States, Santa Fé stands unique. For antiquity and continuity it is the acknowledged head, counting many more years than Boston, which is its nearest rival. It is not only the oldest capital in the United States, but with one exception the oldest in all America; and it antedates

by many years the capitals of the two most powerful empires of continental Europe, Germany and Russia.

Population

In the population of New Mexico, the increase for a long time was very slow, and the figures of the early enumerations may not be entirely exact.

By a census of 1760, the Spanish population was then 7,666, and the Pueblo Indian 9,104.

In 1793, the Spaniards had increased to 16,156 and the Indians were returned at 9,275.

A census was taken by the Franciscan Fathers in 1796 which showed a population of 14,167 whites and 9,453 Indians. For some reason the city of Santa Fé is omitted in the enumerations made by the Franciscans and we should therefore add the population of the capital, which at that time was 3,795, to the number of Spaniards, making a total of 17,962. A similar census was taken only two years later, and of this Governor Chacon made an official report in 1799, showing a white population of 18,826, together with 9,732 Pueblo Indians. All of these figures are exclusive of the district of El Paso, although that was then included in New Mexico.

Enumerations of population seem to have been frequent in those days, as another census was taken in 1805, the report of which was made by Governor Alencaster, under date of November 20th, containing the following figures: Spaniards — male 10,390, female 10,236, total 20,626; Pueblo Indians — male 4,094, female 4,078, total 8,172; grand total of population of 28,798. In all of these cases the wild tribes of Indians are excluded. The report of Governor Melgares in 1820 gives the Spanish population at 28,436. In 1821, Father Rubi states the number of Pueblo Indians to be 9,034.

The census reports under the Republic of Mexico made no distinction of race, so that only the aggregate can be given: being 43,433 in 1827, as reported by Narbona; and 55,403 in 1840, as reported by Governor Armijo.

Since the American occupation, the decennial census reports

give the following figures, showing a steady and fairly rapid increase:

1850	61,547
1860	80,567
1870	91,874
1880	119,565
1890	153,593
1900	195,310
1910	327,301

The population by the last census, in 1910, is divided among the counties as they then existed as follows:

Bernalillo	23,606
Chaves	16,850
Colfax	16,460
Curry	11,443
Doña Ana	12,893
Eddy	12,400
Grant	14,813
Guadalupe	10,927
Lincoln	7,822
Luna	3,913
McKinley	12,963
Mora	12,611
Otero	7,069
Quay	14,912
Rio Arriba	16,624
Roosevelt	12,064
San Juan	8,504
San Miguel	22,930
Sandoval	8,579
Santa Fé	14,770
Sierra	3,536
Socorro	14,761
Taos	12,008
Torrance	10,119
Union	11,404
Valencia	13,320

CHAPTER II

The Aborigines

The history of New Mexico naturally falls into three great divisions, representing not only distinct epochs, but different nationalities and forms of civilization — the Aboriginal and Pueblo, the Spanish and Mexican, and the American.

While these are absolutely distinct, yet it adds a special interest to present travel in the territory, that all three epochs are still represented by existing villages and people; so the observer may in a single day visit an Indian pueblo exhibiting in unchanged form the customs of the intelligent natives of three and a half centuries ago; a Mexican town, where the architecture, the language, and the habits of the people differ in no material respect from those which were brought from Spain in the days of Columbus, Cortez, and Coronado; and an American city or village, full of the nervous energy and the well-known characteristics of modern western life.

In considering, firstly, the history of the prehistoric aborigines and of the Pueblo Indians, we have but few certain landmarks to serve as guides. They possessed no written records, and consequently we have to depend on their own traditions, often vague and uncertain, or on the narratives of the first Europeans who visited their country, for what may be known of the people, their lives, and their customs. Fortunately, these are sometimes supplemented by the histories and chronologies found among the Aztecs of Mexico, which no careful student can fail to connect with the peaceable, industrious, and thrifty people found living in cities of many-storied houses, in the midst of the wild, savage, and nomadic tribes which occupied the mountains and the plains in every direction around them.

Before taking up the thread of written history, which begins with the arrival of the first Europeans, we must briefly consider the people who, for long centuries before, had inhabited the country, and whose descendants still form one of the most interesting portions of its population.

New Mexico was far from being a new or unknown land when it was first seen by Spanish eyes. On the contrary, if the figures given by the narrators are to be taken as literally correct, it contained more people then than it does at the beginning of the twentieth century; and whether this was true or not in the times of Coronado and Espejo, the vast number of ruins which are widespread over the territory, many of them in regions where now neither food nor water exists in a sufficient quantity to sustain a twentieth part of those who must have lived in the great buildings of the past, is evidence that at some period of the olden time — just when we may never know — a vast multitude of human beings found their homes, and passed their lives, in the valleys and on the mesas of what is now New Mexico.

Unfortunately for the historian, they possessed no written language, and no system of hieroglyphics to perpetuate the record of events. In an interesting and suggestive speech made by the governor of the pueblo of Zuñi, in Santa Fé, on the first day of the great "Tertio-Millennial" historical pageant of 1883, his opening words were very significant, in this connection. He said: "The Great Spirit has given to his children of different races and colors various gifts; all of great value, but each diverse from the other. To his white children he has given the great gift of handing down knowledge from one generation to another by the means of marks or letters; by which, centuries after they are inscribed, the new people may understand what is thus told them by those long passed away, of the deeds of their ancestors and the great events of by-gone days. To his red children he did not give this good gift. But he gave them another in its place. Of his fatherly affection and all-knowing care, he gave them Great Memories, of unfailing power; so that the story of the past, handed down from old to young, and by those young receivers, when in their

turn grown old, repeated to the new youth that may arise, is carried down, unchanged and undiminished, from generation to generation."

There can be no doubt that a vast amount of legendary lore is thus orally transmitted; being taught with utmost care, and jealously guarded from accidental change or the chance of loss through death, by being held by three men — a kind of three-fold chain — who communicate it, word for word, to their successors, and that thus it is carried, intact, like a Masonic ritual, from age to age.

If the matter thus carefully transmitted was mainly historic, we might have a good substitute for the written book; but it is mostly mythological and ceremonial, and far too fanciful for prosaic historical use. No doubt historic facts are embedded in the traditions which are thus perpetuated, but too obscurely to be of much value, except in rare instances. The intensely religious nature of the Pueblo Indian, and his imaginative mind, bring the supernatural into such close relation with every action in life, that the events of history become mere incidents in the dealings of the higher powers with man and beast, and so are almost lost sight of in the superior importance of the mythology which envelopes them.

For the few facts that can be learned, therefore, of conditions that existed before the coming of the Spaniards, we have to depend most largely on what may be gleaned from the records which were preserved among the more cultivated people to the south, in the land of Montezuma. Without going into detail, a few leading facts are of interest.

The people found by Cortez in the land then called Anahuac, and which is now the Republic of Mexico, had come thither by a succession of migrations, all of which were from the north and northwest.

The first of these, of which there is any distinct knowledge, was that of the Toltecs. They are said to have left their original home in the far northwest, called Huehuetlapallan, in the year 1 Tecpatl, which Clavigero considers equivalent to the year 596

of our era. They traveled leisurely, remaining sometimes for years in a locality which appeared to provide amply for their subsistence and suited their fancy and then marching rapidly forward, in the spirit of unrest which actuates all national migrations, until another favored spot attracted their attention and invited them again to rest. Thus they proceeded for somewhat over a century, until they arrived at a place in the great valley of Mexico, which they called Tollantzinco, about fifty miles east from the principal lake, and there they settled themselves and established their capital. A score of years later they moved a short distance to the westward and founded the city of Tula or Tollan, which continued as their central point and seat of government for centuries.

The date of this migration is far from certain, but within moderate limits may be considered as established. Both Clavigero and Gondra, who are acknowledged authorities, fix the date of the arrival of the Toltecs in Anahuac, as the year 648; but the former allows only fifty-two years as the period occupied by their migration, while Gondra gives the year 544 as that on which they left their original home. Precision in these dates, however, is not of especial importance to New Mexico, the essential point being that the migration is considered by all authorities to have passed through this territory.

For five centuries the Toltecs controlled the land of their adoption, and they are believed to have been the architects of the great structures, the ruins of which have been the marvel of later generations in central and southern Mexico. Then, for reasons now impossible to ascertain — perhaps from famine or pestilence, perhaps from a recurrence of the spirit of restlessness and change — they disappeared towards the south; spreading over Yucatan and Central America, and leaving but a meagre remnant in the beautiful valley of Anahuac.

The next migration was that of the Chichimecas, a rough and uncivilized people, who also came from the same direction in the north, where we are told their old home was called Amaquemecan. They had heard of the land of plenty in the south, and marched

RUINS OF CHURCH AT CUARÁ

under Xolotl, the brother of their king, in search of its luxuriance and riches. Torquemada says that they originally lived in caves in the mountains, which tradition may be in some ways connected with the most ancient of the cliff and cave dwellings, whose remains still exist. The date of their arrival in Mexico is fixed by Clavigero at the year 1170.

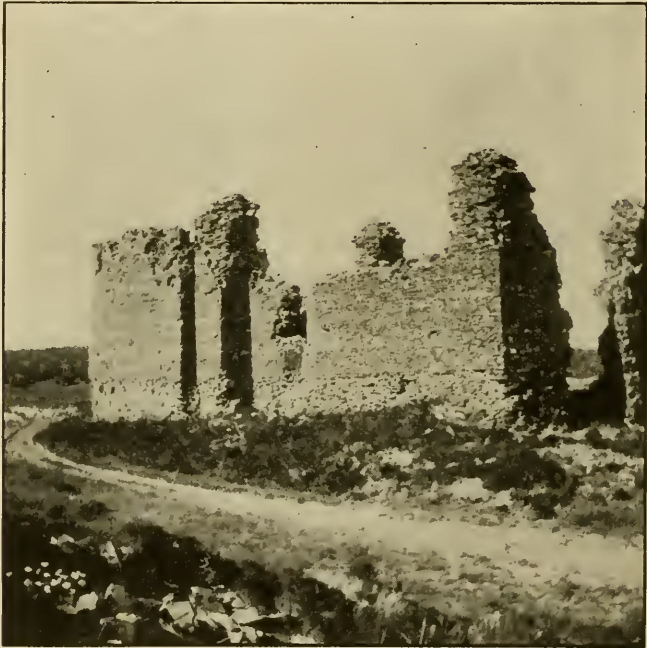
They were soon followed, only thirty years after, by the Acolhuans, an intelligent and ingenious people, who established themselves at Tescuco, on the eastern border of the great Mexican lake, where they were found by the Spaniards when Cortez arrived.

About the same time, came the end of the long migration of the Aztecs, who settled not far from the last preceding comers. They also came from the northwest, from Aztlan, which Clavigero asserts was a country "situated to the north of the Gulf of California." The route of their migration has long been a favorite subject of study to the historian and the archæologist, and they have been aided to some extent by the discovery of a most interesting historical painting which hieroglyphically represents each of the places where the Aztecs sojourned for any considerable length of time, during their migration. This famous picture has been reproduced in many forms, but the original was painted on a sheet of maguey paper, thirty-three inches long by twenty-one in width, and gives a graphic illustration of the wanderings of these interesting people from their departure from Aztlan until they found a final resting place in Mexico. It begins with a representation of a flood, in which only one man and one woman are saved, and in which a dove is a prominent feature; and then traces the journeyings of the people from "a place of magpies," through "a place of grottoes," "a place of the death's head," "the woody place of the eagle," "Chalco, the place of the precious stone," "the place of passage," "a whirl-pool where the river is swallowed," etc., to the final arrival at Chapultepec, "the hill of grasshoppers," where they arrived in the year 1245.

According to the prevailing legend, they were to continue to journey until they should see an eagle perched upon a cactus,

holding a snake in its mouth; and this sign, according to the story, was found near Chapultepec; and the place thus providentially designated was instantly recognized, and established as their future abiding place and their capital.

Here, again, the dates are somewhat uncertain: those of the commencement of the Aztec migration ranging, according to



RUINS OF CHURCH AT TABIRA (GRAN QUIVIRA)

different authors, from A. D. 1038 to A. D. 1170, and of their settlement in Mexico, from 1245 to 1325.

Most of the authorities trace the route of their pilgrimage as passing through Arizona, so as to make the Casa Grande one of its places of sojourn; but others think that their course was more easterly, and that many of the most remarkable ruins in New

Mexico are the results of their residence there. However this may be, there can be little or no doubt that the people whom Cabeza de Vaca, and Coronado, and Espejo, found at Zuñi, and Moqui, and in the Rio Grande Valley, living in settled towns composed of substantial houses several stories in height, cultivating the fields, raising cotton and corn, enjoying an excellent form

PART OF CHURCH AT TABIRA (GRAN QUIVIRA)

of government, and in all respects entirely different from the wild and nomadic tribes of the plains who surrounded them, were the remains of one or another of these great migrations. It was not unnatural, when, after years of sojourn in an especially attractive region, where they had made their homes and raised their families through at least the cycle of a generation, it was

determined that the migration should continue and the people march away to unknown lands in the south, that a portion of the tribe, satisfied with their surroundings and averse to this desertion of their homes, should stay; while their more adventurous brethren proceeded on their way.

This, we think, accounts for the presence in New Mexico of a native people, entirely different from any other which inhabited the United States. Their characteristics are so strong and persistent that even intimate acquaintance with the surrounding nomadic types did not alter their conservative and contented nature; and three centuries of connection with European civilization has made scarcely a change in their habits and customs since they were first seen and described by Castañeda and Espejo. This result is interesting as well as instructive, for notwithstanding the march of the centuries, we can see with our own eyes an almost unchanged representation of the intelligent, just, and peaceful New Mexican of the time of Coronado, in the Pueblo Indian of today.

The ruins, which exist in such great numbers throughout New Mexico, still present an unsolved problem so far as their origin is concerned. Many of them, no doubt, are the remains of buildings deserted or abandoned within the historic period, and similar to Pueblo Indian edifices which still exist and are in actual occupation. But there are others, so much more extensive and of such superior construction, that they point to builders of far greater mechanical skill and knowledge. Such are the remarkable structures which extend for miles along the Chaco Cañon, and some of which are found in the San Juan country.

So far as stone structures are concerned, however, there is a remarkable similarity between many of those which were undoubtedly destroyed before the coming of the Spaniards, and others which were built as churches early in the seventeenth century, as at Pecos, Abó, Cuará, and Tabira. The massive walls, built of comparatively small, thin stones, seem to indicate a type unknown elsewhere, but which continues, practically unchanged, from prehistoric times to the existing era. A few photographs,

showing the walls of churches built by the Indians under Franciscan direction, east of the Rio Grande, in the first half of the seventeenth century, are reproduced in order to illustrate this idea.

Again, the pottery which abounds in certain localities, and notably in western Socorro county, is not only different from that produced in the Pueblo towns during the historic period but is very superior in its ornamentation; and the mummies of southwestern Colorado must be considered as representing a distinct people.

All this presents a most interesting field for research, but it is beyond the purpose of this work; and we therefore content ourselves with the suggestion that these differences may simply be representative of the successive migrations which age after age brought new and distinct peoples to inhabit our valleys or build upon our mesas, each perhaps in turn leaving a remnant to keep up the continuity of human occupation until the arrival of the next wave of immigration.

CHAPTER III

The Pueblo Indians

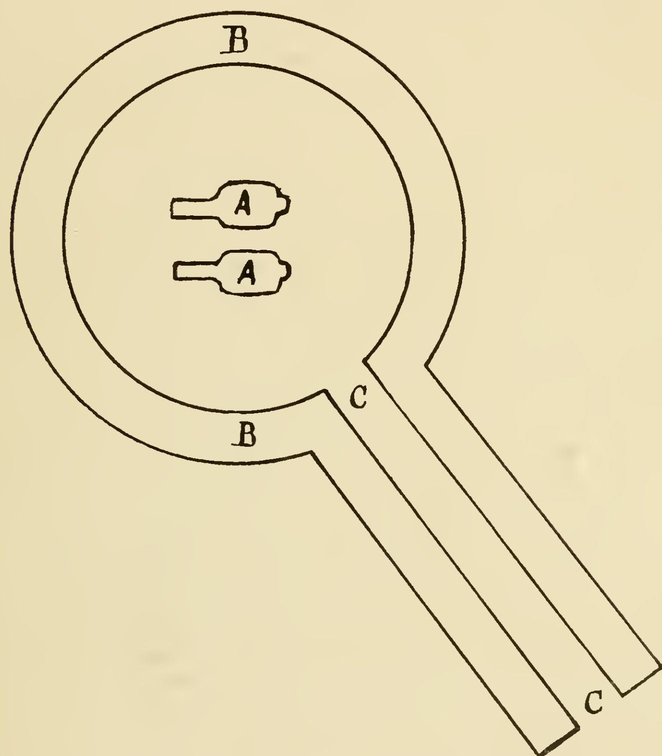
Turning now, from the aborigines, as they existed before the European discovery, where much is conjecture and uncertain tradition, we come to the native people of New Mexico as they have existed in what we may term historic times.

The earliest views we have of them are not continuous, but rather like the glimpses of a landscape by flashes of lightning in the darkness of the night. We have a momentary view as Marcos de Niza saw from afar the terraced houses and the busy people of Cibola, in 1539. Two years pass, and the historians of Coronado's expedition give us the first intelligent account of the people and the extent of their territory, though naturally from the point of view of the soldier, as they appeared in 1541-42. Then over a generation passes by before we have another glimpse, in the record from the pen of Espejo — the first narrator who was interested in the home life and the religion of the people. That was in 1583; and then again there is silence and darkness for fifteen years, until Oñate comes with permanent colonization in 1598, and the Indians become known to us as other nations are.

The brave captains of Coronado's army penetrated westward to the Cañon of the Colorado, northward to Taos, eastward far across the great plains, and southward to the towns below Isleta; Espejo covered the same ground, as well as the lower Rio Grande Valley, with greater care and patience of research; Oñate learned to know the people, not as an invader or a traveler, but as a neighbor and co-worker. So, from the narrations of the three, we can gain a very fair idea of the native New Mexicans as they existed before changed by foreign influence.

In the time of Coronado's expedition, according to the list

given by Castañeda, he had knowledge of seventy-one towns or pueblos, which he designated as follows: Cibola, 7; Tusayan, 7; Acuco, 1; Tihuex, 12; Tutahaco, 8; Quirix, 7; Snowy Mountains, 7; Ximena, 3; Cicuye, 1; Jemez, 7; Aguas Calientes, 3; Yuqueyunque, 6; Valladolid, called Braba, 1; Chia, 1.



STONE LIONS OF COCHITÍ — GROUND PLAN

Espejo, in his description of the country, forty years afterward, reports about the same number, though somewhat differently arranged. His list contains the following: On the Rio Grande below Albuquerque, 10; Tihuas, 16; province east of Rio

Grande, 11; Quires, 5; Cunames (Zia, etc.), 5; Amies or Amejes (Jemez), 7; Acoma, 1; Cibola, 6; Hubates, 5; Tamos, 3; besides some referred to but without exact names or numbers.

After the colonization by Oñate we have a multitude of names, some of which are confusing, because the name of the same saint in certain cases is given to different towns at different times. Quite soon, however, the names begin to appear more in their modern form; and we can conclude that the number of towns or pueblos was about the same as enumerated in the days of Coronado and Espejo, that is to say from 70 to 75.

Today there exist but 19 in all, 18 in the valley of the Rio Grande and its tributaries, and one at Zuñi; thus showing a great diminution in number since the advent of the Europeans. This can be accounted for in various ways. In the first place it was the policy of the Spanish government, after the occupation of the country, to consolidate the Indian population in a comparatively small number of villages or pueblos, for various reasons, both political and religious. By this means they were the more easily watched and controlled, and at the same time, by grouping them around a mission church in each community, the prospect for proselyting was improved. Then came the revolution of 1680, and the extraordinary reduction in the Indian numbers and power during the brief period of their control. Mutual jealousies and the struggle for subsistence which followed successive failures of crops, caused almost constant wars, which resulted in the destruction or abandonment of many of the pueblos. We have an exact list in the record of the re-conquest and subsequent reconstruction of the country, and it differs very little from that which exists today. An official list, made by Governor Mendoza in 1742, gives the names as follows, exclusive of the Moquis:

"Taos, Picuries, San Juan, San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, Pojuaque, Nambe, and Tesuque, north of Santa Fé; Pecos east, and Galisteo south of Santa Fé; Cochiti, Santo Domingo, San Felipe, Santa Ana, Zia, Jemez, Laguna, Acoma, Zuñi, and Isleta, south or west of Santa Fé."

In 1796 and 1798 the Franciscan priests in charge made reports of the Indian population, in which the list of pueblos is exactly similar to the above, except that Galisteo is dropped, and Sandia, Abiquiu, and Belen appear for the first time. These

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are proper changes, as Galisteo had been abandoned in the meantime and the inhabitants had retired to Santo Domingo, where many of them had married; and Sandia had been established. As this is the only instance of the establishment of a new pueblo

in modern times, the history of the movement is worthy our attention. In 1748, Friar Menchero, the commissary general, who had been engaged in missionary work for six years, wrote to the governor stating that he had "converted and gained over 350 souls from here to the Puerco River, which I have brought from the Moqui pueblos; bringing with me the cacique of these Moqui pueblos for the purpose of establishing their pueblo at the place called Sandia," and he asked for possession of the land at that point, "so as to prevent any converts from returning to apostasy." Thereupon, the governor acceded to the request, and the new pueblo was established in due form by the name of "Our Lady of Sorrows and Saint Anthony of Sandia."

At Abiquiu and Belen, the Indians were mingled with a considerable Spanish population, but the old buildings on the hill at the former place are called to this day "The Pueblo" by the people in the vicinity. As the Indians at those two points did not receive grants of land from the Spanish government, and kept up no regular organization, they are sometimes included and sometimes omitted in the enumeration of the pueblos. The Indian population as returned by those two reports was 9,453 in 1796, and 9,732 in 1798.

A few years later, in 1805, Governor Alencaster caused a complete census to be made of the province, which resulted in showing a Spanish population of 26,805, and 8,172 Pueblo Indians. As this is probably the most accurate that had been obtained and contains the full mission names of the respective pueblos, we insert it in full, as it is both useful and interesting as a basis of comparison with later enumerations:

San Geronimo de Taos	508
San Lorenzo de Picuries	250
San Juan de los Caballeros	194
Santo Tomas de Abiquiu	134
Santa Clara	186
San Ildefonso	175
San Francisco de Nambé	143
N. S. de Guadalupe de Pojuaque	100

San Diego de Tesuque	131
N. S. de los Angeles de Pecos	104
San Buena Ventura de Cochití	656
Santo Domingo	333
San Felipe	289
N. S. de los Dolores de Sandia	314
San Diego de Jemez	264
N. S. de la Asumpcion de Zia	254
Santa Ana	450
San Agustin del Isleta	419
N. S. de Belen	107
San Estevan de Acoma	731
San Josef de La Laguna	940
N. S. de Guadalupe de Zuñi	1470

From the names of the patron saints to whom the Indian towns were dedicated by the Spanish authorities can also be ascertained the festival day of each of the pueblos mentioned.

The first report by an American official — that of Lieutenant Whipple, U. S. A. — contains the same list, with the addition of Cuyamungué and Chililí; but as both of those pueblos ceased to exist more than a century and half before, during the revolution of 1680-93, their insertion was a mistake.

The only changes which have taken place in the hundred years since Governor Alencaster's census have been in the dropping of Abiquiu and Belen as distinct pueblos, and in the abandonment of the pueblo of Pecos, in the year 1840, and the removal of its surviving inhabitants to Jemez. The population of Pecos had been reduced by wars with the wild tribes of the plains, and by destructive contagious diseases, until only fourteen persons remained, and it was determined to abandon their old home and migrate to the pueblo of Jemez, where the people were of the same family and spoke the same language. This was accordingly done, the people carrying with them their most cherished possessions; and they were received and welcomed as members of the Jemez pueblo, and have since enjoyed all the rights of Indians born there, including that of holding office, one or more of the Pecos Indians having been elected to the position of governor of Jemez.

The census taken by the United States authorities in 1900 shows the population to be as stated below, and it will be observed that while there are considerable gains or losses in particular pueblos, yet, in the aggregate, the Indian population has continued almost the same during the past century. It would have increased considerably since the days of warfare have ceased if it had not been for destructive diseases among the children, such as small-pox and diphtheria, which have desolated whole villages in a few weeks. With the medical care and appliances now afforded to them, there has been quite an appreciable increase in the population since this census was taken.

The figures are as follows:

Taos	419
Picuris	98
San Juan	465
Santa Clara	223
San Ildefonso	137
Nambé	81
Pojoaque	12
Tesuque	80
Cochití	295
Santo Domingo	772
San Felipe	516
Sandia	86
Jemez	455
Zia	116
Santa Ana	228
Isleta	1050
Acoma	492
Laguna	1077
Zuñi	1525
	8127

The grants of land to the different Pueblo communities were made after the revolution of 1680, and while the Spaniards were still at El Paso, awaiting the re-conquest and occupation of the province. This action seems to have been taken as a measure of conciliation by Governor Cruzate, in view of his contemplated re-entrance into New Mexico. In each case the testimony was

taken of an Indian named Bartolomé de Ojeda, as to the present condition and loyalty of the Pueblos; and thereupon the grant was made. As an illustration of the methods of the day, the following brief record of the proceedings in the case of Picuris

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is inserted, all of the others being similar, with slight differences in the testimony to conform to the circumstances of each case.

"1689.— In the town of Our Lady of Guadalupe del Passo del Rio del Norte, on the twenty-fifth day of the month of Septem-

ber, in the year one thousand six hundred and eighty-nine, his excellency Don Domingo Jironza Petroz de Cruzate, governor and captain general, stated that, whereas, in overtaking the Queres Indians, and the Apostates, and the Teguas, and those of the Thanos nation, in the kingdom of New Mexico, and having fought with all the Indians of all the other pueblos, an Indian named Bartolomé de Ojeda, of the Pueblo of Zia, who was most conspicuous in the battle, lending his aid everywhere, being wounded by a ball and an arrow, surrendered; and, as previously stated, I ordered him to declare, under oath, the condition of the pueblo of Picuris, (very rebellious Indians), who apostatized and took part in the wars of that kingdom of New Mexico.

"Being interrogated if this pueblo would rebel again at any future time, as it had been customary for them to do, the deponent answered, No; that, although it was true they were connected with those of Zia in what had taken place in the year previous, he judged it was impossible for them to fail hereafter in giving their allegiance.

"Therefore his excellency, Don Domingo Jironza Petroz de Cruzate, governor and captain general, granted the boundaries herein set forth: on the north one league, and on the east one league, and on the west one league, and on the south one league; these four lines to be measured from the four corners of the temple situated on the western side of the pueblo, and his excellency so provided, ordered and signed before me, the present secretary of government and war, to which I certify.

"Don Domingo Jironza Petroz De Cruzate.

"Before me, Don Pedro Ladron De Guitara,

"Secretary of Government and War."

The only notable difference in the form of the grant is in the case of Cochití, where the area seems to have been somewhat curtailed, and which ends with the suggestive words "this they owe to being rebels." These grants have all since been confirmed by the government of the United States, so that each pueblo has an absolute title to its land.

Turning now to the customs and manner of life of the Pueblo Indians, we have descriptions from Castañeda and Espejo, and many particulars in the epic of Villagrá, and from other records of the early occupations; and all of these agree as well as can be expected of observations made by men of different tastes and temperaments, who are describing matters that are novel to them,

and of which they may only make mention of the points which to their minds were most conspicuous and remarkable.

Castañeda gives us quite full descriptions of the towns and

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people of Cibola, Tihuex, and Cicuic, the substance of which may be summed up as follows:

"The towns are built in a square, around a plaza in the centre, in which are the estufas. The houses are four stories high; the roofs arranged in terraces, all the same height, so that the people can make a tour of the whole town without having to cross a

single street. To the first two stories there is a corridor in the form of a balcony, which also passes completely around the town and which affords a pleasant place to sit in the shade. The houses have no doors below, but are entered by movable ladders, which reach to the balconies on the inside of the square.

"The houses are built in common. The women mix the mortar and build the walls. The men bring the wood and construct the frames. They have no lime, but they make a mixture of ashes, earth and charcoal, which takes its place very well; for although the houses are so high, the walls are not more than three feet thick.

"The young men who are not yet married serve the public in general. They go after fire-wood, and pile it up in the court or plaza, where the women go to get it for the use of their homes. They live in the estufas, which are under-ground in the plazas of the town; and of which some are square and some are round. The roofs of the estufas are supported by pillars made of the trunks of pine trees. I have seen some with twelve pillars, each twelve feet in circumference; but usually they have only four. They are paved with large polished stones, like the baths in Europe. In the centre is a fire-place, with a fire burning therein, on which they throw from time to time a handful of sage, which suffices to keep up the heat. The roof is on a level with the ground. Some of these estufas are as large as a tennis court. When a young man marries, it is by order of the aged men who govern. He has to spin and weave a mantle; they then bring the young girl to him, he covers her shoulders with it and she becomes his wife. The houses belong to the women, and the estufas to the men. The women are forbidden to sleep in the latter, or even to enter them except to bring food to their husbands or sons. The men spin and weave; the women take care of the children and cook the food.

"Their villages are very neat; the houses are well arranged and kept in good order; one room is devoted to cooking and another to grinding grain. The latter is apart, and contains a fire-place and three stones set in masonry; three women sit down before the stones; the first breaks the grain, the second crushes it, and the third grinds it entirely to powder. In all the province glazed pottery abounds and the earthen jars or vessels are of curious and beautiful form and workmanship.

"The soil is so fertile that it does not need to be worked when they sow; the snow, falling, covers the seed and the corn starts underneath. The harvest of one year is sufficient for seven.

When they begin to sow, the fields are still covered with corn that has not yet been gathered."

These descriptions accord very well with what we know of the Pueblo Indians from later experience, with the exception of the

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last sentences, in relation to the crops, which seem to be rather extravagant; but it may be remembered that the spring which Coronado passed in the Rio Grande Valley was an exceedingly late one, so that it is very possible that snows occurred after the planting of the corn.

Passing now to the time of Espejo, his descriptions agree very well with those we have just quoted, although he draws attention to various matters not spoken of by the former narrators. He tells us that the houses were four stories in height and well-constructed and the people much more civilized than those living to the south. They wore clothing of cotton and of deer-skin, and, what was the cause of much surprise to the Spaniards, boots and shoes, with the soles made of the strongest and best leather. They raised great quantities of cotton, from which many of their garments were made; and the beautiful and curious mantles, which he found especially common at Zia, were equal if not superior to anything of European manufacture. He also speaks of the ornamentation of the houses in Zia, these being the most beautiful the Spaniards had seen among similar native races, well-plastered, and painted in many colors. He makes special mention of the idols or household gods of the people, which he seems to have found in all of the localities he visited. He speaks of them first in connection with the pueblos he visited in the vicinity of Socorro and says: "A great number of idols, which the Indians worship, are found here; and in every house there is an oratory arranged for the demon, to which food is carried for him to eat. As the Spaniards place crosses along the sides of roads, these Indians erect chapels in which they say that the demon rests himself when he travels from one place to another through the country. These chapels are all handsomely decorated and ornamented." On his first expedition into the mountainous country toward the eastward, he writes, "here also we saw idols, which the Indians worship"; and in his description of the people of the Queres nation, north of Puara, he says, "and they all worship the idols in the manner of their neighbors." In the general description of the country it is said: "In the pueblos of all the Indians were seen a multitude of idols."

His attention was attracted by the great amount of food stored up to be used in time of need, and the "infinity of hens" found in various parts of the country is referred to several times. Referring to their arms, he says that they had very strong bows,

and arrows with points of flint, with which they were able to pierce a coat of mail without difficulty; and he speaks of the macanas,— which may be called the characteristic weapons of the Pueblo Indians,— as being half a yard in length and covered

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with sharp points of flint, with which they could with ease cut a man in two: and he also tells us that they had shields and bucklers made of buffalo hide and of great strength.

The descriptions of Benavides, written nearly half a century

later, in 1626, are valuable and interesting, as they are the result of long experience among the people after the Spanish occupation.

As to the success of agriculture his language is scarcely less enthusiastic than that of Castañeda. After enumerating almost every variety of vegetable as among the regular products, and referring to the apricots, peaches, plums, and nuts that abounded, he adds: "And the earth is so productive that they reap from 120 to 130 fanegas for each fanega of wheat that is sown; and they gather excellent crops from the seed which has fallen in the preceding year, without any other attention than a little watering."

In those days the streams were full of fish, of which he enumerates no less than eight varieties, and adds, "and many others"; and the plains and forests abounded in game.

He speaks of the curious division of labor which seems to have been characteristic of the Pueblos at all times: "Among these nations, the custom is for the women to build the walls of the houses, while the men spin and weave, and go to war and the chase," referring to this fact in connection with the large number of churches that had been erected, "which have been built entirely by the women and the boys and girls."

As to dress, he says, "all the people are clothed in mantas of cotton or of skin; and they wear ornaments as far as they are able, particularly necklaces and earrings of turquoise. The women are modestly dressed in their mantas of cotton, colored and with borders."

On another subject he says: "All these nations in their pagan condition were divided into two parties, the warriors and the priests or enchanters (hechiceros), the former trying to reduce all the people to obedience to themselves, and the latter to have them believe that they could bring rain and insure good crops; and so these two parties were continually in opposition. Their religion, though not a formal idolatry, was almost the same, for in everything that they did they made offerings of meal and other things."

In almost all respects these descriptions, written by the earliest observers, agree with the habits and customs of the Pueblo Indians of today. Few races have been more changeless in such matters. The modifications most noticeable are the results of altered conditions which rendered the old system obsolete.

For instance, the style of architecture of their buildings, the terraced form, the lack of doors in the lower story, and the plan of entrance by ladders which could easily be drawn up so as to remove the only method of ingress, were for purposes of defense from the attacks of marauding tribes. To a people without artillery of any kind such a building was almost impregnable. But with the American annexation and the security from danger which has followed, the necessity for this style of building has ceased; and so, gradually, we find that doors are being cut in the older buildings and that the new houses are but one story high. A good illustration of this is seen in Santo Domingo, where the encroachments of the river have resulted in the gradual engulfing of more than half of the old pueblo, including its massive church. As the old houses are thus sunk into the Rio Grande, the new ones built to the eastward to take their places are in the modern form, and thus the two sides of the town present an interesting contrast of old and new.

But apart from a few such variations caused by changed conditions, the Pueblo Indian of today is the same as the Pueblo Indian of Castañeda's description. Conservatism is a law of his being, and no changes are made which are not forced by necessity or some very manifest advantage.

In many respects the old system is so good that there is nothing to be gained by the substitution of the methods of Europe or modern America. For example, the system of government, while it might not be successful in large communities, is better in its results in the village life of these people than anything that could be borrowed from their neighbors. The admirable way in which all the details of life are supervised by those in authority, the excellent influence of the old over the young, the habits of discipline and self-control which are inculcated, are all too good to

call for any change, or at least for the substitution of the looser and less effective methods of the more civilized people around them. The wonderfully business-like way in which all the public and communal business of the town is conducted, and the readiness with which the entire energy and united force of the community can be directed in a moment to any work or enterprise of general public concern, are matters of surprise and admiration to those not accustomed to them.

But whether for good or for evil, the fact is clear that no people on the globe has changed less in three centuries than the Pueblo Indians; so that a description in the end of the sixteenth century is almost entirely correct for the beginning of the twentieth.

Some mention must be made of the peculiarity of their languages, and of the distinction which exists between the various groups of pueblos and gives rise to that peculiarity.

The Pueblo Indians, though similar in almost all respects, yet were, and are, distinctly divided into several great families, or "nations," as the older writers call them. The term "Pueblo" Indian is comparatively modern, being used to designate all of the "town" Indians as distinguished from the wild tribes who had no permanent villages; but in the earlier records the particular "nacion" is always mentioned. Sometimes the division is made broadly into a comparatively few groups, and by other writers minor distinctions are noted. The leading groups of nations were the Tehuas, Queres, Tanos, Tihuas, Piros, and Tompiros. Several of the groups of the greatest importance at the time of the Spanish occupation were practically destroyed during the twelve years of the revolution, or have gradually dwindled into unimportance. Among these are the Piros, Tanos, and Tompiros.

One of the most careful descriptions that we have of the different nations is that of Padre Fray Alonzo de Benavides, above referred to, who was commissary of the Holy Office and custodian of the Franciscans for the province of New Mexico, and made a very full and interesting report of the condition of the country and people in 1626. He described the various divisions of the Pueblo Indians as follows:

"1. PIROS.

"On the Rio Grande, with Senecu, Socorro and Sevilleta as their principal points, each with smaller villages around it.

"2. TIHUAS.

"With fifteen or sixteen pueblos and seven thousand people. They had two 'conventos,' one at Sandia and one at Isleta, in both of which, he tells us, are schools of reading and writing where they also learned to sing and to play various instruments.

"3. QUERES.

"With seven pueblos, of which San Felipe was the first. Among the seven towns, three had 'conventos.'

"4. TOMPIROS.

"East of the river, with fourteen or fifteen pueblos, six conventos and eleven thousand souls. This nation included all the Salt Lake region, and had Abó and Tabira as two of its principal towns. Quarrá or Cuará is mentioned as containing 600 Queres Indians, who spoke the Piro language.

"5. TANOS.

"To the north of the Tompiros, having five pueblos with 4,000 inhabitants. These were the Galisteo towns, including San Marcos, San Lazaro, etc.

"6. PECOS.

"Benavides says that the Indians of Pecos belonged to the Jemez nation, but being situated alone, they are considered separately, though they speak the Jemez language.

"7. TEHUAS.

"Westward again, towards the Rio Grande, are the TEHUAS, with eight pueblos and 6,000 persons. They had conventos, of which the most important was that of San Ildefonso.

"8. JEMEZ.

"Though half-depopulated by famine and war, yet it contained 3,000 people.

"9. PICURIS.

"With 2,000 inhabitants. It belongs to the Tihua family but is disconnected and distant.

"10. TAOS.

"With 2,500 people. Of the same national stock as Picuris, but with a slight variation of language.

"11. ACOMA, on its 'Peñol,' with about 2,000 souls.

"12. ZUÑI.

"With 11 or 12 pueblos, and 10,000 inhabitants."

Coming down to recent times, and the comparatively small

number of pueblos that still exist, the groups are much simplified.

Of the Piros and Tompiros none remain.

Of the Tihuas, in the region where they were so numerous in the time of Coronado, only Isleta and Sandia still exist; with Taos and Picuris in the north.

Of the Queres, we have Santa Ana, Cia, San Felipe, Cochití, Santo Domingo, Laguna, and Acoma.

Of the Tehuas, we have San Juan, Santa Clara, Nambé, San Ildefonso, Pojuaque, and Tesuque.

Jemez, including the Pecos Indians, has some similarity to the Tanos; but the two pueblos of Jemez and Pecos are rather to be considered as forming a group by themselves, and now consolidated into one town.

Zuñi is now reduced to a single village.

This is the division as recognized by Lieutenant Simpson, in his report, which was the first American authority on the subject. He was especially struck with the essential difference between the languages of the various families or nations; they not being dialects of the same tongue, but entirely distinct languages with apparently no common root. A few illustrations are given to show the extent of this difference; and it will be observed that, while in the Tehuan language most of the words are very short, and those of the Queres are not much longer, the words of similar meaning in the Tanos language or that of Zuñi are composed of numerous syllables. The words selected are the names of some of the most common objects, and are given in the spelling used by Lieutenant Simpson, which represents the sounds by the ordinary pronunciation of the letters in English.

ENGLISH	TEHUA	QUERES	ZUÑI
Earth	Nah	Hah-ats	Ou-lok-nan-nay
Man	Say-en	Hat-see	Oat-se
Head	Pum-bah	Nash-can-ne	O-shuck-quin-nay
Eye	Chay	Kan-nah	Too-nah-way
Foot	Ah	Kar-tay	Wake-que-a-way

One peculiarity, difficult to account for, is that the distribution

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of these different families and languages is not geographical; the groups are not compactly arranged in different sections of the country, but over-lap one another. Thus the languages of Taos and Picuris in the north, and of Isleta in the south are similar, but between them are all of the Tehua and Queres pueblos of the Rio Grande Valley. Again, the people of Pecos were identical with those of Jemez; but they were separated by all of the Tanos villages along the Galisteo, and by the Queres pueblos like Santo Domingo and Cochití.

The result of the entire difference in the languages of the various groups or families of Pueblo Indians, and of the facility with which nearly all of them have acquired Spanish, is that if a native of Taos meets one of Santa Clara, or if a party from San Juan visits the great annual festival at Santo Domingo, they have to use the language of Castile for their conversation, instead of the original tongue of any of their people.

After the Spanish occupation the affairs of the Pueblo Indians are naturally included in the general history of the country. Down to the time of the revolution of 1680 it will be found that they were almost always restless, frequently conspiring to drive out the invaders, and often rising in actual revolt in one pueblo or another, or with something of concerted effort. The spirit of independence, which had kept them free from the domination of surrounding tribes, and their remembrance of the excellent local government they had enjoyed before the conquest, naturally prevented a contented submission to laws and customs which were foreign to their ideas, and often enforced with unnecessary rigor.

But the dozen years of independence, from 1680 to the re-conquest by De Vargas, wrought a great change. Under the Spanish domination they had apparently lost the capacity for self-government. Jealousy and dissension reigned supreme; and when the Spanish expeditions under Cruzate and others penetrated the country, the Pueblos always suffered from divided councils. Some were ready to submit, while others were prepared to fight; and after each of these invasions, unsuccessful as they were, new contentions arose among the Indians on account of these differences.

Thus we find the Queres and the Tehuas uniting to punish, and in reality almost destroying, the Tanos and Tihuas, who, in their belief, had been too friendly to the Spaniards during one of the entradas.

After the final re-conquest under De Vargas, we hear no more of Pueblo uprisings or conspiracies. From that time there were almost constant Indian hostilities, but they were with the Apaches, the Comanches, and the Utes — the nomadic tribes of the desert and the great plains — and in all of these, the Spaniards and the Pueblo Indians fought side by side against the invaders. Their interests were in common, and they always labored and fought in unison. In the attempted revolution of 1837, many Pueblo Indians took part, but all they did was in conjunction with their Caucasian neighbors, and as a part of the general population of New Mexico. Again, in the Taos revolt, some of the Indians from the northern pueblos took an active part; but they marched and fought and retreated and were slain by the side of their white brethren, who had risen to drive the strangers from their soil.

So, for the last two hundred years and more, we may say that they have had no separate history, and whatever affected them will be found in the general consideration of the events of the successive epochs.

CHAPTER IV

Cabeza De Vaca

The name of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca will always be memorable in New Mexican history, as that of the first European who ever set foot upon her soil. Strangely enough, he did not come from the Spanish settlements on the lower Rio Grande, nor even from the more distant outposts of European civilization near the Gulf of California; but from the eastward, after a long and tedious journey across a great part of the continent. Nor did he come with any intention to visit the country, either as a conqueror, a missionary, or an explorer, but by a series of accidents which led him through this region while endeavoring, after long years of wanderings and suffering, to reach some Spanish settlement, where he could again see the faces and hear the language of his countrymen.

The story of his long and perilous journey is one of the most interesting in early American history, and well illustrates the uncertainties and dangers which characterized the first attempts at exploration.

Cabeza de Vaca had been appointed treasurer of an important expedition undertaken by Panphilo de Narvaez for the conquest and colonization of what was then called Florida, being the whole of the country bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, from Key West to the Rio de las Palmas in the Mexican State of Tamaulipas, and including all of what now constitutes West Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and part of Mexico.

Narvaez obtained from the king of Spain authority to colonize this entire region, of which he was made governor, captain-general, and adelantado, on condition that he should take no less than two hundred colonists from Spain and found at least two

towns, all at his own cost; and he started from San Lucar de Barrameda, in Spain, on the 17th of June, 1527, with five vessels and about 600 men.

But from its very commencement ill fortune attended the expedition. At Santo Domingo, where it stopped for horses and provisions, no less than 140 men deserted in order to try their fortune on the luxuriant shores of the island. When sailing to Cuba, two of the vessels were destroyed by a tremendous hurricane, the force of the storm being so great that a small boat belonging to one of the ships was found in the branches of a tree a long distance from the coast; and Cabeza de Vaca, who commanded one of the vessels thus wrecked, only escaped through his good fortune in being on shore at the time. Afraid to proceed further, Narvaez wintered on the island, but when he again set sail in the spring continual tempests marked his progress. He had expected to stop off at Havana, but adverse winds drove his little fleet to the northwest, and on April 12, 1528, they came in sight of land near what is now called Tampa Bay in Florida.

Here they landed on the next day, near to an Indian village, but found all of the houses deserted, the inhabitants having fled in the night. These houses were called "buhios," and had double-shedded roofs; and one, which was probably used for tribal meetings, was so large as to be capable of accommodating 300 persons. On the 14th, the governor raised the Spanish standard and formally took possession of all the surrounding country, in the name of the king, Charles the Fifth.

But arrival on the land was far from a conclusion of the misfortunes of the expedition. The Indians whom they met constantly talked of a very rich country to the north, called Apalache, from which they said the linen and woolen cloth which they wore, and more particularly the pieces of gold which they showed, had come. Thither the little army started to march, but met with grave difficulties from the first. The ships, which were ordered to proceed along the coast slowly so as to be within easy distance of the land expedition, were soon lost to view, and were never afterwards seen by Narvaez or any of his company. An entire lack

of knowledge of the geography of the country caused long delays, and the bays and rivers which were met with greatly impeded the journey. Boats had to be constructed to cross the Suwanee, and the hostility of the natives who were encountered added to the difficulties arising from lack of provisions.

Ten weeks were thus occupied before the welcome sight of Apalache gladdened the eyes of the half-starved and exhausted Spaniards, on June 26th; and then their joy was short-lived, for instead of a great and rich city they found only a small, poor town without gold or anything of value. Here they remained nearly a month for rest, and then started southward to seek the Gulf at a town called Aute, on Apalachicola Bay. But there an unknown malady attacked them, and many succumbed to its power, while all were enfeebled and discouraged. All hope of relief from their vessels was soon abandoned and they determined as a last resource, if possible, to build rough boats to carry them from the scene of their misfortunes. But no project could seem less possible of execution. They had no tools, no iron, no forge, no rigging; and not a single man who possessed any knowledge of mechanical arts.

Necessity, however, proved, as often before and since, the mother of invention. A bellows was made from a tin pipe and some deer skins; stirrups, spurs, and every article of iron were transformed into nails, axes, and other tools. From the leaves of the palmetto they made a substitute for tow; ropes and rigging were manufactured from the fibre of the same plant and the tails and manes of their horses, while the shirts of the men were given up to be used as sails.

By enormous exertions they succeeded by September 20th in building five boats, and into them the 247 survivors were crowded; the boats being so heavily laden that the men could not move without danger of sinking. What added to the difficulties was that not a single one understood the principles of navigation. No alternative however remained, and so they put out to sea, proceeding westward along the coast and stopping from time to time for fresh water and shellfish. Several times, in storms, they were almost overwhelmed, and in passing the mouth of the Mississippi

were three days fighting against the mighty current, which threatened to carry them out to sea.

When that was passed, on November third, the vessels were so far separated that none of the others could be seen from that commanded by Cabeza de Vaca, and the whole fleet was never again united. Storm succeeded storm until the provisions were so far reduced that the daily allowance had to be limited to half a handful of raw corn. At length, when all were exhausted, in the darkness of night they were cast ashore on a sandy island on the coast of what is now known as eastern Texas. Here several were drowned, but the remainder, more dead than alive, were tenderly cared for by the natives, who carried them to their cabins.

Unfortunately, however, their troubles were far from being, even yet, at an end. A severe winter followed, during which sixty-five of the eighty who had landed, perished. When spring came, twelve of the survivors crossed to the mainland, leaving Cabeza de Vaca and two others who were sick, on the island. In this vicinity, surrounded by Indians, and treated as a slave, the late treasurer remained for six long years, continually looking for means to escape and to travel towards the settlements of his countrymen.

At length an opportunity offered, and he started inland, and was astonished to hear of three strangers being held by a neighboring tribe, and on meeting them, to find three of his old companions, Alonzo de Castillo, Andres Dorantes, and Estevan, a Barbary negro. These were all held in bondage, to which Vaca was also subjected, and a year and a half elapsed before another opportunity for escape occurred. Then they all proceeded northwesterly far into the interior of Texas, gaining great celebrity among the Indians, as physicians, and being conducted from tribe to tribe with much ceremony, as Superior Beings sent from Heaven for the healing of mankind. Still at times they suffered great privations, traveling entirely naked, and reduced to the verge of starvation. After traversing vast plains, they at length came in sight of the mountains, and shortly after reached "a great river coming from the north;" and then, after crossing rough mountains, devoid of water or food, they were gladdened

by the sight of "a very large river, the water of which was breast-high." The first of these streams was undoubtedly the Pecos and the second the Rio Grande.

Soon after, they encountered natives of a very superior character, and for the first time saw "habitations having the appearance and structure of houses." Castillo calls them "fixed dwellings of civilization," and Cabeza de Vaca uses the term "settled habitations." This is the first description that we have of what, either in existence or in ruins, are known as the Pueblo Indian towns. Here they found a people entirely different from the nomadic tribes of the Texas plains, wearing garments made of buffalo hide and also of cotton, protecting their feet with leather shoes and using the amole or soap weed for cleansing purposes. They had also an abundance of flour, grain, beans, and pumpkins.

Thus westerly the Spaniards traveled, healing the sick and teaching the rudiments of Christianity, but always hastening on towards the point where they hoped to hear of some of their own countrymen. They were uniformly well treated among these more civilized Indians, the great difficulty being to escape from the hospitality of the successive villages and proceed on their way. The people presented them with many fine turquoises, which they said came "from the north" and which were probably the product of the celebrated mine whose vast extent is still a source of wonder, in the Cerrillos district south of Santa Fé; and also five emeralds, shaped into arrow heads, which they greatly prized.

So Cabeza de Vaca and his companions proceeded through southern New Mexico, northern Chihuahua and Sonora, until they reached a town which they called the Town of Hearts — Plaza de los Corazones — near which they saw an Indian wearing as ornaments the buckle of a sword belt and the nail of a horseshoe. These things, small in themselves, were to the Spaniards most significant, for they told of the proximity of European settlements; and but a little more time elapsed before the travelers found themselves at last in the midst of their countrymen on the shores of the Gulf of California.

This was in the spring of 1536, nearly eight years after their

landing in Florida; during fully seven years of this time they had lived altogether among Indians, traversing the entire width of the continent from ocean to ocean, and utterly lost to the civilized world, even in memory. Years before their unexpected reappearance they had been mourned as dead, and even the most sanguine of their friends had abandoned all hope of ever receiving tidings of their fate.

On their journey they had found the same radical difference between the nomadic Indian tribes of the Gulf Coast, half-clothed and half-starved, and the civilized natives of New Mexico, living in permanent houses and raising grain and vegetables to eat and cotton to wear, as exists today between the wild tribes of the plains and the peaceful and industrious Pueblo Indians.

The record of the travels and privations of Cabeza de Vaca and his companions will always be of the highest interest, as giving the incidents of an almost unprecedented journey, and the first account, by any European, of the soil and the people of Texas, southern New Mexico, and the adjacent regions.

CHAPTER V

Friar Marcos De Niza

As might well be supposed, the reappearance of Cabeza de Vaca, who had long been considered as dead, created great excitement, and the accounts given by himself and his companions of their adventures and of the lands through which they had passed, were listened to with eager excitement. Especially did the descriptions, given with all the exaggeration characteristic of travelers in strange lands, of the great and populous cities, of the civilized country near the Rio Grande, and of the houses four or five stories high, of which they were composed, excite the admiration and kindle the adventurous ardor of the Spaniards of Mexico. They happened to arrive just when they were greatly interested in that very country, and ready to believe almost any accounts of its riches, however fabulous.

Six years before, in 1530, an Indian, held in slavery by Nuño de Guzman, then governor of New Galicia, brought the first report of that region, which he called "The Land of the Seven Cities." He stated that his father, who was a merchant, used to travel into the interior of the country in order to sell ornamental feathers for which he obtained great quantities of gold and silver, which metals were very common in that country. He added that on several of these trips he had accompanied his father and had seen cities which were so extensive and magnificent as to equal if not exceed in grandeur the city of Mexico. These cities were seven in number and in them the precious metals were so plentiful that whole streets had to be devoted to the goldsmiths. To reach this country, he said, it was necessary to proceed directly north between the great oceans, and on the journey was a desert so extensive that it required forty days to cross.

Inflamed by the description of the riches of the country, and not deterred by the dangers and difficulties of the desert march, Governor Guzman lost no time in preparing for the conquest of this new El Dorado, and soon set out with an army of 400 Spaniards and 20,000 Indian allies on the northern march for that purpose. All went well so long as he was within the limits of the Spanish occupation in Mexico, and even until he arrived in the vicinity of the Gulf of California at Culiacan. But here a mountainous region was encountered, so wild and inaccessible that it was impossible to find a proper passage; and large numbers of the Spaniards, who had enlisted in the enterprise without fully counting its cost, lost courage and returned to their homes.

Not wishing to return to Mexico on account of political changes there which had brought his enemies into power, and yet unable to proceed further on his expedition, Guzman, concluded to settle in the part of the country were he then was, looking forward to the day when more favorable circumstances would permit him to carry out his cherished purpose. Before this time came, however, he was accused of various political crimes and thrown into prison and, in 1536, Francisco Vasquez Coronado, 'a man of high position and a chivalric and adventurous spirit, was appointed governor of the province over which Guzman had ruled and which was called New Galicia.

Just as Coronado was proposing to proceed to the seat of his new government, full of ambition as to his career in this difficult field of action, Cabeza de Vaca with his companions arrived in Mexico, where they were received with great enthusiasm, and the marvelous stories of the regions to the north listened to with the most intense interest. Coronado was charmed and excited by the idea of having such a wonderful field for discovery and conquest on the very border of his province, and determined to lose no time in arranging the preliminaries of an expedition which he trusted might be as glorious and important as those of Cortés and Pizarro. Cabeza de Vaca had already set sail for Spain, but Coronado secured the services of Estevan, the Barbary negro, whose knowledge of the country and of the language and customs of the

Indian tribes was considered of great value, and immediately organized an exploring expedition, which he placed in charge of a Franciscan monk, named Marcos de Niza.

Marcos himself had had much previous experience in Peru and was considered an admirable leader, and he certainly showed himself unexcelled as a narrator of extraordinary things, however he may have fallen short in other particulars. His report to the king, made immediately after his return in September, 1539, is a very formal document, attested by various notaries, in the presence of the viceroy, the governor, and the high officials; and, while it is full of exaggerations, yet we follow its statements here, both because it gives a fair idea of the spirit of the times and also shows on what foundation the celebrated expedition of Coronado in 1540 was based.

His instructions were to proceed immediately and enter the interior, so as to reach the Land of the Seven Cities, taking Estevan as a guide; to avoid all collisions or difficulties with the natives, and to observe and report on all the products of the country, its resources and advantages, together with the character of the people. As in all the expeditions of that day, religion and conquest went hand in hand; and so he was ordered, in case he found a city so important as to be the proper seat of a monastery, to return forthwith to Culiacan to arrange therefor, "for in the proposed conquest the most important matter is the service of our Lord and the good of the natives of the country."

The expedition, which was principally composed of Mexican Indians, started from San Miguel in the province of Culiacan on the seventh of March, 1539, and first proceeding to the town of Petatlan, continued on northwesterly, parallel to the shore of the Gulf of California, and a short distance from it. Everywhere they were received most hospitably by the natives, who brought provisions and flowers as presents, and wherever there were no houses, arranged arbors of the branches of trees as shelters for the strangers.

At length he arrived at the boundary of a desert so extensive that four days were required to cross it, and which seems to have

formed a complete barrier between the adjacent tribes, for the people on the north side were found entirely ignorant of the language used on the south, and so far from ever having seen a white man, they had not even heard of their existence, and hailed the friar as a celestial visitor, calling him "Hayota," which means "a man from Heaven," and showing him every token of respect and adoration. These people, however, were poor and few in number and the Spaniards eagerly inquired for news of the large and wealthy cities of which they were in search, and were encouraged by the information that four or five days' journey from the mountains was a great plain where would be found numerous people, living in large towns, who dressed in cotton, and among whom gold abounded. Not only were their household vessels made of this metal, and the walls of their temples plated with it, but the informants particularized sufficiently to say that they "used thin plates of gold to scrape off their sweat," and also that they wore precious green stones suspended from their ears and nostrils.

It being doubtful, however, in which direction it was best to proceed, Friar Marcos concluded to stop at the largest town of these friendly Indians and send Estevan in advance with a small party to explore the country, with instructions to send a message whenever he should see or hear anything of interest. A novel system of communication was agreed on, it being arranged that if the place discovered was not of special importance, the negro should send back a white cross one hand in length; "if it were of any great matter, one of two handfuls long; and if it were a country greater and better than New Spain, he should send a great cross."

We may imagine, therefore, the excitement and joy occasioned to the friar, when, only four days after the departure of the advance guard, messengers arrived from Estevan, bringing a great cross as high as a man, and tidings that he had information of a new country which was the greatest in the world. To corroborate his wonderful announcement, a native was sent back who had visited the unknown land, and whose statements more

than bore out all that was reported of it. He said that thirty days' march in advance was a great kingdom called Cibola, in which were seven mighty cities of great wealth, the houses in which were of stone and generally two or three stories in height, the palace of the ruler being still more lofty. The people were all well-clothed, wealth abounded, and the doors of the principal mansions were ornamented with multitudes of turquoises cut into various shapes.

Scarcely had Marcos had time to realize the importance of this news, when three Indians, called "Pintados" because so elaborately decorated with paint, arrived from the east, who said they were familiar with Cibola, and corroborated all that had been said of the glories of the Seven Cities; and soon other messengers from Estevan arrived, urging the friar to hasten on, as further information increased the importance of the lands to be discovered, and it appeared that besides Cibola itself, there were three other great kingdoms in its vicinity called Marata, Acus, and Totonteac. Accordingly Marcos lost no time in marching on, and soon met numbers of natives who said that they were familiar with the Seven Cities, as they went there to work every summer; and who had much to say of the wealth of the people, of the long cotton garments they wore, and the turquoises almost universally used as ornaments.

The country was found to be increasingly populous as he proceeded and the people became more and more intelligent and prosperous. For four days the friar passed through a succession of villages in each of which he was treated with the utmost hospitality, and the people were well-dressed in clothes of cotton or of tanned buffalo skin, nearly all of them wearing turquoise ornaments, called "cacona." Here, also for the first time, the Spaniards heard of the existence of sheep in the country, one of the chiefs informing Marcos, after examining his gray woolen suit, that while at Cibola only cotton cloth was used, at Totonteac were "little animals which furnish the wool from which the same kind of cloth was made."

So he traveled on, crossing a desert four days' journey in

width, and then coming to a lovely valley, thickly populated and beautifully cultivated throughout, and which he was five days in traversing. Near the end of the valley was a large town, called Chichilticale, and here the friar was delighted to meet an actual resident of Cibola, the first whom he had seen, and whom he describes as "a white man of a good complexion," and far superior intellectually to any of the natives with whom he had before been brought in contact. This man, who was quite aged, more than corroborated all that had been heard before. He described Cibola as a very populous city, with fine streets and market places, with five storied houses built of stone, the gates and pillars of the principal residences being of turquoise, while all the household vessels were of gold. With all this it was far from the largest of the Seven Cities, Ahacus, the capital, being altogether superior. He also told of the great surrounding kingdoms and especially of Totonteac, which was the most powerful in the world.

Marcos was now on the border of a wide desert which was the last to be encountered on the route to Cibola, and a multitude of the people offered to act as an escort to that city. When Estevan had passed a short time before no less than 300 had accompanied him, and far more now presented themselves to the friar. But he selected only thirty of these to be his companions, choosing those who were the wealthiest and most important, while a number of others came as servants to carry provisions, the desert journey being one of fifteen days in length.

They started on this expedition on the 9th of May, full of enthusiasm and high hope, and thus proceeded for twelve days and nearly to their journey's end, when suddenly they were met by one of the Indians who had accompanied Estevan, nearly exhausted and covered with perspiration; his appearance foreshadowing the bad news of which he was the bearer.

He told them that on the arrival of the negro at Cibola the inhabitants of the city had taken him and all his company prisoners and put them into a log house just outside the walls, taking from them all the articles of value they possessed and leaving them all night without food or water. The next morning the

narrator, being very thirsty, had left the house and gone to a stream nearby for water, and while there saw Estevan running away, being pursued by the Cibolans, who were killing his followers as they went. On seeing this, he had hidden himself, and at the first opportunity fled into the desert.

This unexpected news naturally threw the followers of Marcos into consternation and loud murmurs against the Spaniards soon filled the air. The friar however was equal to the occasion. He opened some of the packages of goods he had brought for traffic and made presents of the contents to the principal men, which had such a reassuring effect that they consented to go forward again, and journeyed on until within a single day's march of Cibola, when they met two more of the Indians who had accompanied Estevan, wounded and bleeding. These told the same story of the capture and attempted escape of the negro and his party. They had been with him at the house and were pursued by the Cibolans, who killed many and wounded all, so that they believed they were the only survivors of the entire expedition. This news, which concerned the sons and brothers of those who formed the escort of Marcos, roused their indignation to a pitch akin to frenzy, not only against the men of Cibola but against the friar who had brought this great calamity upon them; and it required all his address to prevent a dangerous outbreak which would have threatened his own life.

All his persuasion and the promises of unlimited presents did not avail to induce them to go a foot nearer to the city where such destruction had taken place; and Marcos, now forced to abandon all hope of entering the city, had to content himself with taking observations of it from a distance. For that purpose he went to an adjacent elevation from which he could look into it, and in his report says that "it maketh show to be a fair city and better seated than any I have seen in these parts. The houses are builded in order, all made of stone, with divers stories and flat roofs. The people are somewhat white, they wear apparel and lie in beds; their weapons are bows; they have emeralds and other jewels, although they esteem none so much as turquoise,

wherewith they adorn the walls and the porches of their houses and their apparel and dresses, and they use them instead of money. They use vessels of gold and silver, whereof there is greater use and of more abundance than in Peru.''

Having thus viewed from afar the Promised Land into which he could not enter, Friar Marcos set up a slender cross and formally proclaimed that he took possession of the province in the name of the viceroy and of the king of Spain, calling the same ''El Nuevo Reyno de San Francisco''; and being particular to announce that he not only took possession of Cibola, but of all the Seven Cities and of the kingdoms of Totonteac, of Acus, and of Marata.

This done, he hastened to overtake his escort, which was returning with a rapidity inspired by fear; but found so much feeling aroused against him among the natives that he was glad to escape from them and the people of the valley whose relatives had been slain, by swift traveling. In due time he reached the Mexican towns and made a report to Governor Coronado, which was sent to the viceroy and thence to the emperor, and which by its extravagance of language and extraordinary exaggerations of the wealth and importance of the Land of the Seven Cities created a great excitement in both the New and Old World and swiftly led to the celebrated expedition of Coronado.

CHAPTER VI

Coronado

The reports brought back by Friar Marcos to New Galicia and Mexico were so much beyond what had been hoped, that they naturally created great excitement. While others might have been thought to invent or at least exaggerate, his position as a Franciscan friar gained entire credence for the most highly colored statements, and both the viceroy and Governor Coronado were eager for the exploration and conquest of the new El Dorado beyond the desert.

It was determined immediately to organize an expedition, of which Coronado was very properly named as commander, both because the discovery of Cibola had been made through his instrumentality and also on account of his gallantry and experience in arms. The most chivalrous and enterprising cavaliers of New Spain flocked to his standard as soon as the news of the expedition spread; so that the troop of Spaniards which finally started on the great march was the most brilliant as to family and wealth that had ever been gathered in the New World. Indeed the only difficulty encountered was from this "embaras de richesses" in the material of the expedition, almost every member of which is said to have been worthy of being a leader.

In order that the commander might not gain ill will in the selection of officers, the viceroy performed this duty himself, knowing that all would willingly submit to his decision. "Seeing the great number of gentlemen taking part in this expedition," says its historian, Castañeda, "the Viceroy would have been glad to have given each one the command of an army; but as the soldiers were so few, it was necessary to make a choice. He chose for standard-bearer Don Pedro de Tobar, a young cavalier, son

of Don Fernando de Tobar, mayor-domo of the late Queen Joana, our legitimate sovereign, whose soul may God preserve. He appointed as Maestro de Campo, Lope de Samaniego, governor of the arsenal of Mexico, and a chevalier well worthy of this position. The captains were Don Tristan de Arellano, Don Pedro de Guevara, Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas, Don Rodrigo Maldonado, brother-in-law of the Duke of Infantado, Diego Lopez, member of the city council of Seville, and Diego Gutierrez, captain of cavalry. All the other gentlemen were placed directly under the orders of the General, because they were men of distinction, and a number of them were afterwards captains.'' The commander of the infantry was Pablo de Melgosa, and the chief of artillery Hernando de Alvarado.

All told, the army consisted of 400 Spaniards and 800 Indian soldiers, and it was fully organized at Compostela, the capital of New Galicia, in the spring of 1540. To show his great interest, and give special eclat to the occasion, the viceroy himself came to the city and held a grand review of the troops, addressing them in inspiring language on the three-fold importance of their work: to their country, by conquering a great province; to the natives, by bringing them to a knowledge of Christianity; and to themselves, by bettering their future.

The viceroy acompanied the expedition for two days in order to encourage it to the fullest extent. As soon as he departed, the holiday aspect disappeared and the real work of the march began. Many soon found that they had brought far too much baggage for convenience and were glad to give away superfluous articles or leave them on the wayside; others, who had been brought up to lives of idleness and luxury, found themselves compelled to perform work to which they were far from accustomed. Still, all pressed forward eagerly towards the wonderful ''Land of the Seven Cities,'' which was to bring to each one wealth and honor.

At Culiacan, Coronado's impatience to reach the field of exploration and conquest became so great that he decided to press on in advance of the main body of the army; and so, taking Friar

Marcos as guide, with fifty horsemen and a few soldiers on foot, he started on, leaving the remainder under the command of Don Tristan de Arellano, with orders to follow as speedily as possible. The governor and his small company proceeded rapidly over the road traveled by Marcos two years before. They were well treated by the natives, many of whom remembered the former expedition; and were full of enthusiasm until they reached the town on the edge of the desert of which the friar had given such a glowing account, and which was called Chichilticale. But here came a great disappointment; for instead of the flourishing city they had been led to expect, they found in reality but one single dwelling and that in a ruinous condition. It was of great size and its architecture gave evidence of its being the work of some superior and civilized nation in time gone by; but the expedition had not come to seek relics of antiquity but the riches and glory of the present, and was correspondingly disappointed. This great building is readily identified, being that now known as the Casa Grande of Arizona; and its connection with this expedition adds to its intrinsic interest as a specimen of early American architecture.

Although somewhat depressed, Coronado determined still to press on without waiting for the main body to come up; and so marched into the great desert which, even with his well-equipped men he was fifteen days in crossing. At the end of that time, he was gladdened by the sight of a stream of water, which from its reddish color the Spaniards called Vermejo, and which for the same reason is now named Colorado Chiquito (Little Red). They were now but about twenty miles from Cibola itself, and excitement ran high in the camp. Soon after, they saw a few Indians; but they fled at the sight of the invaders. On the evening of the next day, being but five miles from the city, they discerned some natives watching their movements from a hill top, who raised such a frightful cry that for a moment it carried consternation among the Spaniards; but on pursuing the Indians they escaped toward Cibola.

The next day, Coronado and his little army arrived in sight of

the famous city of which they had heard so much; but what was their astonishment and chagrin to find that instead of a great capital, it was but a small town containing not over two hundred warriors, whose power of resistance arose not from the numerical strength of its people but from its situation on a great rock, difficult and dangerous to approach. It was true that the houses were three or four stories high, but they were small and badly arranged; and one court-yard had to suffice for an entire quarter.

Coronado by signs made overtures of friendship, but the Cibolans seemed instinctively to understand that this meant vassalage, and so prepared to resist an attack outside the walls. An assault soon followed, the Spaniards charging with loud cries of "Santiago." They soon forced the Indians to fly to the shelter of the town. The Spaniards followed, but as the only place of ascent was steep and dangerous, they met with considerable loss. Showers of stones were hailed upon them, and Coronado himself was struck to the ground and narrowly escaped death. Still they pressed on, and finally the discipline of trained warriors, together with the advantage of firearms, prevailed; and the Christians marched in triumph through the streets of the first Pueblo town that had ever been seen by European eyes. This is now called by the Indians "Hawaikuh."

Here Coronado remained for a considerable time, waiting for the arrival of his main army, familiarizing himself with the customs of the people, and gaining a knowledge of the surrounding country. The province of Cibola — which is the modern Zuñi — contained seven towns in all, and all were well governed by the older men. The people were orderly and industrious and exemplary in their habits and morals. They treated the Spaniards with hospitality and in return Coronado prevented any outrages or oppression being committed by his soldiers upon the people. At length the main army arrived, fatigued from their march, and the southern Indians suffering from the effects of the cold and snow to which they were not accustomed; but otherwise they were in good condition.

While they were resting, Coronado sent a small detachment

under Don Pedro de Tobar to visit the province called Tusayan, about twenty-five leagues to the northwest, in which he was told there were seven cities similar to those of Cibola. So secretly and swiftly did this expedition march that it arrived in the night under the very walls of the houses of the nearest of these cities, and the first notice that the inhabitants had of danger was the sight of the Spaniards in their midst at early dawn. Some parleying ensued, followed by an attack by the Spaniards on the natives, terminating as usual in the submission of the latter; and within a short time all of the towns sent deputations to acknowledge the authority of the strangers and to invite them to visit and trade.

This province, which is the modern Moqui or Hopi, was undoubtedly the Totonteac of which Marcos gave such glowing accounts. It consisted of seven villages, governed, as were those of Cibola, by councils of aged men. The people were industrious, raising large quantities of corn, and making well tanned leather. Among the gifts which they presented to the Spaniards were pottery and turquoise.

Here Don Pedro was told of a great river to the westward, on which a race of giants dwelt, and was so much impressed with the description of its size and depth, that Coronado sent another expedition, consisting of twelve horsemen under Don Garcia Lopez de Cardenas, to search for it. This party went first to Tusayan for guides and then for twenty days marched westerly through an uninhabited country until at length they beheld — first of all Europeans — what we now know as the Grand Cañon of the Colorado. They called it the River Tison, and described its depth by saying that the sides of the cañon were "three or four leagues in the air." For three days they traveled along its side, seeking for a place to descend into the cañon, but were forced to return without accomplishing that feat.

While this expedition was absent, there came to visit Coronado a deputation from a province far to the eastward, called Cicuic, headed by their young chief, who on account of his long mustaches was called by the Spaniards "Bigotes." He said that

the news of the arrival of the white men had reached his country, two hundred miles away, and they had come to offer their friendship and services. He told much of the country and its productions, dwelling specially on the great number of buffaloes to be found to the eastward. As this afforded a good opportunity for exploration, Coronado directed Alvarado with twenty men to accompany Bigotes on his return and to gain all the knowledge possible of the country. Accordingly, they set out with the deputation from Cicuic, and at the end of five days came to Acuco — the present pueblo of Acoma — a town impregnably situated on the summit of a great rock, whose sides are so perpendicular that ascent is impossible except in one place, where artificial steps have been made. Here the people were found to have great quantities of pottery, bread, corn, piñons, etc., of all of which they generously presented goodly supplies to the Spaniards.

Without delay, however, Alvarado continued on with Bigotes, and in three days came to the province of Tihuex (pronounced Tee-wesh), containing twelve villages in all; the town of Tihuex itself being one of the largest and most important of the pueblo cities, with four-storied buildings, extensive plazas, and large circular estufas paved with stone. This province stretched along the Rio Grande for thirty or forty miles, from the vicinity of the present Albuquerque to that of San Felipe; the town of Tihuex itself being near Bernalillo, and very possibly identical with the Puará of later narratives. It was the land of the Tihuas, or Tiguas, or Tiwas, as the name of that division of the Pueblo Indians is variously spelled by different writers. Alvarado was so greatly delighted with the fertility of the country in the Rio Grande Valley and with the kindness of the people, that he sent a messenger back to Coronado recommending that the army should make its winter quarters there.

Five days more brought the little expedition, with Bigotes, to the home of the latter at Cicuic, a large and handsome town, built in terrace form around a square, four stories in height, and strongly fortified. Here the Spaniards were received with special

hospitality, as the guests of the chief; and remained for some time, until the main army had arrived at Tihuex.

This town of Cicuic (pronounced See-coo-eek), which was the largest in New Mexico, and, indeed, at that time, in the whole of the present United States, is easily identified as the more modern Pecos. Why it is called by the chroniclers of Coronado's expedition by a different name from that by which it is distinguished in all subsequent history, is difficult to determine. The word is variously spelled Cicuic, Cicuyc, Cicuique, Acuique, etc., and by mistaking the final "c" for an "e," appears in the French translation of Ternaux-Compans as Cicuye, and has been copied in that erroneous form and even with an improvised accent on the final "e" by many recent writers.

While here, Alvarado met a man whose statements had much to do with the future of the expedition. This was a native of the far east, somewhere in the Mississippi Valley, who was held as a servant at Cicuic, and who from his oriental appearance was always called by the Spaniards, "The Turk," to the exclusion of any other name. As soon as he met Alvarado, he began to urge him to march over the plains to a wonderful country, which he described as abounding in all kinds of riches, especially in gold and silver; and whose chief city was called Quivira. So glowing were his accounts, that the Spanish captain felt that it was a mere waste of time to explore a country whose only wealth was in buffaloes; and so, without going further, he hastened back to Coronado, to tell of the great news he had received, taking "The Turk" with him.

In the meantime, the Spanish army, in accordance with the suggestion of Alvarado, had made Tihuex its winter quarters, taking possession of the houses and treating the inhabitants with much harshness; a poor return for their recent hospitality. Coronado himself waited at Cibola for reënforcements under Tristan de Arellano, and then marched on to Tiheux, taking a route through a province of eight villages, called Tutahaco, which was either in the valley of the San José River, near the present pueblo of Laguna or on the Rio Grande near Isleta.

When he arrived in Tihuex, Alvarado lost no time in bringing "The Turk" before him, and the latter was now even more extravagant than before in his descriptions of the east. He said that in that country was a river two leagues in width, containing fish the size of a horse, and navigated by great vessels, in the stern of which the nobles sat under canopies surrounded by every luxury. All his descriptions ended with the statement that the commonest vessels in this far-off land were of silver, and all the table utensils of gold.

Strange to say, these were believed, without a doubt; and such confidence was placed in "The Turk" that those opposing him were distrusted. Even Bigotes and the cacique of Cicuie were seized and imprisoned, on the statement of this imposter that he had left some golden bracelets in their city, which they refused to deliver.

This naturally caused great indignation among the natives, which was enhanced by the injustice and harshness of Spanish officers in collecting cotton goods for clothing for their troops, and by other outrages. The result was a general uprising, in which, after striking one blow, the Indians wisely maintained a defensive attitude within their almost impregnable houses. The Spanish attacks resulted only in loss, until some Indian allies dug underground passages to some of the houses, and by kindling fires, so filled them with smoke, that the inmates were compelled to come out. A large number surrendered under what they understood to be conditions of pardon, but were almost immediately massacred.

All through the winter, hostilities continued, culminating in the siege of Tiheux, which lasted no less than fifty days, with considerable loss on both sides, until the inhabitants were compelled to abandon the town for want of water, and most of them perished in the river, which was intensely cold, or by the hands of the Spaniards, who discovered their retreat. While this siege was in progress, Coronado visited Cicuie in order to regain the friendship of the people, and by restoring their cacique to liberty and promising soon to liberate Bigotes, succeeded in that

design. After Tiheux had been taken, a friendly expedition was also sent to Chia (the pueblo of Zia) four leagues distant; and another to the Queres province to the north; both of which were favorably received.

The whole army was impatient to start on its march to the far east, of which "The Turk" had given such vivid descriptions, and especially to the rich city of Quivira, which was the special object of their ambition. The winter, however, was an unusually long and severe one, so that it was not until early in May (May 5, 1541), that the march from Tihuex actually commenced. At Cicuic, Bigotes was returned to his people, and that chief, together with the cacique, presented to Coronado a young Indian named Xabe, who was a native of Quivira itself, to assist as guide on the expedition. This young man confirmed many of the statements of "The Turk" as to the country in the far east, but was much more modest in his estimate of the wealth of that region. Still, enough was corroborated to make both officers and men very eager to reach this unknown land; so they left Cicuic after a brief stay, and started off boldly into the unknown wilderness to the east.

After crossing some mountains, they came to a large river too deep to ford, and where consequently they were detained four days in constructing a bridge; after which they marched for ten days more over a rough and hilly country, when they arrived at the border of the plains and soon saw the camp of a nomadic tribe called "Querechos," who lived in tents of buffalo skins, and who were of great intelligence. These Indians informed the Spaniards that far to the east was a river so long that it required ninety days to march along its sides, and which was over a league in width; they also corroborated what "The Turk" had reported of the richness of the country; but not till after they had had a conversation with that worthy. The country now traversed was the great plain east of the mountains in New Mexico, which they found covered with enormous droves of buffalo, literally innumerable in quantity. Occasionally they came to great ravines or cañons, in one of which, probably that of the Canadian, they found an encampment of Indians, who

reported that they had met Cabeza de Vaca and his companion on their journey several years before.

Thus the army traveled in a general northeasterly direction, through a level country, well supplied with fruit and fairly populated, daily losing faith in the glowing stories of "The Turk" as they heard the plain statements of Indians, whom he had no opportunity to consult in advance, until their calculation of the distance from Tihuex reached 250 leagues, and they had been thirty-seven days on the route. Provisions were now running low, with no possibility of being replenished, and altogether the situation was so serious that Coronado called a council of war. Here it was finally determined that the general with thirty horsemen and six foot soldiers should proceed in search of Quivira; while the main body of the army, after waiting a reasonable time for advices, should return to Tihuex under Tristan de Arellano. The soldiers, who idolized Coronado, objected strenuously to this programme, but it was nevertheless carried out; "The Turk" being taken with the exploring party, in chains, as punishment for what were now recognized as his false statements.

The little party traveled as rapidly as possible, but still it required no less than forty-eight days to make the journey across the plains to Quivira. This celebrated city, the goal of so many high hopes and ambitions, was found just to the east of a great river and appears to have consisted of a succession of towns and villages situated on small streams which flowed into that river, from the east. The community was certainly great in extent, but as far as wealth was concerned, it was an entire disappointment. So far from possessing great quantities of the precious metals, the people appeared to have no knowledge, whatever, of either gold or silver; indeed no metals were seen at all, except a plate of copper which the ruler wore upon his breast, and which was very highly esteemed by all the people.

Nothing could exceed the indignation of the Spaniards at "The Turk" when these facts became known; and he, seeing that nothing was to be accomplished by further deception, boldly acknowledged that he had given them false information at the request of

the people of Cicuic, who wished the Spaniards to be led astray on the plains, so that they would perish there or be so exhausted by long marching as easily to be overcome on their return. It is not strange, under the circumstances, that Coronado's officers promptly strangled the impostor, who had led them so far into the wilderness; nor need we be surprised that the general quickly turned back from this city, which though of much importance and interest in certain ways, yet failed to meet the demand for gold which seems largely to have actuated most of the adventurous explorers of those days. Besides, the present expedition, with less than fifty men, was simply to ascertain with exactitude the locality of the city and its surroundings, with a view to a future return with the entire army.

It appears that Coronado entered Quivira and that the people without murmur submitted to the authority of the superior race. At the furthest point that he reached in exploring the city, he erected a great cross with this inscription, "Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, Commander of an expedition, arrived at this place." The houses were generally circular, with roofs of straw, so arranged as to be water-tight; and outside, on top, many of them had a kind of cupola with an entrance, where the Indians sat or laid down.

The exact situation of Quivira has been the subject of much investigation and controversy. Some suppose that the great river referred to was the Missouri and that the location was somewhat to the north of St. Joseph, where a number of branches come in from the east. One or two writers have placed it as far north as Council Bluffs, thus claiming that Coronado was the first European to enter Nebraska. The weight of opinion, however, seems to be that it was somewhere in northeastern Kansas, on the banks of a considerable river, but whether as far east as the Missouri or on a smaller stream is uncertain. The description given shows it to have been not unlike other settlements of Indians in that section of the country, none of which was very permanent in character.

The confusing of Quivira with the ruins of Tabira in Central New Mexico, popularly called Gran Quivira, is the most serious

mistake in the otherwise very careful history of the "Spanish Conquest" by Gen. W. W. H. Davis.

While Coronado and his little company had been making their long journey across the plains, the main army under Arellano had returned to Tiheux, taking a more southerly route than that by which they went, passing the salt lagunas in what is now Torrance county, and striking the Rio Grande considerably below the point at which they had crossed before. From Tihuex several expeditions were sent out during the absence of Coronado, one up the Jemez River as far as Jemez and thence to Yuqueyunque (near Chamita), and still further north to the large pueblo of Braba, re-named by the Spaniards Valladolid, and easily recognizable as the present pueblo of Taos; and another exploring the country along the Rio Grande, to the south, a distance stated to be eighty leagues, through the province of the Piros and discovering four towns not before visited, probably including the present Socorro and San Antonio.

In August, Coronado and his little party returned to Cicuic, having traveled from Quivira by a better route in but forty days; and continued to Tihuex, where he determined to devote the fall and winter to preparation for a grand expedition to be undertaken in the coming spring, not only to the land of Quivira, but to regions far beyond. On October 20th, he addressed a long and interesting report to the king of Spain. Every effort was made to reëstablish friendly relations with the natives of the country, and to re-clothe and recuperate the army for the spring campaign; and when the winter was at an end, all were looking forward eagerly to the day of departure on their new and important mission.

But on the very eve of their march, an accident changed the whole course of procedure. While Coronado was engaged, on a festival day, at his favorite game of running at a ring, in company with Don Rodrigo Maldonado, the saddle girth broke and he was thrown to the ground immediately in front of the horse of the latter and received a kick in the head which well-nigh proved fatal. As it was, he was confined to his bed for a considerable time, and meanwhile a feeling of despondency spread

throughout the army. Many of the officers were anxious for various reasons to return to Mexico, and a petition was handed to the general, asking an abandonment of the expedition. Coronado, himself, wearied with sickness, had begun to long for the pleasures of home, where he had left a young and charming wife, and promptly acceded to the request. Then a reaction took place in the army, and both officers and men endeavored to have the decision reversed, but it was too late.

Early in April, 1542, the army set out on its homeward march. Two missionaries, Juan de Padilla and Luis de Escalona, especially desired to remain and labor among the natives; and consequently were left, with the best provision that could be made for their comfort. The former, it is said, was martyred close to Quivira; and the other doubtless also wore the crown and palm, as nothing was heard of him by Espejo or others who afterward visited the country. At Cibola, a number of the Mexican Indians, pleased with the country, concluded to remain and found new homes; and here several of them were met forty years afterwards when Espejo reached that town.

At Chichilticale, the army met reënforcements and military stores, but too late to alter the programme of retreat; and, as soon as the Mexican settlements were reached, the forces began to melt away, the men returning to their homes by the shortest routes, so that when Coronado arrived at the city of Mexico he could barely muster a hundred men. His lack of success caused him to be coldly received by the viceroy, who had built high hopes on the success of the expedition; and soon after he was deprived of his governorship, and never again takes a prominent place in history.

Thus ended this expedition, which though it accomplished nothing of lasting importance, yet will always be of great interest as giving us through the excellent history of Castañeda and the narrations contained in the reports of Coronado and an anonymous document called the *Relacion del Suceso*, the first accurate description of the towns, the people, and the customs of New Mexico.

CHAPTER VII

Friar Ruiz and Espejo

Almost forty years passed after the unsuccessful expedition of Coronado, before any further attempts, of which we have certain knowledge, were made to penetrate into New Mexico. The adventurous spirits of that time had fresh fields enough in Central and South America to occupy all of their attention, without returning to any land which had already been the scene of failure.

The next expedition was not military in its character, nor did it have the gratification of ambition or cupidity for its object; but it was undertaken by missionaries, whose sole object was the spread of the gospel.

Agustin Ruiz or Rodriguez, a Franciscan friar, laboring at San Bartolomé, in northeastern Mexico, heard, in the year 1581, accounts of great provinces along the Rio Grande to the north which the Spaniards had never visited, and among whose inhabitants true religion was unknown. So interested did he become in these unknown nations, that he determined at all hazards to penetrate their country and carry to them a knowledge of Christianity. After some delay, he received the necessary permission from both civil and ecclesiastical authorities, and then lost no time in arranging to start on his mission. Two of his brothers in the order of St. Francis, Francisco Lopez and Juan de Santa Maria, resolved to accompany him; and they were provided with an escort of nine soldiers under a captain named Chamuscado, to whom were also entrusted the secular and practical duties of inquiring as to any mines that might exist in the new country. Eight Indians and one half-breed accompanied the missionaries as servants.

After a long northerly march of about five hundred miles they

at length arrived among the Pueblo Indians of the Rio Grande Valley, and reached a town called Puará, or Puaray, then of much importance, but long since destroyed; and which was situated about eight miles north of the present site of Albuquerque. At this point the soldiers absolutely refused to go further, on account of the danger encountered in a strange country, surrounded by Indians, and without means of retreat. The friars endeavored to persuade them to continue the journey; and the soldiers in turn tried to persuade the friars to retrace their steps to Mexico. Neither would yield, and so they separated: the soldiers of the crown returned to the ease and security of their garrison life, and the soldiers of the Cross went forward, braving danger and death, to carry the words of salvation to the heathen regions beyond.

The friars continued as far north as Galisteo, at that time an important pueblo; and then concluded to send one of their number back to Mexico in order to bring more brethren into the field, which they found was too extensive for their small number. Brother Juan de Santa Maria was selected for the journey. He proceeded directly south toward El Paso, but on his way, when near the pueblo of San Pablo, he was killed by the Indians, while quietly resting under a tree. The other two settled in Puará in order to learn the Indian language together, but were soon separated by the murder of Brother Lopez who was violently struck on the head, while engaged in prayer in a secluded spot.

Friar Ruiz was now alone, and while he keenly felt his isolation and realized his danger, he resolutely determined to remain at his post. But his death was certain and unavoidable, for the destruction of all the missionaries had been decreed by the Pueblo authorities, and but a few days elapsed before he likewise received a martyr's crown at the pueblo of Santiago.

Thus ended this peaceful expedition into New Mexico by the death of the three devoted men who undertook the work. But their labors were not in vain, for the permanent colonization of the country was the direct result of their action; and the proverb that "the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church" was

illustrated by the baptism within fifty years of over 34,000 Indians, and the erection in New Mexico, in the same time, by brother Franciscans, of over forty churches.

Espejo's Expedition

No sooner had the Franciscans in Mexico heard from the returning soldiers of the peril in which the three missionaries were left, than they made an urgent appeal that relief might be sent. This reached the ear and touched the heart of Don Antonio de Espejo, a wealthy Spaniard engaged in mining at Santa Barbara, who generously offered himself and his fortune to the work, if an expedition could be regularly authorized. This was soon accomplished by obtaining an official license of authorization from Governor Ontrueros of New Biscay, which also included the right to enlist all the soldiers necessary for the success of the undertaking.

Don Antonio was a man of great energy of character and lost no time in making preparations for the expedition. He enjoyed the confidence of the community to such an extent that soldiers hastened to enlist under his banner, and in a short time all was in readiness. On the tenth day of November, 1582, this expedition commenced its march from San Bartolomé, and moved directly north, through the present state of Chihuahua, toward New Mexico. On the way, after passing the Conchos River, the little army marched through two tribes, called Passaguates and Tobosos, before reaching the Rio Grande, but it was not until the valley of that river was entered that any high grade of native civilization was seen. Here the first province entered was called Humanos, which contained a number of large towns of superior construction, the houses being of stone, cemented with lime and mortar. This nation was so extensive that Espejo was twelve days in passing through their country; and it appeared to have been visited by Cabeza de Vaca in his journey across the continent, as the people mentioned having been taught certain things by three white men and a negro.

Two other provinces were successively passed through, in both

of which the people were well-dressed in chamois skins and cotton clothes, and had many ornaments made of feathers; and then the army had to traverse a long stretch of uninhabited country, and afterwards found themselves in beautiful groves of cottonwoods, and to the north of this entered an important province situated in the vicinity of the present pueblo of Isleta, of which that pueblo is probably one of the ancient towns. The houses here were four stories high and well-constructed, and the people not only wore clothing of cotton and deer-skins, but also boots and shoes, of which the soles were made of the stoutest and thickest leather. The people were very industrious, raising large quantities of cotton in addition to the ordinary cereals; one chief making Espejo a present of no less than four thousand bolls of cotton. This province contained ten towns.

Proceeding up the valley, the Spaniards soon came near to Puará (called by Espejo Poala) and then for the first time learned of the death of the three friars. They were naturally much grieved to find that so far as saving their lives was concerned, the expedition was in vain. As much was heard, however, of the richness of the surrounding country, it was determined to make brief explorations in various directions before returning to Mexico. The first of these was made by Espejo himself with only two men, who traveled easterly for two days and found a province on the border of the great buffalo plains, containing eleven towns and forty thousand inhabitants, where the people had great herds of cattle, and the wealthier classes had considerable gold and silver in their houses.

This encouraged him to undertake a much more important expedition. He proceeded northerly up the Rio Grande to the province of the Queres Indians, where he found five villages, the population of which he estimated at 14,000. He then traveled westerly to a province called Cunames and which also contained five towns of which the pueblo of Zia was the most important. This town was at that time much larger than at present, and was built around eight market places or plazas, the houses being the best that the Spaniards had seen during their expedition, stuc-

coed and painted with many colors. The people were well advanced in civilization and among other manufactured articles showed curious and beautiful mantles, which attracted much attention from their visitors. Continuing westerly, Espejo next found a people whom he calls Amies and who are easily recognizable as being the Jemez Indians. They lived in seven towns quite similar to those previously seen and their number was computed to be thirty thousand.

Fifteen leagues farther on the little expedition arrived at the point which is the most easily distinguishable in all the early chronicles, on account of its situation on the summit of a high rock. This was the pueblo of Acoma, and its commanding position particularly impressed the Spaniards. Throughout the whole of this trip Espejo had been received with great hospitality, but in this respect the people of Acoma exceeded their neighbors, entertaining the Spaniards with their national games and dances and bringing presents of every kind they considered acceptable.

After remaining three days at Acoma, Espejo proceeded directly to Zuñi, which he distinctly identifies as the place called Cibola by the preceding Spanish writers, following the same route taken by Coronado's expedition on its return to Mexico; and, on arriving at that important pueblo, was surprised to find three of the Mexican Indians who had remained there for the forty years since they were left by Coronado. These men, whose names were Andres of Culiacan, Gaspar of Mexico, and Antonio of Guadalajara, had almost entirely forgotten their native language during their long sojourn at Cibola, but their delight on seeing the Spaniards can be imagined. They were anxious to be of any service possible, and so informed Espejo of a rich country in which the precious metals abounded and which was situated far to the westward on a great lake. They said that Coronado had been anxious to visit it, but could not, on account of the lack of water.

This story was sufficiently alluring to induce Espejo to make the attempt, which he did with nine soldiers, leaving the remainder of his little company at Zuñi. After traveling twenty-eight leagues he came to a province which was undoubtedly the

modern Moqui, whose population, with his usual over-estimate, he placed at 50,000. He spent some days here, conciliating the natives, and then, having secured new guides who were acquainted with the country beyond, he proceeded on the quest for the land of gold and silver. In this he was not without success, as he gives an enthusiastic description of a mine containing a vein of silver of remarkable width from which he took rich specimens with his own hands. This was in a mountainous region which must have been a little north of the modern Prescott, as his journey did not extend as far as the Colorado River, although he heard much of it from the Indian guides who endeavored to excite his interest by telling him that it was eight leagues in width! They also agreed with the reports that he had heard in Zuñi as to the "great lake," which must have been more imaginative even than the width of the river.

But Espejo was now anxious to return, and so journeyed back to Zuñi where he found Father Beltran, and the soldiers left with him, in good health, and was rejoiced to be informed that they had so conducted themselves as to gain the friendship of all the natives. Nevertheless, they were impatient to see Mexico again, and so, after proceeding to his headquarters in the valley of the Rio Grande, he allowed them to return to their homes with one other soldier who desired to accompany them, leaving him with but eight companions in his further explorations.

He now turned his attention northward and followed the banks of the Rio Grande until he found a province on the east of the river containing about 25,000 people, well-dressed and living in houses many stories in height. This was in a mountainous country, which he called Hubates, where there were many evergreens, and probably included that part of New Mexico which contains the Tehua pueblos, extending from Tesuque and Nambé to Santa Clara and San Juan. It could not have been further north, because while here he heard of the towns of the Tanos, which he says were only one day's travel distant, and he proceeded to visit them, passing in the vicinity of Santa Fé and going as far as the pueblo of Pecos. The population of the Tanos province he places,

from information received, at 40,000, although he did not visit all of the towns. Contrary to his usual experience, he was not received with cordiality by these people, who, on the contrary, refused to allow him to enter their towns; and this seems to have led not only to discouragement but to a feeling of fear of what might occur if the Indians became really hostile.

From his extended explorations Espejo was well satisfied of the wealth of the country and especially of its mineral riches, but he concluded that a much larger and more powerful expedition than that which he commanded was necessary to insure success in colonization or in conquest. So he decided to return to Mexico and look to the future for an opportunity of utilizing the store of information as to this new country in the north, which he called New Mexico.

Instead of retracing his route in the Rio Grande Valley, he was induced by the advice of guides to follow the untried path down the Pecos River, and thus was the first European to explore the course of that stream. He calls it the "River of Cows" because they — the buffaloes — were so numerous that during the whole distance they were found everywhere. Starting in the beginning of July he followed it almost or quite to the point where it enters the Rio Grande, and then, crossing the latter, proceeded by way of the Conchos to his home in New Biscay, where he arrived on September 20, 1583; and where he wrote an interesting "relacion" of his journey and the new country, of which he considered himself the first discoverer, to the viceroy of New Spain, who transmitted it to the king and his Council of the Indies.

CHAPTER VIII

Attempts at Colonization, 1585-1598

The discoveries of Espejo attracted universal interest, and his narration was immediately published in Spain and Rome, and within five years had been translated into French by Luc de la Porte and published in Paris in 1588, and has since then appeared in many languages and editions. The immediate result of the news of these discoveries carried to Mexico first by Father Beltran and his companions and afterwards by Espejo himself was to arouse in several ambitious breasts a desire to conquer and colonize the regions thus made known. To do this legally required an authorization either from the king or from the viceroy of New Spain, and applicants in considerable numbers soon addressed themselves to those high dignitaries.

The most natural applicant for this opportunity for fame and conquest was Espejo himself, and he made his appeal directly to the king, forwarding a full account of the success which had attended his previous efforts with a proposed plan of operations for a new expedition. His plan was to provide for permanent colonization by organizing a party of 400 men, the greater part to be soldiers, a hundred of whom should be accompanied by their wives and families; and taking with them large droves of cattle, horses, and sheep. The religious side of the enterprise was not to be neglected, as a number of Franciscan friars were to form part of the expedition, for the benefit of both colonists and natives. He stated that he had already expended ten thousand ducats on his previous expedition but he was now prepared to spend ten times that amount in the new enterprise; and he offered ample security for the fulfillment of all the obligations assumed. For reasons which we cannot now understand, but

which had their origin probably in the unfriendliness of the viceroy, this proposition was not accepted.

About the same time, Don Francisco Diaz de Vargas, alguazil mayor of the city of Puebla de los Angeles, made a similar application, although his proposition was not so favorable, as it provided that he should first visit the northern region with a party of fifty or sixty men, and, if an examination should show that colonization was desirable, he would then proceed with that work to a final success. Another aspirant for the honors of leadership was Don Cristobal Martin of the city of Mexico, who offered to fit out an expedition of two or three hundred men and to expend fifty thousand dollars of his own money in the exploration and colonization of New Mexico. Neither of these applications was successful, and so time passed until 1589 when Juan Bautista de Lomas, who had been very successful in mining adventures in New Galicia, and had occupied various public offices in that province, applied for official permission to march into New Mexico. He was a friend of the viceroy and his application was recommended by that high official, but again a refusal was the answer which came from Spain.

Castaño de Sosa

It is difficult to say how many years would have elapsed before any new expedition would have penetrated into New Mexico if every man ambitious to make the attempt had waited until he had the formal authorization of the king, but in the year 1590 Don Gaspar Castaño de Sosa, who had held many offices in the colonies and was then lieutenant-governor of the province of Nueva Leon, concluded to act on the authority he already possessed, of colonizing the vicinity of the province in which he was holding office without further formality. The result was one of the most interesting expeditions of that time.

He started from the town of Almaden on July 27, 1590, with a party of no less than 170 persons, including some women and children, and an ample supply of provisions. Taking a new route from that which had been pursued by any of his prede-

cessors, he crossed the Rio Grande to the Pecos and then proceeded up the valley of the latter until the advance guard of his expedition arrived at the pueblo of Pecos itself a few days before Christmas. This party was kindly received in the first place, but, after passing the night in the pueblo, they were suddenly attacked and driven out of town after three of their number had been wounded. Immediate information of this event was sent to Castaño, who was encamped with the larger portion of his expedition at a point lower down on the Pecos, called Urraca. Without delay he marched against the town with all his available force, and, after some parleying, made an attack on New Year's Day, which resulted in the capture of the place; but the Indians, as had been their custom ever since their earliest conflicts with the Spaniards, entirely deserted the town on the second night and retired to the mountains, leaving the Spaniards in undisputed control of the vacant pueblo. We have another description of this interesting pueblo from the historian of this expedition, who tells us that it was composed of buildings four or five stories in height, built around five plazas and containing no less than sixteen estufas; and that the houses contained pottery of much beauty and different from any which they had seen in Mexico. Castaño found here an immense accumulation of corn, stored away according to the Pueblo custom, not only for use during that winter, but for any emergency that might occur thereafter, and which the Spaniards estimated to amount to 30,000 fanegas. A portion of this was sent to the non-military part of the expedition, then encamped at Urraca, and Castaño then started with his troops to explore the remainder of the country.

As nearly as we can ascertain, from the rather meagre descriptions in the report he afterwards wrote, he first marched northwesterly to the country north of Santa Fé and visited six pueblos which submitted without objection to his claim of obedience. He then reached the Rio Grande where he visited two towns, one of which was probably the pueblo of San Juan, and proceeded up the river until he came in sight of a very large pueblo where the houses were reported to be seven or nine stories high, and which

was no doubt the present pueblo of Taos; but he did not enter, as the inhabitants presented a formidable appearance and the weather had now become so cold that the whole party was anxious to return to a warmer section. So they returned down the valley of the Rio Grande, crossing to two pueblos situated on the west side of the river, and afterwards re-crossing to another on the east, which may have been San Ildefonso. Continuing down the valley, they found four towns belonging to the Queres nation, very near together, three of which were probably Cochití, Santo Domingo, and San Felipe. To two other pueblos which they visited in the same vicinity they gave the names of San Marcos and San Cristóbal, but these may not have been the same places known by those names in more recent times, but were probably nearer to the Rio Grande.

Having thus visited twenty of the Indian villages and explored the greater part of the upper Rio Grande Valley, Castaño concluded to establish a permanent colony to which all of his party, including the women and the animals which had been left at Urraca, should be brought. This he established at San Marcos and on the 18th of February, 1591, all of the outlying parties had arrived and arrangements were made for the erection of permanent buildings. Attention was then given to the mineral riches of the country, and exploring parties were sent out in various directions, which included the modern mining districts of the Cerrillos, the Ortiz, and the Tuerto Mountains. In the course of these journeyings, two other pueblos were visited, which were probably those of Galisteo and San Lazaro, or the San Marcos pueblo of later times.

As the country to the south had not yet been explored, another expedition was now sent down the river to the province of the Tihuas, in which the three Franciscans had been killed in the time of Friar Ruiz, and here they visited no less than nine Indian towns besides seeing five others, part of which were on the east and part on the west side of the river. Several of these were deserted because the people were afraid that this new expedition of the Spaniards might have come to avenge the death of the priests.

Thus within less than a year Castaño had visited almost all of the inhabited portion of New Mexico, and, without the loss of a single man, had obtained the control of no less than thirty-three pueblos; and we might well have dated the permanent colonization of New Mexico from this time and have hailed Castaño as being the leader in its occupation, had not the jealousy of the authorities of Spain and Mexico brought to an untimely end this expedition which had achieved such remarkable success. For at this point Castaño received news that there was another party of Spaniards which had invaded the country and was not far distant. He hailed this information with joy as he supposed that they were reënforcements, but on meeting the new-comers he was surprised to find that they consisted of fifty soldiers under Captain Juan Morlete who had been sent with orders to arrest him for having undertaken this expedition without proper authority. He made no resistance but allowed himself to be placed in irons and re-conducted with his whole party to Mexico, thus abandoning the labors which had so nearly resulted in complete success.

Bonilla and Humaña

One other unfortunate attempt at exploration deserves attention before we come to the actual colonization of the country. About 1595, a party was sent out by the governor of New Biscay to punish certain northern Indians who had been commiting depredations, the expedition being commanded by a Portuguese named Francisco Leiva Bonilla. After he had accomplished his mission, the ambitious Bonilla concluded to use his little force in the conquest of New Mexico and, if possible, to reach the ever-alluring Quivira. He marched through a part of New Mexico and then started easterly across the buffalo plains toward the object of his aspirations. Here a quarrel arose between himself and one of his lieutenants named Juan de Humaña, which resulted in the death of the captain and in the assumption of the command by Humaña. This man, whose ambition equaled that of his late commander, pressed on towards the east and succeeded in reaching a point on the great grassy prairie of southern Kansas

or northern Oklahoma, which was ever after referred to on account of its sad history as the "Matanza." The Indians of that region had been patiently waiting for an opportunity to bring about his destruction and at this point they concentrated their forces, set fire to the grass which surrounded his camp, and then, just before daylight, rushed upon the half-awakened Spaniards and destroyed the entire party with the exception of one mulatto girl and a man named Alonzo Sanchez. The news of this disastrous event spread with great rapidity among the wild tribes of the plains and to the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, and the expedition is often referred to in subsequent history as that of "the unfortunate Humaña," the original leader being apparently forgotten. A Mexican Indian, named Jose or Josepe, had deserted the party before the final catastrophe and went to New Mexico, where he was seen years afterwards by Oñate and became of considerable service as an interpreter.

CHAPTER IX

The Conquest by Oñate

After this long series of fruitless efforts, success was at last to be attained under the leadership of Don Juan de Oñate. This cavalier was a wealthy citizen of Zacatecas, whose ambition was so strongly excited by the reports from the new El Dorado at the north, that he made application in 1595 to Viceroy Velasco for authorization to colonize the country, offering to take with him at least 200 soldiers and all the appliances for success, at his own expense. He was not only rich and popular but had special prestige on account of the brilliant reputation of his father, Don Cristóbal de Oñate, and his own marriage to Doña Isabel de Toboso, a granddaughter of Fernando Cortez and a daughter of Montezuma.

All this aided his application, and the permission, with accompanying grants of power, was given in due time, on condition that the conquest and colonization should be completed within five years.

Armed with this authority, Oñate lost no time in organizing his expedition, the recruiting standard was set up in the grand plaza of the city of Mexico by Vicente Saldivar, a gallant nephew of Oñate, and everything promised successful results, until the arrival of a new viceroy in the place of Velasco changed the aspect of affairs, and instead of official encouragement, every obstacle possible was placed in the way of the expedition.

Much delay was thus occasioned, and the final authorization from the king was not received till late in 1597, and meanwhile the army, which at one time numbered over 600 men, had become so reduced that barely 130 could be mustered for final inspection. To meet the requirements of his contract, and yet

avoid further delay, Oñate arranged that eighty additional troops should be enlisted, to follow as soon as possible, and started on his march from San Bartolomé on January 20, 1598.

The little army was accompanied by a large number of families for colonization, and all the provisions which seemed necessary for success; it included ten Franciscan friars for the spiritual welfare of the new kingdom. Among the officers were a number of tried merit and of high distinction, including the two nephews of Oñate, Juan and Vicente de Saldivar, and Captain Gaspar Villagrá, a gallant soldier and the poet-historian of the expedition, to whom posterity is indebted for the most extensive epic ever written on early American history. This poem, entitled *Historia de la Nueva Mexico*, contains thirty-three cantos, constituting no less than 182 pages of ordinary modern print, and gives a minute as well as graphic narrative of all the events of the march, the conquest, and the colonization, from first to last.

Proceeding slowly, on account of the colonists and their heavy wagons, the column crossed the Conchos, and marched through Chihuahua until, on April 20th, it reached the Rio Grande about twenty-five miles below El Paso. At this point they rested for some days and then continued up the valley until the 30th of April, when a halt was made in a beautiful grove on the west bank; and here, with elaborate ceremonies, Oñate raised the royal standard of Spain, and formally took possession of New Mexico and all the adjoining provinces, for God and the king, and for himself as governor. The festivities ended at night with the performance of an original comedy written for the occasion by Captain Farfan, which may be considered the introduction of the drama into the southwest.

Four days later, on May 4, 1598, the expedition crossed the Rio Grande at the ford which has become famous as the Pass of the North (El Paso del Norte), and proceeded up the east side of the river. On the 25th, they were near Mesilla, and there Oñate selected fifty or sixty of the most valiant and best mounted men, and with them pressed forward in advance of the main body of the colonists, who could move but slowly, in search of food, which

was already becoming scarce. Three days later he arrived at the first of the pueblo Indian towns, which were situated in the Socorro Valley and which were three in number. The first was near the present San Marcial; the second is called Qualicu in the narrative of Villagrá, but always thereafter is written Senecu, both in record and on map, and was christened San Antonio de Senecu by the Spaniards, and is the San Antonio of today; and the third was called Teipana. In all of them they were hospitably received by the natives, and at Teipana they obtained such an amount of corn, most of which was sent back to the main body of the expedition, that on account of this timely succor the town was named Socorro.

Having received this needed relief, Oñate remained at Socorro and another pueblo a short distance above for some weeks, while his two nephews went on an expedition to the Piros towns to the east, of which Abó, Quarrá, and Tabira (for some unknown reason now called "Gran Quivira") are the best known.

Resuming the march, the governor and his party reach Puará, which had been the headquarters of Friar Ruiz, on June 28th; and there the Franciscans found the portraits of the martyred Ruiz and Lopez, roughly drawn on a wall seventeen years before, and almost concealed by a coat of yeso whitewash. Oñate went on to Guipui, renamed Santo Domingo, and there, on July 7th, he held a long conference with seven Pueblo chieftains, who claimed to represent no less than thirty-four pueblos, which resulted in the Indians kneeling and taking the oath of allegiance to the Spanish crown.

On the 9th, he reached San Ildefonso, called Bové by the natives; and on the 11th came to the beautiful valley at the junction of the Chama with the Rio Grande, where he found the pueblo of Caypa on the eastern bank of the river. The inhabitants of this place showed so much kindness and hospitality, that the Spaniards added to the ecclesiastical name of San Juan the words "de los Caballeros" (of the gentlemen), and the title San Juan de los Caballeros became the legal designation of the old pueblo of Caypa.

The beauty and fertility of the valley, in addition to this warm reception, struck the attention of the Spaniards, and they immediately determined to make this the official center of the new kingdom. The very next day, July 12, 1598, they commenced the building of the new capital on the west side of the Rio Grande between that river and the Chama, in a place called Yunque by the natives, and named the infant city, San Gabriel. Here and across the river at the old pueblo of San Juan, Oñate made his headquarters for some time; and the ruins of the first capital of New Mexico may still be seen from the windows of the passing train, at the modern station of Chamita.

This date, July 12, 1598, may be considered as the birthday of European settlement in New Mexico; and its anniversary should be celebrated in the Southwest, as the date of the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers on Plymouth Rock, on December 21, 1620, is annually observed wherever the memory of the founders of New England is venerated.

With characteristic energy Oñate utilized every day while awaiting the arrival of the slow caravan of his colonists at San Gabriel. Between the 15th and the 20th of July he visited Picuris and Taos; and then, turning southward, rode to San Ildefonso, to the pueblos in the vicinity of Santa Fé, to Galisteo, and thence to Pecos, where he arrived on the 25th of July. Returning by the way of Santo Domingo, he traveled through Zia and Jemez, visiting some hot sulphur springs on the route; and again found himself at San Gabriel August 10th.

The long line of colonists was now arriving, and the last were in the new city by the 18th; and then all hands were called on to aid in the building of the church — the first Christian temple in New Mexico. It did not need to be very large to meet present requirements, and the record shows that it was completed in two weeks; but, if its size were small, the ceremonies of its dedication were made as elaborate as possible in order to impress the minds and hearts of the natives. These ceremonies took place on September 8th, and at their conclusion there was a dramatic representation of a conflict between the Christians and the Moors, in

which the former by the timely aid of St. James were gloriously victorious, to the great satisfaction of all the audience, both white and red. To cement the friendship of the Indians and afford them entertainment, festivities were continued for an entire week; all kinds of sports, both of the Spaniards and of the Pueblos, being indulged in, amid much rejoicing.

Advantage was taken of this era of good feeling, and of the presence of large numbers of Indians from all directions, to hold a great meeting of the Spanish officials and ecclesiastics and the representatives of all of the pueblos that could be reached, under the grandiloquent title of "Universal Meeting of all the Earth" (Junta universal de toda la tierra). On this occasion their obligations both to Cross and Crown were elaborately explained to the Indians, and they acknowledged the sovereignty of the Spanish king, and agreed to receive the Franciscans as their religious guides; though at the same time they tactfully suggested that the Spaniards certainly would not wish them to profess a belief which they did not yet comprehend. There were ten friars in attendance under Padre Alonzo Martinez, as comisario, and at this time he divided the whole inhabited territory of New Mexico into seven districts, each of which was assigned to one of the missionaries.

Having attended to all these ceremonials, Oñate resumed his series of rapid journeys, by which he was determined to visit every portion of the new kingdom with the least possible delay. No subsequent governor of New Mexico has ever equaled the first of the long official line, in the thoroughness and rapidity with which he became personally acquainted with every part of the vast territory over which he presided, and this is the more notable when we remember that the country was then without roads except foot-paths.

While Vicente de Saldivar was sent with a party of fifty men to explore the great buffalo plains to the east, Oñate himself started south to make a personal visit to the pueblos east of the Rio Grande in the Salinas country, at Abó, Tabira, etc., and not content with that, extended his journey into the land of the Ju-

manos, who were a fine-looking and an intelligent people although not belonging to the Pueblo family. From here he crossed the Rio Grande at Puará for a brief rest and to receive news of his colony and make arrangements for a further journey; and then started, on October 23d, on the longest of his expeditions, extending not only to Acoma and Zuñi, but also far into Arizona to the land of the Moquis.

He was received everywhere with apparent cordiality, all of the pueblos accepting the Spanish sovereignty without objection; although it afterwards appeared that at Acoma a number of leaders had formed a conspiracy to kill the governor by luring him into an estufa where he would be defenseless; and that he only escaped by fortunately declining to visit the chamber selected for his destruction. The Indians of Acoma considered their citadel impregnable, and had become altogether the most proud and self-confident of any of the Pueblo people; and the war party among them was strongly opposed to even a peaceful and friendly submission to the Spanish authority. The leader of this party was Zutucapan, an able and eloquent chieftain, who was determined to destroy the invaders, and who soon inflamed the minds of the people and controlled their actions.

The wished-for opportunity soon arrived. Oñate had left orders at San Gabriel, that as soon as Vicente Saldivar returned from his exploration, his brother Juan, who had been left in command, should march with such soldiers as could be spared to re-enforce the governor on his western tour. He accordingly started on November 18th, following the route taken by Oñate from Puará, by the way of Acoma. Here the Indians received him cordially and invited his little troop to the summit of their high mesa, to receive provisions; but no sooner were they scattered in various houses than a sudden attack was made. The Spaniards fought with desperation for fully three hours but were too greatly over-matched by numbers; finally Zutucapan succeeded in killing Captain Saldivar himself with a terrific blow of his macana. and the surviving Spaniards, of whom there were only five, threw themselves down from the cliff as the only chance of escape. By

what seemed a miracle, four survived the tremendous fall. Three others had escaped before; and one had been left in charge of the horses when the party climbed up the steep mesa; so there were eight men left to tell the tale. They sent a swift messenger to inform Oñate of the catastrophe, and he speedily returned to San Gabriel to take measures to punish the rebellious Pueblos.

It was plain that this had to be done without delay, no matter at what sacrifice, or their prestige would be lost, and the whole country would rise against them and either destroy or drive them out. Yet the enterprise was a most dangerous and difficult one, on account of the almost impregnable character of the mesa of Acoma, which was a gigantic natural fortress. The mesa is composed of two perpendicular cliffs, connected by a narrow ridge, and to each cliff there is but one steep, almost inaccessible entrance. A dozen resolute men, even if armed only with stones, could hold the main approach against the armies of the world, in the days before artillery changed the whole science of warfare.

The enterprise was entrusted to Vicente de Saldivar, brother of the captain who had fallen, and he was given command of a little army of only seventy men, but each one selected for his bravery and prowess. No more gallant forlorn hope ever marched into the jaws of death than this little band which set forth from San Gabriel to avenge the death of their brethren and to uphold the honor of the Spanish arms.

On the 21st of January, 1599, they came in sight of the great cliff, and could see upon the summit the crowd of warriors prepared to defend their families and their homes. Its perpendicular walls seemed an insurmountable barrier that made capture impossible. And so they were, against direct attack. But what might not succumb to force might be gained by cunning, and Don Vicente laid his plans accordingly.

In the darkness of the night, with a dozen chosen comrades, he concealed himself in the clefts of the smaller cliff. Then at break of day, all the remainder of the little army, which seemed the whole, made a fierce attack on the main entrance to the larger mesa, desperately attempting to gain the summit, up the narrow passage, which is the only way of ascent. The Indians were pre-

pared and easily withstood the attack, and soon hurled back the advance of the Spaniards.

But meanwhile, all unseen, Saldivar's little band had gained the top of the other cliff and stood upon a level with their foes. Then came a fierce struggle at the narrow pass. More Spaniards followed Saldivar's dozen up the steep side of the small cliff; while others still endeavored to press their way up the larger one on which the village stands, and where the whole population of Acoma was assembled. Everywhere it was a hand-to-hand struggle; and to fall on either cliff or on the narrow ridge between, meant swift destruction on the jagged sides of the rocky mesas or in the abyss below. Night came but brought no rest; and with the dawn of another day, came only a renewal of the fierce conflict.

The Indians outnumbered the Spaniards more than ten to one, but the latter were clad in mail and carried the deadly firearms which could deal death beyond the reach of the macana. All that day the fight went on — and still the struggle was not decided. It was a battle full of deeds of valor and of daring, of giant trials of strength, like those immortalized in the Iliad; and it had for its Homer the gallant Villagrá, who was in the midst of the fray.

The third day came, and the Spaniards pressed the Indians back into their long line of terraced houses, and then these became a mass of flame and the inmates had to choose between two frightful kinds of death. In desperation they killed themselves or each other, or rushed out and threw themselves down the cliffs to sure destruction. For hours every Indian that could be seen was slaughtered. In all history there is no more desperate battle, nor ever one on such a dizzy height. Of over 3,000 Indians only six hundred were spared, and they were compelled to leave their home on the great rock and settle on the plain.

The moral effect of this great victory was immense. It completed the conquest. There was no longer any danger of opposition. By the Pueblo Indians, Acoma had long been considered impregnable. Now that it had fallen, there was no hope for success in any resistance elsewhere. Every pueblo acknowledged the Spanish authority. The Conquest of New Mexico was complete.

CHAPTER X

Spanish Occupation, 1598-1680

The conquest being accomplished, permanent settlement and colonization began, and, after the first year or two of comparative hardships, the Spaniards gradually spread into various sections of the Rio Grande Valley.

Fortunately for the colonists, the Indians of the Tehua pueblos received them kindly, and gave material assistance in the building of the new Spanish town, without which many of the families would have suffered severely during the first winter, while they were still poorly protected, and before they could raise any crops for their subsistence. The Franciscans founded their first permanent monastery (convento), at the pueblo of San Ildefonso, near to Oñate's new city; and from that as a central point missionaries traversed the country in all directions, and as rapidly as arrangements could be made, priests were permanently stationed and churches erected in all the principal villages.

As a result of these efforts, the reports show that as early as 1608 no less than 8,000 Indians had been baptized; and by 1626, that number had increased to nearly 35,000. One single monk, of intense zeal and wonderful power among the natives — Geronimo de Zarate Salmeron, of Jemez — himself baptized the extraordinary number of 6,566 Indians at that pueblo, besides doing effective work in other directions. Others of the colonists, more bent on temporal things, explored the country from end to end for the precious metals — and with some success, for mines were found in various parts of the vast domain. The remains of ancient workings, as well as the written history of those times, show how enterprising were the "prospectors" of the seventeenth century; their labors extending from the Mexican boundary in the

south to Picuris and even to the Rio Colorado in the north, and leaving no mountain range unexplored.

Oñate, himself, showed great energy and executive ability both in the government of the colony and in his dealings with the natives.

We have already seen the untiring energy with which, in less than five months after his arrival, he made a tour of all the Pueblo provinces, in which he visited nearly every town of importance, with a view of establishing amicable relations with the people. All of 1599 and 1600 were occupied in exploration, in extending the settlements, and strengthening the positions already occupied.

It was evident that, in order to hold possession of so large a province, more soldiers and more colonists were necessary; and to Christianize the people, more friars must aid in the work. Oñate wrote to the viceroy in glowing terms of the prospect of new discoveries, and sent his letter by Captains Villagrá, Farfan, and Pinero, whose spoken words were even more enthusiastic than the written ones of the governor. At the same time Padres Martinez, Salazar, and Vergara went to Mexico to obtain spiritual reënforcements. The result was that the seventy-one soldiers that were lacking in Oñate's little army when it left New Biscay were supplied, and while Padre Salazar died on the journey and Padre Martinez did not return, about eight additional friars were sent under Padre Juan de Escalona.

The governor now determined to attempt a more ambitious journey, and set out in June, 1601, on an expedition to the great city of the east — the famous Quivira. He took with him eighty soldiers, and was accompanied by two friars for religious duties, and by José, the survivor of Humaña's expedition, who had been found at Picuris, as guide. After the long march across the plains, he reached the object of the expedition and succeeded in making a treaty of perpetual friendship between the Quivirans and the Spaniards.

But while he was absent, many of the colonists became discouraged on account of the failure of the crops, and even the

priests lost heart, and a number deserted the infant settlement and returned to Mexico. When Oñate arrived he was greatly vexed at this conduct, and sent his nephew, Vicente de Saldivar, in hot haste to Mexico, to turn back the fugitives, and to represent him before the viceroy. Don Vicente overtook the colonists and forced them to return, and then proceeded not only to Mexico but to Spain itself, to protect the interests of his uncle.

The latter had lost none of his love of adventure, and not satisfied with his expedition to the far east, determined to explore the unknown region to the west, if possible as far as the ocean itself. He set out on October 7, 1604, with thirty soldiers and two priests, and first visited Zuñi and then the pueblos of the Moqui province, and finally reached a small stream which he called San Andres, and followed this down to the Colorado River itself, which he called "Rio de Buena Esperanza" (Good Hope). Oñate was the first European to follow that great stream to its mouth, and in the course of the journey he found many different tribes of Indians. He crossed the Gila where it unites with the Colorado and proceeded down the valley to the Gulf of California, where he was delighted with the fine harbor surrounding an island, and capable, he writes, of containing a thousand vessels. This expedition was of the greatest importance in determining the distance of the settlements on the Rio Grande from the western shore of the continent, but it was absolutely barren of practical results. It returned by the same general route that it had followed westward, to San Gabriel, where the soldiers arrived after many privations and being reduced to the necessity of eating their horses, on April 25, 1605.

In 1605 occurred the removal of the capital from San Gabriel to Santa Fé. It seems strange that we have no record of so important an event as the establishment of the Royal City (Villa Real) in its sheltered spot in the foothills on the western slope of the Rocky Mountains; but the great conflagration in the center of the plaza, in 1680, which signalized the Pueblo triumph, destroyed many a memorial of the past, as well as the symbols of Christianity and Spanish authority.

OLDEST HOUSE IN SANTA FE (BEFORE ALTERED)

Whatever was the cause of the change or the method of selection, time has certainly demonstrated the wisdom of the choice; as all the experience of three hundred years has shown no locality so charming and salubrious in its climate, and so free from the wind and storm of winter and the heat and insect pests of summer, in all the wide Southwest.

The exact day we do not know, but the year 1605 is certain. Fray Alonzo de Posadas so states in his report to the king, in which he says that Oñate carried with him to the new capital, a number of soldiers and several Franciscan friars, of whom the chief was Padre Francisco de Escobar.

The seat of government certainly remained at San Gabriel until that year. An interesting document which gives authority to Vicente de Zaldívar and Gaspar de Villagrá to represent the people before the king of Spain is dated at San Gabriel, October 4, 1603, and is executed by the Cabildo, Justicia, Regidores de La Villa de San Gabriel de Nuevo Mexico, showing that the local authorities were all present; and on April 25, 1605, according to Salmeron, Oñate returned from his expedition to the Colorado of the West, to the old capital on the Rio Grande.

For three-quarters of a century after the removal of this capital, the records that we have of the history of New Mexico are quite meager, for the reason above stated. The growth of the colony was slow, as very few cared to leave the rich tropical climate of Mexico to endure the privations of frontier life in the northern province, now that the romance of exploration and discovery and the hope of great mineral riches were dissipated.

In 1606, we are told that a party of 800 Indians from Quivira came to Santa Fé to return the visit made by the Spaniards five years before, and to ask aid in a war which they were then waging; and brought with them to Oñate an Axtao prisoner, who was subsequently taken to Spain and presented to the king, attracting great attention wherever he journeyed.

There seems little doubt that Oñate ceased to be governor in 1608 and was then succeeded by Don Pedro de Peralta. The former had encountered a series of difficulties and disappoint-

ments. The viceroy of New Spain was not always friendly, and there was frequent friction with the friars. The expense of the expedition and colonization had been enormous and had depleted his fortune. The contract with the Crown, under which the expedition had been undertaken, provided for the succession of his son to his office and honors; but nothing of that kind took place, and apparently the contract was entirely abrogated and New Mexico placed on a level with other royal provinces, as two chroniclers of the day, Calle and Betancur, tell us that the new governor received a salary, and that in that year the king began to support both soldiers and priests.

There are chronicles of a second expedition to the eastern plains by Oñate in 1611, and of another by Vicente de Saldivar to the Grand Cañon in 1618, but these are of doubtful authority and may only be versions of the previous explorations.

In 1617 the cabildo of Santa Fé petitioned the king for aid for the new settlement.

One of the most interesting inscriptions on the celebrated Moro Inscription Rock, east of Zuñi, relates to this period, and as pictured in Simpson's report, from drawings made on September 17, 1849, reads as follows, many words being abbreviated:

"Governor and Captain-General of the Province of New Mexico, for our Lord, the King, passed by this place, on his return from the pueblos of Zuñi, on the 29th of July of the year 1620, etc."

In 1621, the Franciscan Missions, which claimed 16,000 converts among the Indians, were organized as the "Custodia of the Conversion of St. Paul," and Padre Alonzo Benavides came as the first custodio, bringing with him twenty-seven friars. He was an indefatigable worker, and made a lengthy report as to the condition of the people and provinces of New Mexico in 1626, which is altogether the best source of information as to that period. He describes each "nacion" separately; and gives particular accounts of the mines of Socorro, the Villa de Santa Fé, the fishing, hunting, agriculture, and climate of the country; and all this was immediately transmitted by the commissary-general of the Franciscans in Mexico to King Philip IV, and printed in Madrid

in 1630. He tells us that at that time there were 250 Spaniards in Santa Fé, though only 50 could do military service on account of lack of arms; and there were also 700 Indians and half-breeds living there; and he says that the friars taught both Spaniards and Indians "to read and write, to play on musical instruments and sing, and all arts of politeness." He adds, "This place, though cold, is the most fertile of all New Mexico."

Two governors are mentioned during this period — Felipe Zotylo and Manuel de Silva — of whom we know little more than the names, except that Governor Silva went to Zuñi in August, 1729, and left an inscription there which is his best monument. After them came Luis de Rosas in 1641, a Governor Valdez, Alonzo Pacheco de Heredia, Fernando de Arguello in 1645, and Luis de Guzman; which brings us down to 1650.

During much of this period there was increasing friction between the civil and the religious authorities; the friars claiming almost absolute power in matters connected with the Indians, and the governors vigorously resenting this interference with their authority. Each side complained of the other to the higher powers in Mexico and Spain, and long controversies resulted. Governor de Rosas was stabbed to death in 1641 or 1642, and this was said to be in connection with the difficulties just referred to. About this time the Inquisition was introduced, and this added to the friction between the ecclesiastics and the governor. Meanwhile the Indians were becoming more and more restless under the heavier burdens of the Spanish rule.

For a number of years after the colonization, the best of feeling existed between the native Pueblos and the new-comers; but, as time went on, the Spaniards began to exact as duties those services which had at first been rendered from kindness. Little by little they assumed greater powers, introduced European laws, and punished the natives for the least infraction of a foreign code of which they had never heard. The favorite penalty was slavery, as that provided the labor of which the colonists stood in need, especially in the mines, where the servitude was of the most harsh character. At the same time, the early Franciscans, who came as

true missionaries, actuated by love, and easily won the hearts of the people, were succeeded by ecclesiastics of a more severe type, who sought to convert the natives by compulsion, and introduced the Inquisition and various forms of punishment, in order to compel the universal observance of their religion.

Under all the circumstances, the Pueblos, who had lived for generations an easy life of freedom and happiness, until the coming of the pale-faced strangers, naturally changed in their feelings from welcome and hospitality to hatred and a determination to expel the invaders whenever opportunity should be presented. The middle of the seventeenth century was filled with a successsion of revolts and conflicts arising from this state of affairs. Many of these were local and easily ended, but others were well-arranged and formidable. As one after the other attempt failed, either from lack of coöperation or because the project was divulged prematurely, the Indians learned that only by united and secret action was success to be achieved; and preparations for such an uprising were cautiously discussed, year after year, at the great Pueblo festivals.

About 1645, forty Indians were hung on religious grounds and many others were flogged and imprisoned, and this brought about a revolt, which however was short-lived.

Fernando de Ugarte y la Concha became governor in 1650, and shortly afterwards a plot was fortunately discovered by which the Pueblos and Apaches were to kill all of the soldiers, on the night of Holy Thursday, when all would be in church.

Shortly after this occurrence, there were conspiracies and risings among the Piros. In all of these cases the punishments were very severe.

In 1653, Juan de Samaniego was appointed governor, and was succeeded by Enrique de Avila y Pacheco in 1656, and he by Bernardo Lopez de Mendizabal. The last named became involved in warm disputes with the officials of the Inquisition, and finally resigned in 1660. He was succeeded by Diego de Peñalosa.

Whatever may have been his failings, Peñalosa was altogether the most picturesque character among all the New Mexican gov-

ernors in the century between Oñate and De Vargas. The earliest document in the archives of New Mexico, and the only one dated before the Pueblo revolution, is signed by him. How it survived the conflagration of 1680 no one knows; but, brief as it is, it reflects credit on his administration. It orders that the pueblo Indians be not obliged to work in spinning or weaving without the governor's license; that friendly Indians be well treated, but that wild tribes be not admitted to the town but compelled to lodge outside.

Peñalosa was a man of fine appearance and engaging manners, which made him many friends; very ambitious and of great assurance; and he had acquired large wealth which was left in Mexico when he came as governor to Santa Fé. With much energy he took up the duties of the office, visited various parts of the territory, and went as far west as Zuñi and Moqui, and planned many expeditions abroad as well as new settlements and improvements at home. But the troubles and collisions with the officials of the Inquisition, which had driven his predecessor out of office, were soon revived with increased virulence, and for some special cause of offense, we are told that he finally arrested the commissary-general and imprisoned him for a week at the palace. This was not forgotten nor forgiven; and when, soon afterwards, he went to the City of Mexico, to consult with the viceroy, the high officials of the Inquisition there had him thrown into prison and subjected him to a ruinous fine, and he was only set at liberty on making a public apology and a humiliating act of contrition.

He again endeavored to interest the viceroy and even the king in a grand scheme of conquest, but being unsuccessful, he went to Paris and applied to the French government to take up the project, and there presented the narrative of a most remarkable expedition purporting to have been made by himself, in 1662, from Santa Fé to Quivira; the whole apparently reported by a chaplain of his little army to the king of Spain. This was considered genuine and of much historic value, until recent investigation showed that it was entirely imaginative except as founded on the report of Oñate's expedition of 1601.

After Peñalosa, in 1664, came Fernando de Villanueva as governor, and he was succeeded by Juan de Medrano, Juan de Miranda, and Juan Francisco Treviño. This brings us down to 1679, when Antonio Otermin was appointed.

Meanwhile the wild tribes of Indians of the plains, the Apaches of various names, began to make incursions and to fall upon the defenseless settlers and entire villages. The bad feeling between the Spaniards and the Pueblos became intensified by various grievances of which both parties complained, but especially by the severity accorded to the Indians. What they most needed was a leader of acknowledged ability, and in the excitement which followed the severe punishment of forty-seven Indians for alleged witchcraft, in 1675, a man came into general notice who seemed by his fearless intrepidity as well as by his good judgment well fitted for the task. His name was Popé, of the pueblo of San Juan; and we shall hear much of him hereafter.

CHAPTER XI

The Pueblo Revolution

At the end of Chapter X mention is made of Popé, who first came into general notice by his action in 1675. From that time he seems to have been regarded as a leader, and was untiring in his endeavors to unite the whole Pueblo population in a general uprising against the Spaniards.

With this view he traveled from town to town, urging a forgetfulness of old jealousies, and using his wonderful eloquence to great effect. He was ably seconded in this by several other natives of large influence, prominent among whom were Catití of Santo Domingo, Jaca of Taos, and Tacu of San Juan. By their efforts the whole Indian population was brought into a condition of preparation and only waited for an opportune moment to strike a decisive blow. There is some doubt as to the occasion of the final rising, but the tradition is so general that we can hardly think it without foundation, that the caving in of the shaft of a silver mine, and the consequent burying alive of a large number of Pueblo Indians who had been forced to labor there, was the "last straw" which exhausted the long-tried patience of the natives, and precipitated the revolt.

The day finally fixed on by the leaders for the uprising was August 10, 1680, and swift messengers were sent to every Pueblo town to carry the information and call for its coöperation. Warned by previous failures, every means was used to secure secrecy. Not a woman was entrusted with the secret, and so intense was the feeling that Popé killed with his own hand his son-in-law, Nicholas Bua, the governor of San Juan, because he was believed to be disloyal. But even all these precautions did not suffice, for on the 8th of August two Indians of Tesuque,

which was so near to Santa Fé that the Indians were specially intimate with the Spanish authorities, revealed the whole plot to Governor Otermin, and other Indians at San Lazaro and San Cristobal gave information to Father Bernal, the Franciscan custodio.

The fact that they were betrayed was almost immediately known by the Pueblo leaders, who saw that their only chance of success now lay in immediate action. Orders were consequently issued to that effect, and were so swiftly carried, that that very night in all the pueblos, except those far distant, every Spaniard was slaughtered without regard to age or sex, except a few girls reserved for wives for the young braves. The news of this general massacre naturally created the utmost consternation at the capital and in all the Spanish towns. Otermin sent messengers through the territory directing the people at the north to concentrate at Santa Fé, and those of the south at Isleta, and immediately set about fortifying the capital.

Many of the Spaniards reached these cities of refuge, but a still larger number, found in their houses or on the roads, were slain. Those living in the extreme north, finding it impossible to reach Santa Fé, assembled at Santa Cruz, and endeavored to fortify the town; but on the eleventh the Indians carried it by storm and massacred all who were found there.

By this time the people of every pueblo were on the war-path and news came to the governor from all quarters of approaching armies. The men from the Tanos pueblos were marching from the south, while the Tehuas had united near the Rio Tesuque and were hourly expected from the north. The city of Santa Fé was transformed into one great fortification. The outlying houses were abandoned, and all the inhabitants gathered in the plaza, the entrances to which were closed and fortified, and the palace put into condition to stand a siege. All recognized that it was a life and death struggle, for the war was one of extermination.

Before the preparations were completed, the Tanos Indians were seen marching over the plains from the south. The governor sent out envoys to endeavor to treat with them before their north-

ern allies appeared, but without success. They would only make peace on condition that the Spaniards should immediately leave the country. This attempt having failed, Otermin determined to make an attack and endeavor to gain a victory before the Tehuas should arrive; and an immediate sortie was therefore made. A desperate battle ensued, the Indians fighting with great energy, and the Spaniards having gradually to bring out their whole force to take part in the contest. The destruction of the natives was terrific, but by their superior numbers they were able to hold their ground, the fight continuing all through the day, until the appearance of the Tehuan army on the hills to the north of the city compelled Otermin to withdraw his forces within the walls and prepare for the combined attack to be expected on the morrow.

No such assault however took place; the Indians had learned discretion from their recent experience and preferred the surer and safer method of a regular siege. They invested the city closely on all sides, and then cut off the water supply, which soon produced great distress. The number of fighting men among the Spaniards was not great, and was being gradually reduced by wounds and fatigue, while the Pueblos were constantly reënforced by fresh arrivals. As there was no hope of relief from without, and a continuance of the siege meant sure destruction, the Spaniards finally determined to make a sortie in force; and this was gallantly executed on August 19th, the Indians being forced back with the loss of forty-seven prisoners. But even such successes were too dearly bought, and though the Spaniards executed all the prisoners in the plaza, yet a council of war concluded that in view of their reduced condition and the scarcity of provisions it would be better to evacuate the town while the coast was clear. Preparations were accordingly made during the night of the 20th, and at early dawn the next morning, the whole population mournfully left the town, and started on their long and toilsome march to the south. There were not even horses enough to carry the sick and wounded, so that all the women and children as well as the men had to proceed on foot, carrying all their personal prop-

erty, as well as provisions, in bundles on their backs. Meanwhile, the Indians stolidly viewed them from the surrounding hills, making no attack, but apparently well content so long as the intruders were leaving the country. They followed the retreating band for about seventy miles in order to see that they were actually proceeding south, and then returned to their homes to enjoy the independence in both civil and religious matters of which they had been deprived for nearly a century.

The Spaniards continued their march down the river, hoping to find their countrymen from the southern part of the province at Isleta; but were disappointed in this, as they had already left in charge of the lieutenant-governor for El Paso. The provisions were almost exhausted and none were to be found on the route, so that at length they were compelled to stop and send south for assistance. The call was responded to by Father Ayeta, of El Paso, who sent four wagon-loads of corn, and thus partially relieved, the fugitives continued their retreat, joining their southern brethren on the road, and finally selecting San Lorenzo, twelve leagues above El Paso, as their winter quarters. Here they built rude houses, but suffered many privations, both from cold and hunger, and lost a large fraction of their number who sought a less unhappy life in the villages of Chihuahua.

The Spaniards who were left behind in various parts of New Mexico, were with scarcely an exception killed after their countrymen had abandoned the country. Especially did the priests, against whom and the Christian religion the Pueblos were greatly incensed, suffered horrible deaths — those at Zuñi, Moqui, Jemez, and Acoma being among those thus left to a dreadful fate.

The Franciscan order never had suffered such a loss from the martyrdom of its members as at this time. No less than twenty-one gave up their lives on that fatal 10th of August, 1680. On the 1st of March of the succeeding year a great memorial service was held in the cathedral of the city of Mexico, in the presence of the viceroy and other high officials, when a commemorative sermon was preached by Doctor Ysidro Sariñana y Cuenca, in which each of the twenty-one martyrs is named, together with

the place of his death. A copy of this sermon, printed in 1681, is in the possession of the Historical Society at Santa Fé, which has published a translation.

Thus in the brief space of a few weeks the work of years was undone, not a Spaniard remaining in freedom in the province, and the old Pueblo authority was everywhere supreme. The new rulers were determined to obliterate every trace of the domination of their enemies. At Santa Fé the churches and monastery of the Franciscans were burned amid the wildest acclamations. The gorgeous vestments of the priests were worn in derision by the natives and then destroyed. All the official documents and books were brought forth from the palace and burned in one vast bonfire in the plaza; and there also they danced the "cachina"— for many years prohibited — with all the superstitious ceremonies of the old religion. In every way possible their detestation of Christianity was shown. Those who had been baptized were washed with amole in the Santa Fé River, in order to be cleansed from the infection of Christianity. Baptismal names were discarded, Christian marriages annulled, the mention of the name of Jesus and Mary prohibited, and estufas were everywhere substituted for the destroyed churches. In addition to this, the use of the Spanish language was made an offense; and in order to prevent any possibility of the reëstablishment of the slavery in the mines, every shaft was filled up and their very locations obliterated.

Popé, who had been the leader throughout the revolution, was now by common consent continued in authority; he established himself in the palace at Santa Fé. In anticipation of a Spanish invasion in the spring, he made a tour of all the Pueblo cities in order to cement the union among them and prepare for the approaching struggle. He showed much wisdom in his public administration but gradually became more and more arrogant and dictatorial until he created many enemies.

Meantime Governor Otermin was using every endeavor to organize an expedition to re-conquer the country. Lack of ammunition and provisions, and the long delays in obtaining the neces-

sary authorization, caused almost a year to pass before he was ready to march; but at length on November 5, 1681, he set out from Paso del Norte with 146 mounted soldiers, together with all the able-bodied refugees and 112 friendly Indians, the entire party having nearly a thousand horses. He marched rapidly up the river, passing through Socorro and other villages, all of which were found burned and in ruins, and stopped at Isleta, where the remaining inhabitants, 1,157 in number, after brief resistance, returned to their allegiance to church and king. From here, on December 8th, he sent a company of picked cavalry under General Mendoza to reconnoitre the country to the north; and he, rapidly proceeding up the valley, found only deserted pueblos, the inhabitants of which fled at his approach.

He arrived as far as Cochití without meeting an enemy, but there found the Indians in force, on the surrounding hills, under command of Catití. Several days were occupied in negotiations for peace, the Indians meanwhile constantly increasing in number, until Mendoza, suspecting treachery, deemed it wise to return to the main army, which he met at Sandia. Meanwhile the weather had become very severe, and the provisions being nearly exhausted it was thought best to return to Isleta for the winter; but on arriving there, it was found that the men were so greatly enfeebled that the retreat was continued to El Paso, where they arrived about the middle of February; the re-Christianized Indians of Isleta, to the number of 385, accompanying them for fear of the vengeance of the other Pueblos.

This failure on the part of Otermin seems to have led to his removal as governor, Bartolomé de Estrada Ramirez being appointed in his place in 1683. The latter did not even attempt a re-conquest, and in August of the same year was succeeded by Domingo Jironza Petriz de Cruzate, who organized at least two important expeditions, and many others of less interest, and in 1689 penetrated as far as Zia, but did not succeed in any permanent occupation.

Thus for a number of years the country was left in the possession of its aboriginal inhabitants — but after the first patriotic

fervor had cooled, dissensions arose among them, and during almost the entire period, a state of war existed between more or less of the pueblos. They suffered for lack of corn, caused by droughts and by inattention to planting; and the consequent famine caused the desertion of a number of towns, and the destruction of others, supposed to be well-supplied, by their more hungry neighbors. In short, this people who had ruled themselves so admirably down to the time of the Spanish occupation, seemed during the half century of their subjugation to have forgotten their old wisdom and become entirely unfitted for self-government; and thus, instead of consolidating their power, they prepared the way by dissension and mutual destruction, for an easy re-conquest by their enemies.

The Pecos, Queres, and Taos Indians waged war against the Tehuas and Tanos. At one time Popé was superseded by Tupatu as chief executive; but Popé was reinstated and continued in power till he died, when Tupatu was chosen as his successor.

CHAPTER XII

The Re-Conquest

In the spring of 1692, the viceroy of New Spain determined, if possible, to bring about the re-occupation of New Mexico, and appointed as its governor a man of great energy and decision of character, Diego de Vargas Zapata Lujan Ponce de Leon. This official immediately showed the wisdom of his choice by the promptitude of his action. Although greatly disappointed at the inadequacy of the force he was enabled to muster, which amounted to but two hundred Spaniards and one hundred friendly Indians, yet he decided not to delay, but to strike a blow at once, while it would be unexpected and therefore effectual.

Accordingly, he left Paso del Norte on August 21, 1692, and marched so rapidly up the Rio Grande Valley, stopping only for necessary rest, that in less than twenty-three days he arrived before Santa Fé, which he approached early in the morning of September 13th. He found the town walled and full of Indians, who had especially fortified the massive palace. The first act of the Spaniards was the very important one of cutting off the water supply from the river, and then throughout the day negotiations were carried on, De Vargas using every effort to conciliate the Indians and avoid a conflict. At first all overtures were unsuccessful, and meanwhile the hills around were becoming covered with armed men from the adjacent pueblos, who had come to the aid of their brethren.

Finally peaceful measures prevailed, a number of Indians came out to greet the general, and the next morning he was invited to enter the town. This he did, with Father Corvera and six unarmed soldiers, and proclaimed that he had authority to pardon all past offenses if the people would now return to their

allegiance to church and king. The royal banner was then unfurled and De Vargas formally took possession of the kingdom of New Mexico in the name of King Charles II.

The next important event was the submission of Luis Tupatu, who since the deaths of Popé and Catití had been the chief of the Pueblos. He came from San Juan and accompanied De Vargas on his marches to the other pueblos, having great influence in securing a favorable reception for the Spaniards. The moral effect of this rapid and signal success was quickly seen in the voluntary surrender of no less than twelve adjacent pueblos.

Only waiting long enough at the capital to make the necessary arrangements for the new government, Vargas started on an expedition against Taos, the most hostile of the pueblos, and marched so rapidly that he arrived there and surrounded the two great buildings on the third day from Santa Fé. It was then discovered that the pueblo was entirely deserted; but the governor soon succeeded in inducing the Indians to return, not only to their homes but to their allegiance to the Spanish crown and the Christian faith, no less than ninety-five being baptized at one time. This done, he returned to the capital, having been absent but eight days, and not losing a single man.

Scarcely taking time to rest, he next started, on October 17th, on a very extensive expedition, which included Pecos, Santo Domingo, Cochití, Zia, Jemez, and Santa Ana, at all of which places he was received with acclamation, and reëstablished the Spanish authority. Finding much of the fall still left, he concluded to visit the more distant pueblos as well; and so, starting from Santa Ana on October 30th, with but eighty-nine soldiers, he marched to Isleta, Acoma, Zuñi, and even to all the Moqui towns except Oraybi, succeeding everywhere, by tact rather than by force, in inducing the people to return to their allegiance in exchange for a pardon from the king and absolution from an accompanying priest.

From Zuñi, on his return, he took a short and direct route to Socorro, and from there went to El Paso, in order to collect the families that had been exiled since 1680, and the other colonists

who were to re-settle the country. He arrived on December 20, 1692, but much delay occurred in the business, so that it was not till October 13th of the next year that the unwieldy company, consisting of fifteen hundred persons largely composed of women and children, with three thousand horses and mules and all the baggage of colonists, commenced its march. No less than seventeen Franciscans accompanied this expedition.

Vargas had hoped to find the Indians as favorably disposed as when he left them, but meanwhile reports had been circulated that he was going to return to execute vengeance upon them, and at a great council a majority had decided to resist his approach. There was, however, a great diversity of opinion among the pueblos, and the consequent lack of unity of action deprived their opposition of any great force. Santa Ana, Zia, and San Felipe gave tokens of friendly feeling, and, on December 1st, Vargas met the governors of San Ildefonso, San Lazaro, and Tesuque, and in a short talk regained their confidence. After a conference with the governor of Santa Fé, the Spanish army marched into the capital on the 16th without opposition, and bearing the same banner which had been carried by Oñate when he entered the city almost a hundred years before.

After various ceremonies in the plaza, the Spaniards encamped on the hills north of the city, as the palace was occupied by the Tanos Pueblos, and the houses by other Indians. The weather was unusually severe; so much so that men sent out to obtain timber to repair the church of San Miguel were obliged to return to town; and Vargas, wishing to use the public buildings for the immigrants, sent word to the Tanos Indians to return to their pueblos on the Galisteo. This order, however, created great commotion, and the Indians concluded at a council to resist the entrance of the Spaniards.

On December 28th they closed all the entrances to the plaza and fortified all the ramparts. De Vargas then moved his camp down from the hills to the plain close to the city walls, and demanded the surrender of the Indians, but was only replied to by insults. An immediate assault was then made upon the town, and a fierce

battle ensued throughout the entire day. Companies of Tanos and Tehua Indians came over the hills to the aid of their friends within the walls, and on the other hand the Spaniards were greatly assisted by the Indians of Pecos under their ever faithful governor, Juan Ye. The darkness of night separated the combatants, but at daybreak of the ensuing day the Spaniards burst through the walls and captured the town with great slaughter. Many Indians escaped, but seventy warriors, including Bolsas, the governor, were shot in the plaza. Four hundred women and children were partitioned among the Spanish families as servants, subject to the approval of the king of Spain, and with the merciful advice of De Vargas to the recipients that they should treat the captives as fathers do their children.

The capture of the capital had a great effect but hostilities continued for over two years more, the governor showing wonderful energy in his actions and swiftness in his marches; and he gradually succeeded in defeating the Indians who continued to keep up the struggle, and in capturing their strongholds. In the course of this war, a number of the pueblos were destroyed or abandoned and the mortality among the Indians from sickness and exposure, as well as in battle, was very great. At length the last remnants of opposition were overcome, and by the end of 1696 the whole country was quiet and acknowledged the Spanish authority.

The first place re-populated, after the revolution, was Santa Cruz, to which the families that arrived from El Paso in June, 1694, were sent as soon as it was safe, in 1695. In all documents thereafter for many years it was called "La Villa Nueva de Santa Cruz de la Cañada."

CHAPTER XIII

The Spanish Era, 1696 to 1822

The five year term of office of De Vargas, as governor, expired in 1696, and Pedro Rodriguez Cubero was appointed in his place. De Vargas had applied for another term but the application arrived in Spain too late. The king, however, appreciated the value of the services of the reconquistador and promised to re-appoint him when Cubero's term should expire, and gave him his choice of the two titles of marquis and count. Cubero arrived and commenced his administration July 2, 1697.

Considering the brilliancy of the re-conquest by Vargas, and the debt which the Spaniards owed to him on account of his success after the repeated failures of all others, it would be supposed that all would have united in sustaining his administration. But this was far from the case, and almost from the first there was friction between himself and the cabildo which claimed to govern the capital city. For more than two years he was held as prisoner, under charges, in Santa Fé; and, though released, the cabildo persisted in filing new charges, including those of embezzlement and oppression. Juan Paez Hurtado, who for a full generation was an important figure in New Mexican affairs, was included in these accusations. Cubero ordered the arrest of both Vargas and Hurtado, and treated the former, especially, with great harshness, imposing a heavy fine, confiscating his property, and keeping him in close confinement until July, 1700, when he immediately left for Mexico to seek redress.

In 1699, Governor Cubero made a tour of the west of the territory, receiving the submission of Acoma, of Laguna (then a newly established pueblo), and of Zuñi; and carrying on active nego-

THE GOVERNOR'S PALACE, SANTA FÉ, BEFORE ALTERED IN 1912

tiations for the christianizing of the Moquis. But Zuñi itself was abandoned both by the friar, Padre Garaicoechea, resident there, and the military, in 1703.

In the latter year, De Vargas, who had been reappointed governor some time before, reappeared, Cubero having left without waiting to meet him. The reconquistador had meanwhile received from the king the title of Marquez de la Nava de Brazinas, and reassumed the gubernatorial office in Santa Fé on November 10th, with his friend, Juan Paez Hurtado, as lieutenant-governor. He had many plans for the firmer establishment of Spanish authority, but these were all cut short by his sudden death, while on an expedition against the Navajós, at Bernalillo, on April 14, 1704. His remains were interred behind the altar of the church of St. Francis, now the cathedral, at Santa Fé, where his monument still exists.

Hurtado succeeded as acting-governor, and served till March 10, 1705, when a governor *ad interim*, appointed by the viceroy of New Spain, arrived, in the person of Francisco Cuervo y Valdez. He was a Knight of Santiago and had been in office at Guadalajara; but the king of Spain had his own friends to favor, and appointed Jose Chacon Medina Salazar y Villaseñor, Marquez de la Peñuela, to succeed De Vargas, when news of the death of the latter reached Spain. Communication with the parent country, however, was slow and infrequent, and it was not till August 1, 1707, that Peñuela arrived, so that the appointee of the viceroy had over two years of administration.

During that period there were the usual troubles with the Navajós and with the more remote pueblos in the west; but Governor Cuervo showed the most energy in founding or reëstablishing towns. In 1706 he founded the Villa of Alburquerque, which he named in honor of the viceroy of New Spain, who had given him his appointment; and established thirty families there. He also re-settled the old pueblo of Galisteo with eighteen Tanos families, and added a number of Tehua families to the scant population of Pojoaque. He called Alburquerque, in the first place, San Francisco de Alburquerque, but the authorities in

Mexico changed the name to San Felipe, in compliment to King Philip.

The Marquez de la Peñuela is known to all New Mexicans and multitudes of tourists, from the inscription on the ancient beam which forms a part of the ceiling and roof of the historic church of San Miguel in Santa Fé. This reads as follows: "El Señor Marquez de la Peñuela hizo esta fabrica; el Alferes Real Don Agustin Flores Vergara su criado. Ano de 1710." — His Lordship, the Marquis de la Peñuela, erected this building; the Royal Ensign Don Augustin Flores Vergara, his servant. A. D. 1710."

Through all this period there is the same succession of border troubles, of incursions by wild Indians against both Spaniards and Pueblos, and of return expeditions by the latter against the savages.

Peñuela was succeeded by Juan Ignacio Flores Mogollon, who assumed the office October 5, 1712, and continued as governor for exactly three years, to a day. He was born in Seville, had been governor of Nuevo Leon, and was a man of experience, but was now quite old and infirm. During his official term there were campaigns against the Navajós and the Apaches, and several attempts to arrange peaceably for the submission of the Moquis. The governor had enemies among the Spaniards, and was accused of malfeasance in office, but through the law's delay the trial did not come on until years after his term expired. He was relieved on October 5, 1715, and the viceroy appointed Felix Martinez as acting-governor until a regular appointment should be made by the king. The change was one from bad to worse, as Martinez was a man of violent temper and was accused of unblushing corruption in office, even to the extent of dividing all the Indian captives taken in a fight with the Utes and Comanches with his brother, and having them sold on joint account in New Biscay. Martinez had been a soldier under De Vargas and was afterwards captain of the garrison at Santa Fé. The viceroy became dissatisfied with his conduct, and in September, 1716, ordered him to report in Mexico, and directed Captain Antonio Valverde y Cosio, who was in command at El Paso, to proceed to Santa Fé

and become acting-governor. Martinez refused to receive Valverde, but, appointing Juan Paez Hurtado to act as governor *ad interim* while he was absent, started on his unwelcome journey to Mexico.

He left on January 20, 1717, and immediately complications arose between the two acting-governors; but finally Valverde was confirmed in the office as governor, and held that position about five years. He made a tour of the entire province, visiting every Spanish settlement and pueblo; went on various expeditions among the Indians, and endeavored to establish a permanent settlement and presidio at a place in western Kansas, which appears frequently in the chronicles of those days, called Cuartelejo. About the same time the situation in Moqui was rendered more complicated by the efforts of the Jesuits to have the spiritual care of the people taken from the Franciscans and given into their charge. This rivalry continued impartially for a number of years, the Jesuits claiming jurisdiction from the Arizona side and the Franciscans from that of New Mexico; while the people specially concerned refused to give up their independence to either. Valverde popularized himself by building a chapel at Santa Fé, and also one at San Ildefonso, at his own expense.

The next regular governor was Juan Domingo de Bustamante, who held office for two terms of five years each, assuming the position March 2, 1722. During this period occurred the first episcopal visitations of New Mexico, by Bishop Crespo, of Durango, who claimed jurisdiction over the whole territory. The first of these was in 1725, but extended only to El Paso; but five years later another visitation was made, and the bishop administered confirmation for the first time at Santa Fé and a few other points, being prevented from visiting others by the Franciscans, who claimed to have exclusive authority in New Mexico. This resulted in a long controversy which occupies much space in the archives at Santa Fé and an account of which was published in Madrid in 1738. The succeeding bishop of Durango, Bishop Elizacoechea, made a visitation in 1737, and extended his journey as far as Zuñi. A record of this appears in the solid stone of

Inscription Rock, as follows: "On the 28th of September of the year 1737, arrived at this place the Illustrious Don Martin de Elizacoechea, Bishop of Durango: and on the 29th left for Zuñi."

The successor of Bustamante was Gervasio Cruzat y Gongora, in office from 1731 to 1736, and he was succeeded in the latter year by Enrique de Olavide y Michelena, named temporarily by the viceroy. He was appointed on May 17, 1736, but may not have arrived until somewhat later, and served until the regular governor appointed by the king, Gaspar Domingo de Mendoza, arrived in 1739. During his administration the number of Spanish inhabitants, not including soldiers and their families, was found to be 9,747, residing in twenty-four towns.

The next governor was Joaquin Codallos y Rabal, a major of the Spanish army, who held the office from 1743 to 1749, and was succeeded by Tomas Velez Cachupin in May, 1749. During the administration of Governor Codallos, in 1748, the pueblo of Sandia was reëstablished by Padre Menchero, a zealous Franciscan, who collected a large number of Tihua Indians, rescued from Moqui, and settled them on the Rio Grande. This same priest induced about 500 Navajós to settle at Cebolleta in 1746; but they preferred the free life of the mountains and prairies and abandoned the place in 1750. Wars with the Utes and Comanches were almost as regular as the seasons, but with varying results. In October, 1747, Governor Codallos overtook a large body of them above Abiquiu, killed 107, captured 206, and secured about 1,000 horses. In 1751 Governor Cachupin almost equaled this achievement by killing 101, and capturing the remaining 44, of a band of Comanches who had made a raid on Galisteo; and only lost one of his own 164 men.

In 1754, Governor Cachupin was succeeded by Francisco Antonio Maria del Valle, whose memory is kept green at Santa Fé by the gift made by himself and his wife to the Church of Our Lady of Light on the plaza, of a carved stone reredos, which is now to be seen back of the altar in the cathedral. The church was his own gift to the soldiers of the garrison and hence was called the "Castrense," or military chapel; and the reredos,

which is carved in relief and extends across the entire width of the chancel recess, bears two inscriptions in ovals, reading as follows: "A devocion de Señor Don Francisco Antonio Marin del Valle, Gobernador y Capitan General de este Reino," and, "Y de su esposa Maria Ygnacia Martinez de Ugarte, 1761."

In 1760, Bishop Tamaron, of Durango, made a visitation which extended over the entire territory and occupied about four months, from April to July; during which he is said to have confirmed no less than 11,271 persons.

Governor Del Valle held office till late in that year, and then Mateo Antonio de Mendoza acted for a few months, and was succeeded in 1761 by Manuel Portillo Urrisola for another short period; and then, on February 1, 1762, Governor Cachupin, who had been reappointed by the king, again took possession of the office. During this second term of Cachupin the first expedition into what is now Colorado was made in search of mineral wealth. The exploring party was in charge of Juan Maria Rivera, and penetrated the San Juan country and also the region of the Gunnison and Uncompagre, where they discovered considerable silver and consequently named the mountain and the river La Plata. In 1763, the archives tell of a lengthy proceeding against certain Indians of the pueblo of Abiquiu for alleged witchcraft, which resulted in soldiers being sent to destroy some stone objects supposed to be used in idolatrous ceremonies, and several Indians being sentenced to practical slavery.

After this second term of Governor Cachupin, in 1767, came Pedro Fermin de Mendinueta, as governor and captain-general; and he was the last of the Spanish officials to hold this latter title. He was a colonel in the army and a Knight of Santiago. At this time the number of Spanish soldiers stationed in the territory was only eighty, who had headquarters at Santa Fé; and the governor reported that besides the troops located there, there were about 200 men among the colonists capable of military service, but very poorly supplied with arms. Many explorations were made about this time, mostly in the direction of the Pacific. In 1774, Captain Juan Bautista de Anza headed an expedition to

the west which succeeded in reaching the Spanish settlements in California by the way of the Gila. In 1776, Padre Escalante attempted to reach the Pacific by a northern route and penetrated as far as Utah Lake, when he was compelled to return by way of Moqui; and about the same time Padre Francisco Garces made his memorable trip along the valley of the Colorado and through parts of California and Arizona.

Governor Mendinueta continued in office until March, 1778, when Francisco Trebol Navarro, who for a number of years had been alcalde mayor of the Albuquerque district, was acting-governor for a short time; and toward the end of the year, Ansa, now a lieutenant-colonel, was appointed governor. He was a native of Sonora, familiar with the country and people, and also with the Indians, and made an excellent official. He carried on a vigorous warfare against the Comanches, especially in 1779, when he made a rapid march to the northeast with about 1,000 men, and killed Cuerno Verde, the Comanche chieftain, as well as securing a great victory over the tribe. During his administration both famine and pestilence afflicted the land, the former being so severe in the Moqui region that during three years without rain there were 6,698 deaths, and the population was reduced from 7,494 to 798, and of 30,000 sheep but 300 remained; and in the Pueblo towns of New Mexico 5,025 Indians died with smallpox in 1780-81.

In 1789, Fernando de la Concha came as governor; and in turn he was succeeded, in 1794, by Fernando Chacon, who was still in office at the end of the century. At this time and down to the beginning of the traffic over the Santa Fé Trail we are told that there was no money in New Mexico, but all business transacted was by exchange or barter of land or animals or commodities. There was a great fair every year at Taos in mid-summer, when the Comanches and other wild tribes came in from the plains, with skins, principally of buffalo and deer, buffalo meat, etc., for exchange for iron implements, beads, and various manufactured articles. In January occurred the annual fair at Chihuahua, which was attended by the people of all the northern prov-

inces, and to which the New Mexicans went in long caravans for protection against hostile attack and mutual assistance while passing through deserts like the Jornada del Muerto. These caravans sometimes included no less than 500 persons, and their departure and arrival were the great events of the year in a business way. The merchants at Chihuahua became rich through this trade, in which they had a great advantage; and the traders in their turn made very large profits from the Spanish settlers and the Indians. An instance is given of the purchase in Chihuahua of a Guacamaya, a parrot of gay plumage, for eight dollars, and the sale of the feathers in New México for $492. This trade continued to be all of the commercial business of the country until the opening of the Santa Fé Trail from the Missouri established communication with the United States.

At the beginning of the new century, in the year 1800, a grant was made for the settlement of Cebolleta, intended largely as a bulwark against the Navajós. In 1803 the Indians asked to be allowed to settle there, also, but this was refused by the governor. Incursions followed, and finally Lieutenant Antonio Narbona, who had been sent from Chihuahua to assist the New Mexicans, in January, 1805, defeated the Navajós in the Cañon de Chelly, killing and capturing a considerable number.

Soon after, in the spring of 1805, Colonel Joaquin del Real Alencaster came to succeed Governor Chacon, who had served two terms of five years each. In 1806, owing to the purchase of Louisiana by the United States three years before, and the fear that there might be difficulties along the frontier, Lieutenant Melgares was sent from Chihuahua with 100 dragoons on an expedition along the border to explore the country and conciliate the Indians. He followed the Red River into the present Oklahoma, marched northerly to the Arkansas, visited the Pawnee nation in Kansas, distributed Spanish flags and medals, and then returned to Santa Fé in October. The marks of his work among the Indians were found by Lieutenant Pike, when he passed through the same section a short time after.

The first arrivals across the plains from the Mississippi Valley

occurred in 1804 and 1805, when La Lande and Pursley appeared in Santa Fé; and on March 3, 1807, Lieutenant Pike and his little company were brought into the city from the north. These events will be treated of at greater length in separate chapters; Pike's exploits in Chapter XIV, and the Santa Fé Trail in Chapter XVII.

Governor Alencaster was succeeded in 1807 by Alberto Maynez as acting-governor, who also served at a later date.

The next regular governor was Jose Manrique. He was a lieutenant-colonel in the army, and was governor or governor *ad interim* from 1808 to 1814, and again for a short time in 1819. In 1811, General Nemecio Salcedo, general of the department with headquarters at Chihuahua, made certain orders respecting lands in New Mexico which have led to his name being placed in some lists of governors; but he seems never to have had that or any other civil title, and the powers he exercised he probably assumed by virtue of his military authority.

During the term of Governor Manrique occurred the election of the only representative which New Mexico ever had in the Spanish Cortes. In the troublous times in Spain, caused by the invasion of the French and the coronation of Joseph Bonaparte as king, a liberal policy toward the colonies was for the first time adopted in order to unite them more firmly with the old monarchy and the fortunes of King Ferdinand VII, and New Mexico was accorded one representative in the Cortes. There were three leading candidates for this distinguished position, Antonio Ortiz, Juan Rafael Ortiz, and Pedro Bautista Pino, and at a meeting of the electoral body, held on August 11, 1810, the latter was chosen. He proceeded to take the long journey by the way of Mexico and Vera Cruz to Spain, where the regular Spanish government was then in session at Cadiz, the greater part of the kingdom, including Madrid, being in the power of the French. While residing in Spain he made and published a *Report*, descriptive of New Mexico, its people, and government, which is one of the most valuable documents connected with New Mexican history. It was reprinted in Mexico in 1839. He endeavored to obtain many ad-

vantages for his province, and succeeded in securing considerable recognition, but the difficulties of the Spanish government and the revolution which followed in Spanish America prevented any actual results being achieved.

Alberto Maynez was the next executive, with the title of civil and military governor. He served in 1814 and 1815, and again in 1817.

Pedro Maria de Allande succeeded to the title in 1816, and again in 1818, after the second period of Maynez's authority.

Facundo Melgares was the last of the Spanish governors, the revolution of 1821 being successful in establishing Mexican independence. It was Governor Melgares who, as lieutenant, commanded the brilliant expedition into the Indian Territory in 1806, and subsequently had charge of the escort of Pike to Chihuahua, in 1807. By the law of May 6, 1822, his term as governor expired on the succeeding 5th of July.

Melgares was a European of distinguished family. He was of liberal education, immense fortune, great military ability, and a high sense of honor. The long line of Spanish governors, beginning with Oñate, established by De Vargas, and containing many distinguished names, finds a fitting termination in the person of Melgares, of whom history speaks only in terms of honor and of praise.

CHAPTER XIV

The Expedition of Lieutenant Pike — 1806

Very shortly after the acquisition of the vast territory then embraced under the name of Louisiana from the French by the United States, the government of the latter undertook the exploration of such portions of this immense domain as were then unknown, save to the aborigines. Captains Meriwether Lewis and William Clark were selected by the president to explore the then unvisited sources of the Missouri, and Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike, of the sixth infantry, to follow the Mississippi to its source; both expeditions having to traverse unbroken wildernesses and encounter untold hardships and privations. The expedition of Lieutenant Pike occupied nearly nine months, extending from August 9, 1805, when he sailed from St. Louis, to the last day of April, 1806, when he returned.

Soon after his arrival he was requested by General Wilkinson to take command of another expedition then being fitted out at St. Louis, the primary object of which was to conduct a number of Osage Indian captives, and also a deputation of that tribe recently returned from Washington, up the Missouri and Osage Rivers to the Indian town of Grand Osage. The instructions then provided that Lieutenant Pike should endeavor to bring about a permanent peace between the Kansas and Osage nations; and afterwards to "establish a good understanding with the Yanctons, Tetaus, or Camanches," and finally "to ascertain the direction, extent, and navigation of the Arkansaw and Red Rivers." As to the possibility of meeting inhabitants of New Mexico, the instructions of the general were as follows:

"As your interview with the Camanches will probably lead you to the head branches of the Arkansaw and Red Rivers, you

may find yourself approximated to the settlements of New Mexico, and there it will be necessary you should move with great circumspection to keep clear of any hunting or reconnoitering parties from that province and to prevent alarm or offense; because the affairs of Spain and the United States appear to be on the point of amicable adjustment, and moreover it is the desire of the President to cultivate the friendship and harmonious intercourse of all the nations of the earth, and particularly our near neighbors, the Spaniards."

This expedition started from the landing at Belle Fontaine on July 15, 1806 — the party consisting of two lieutenants, one surgeon, one sergeant, two corporals, sixteen privates, and one interpreter. The surgeon was Dr. Robinson, who was a volunteer, giving his services as compensation for transportation and accommodation. Without dwelling on this expedition until it neared the Spanish boundary, it may be said that from August 20th to September 1st, Lieutenant Pike remained at Grand Osage, holding councils with the chiefs of the Osage nation, and that on September 29th he held a grand council with the Pawnees at their principal village, not less than 400 warriors being present.

At this point he saw the first evidences of the Spanish expedition which had recently visited there from New Mexico. This expedition, which was the most important that ever penetrated to the eastward into the Indian country, at least in modern times, consisted of 100 dragoons of the regular army drawn from Chihuahua, and 500 mounted militia of New Mexico, all equipped with ammunition for six months, and each man leading two horses and a mule, making the whole number of animals 2,075. The whole force was under the command of Don Facundo Melgares, a lieutenant in the Spanish army, a man of large wealth and liberal education, who had gained much distinction in previous expeditions against the Apaches and other hostile Indians. They descended the Red River 233 leagues, held councils there with the chief of the Tetaus, and afterwards struck off northeast to the Arkansas River, and thence to the Pawnee nation, where they held a grand council, presented Spanish flags and medals, and also a commission to Characterish, the head chief, from the

governor of New Mexico (dated Santa Fé, June 15, 1806), and finally returned to Santa Fé in October. When the distance traveled and the country and tribes passed through are considered, this expedition rivals those of Lewis and Clark, and Pike, for its extent, difficulty, and importance.

After leaving the Pawnee capital, Lieutenant Pike proceeded westerly between the Arkansas and the Kansas Rivers (always called in his narrative "Arkansaw" and "Kans"), seeing many prairie-dogs, which he calls *Wishtonwishes* from the sound of their cry, and of which he tells us almost the exact story afterwards repeated by Horace Greeley of their living in the same hole with a rattlesnake, a horned frog, and a land tortoise. On the 28th of October, in accordance with instructions, he detached Lieutenant Wilkinson with five soldiers to make the trip down the Arkansas River in canoes, for the purpose of exploring its whole course to the Mississippi. On the 15th of November he came in sight of the Rocky Mountains, and soon after encountered almost constant snows, suffering great hardships — as the company had only summer cotton clothes — and on the 3d of December reached and calculated the altitude of the great mountain which bears his name — "Pike's Peak." He mentions it as known to all the savage nations for hundreds of miles around, and spoken of with admiration by the Spaniards, being the limit of their travels to the northward. Pike's measurement made it 10,581 feet above the level of the prairie, which he estimated at 8,000 feet, thus making the total elevation 18,581, whereas the latest estimates make it only 14,147; and he says that in all the wanderings of the party for over two months, from November 14th to January 27th, it was never out of their sight.

The hardships endured during this period are almost beyond description; the feet of the men became frosted so that they could only proceed with the utmost pain, and finally several had to be left in sheltered localities, and supplied with food from time to time by the remainder. The party subsisted entirely on the product of the chase, and sometimes for as long as three full days were without a mouthful to eat. In December the expedition

determined to leave the valley of the Arkansas and proceed southerly, to strike the headwaters of the Red River, which they expected to find at that point. Soon after they met a stream which they followed eastward slowly, on account of their wretched physical condition, and the necessity of stopping daily to hunt; but imagine their feelings, almost of despair, when on January 5th they found that they had thus been led back to the Arkansas, and were at the camp which they had occupied nearly a month before! Again they started southerly, in search of the Red River, determining to cross the mountains before them on foot; each of the party, including the commander himself and Dr. Robinson, carrying forty-five pounds of baggage, besides provisions and arms, making an aggregate of seventy pounds burden. At length, on the 30th of January, they arrived in the evening on the banks of a stream of some magnitude, which they believed to be the long-looked-for Red River. Here they concluded to build a kind of stockade, where four or five might defend themselves while the others went back to carry assistance to the poor fellows who had necessarily been left at various points, on account of inability to travel; the intention being, when all should be assembled, to proceed in canoes or on rafts down the Red River to Natchitoches, then the most westerly United States post in southern Louisiana. At this point Dr. Robinson, who had business in New Mexico, left the party in order to proceed to Santa Fé, which they calculated was then nearer than it would be from any other point.

While most of the men were absent, in search of those left behind, and the remainder were at work building the fort, Pike himself usually employed himself in hunting; and on February 15th, while thus occupied with a single soldier, he discovered two horsemen near the summit of a hill, but half a mile distant. After much parleying they were induced to come to the camp, and proved to be a Spanish dragoon and a civilized Indian, both well armed. They reported that Robinson had arrived in Santa Fé, and been received with great kindness by the governor. They seemed surprised at the appearance of the fort, but Pike informed

them of his intention of going down the river to Natchitoches as soon as his party was prepared; and at the same time said that if the governor of New Mexico would send an officer with an interpreter, it would be a pleasure to satisfy any doubts he might have as to the intentions of this American party in being so near his borders. The two visitors stated that they could reach Santa Fé in two days (which was not true), but never intimated that Pike was wrong in supposing himself on the banks of the Red River. The building of the fort continued, and gradually the frozen men who had been left behind were brought in — with the exception of two still unable to walk. Of them Pike says, "they sent me some of the bones taken out of their feet, and conjured me by all that was sacred not to leave them to perish far from the civilized world."

On the 26th of February the report of the guard's gun announced the appearance of strangers, and soon after two Frenchmen arrived. These informed Pike that Governor Alencaster, of New Mexico, had heard that the Ute Indians were about to attack the little expedition, and therefore had sent an officer with fifty dragoons to protect them. Scarcely had this notification been received, when the Spanish party came in sight, consisting not only of the fifty dragoons but also fifty mounted militia of the province. Pike sent the Frenchmen to arrange a meeting between himself and the commander of the troops, and then sallied forth to hold the interview on the prairie near the fort. The officers in command of the Spanish expedition were Ygnacio Saltelo and Bartolomé Fernandez, both lieutenants. After some conversation, Pike invited them to enter his fortification and they breakfasted together, after which the Spanish officers said that the governor, having learned that Pike's party had lost its route, had sent them to offer all necessary assistance to reach the Red River, the nearest navigable point of which was eight days' journey from Santa Fé. "What," said Pike, interrupting him, "is not this the Red River?" Imagine his amazement at the answer "No, sir! it is the Rio del Norte." These words showed that he had unwittingly passed the frontiers of the United States, and

actually erected a fort on Spanish soil, within the borders of New Mexico. His first act, on receiving this astonishing information, was to order his men to take down the American flag, which had been hoisted over the works. The Spanish commander then said that the governor was anxious to see them at Santa Fé as soon as possible, and had provided 100 horses and mules to take the party and their baggage to the capital. Pike at first refused to go until the detachment which he had sent under a sergeant to bring in the two men still absent had returned; but it was finally arranged that he should proceed with one of the lieutenants and half the Spanish force, leaving two men to meet the sergeant's party on their return, to inform them of the changed aspect of affairs. Pike in telling of this event expresses the reluctance with which he abandoned the fort built with so much labor, and which was admirably situated for defense; but finding that he had really, though unintentionally, trespassed on Spanish territory, and being confident that the officers sent had orders to bring him and his men to Santa Fé by force, if necessary, he thought it best to show an entire willingness to make an explanation to the governor, rather than appear to go under restraint.

Much discussion has taken place as to the exact locality of Pike's Fort; but by a careful reading of his narrative it can be determined almost to a certainty. He first saw the Rio Grande from the top of a high hill, two days after his party struck a small river running west, which they hailed as a tributary to the Red River, and followed through what would now be called a cañon, along the foot of the White Mountains (Sierra Blanca). A glance at a modern map will show that the small river was the Sangre de Cristo; and the point from which the Rio Grande was first seen, near the site of Fort Garland. After reaching the Rio Grande they descended eighteen miles, where they found a large western branch emptying into the main stream. This must have been the present Conejos River. Five miles up this river, on the north bank, and with the water itself forming the defense on one side, was where he built his fort; which was so

ingeniously constructed that it could only be entered by creeping through a hole, after passing a drawbridge over the ditch.

The description of the journey to Santa Fé shows the above to be the correct location of the fort. The first town of importance which they saw was after a march of a little more than 100 miles, being the village of Warm Spring, or "L'Eau Chaud," as Pike calls it, or, as now known, Ojo Caliente. Here he found the first real Mexican houses which he had seen, and describes at some length the flat roofs, water-spouts, narrow doors, and small windows — some with mica lights. The springs he describes as two in number, about ten yards apart, each affording water enough for a mill, and the temperature of the water as more than thirty-three degrees above blood-heat. The next day they marched down Ojo Caliente River to its junction with the Chama (which he calls Conejos), observing on the way the ruins of ancient Pueblo towns, as well as several little inhabited villages, all of which had round towers to defend the inhabitants from Indian incursions. Here they first experienced the characteristic hospitality of the Mexican people; who invited them into their houses, dressed the feet of the young men who had been frozen — and in short, to use the language of Pike, "brought to my recollection the hospitality of the ancient patriarchs, and caused me to sigh with regret at the corruption of that noble principle by the polish of modern ages."

The same day they continued down the Chama to the Rio Grande and across to "the village of St. John's" (pueblo of San Juan), which he says was the residence of the president priest of the province, who had resided in it forty years. The house-tops were crowded when the party entered, just as they would be on a similar occasion today; and all the officers and men were hospitably treated. The next morning they marched after breakfast, and in about six miles came to a village of 2,000 souls, and in seven miles further to a small town of 500 inhabitants. These places are not named by the narrator, but must be Santa Cruz and San Ildefonso. Seventeen miles further on they came to a Pueblo town (the Pueblos are always distinguished by Pike as

"civilized Indians") containing 400 people. While the estimate of population is a good deal exaggerated, this is evidently Tesuque. Here they changed horses and prepared for their entry into the capital and appearance before the governor. The condition of Pike's party as to clothing was so lamentable as to be almost ludicrous. When they left their horses on the Arkansas, and commenced carrying everything on their backs, all articles were abandoned that were not essential to safety. Ammunition, tools, leather, etc., claimed the first places; the ornamental was a minor consideration. So on arriving at Santa Fé the commander was dressed in blue trousers, moccasins (mockinsons), blanket, coat, and a cap made of scarlet cloth lined with fur skin; and the men, in leggings, breech-cloths, and leather coats — and not a hat in the whole company. In such garb they did not make a very imposing appearance.

They had left the fort on the Conejos February 26th, and arrived at Santa Fé on the evening of Tuesday, March 3d. Pike describes the length of the city on the creek as about a mile, and that it was about three streets in width:

"Its appearance from a distance struck my mind with the same effect as a fleet of the flat-boats which are seen in the spring and fall seasons descending the Ohio. On the north side of the town is the square of soldiers' houses. The public square is in the center of the town, on the north side of which is situated the palace or government house, with the quarters for the guards, etc. The other side of the square is occupied by the clergy and public offices. In general the houses have a shed before the front, some of which have a flooring of brick; the consequence is that the streets are very narrow, say in general 25 feet. The supposed population is 4,500."

In another description of Santa Fé, which Captain Pike included in the appendix to his report, he gives a fuller description of the place and its surroundings, as follows:

"In the center of the public square, one side of which forms the flank of the soldiers' square, which is closed and in some degree defended by round towers in the angles which flank the four curtains; another side of the square is formed by the palace of the

governor, his guard-houses, etc. The third side is occupied by the priests and their suite, and the fourth by the chapetones who reside in the city.''

On entering the city, Lieutenant Pike was conducted to the palace, where he says:

''We were ushered in through various rooms, the floors of which were covered with skins of buffalo, bear, or some other animal. We waited in a chamber for some time until his excellency appeared, when we arose, and the following conversation took place in French:

''Gov. Do you speak French?

''Pike. Yes, sir.

''Gov. You come to reconnoitre our country, do you?

''Pike. I marched to reconnoitre our own.

''Gov. In what character are you?

''Pike. In my proper character, an officer of the United States Army.

''Gov. How many men have you?

''Pike. Fifteen.

''Gov. When did you leave St. Louis?

''Pike. 15th of July.

''Gov. I think you marched in June.

''Pike. No, sir.

''Gov. Well, return with Mr. Bartholomew to his house, and come here again at seven o'clock, and bring your papers.

''At the hour appointed we returned, when the governor demanded my papers. I told him I understood my trunk was taken possession of by his guard. He expressed his surprise, and immediately ordered it in; and also sent for one Solomon Colly, formerly a sergeant in our army, and one of the unfortunate company of Nolan. We were seated, when he ordered Colly to demand my name, to which I replied; he then demanded in what province I was born. I answered in English, and then addressed his excellency in French, and told him that I did not think it necessary to enter into such a catechising; that if he would be at the pains of reading my commission from the United States, and my orders from my general, it would be all that I presumed would be necessary to convince his excellency that I came with no hostile intentions toward the Spanish government; on the contrary, that I had express instructions to guard against giving them offense or alarm, and that his excellency would be convinced that myself and party were rather to be considered objects on which the so

much celebrated generosity of the Spanish nation might be exercised, than proper subjects to occasion the opposite sentiments.

"He then requested to see my commission and orders, which I read to him in French; on which he got up and gave me his hand for the first time, and said he was happy to be acquainted with me as a man of honor and a gentleman, that I could retire this evening and take my trunk with me; that on the morrow he would make further arrangements."

The next day, after examining the contents of Pike's trunk, the governor informed him that he must go with his men to Chihuahua, in the then province of Biscay, to appear before the commandant-general. The following conversation then ensued, which Pike has preserved in full in his journal:

"Pike. If we go to Chihuahua, we must be considered as prisoners of war.

"Gov. By no means.

"Pike. You have already disarmed my men without my knowledge; are their arms to be returned, or not?

"Gov. They can receive them at any moment.

"Pike. But, sir, I cannot consent to be led 300 or 400 leagues out of my route without its being by force of arms.

"Gov. I know you do not go voluntarily, but I will give you a certificate from under my hand of my having obliged you to march.

"Pike. I will address you a letter on the subject.

"Gov. You will dine with me today, and march afterwards to a village about six miles distant, escorted by Captain Antony D'Almansa, with a detachment of dragoons, who will accompany you to where the remainder of your escort is now waiting for you, under the command of the officer who commanded the expedition to the Pawnees."

After the dinner — which Captain Pike characterizes as "rather splendid," having a variety of dishes, and wines of the southern provinces — the governor drove Pike, D'Almansa, and a Mr. Bartholomew, who had proved a special friend to the Americans, three miles on the road to the south, the coach being attended by a guard of cavalry; and on parting said to his prisoner-guest: "Remember Alencaster in peace or war."

Accompanied by his friend Bartholomew and the guard, Pike

continued on through a blinding sand, and passed the night at the priest's house, at what apparently was the present village of La Bajada; as he says that they "came to a precipice which he descended, meeting with great difficulty from the obscurity of the night." Shortly after noon of the next day they arrived at the pueblo of Santo Domingo, which they describe as "a large village — the population being about 1,000 natives, governed by its own chief." The insignia of the governor appears to have been nearly the same then as at present, as it is stated that he was distinguished by "a cane with a silver head and black tassel." Pike visited the old church, and speaks enthusiastically of its rich paintings and the image of the saint, "as large as life — elegantly ornamented with gold and silver."

On Friday, March 6th, they arrived at San Felipe, where they crossed the Rio Grande on a bridge of eight arches, which seems to have attracted Pike's attention especially, as he gives a full description of its construction. Here they stopped at the house of the padre, Father Rubi, whose hospitality and extended information made the stay a pleasant one. At Albuquerque they were similarly entertained by Father Ambrosio Guerra, and Pike seems to have been particularly impressed with the beauty of some of the orphan girls, whom the good padre had adopted, and was bringing up in his household; and enthusiastically writes, after describing the dinner, "and to crown all, we were waited on by half a dozen of those beautiful girls, who, like Hebe at the feast of the gods, converted our wine to nectar, and with their ambrosial breath shed incense on our cups."

A short distance further south Pike was rejoiced to meet Dr. Robinson, who had left the party, it will be recollected, while they still believed they were on the Red River, to find his way to Santa Fé. He had received much the same treatment as Lieutenant Pike's command, and was being conveyed to Chihuahua by Don Facundo Melgares, who was now also to assume command of the guard that was conducting Pike. This Melgares was the same who had commanded the Spanish Pawnee expedition, and was described by Robinson to Pike in the highest terms as a gentleman

and soldier of gallantry and honor, praise in which Pike himself heartily joined after a brief acquaintance.

After passing towns which the lieutenant calls Tousac, St. Fernandez, Sabinez, and Xaxales, the expedition reached Sevilleta, spelled by Pike "Sibilleta," which he calls the neatest and most symmetrical village he had seen, being built in a regular square, with an unbroken wall on the outside, all the doors and windows facing the square. At this point, at that time, the semi-annual caravan for the south was formed, leaving in the month of February for El Paso, and returning in March; and making a similar expedition in the fall. The spring caravan which Pike saw consisted of about 300 men, escorted by an officer and thirty-five or forty troops, and was conducting 15,000 sheep, which had been collected from various parts of New Mexico, and were to be sold or exchanged for merchandise.

On the 21st of March the whole party arrived at El Paso, and Pike, with the officers, stayed at the house of Don Francisco Garcia, a wealthy merchant and planter, possessing 20,000 sheep and 1,000 cows.

On April 2d they reached Chihuahua, and Pike immediately had an audience with the general commanding, Don Nemecio Salcedo, who took his papers for examination, and also requested him to write a brief sketch of his travels and adventures on this expedition, which he shortly after did.

After being detained for some time, which however was spent quite pleasantly, owing to the hospitality of many of the leading citizens, Pike and Robinson were sent by a route nearly directly eastward, toward Natchitoches, which was the nearest United States post. On June 7th they arrived at San Antonio, where they were very hospitably treated by Governor Cordero, of Coahuila and Texas, and Governor Herrera, of the kingdom of New Leon, who treated them, in the language of Pike, "like their children."

At length, on the 1st of July, 1807 — but three weeks short of a year from the time of his departure from St. Louis — after crossing the whole of what is now the state of Texas, late in the after-

noon, but so eager to arrive that they left their jaded horses and pressed forward on foot, Pike entered the town of Natchitoches with Dr. Robinson. "Language," says he, "cannot express the gaiety of my heart when I once more beheld the standard of my country waved aloft. 'All hail,' cried I, 'the ever sacred name of *country*, in which is embraced that of kindred, friends, and every other tie which is dear to the soul of man!' "

It will be interesting to make a few extracts from the description which Captain Pike gave of New Mexico in the "Observations" which form part of the appendix to the history of his expedition; as showing the condition of the country at that period, in several respects in which time has wrought changes, and in other instances illustrating the characteristics which are still distinguishing marks of the territory and its people:

MINES, ETC. — "There are no mines known in the province, except one of copper, situated in a mountain on the west side of Rio del Norte, in latitude 34° north. It is worked, and produces twenty thousand mule loads of copper annually. It also furnishes that article for the manufactories of nearly all the internal provinces. It contains gold, but not quite sufficient to pay for its extraction; consequently it has not been pursued."

It is not easy to fix the identity of the copper mine referred to, as latitude 34° is just below Socorro, but it is probable that the latitude given is incorrect, and that the mine was the "Santa Rita," then being actively worked, having been discovered in 1800. This extract may be read in connection with one soon to be given on trade and commerce, in which "wrought copper vessels" appear among the exports.

MINERALS. — "There is, near Santa Fé, in some of the mountains, a stratum of talc, which is so large and flexible as to render it capable of being subdivided into thin flakes, of which the greater proportion of the houses in Santa Fé, and in all the villages to the north, have their window-lights made."

These mica mines, especially at Petaca, Nambé, and in the vicinity of Mora (where one of the villages is called Talco), are well known at present. As late as the time of the American occu-

pation, in 1846, we are told that no house in Santa Fé, except the palace, had windows of glass.

Trade and Commerce. — "New Mexico carries on a trade direct with Mexico through Biscay (Chihuahua), also with Sonora and Sinaloa; it sends out about 30,000 sheep annually, tobacco, dressed deer and cabrie skins, some fur, buffalo-robes, salt, and wrought copper vessels of a superior quality. It receives in return from Biscay and Mexico, dry-goods, confectionery, arms, iron, steel, ammunition, and some choice European wines and liquors; and from Sonora and Sinaloa gold, silver, and cheese. The following articles sell as stated (in this province), which will show the cheapness of provisions and the extreme dearness of imported goods:

Flour sells per hundred at	$ 2.00
Salt per mule-load	5.00
Sheep each	1.00
Beeves each	5.00
Wine del Passo per barrel	15.00
Horses each	11.00
Mules each	30.00
Superfine cloths per yard	25.00
Fine cloths per yard	20.00
Linen per yard	4.00

and all other dry-goods in proportion.

"The journey from Santa Fé to Mexico and returning to Santa Fé takes five months. They manufacture rough leather, segars, a vast variety and quantity of potters' ware, cotton, some coarse woolen cloths, and blankets of a superior quality. All these manufactures are carried on by the civilized Indians, as the Spaniards think it more honorable to be agriculturists than mechanics. The Indians likewise far exceed their conquerors in their genius for, and execution of, all mechanical operations. New Mexico has the exclusive right of cultivating tobacco."

From this it will be seen that the manufacture of pottery, the evidences of which are found in great quantities in the ruins of the oldest pueblos, and which is still carried on to such an extent by the Pueblo Indians, was never intermitted by that industrious people. The blankets were probably the forerunners of the present celebrated productions of the Navajós, which tribe is mentioned by Pike under the name of "Nanahaws." Then, as

now, the Apaches were the most troublesome of the natives, as the "Observations" say, "The Apaches are a nation of Indians who extend from the Black Mountains in New Mexico to the frontiers of Cogquilla [Coahuila], keeping the frontiers of these provinces in a continual state of alarm, and making it necessary to employ nearly 2,000 dragoons to escort the caravans, protect the villages, and revenge the attacks they are continually making."

GOVERNMENT AND LAWS. — "The government of New Mexico may be termed military, in the pure sense of the word; for although they have their alcaldes, or inferior officers, their judgments are subject to a reversion by the military commandants of districts. The whole male population are subject to military duty, without pay or emolument, and are obliged to find their own horses, arms, and provisions. The only thing furnished by the government is ammunition, and it is extraordinary with what subordination they act when they are turned out to do military duty; a strong proof of which was exhibited in the expedition of Melgares to the Pawnees. His command consisted of 100 dragoons of the regular service and 500 drafts from the province."

In the following paragraph Captain Pike pays a warm tribute to the bravery of the New Mexicans, and makes a richly merited recognition of that generosity and hospitality for which they are everywhere noted, and which the lapse of a century has not lessened, but which form as notable a characteristic today as when the captain wrote these words in 1807.

MANNERS, ETC. — "There is nothing peculiarly characteristic in this province that will not be embraced in my general observations on New Spain, except that being frontier and cut off, as it were, from the more inhabited parts of the kingdom, together with their continual wars with some of the savage nations who surround them, render them the bravest and most hardy subjects in New Spain; being generally armed, they know the use of them. Their want of gold and silver renders them laborious, in order that the productions of their labor may be the means of establishing the equilibrium between them and the other provinces where those metals abound. Their isolated and remote situation also causes them to exhibit in a superior degree the heaven like qualities of hospitality and kindness, in which they

appear to endeavor to fulfill the injunction of the scripture, which enjoins us to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and give comfort to the oppressed in spirit; and I shall always take pleasure in expressing my gratitude for their noble reception of myself and the men under my command."

CHAPTER XV

Mexican Government, 1821-46

In 1821 the revolutionary sentiment against Spanish authority, in Mexico, which had never been quenched from the time of the first efforts for freedom under Hidalgo in 1810, assumed practical form by the Plan of Iguala, which may be called the Mexican Declaration of Independence, promulgated on February 24th.

The revolutionists became so powerful that on August 24th a treaty was signed at Cordoba by the viceroy, Don Juan O'Donoju, recognizing the independence of Mexico. As the Spanish commander of the city of Mexico refused to deliver up that city, it was captured by General Iturbide on September 27th, and Spanish authority was at an end in all of New Spain.

The government of Spain repudiated the action of O'Donoju, but this had no practical effect as the new government held undisputed sway. A congress convened to formulate a constitution, and finally, on March 19, 1822, to the great disgust of its republican members, adopted an imperial form of government with General Iturbide as its first emperor under the name of Augustin I.

The reign of the new emperor was short. The republican leaders headed a counter-revolution, which resulted on April 7, 1823, in a decree of the congress declaring the coronation of Iturbide illegal and void and banishing him from the soil of Mexico.

These changes in the government of New Spain necessarily affected New Mexico, but there were no conflicts nor bloodshed there, the distant and almost isolated territory simply accepting the new conditions as they were imposed.

There was a burst of enthusiasm in Santa Fé over the achievement of Mexican independence. When the news arrived on the

THE PLAZA, AT SANTA FÉ

day after Christmas, 1821, that Iturbide had captured the city of Mexico there was great excitement, and Governor Melgares made an inspiring address to a great meeting in the plaza. It was determined to have a grand demonstration in honor of Mexican independence on January 6th, Dia de los Reyes (Epiphany), and the celebration lasted from the dawn of that day, ushered in by salutes of artillery, till the dawn of the next when the ball at the palace ended. All the noted characters of the day took part in the ceremonies. Juan Bautista Vigil, destined twenty-four years later to receive General Kearny and officially end the Mexican authority, was postmaster, and his building on the west side of the plaza was gorgeously decorated. The alcalde, Pedro Armendaris, led a grand march. A patriotic drama was presented, in which Santiago Abreu represented Independence; Vicar Juan Tomas Terrasas personated Religion; and Chaplain Francisco Osio, the Union.

Altogether, the new independence, though coupled with an emperor, was received with loud acclaim.

Rulers

Antonio Viscarra was the first regular executive under Mexican authority. The title was now changed from governor to "Political Chief." Governor Viscarra succeeded Melgares on July 5, 1822, and was also acting-governor in 1828.

He was succeeded in June, 1823, by Francisco Xavier Chaves, a prominént native New Mexican, who acted for a few weeks until the regular appointment of —

Bartolomé Baca, who was in authority during half of 1823, and until September 13, 1825, when he was succeeded by —

Antonio Narbona, who held the office until May 20, 1827. He was a Canadian.

Manuel Armijo then obtained the position, holding it at this time but about a year, when —

José Antonio Chavez succeeded, and held the office for three years, a long period in those days of rapid changes and short administrations.

Santiago Abreu became political chief in 1831, and continued

until some time in 1832. He and his two brothers, Ramon and Marcelino, all came from Mexico some time before, and all were killed in the revolution of 1837. Governor Abreu was chief justice down to the time of that revolution.

FRANCISCO SARRACINO. — Political chief, 1833 to May 14, 1835, except in October, 1834, when Juan Rafael Ortiz was acting executive.

In May, 1835, Mariano Chavez became acting jefe politico for three months, until the arrival from Mexico, in July, 1835, of —

ALBINO PEREZ, who served as political chief until the new Mexican constitution went into effect and New Mexico was changed from a territory into a department, and its executive from a political chief to a governor. The new arrangement went into operation in May, 1837, Perez being appointed the first governor, and holding the position until he was cruelly murdered in the revolution of that year. During the insurrection, and while José Gonzales was claiming to be governor, the legitimate authority was held by —

PEDRO MUÑOZ, a colonel in the army, as acting-governor, until the executive power was assumed by —

MANUEL ARMIJO, first as commanding general, and after the execution of Gonzales in January, 1838, as governor. He was soon after regularly appointed to the latter office, and held it until suspended by the inspector-general. For a brief time in 1841 —

ANTONIO SANDOVAL appears as acting governor; and during the suspension of Armijo —

MARIANO MARTINEZ DE LEJANZA was governor from some time in 1844 to September 18, 1845, and —

JOSÉ CHAVEZ from the latter date to December, when Armijo was returned to the executive office, and again assumed its duties.

MANUEL ARMIJO was the last Mexican governor, holding the position until the American occupation.

JUAN BAUTISTA VIGIL Y ALARID became acting-governor for a short time after Armijo's retreat, and as such delivered the capital to General Kearny, August 18, 1846.

All through this period, down to the final overthrow of the

Navajós long after the American occupation, there existed an almost constant condition of warfare with that powerful tribe. They made frequent incursions into the settlements — much as the Comanches did in the preceding century; and in turn armed expeditions were made into their country, with a view to their punishment and the destruction of their villages and property. The military reputation of Melgares was won in such expeditions, before he was sent to negotiate with the Pawnees in the east. They served as a school of military experience. Governor Vigil, then a militia officer, took part in no less than four of these campaigns, in 1823, 1833, 1836, and 1838. Manuel Chaves, José Maria Chavez, and Roman A. Baca made great reputations as leaders in the almost constant Indian wars.

About the year 1830 the Navajós were kept in very good order for a time by the energy of Colonel Vizcarra, but after his departure no one arose capable of inspiring them with fear. The ordinary custom was for peace to be made in the spring, which permitted the sowing of grain to be done without danger; but the fall was very likely to see a renewal of hostilities. An expedition organized in 1835, in which most of the leading men of the territory enlisted as volunteers, was surprised by an ambush in a narrow defile, and forced to retreat with some loss. The Apaches also made periodical raids into certain parts of the territory, and by attacks on frontier settlements prevented to a great extent the spread of population.

In 1824, Durango, Chihuahua, and New Mexico were united in constituting a state of the Mexican Union; but this arrangement did not last for any great length of time.

In 1828 the Mexican Congress passed a law expelling all native-born Spaniards (called Cachupines) from the republic. This of course affected a number in New Mexico, including several Franciscan friars, who were all forced to leave, with the exception of two, named Albino and Castro, who were permitted to remain on account of their advanced age — and the payment of $500 each! It was not believed that any large portion of this sum reached the official treasury.

In 1833, Bishop Zubiria, of Durango, made a visitation throughout New Mexico, and was received with great enthusiasm. Special preparations were made at all points for his reception; the roads and bridges on the route were repaired and decorated, and the houses decked with flags, colored cloths, and flowers, in profusion. He made quite a protracted stay in Santa Fé, and visited a number of towns in the territory. A year before, Padre Ortiz (Juan Felipe) had been appointed as vicar-general of New Mexico. Bishop Zubiria made another visitation to New Mexico in 1845, and again in 1850.

In 1835 the first newspaper enterprise was attempted — Padre Martinez, of Taos, issuing a paper, of the size of foolscap, entitled *El Crepúsculo* (meaning *The Dawn*), weekly for about a month, when its particular mission being accomplished, and the number of its subscribers (about fifty) not justifying a continuance, it was abandoned.

In 1837 occurred the change in the general system of government throughout the republic, which metamorphosed New Mexico from a territory into a department, and by its augmented taxation and other unpopular features led to an insurrection of large importance, and at the time, of very doubtful result. This was the first revolution, of any real moment, in a century and a half; for which reason it has appeared best to treat it briefly in a separate chapter. (See Chapter XVI.)

Through many years, since the first passage across the plains in the early part of the century, the traffic with the United States had been steadily increasing, until it had grown to very large proportions, and the goods thus brought to Santa Fé were distributed over a large part of northern Mexico. The importance of this business and the general interest attached to the history of the Santa Fé Trail, has caused that subject also to have a separate chapter devoted to it. (See Chapter XVII.)

Pioneers

This intercourse between the valleys of the Mississippi and the Rio Grande naturally brought into New Mexico merchants

and traders from the east, and they, together with trappers and hunters who gradually accumulated a competence and settled down near the scenes of their active life, constituted a population now generally known as the "Pioneers," or the "Old Timers." Their history should be separately written, and when their adventures and exploits are faithfully recorded, will be as interesting as the most fascinating romance. Many of the first of them to settle on the western border of the plains were of the parentage known as "St. Louis French"; and hence come the French names which exist throughout the north of the territory, whose existence would otherwise be a mystery.

Among the first thus to establish a business in New Mexico was Antonio Roubidoux, who settled at Taos in 1822. Charles Beaubien came to the same town in 1827, and a year later married the sister of Don Pedro Valdez. He was one of the grantees of the enormous "Beaubien and Miranda Grant," to which his son-in-law gave the name of the "Maxwell Grant." His daughters married respectively Lucien B. Maxwell, Jesus G. Abreu, Joseph Clouthier, and Frederick Müller. Colonel Ceran St. Vrain, perhaps the most celebrated of southwestern pioneers, lived for many years at Taos, and subsequently at Mora, where he owned a large mill, and where his grave now is. The Bents built "Bent's Fort" in 1829, and in 1832 Bent and St. Vrain commenced business at Taos. There Charles Bent married, and lived until his appointment as governor, and violent death in 1847. Kit Carson first came from Missouri to Santa Fé in 1826; afterwards going to Taos, where he studied Spanish with Kinkead, and through all the travels and vicissitudes of his after life, retained that as his home. Maxwell, on his "Home Ranch" on the Cimarron, lived like a feudal chief, dispensing a lavish hospitality, and literally "lord of all he surveyed." He employed 500 men, had 1,000 horses, 10,000 cattle, and 40,000 sheep; and after the hardships of early frontier life, enjoyed leisure and profusion in his later days. The oldest living "American" in Santa Fé for many years was James Conklin, who came in 1825, and died in June, 1883. Samuel B. Watrous, the father of the town of that name, arrived in 1835, and for a considerable time lived at the Placers.

James Bonney, whose hospitality both Emory and Abert record, was the original settler at La Junta, in 1842, his house being the first one seen in 1846 for a distance of 775 miles in coming from the east. Peter Joseph, a native of the Azores, came to Taos in 1844, and established himself in business.

It is said that the very first foreigner to settle in New Mexico was a Frenchman, named Jean d'Alay, who came to Taos in 1743; and that the well-known Alarid family is descended from him.

Among valuable documents recently acquired by the Historical Society is an official list of the foreigners residing in Taos and Mora just before the American occupation, dated September 20, 1845. It is interesting, not only for the information thus afforded, but on account of the extraordinary spelling of a number of English names. It reads as follows:

TAOS

Luis Lee	Tomas Ortibi
Beaubien	Antonio Ledoux
Luciano Manuel	Pascual Rivera
Abran Lodis	Juan Bta. Ortibi
Alarid Blanco	Francisco Lafore
Manuel Lefebre	Simon Foler
Jose Bielin	Yorga Lon
Antonio Dillette	Jose Manuel Grejan
Antonio Brachel	Juan Bautista Laerne
Carlos Foun	Jorge Bul

MORA

Antonio Ledux	Luis Carbono
Juan Bautista Briehal	Juan Bautista Yara
Santiago Bone	

TEXAN SANTA FÉ EXPEDITION

In the year 1841 great excitement was produced by reports of the coming of an invading army from Texas, for the purpose of

conquering the territory. George W. Kendall, the editor of the New Orleans *Picayune*, who accompanied this expedition simply as a traveler, has left a very graphic account of its history in his *Santa Fé Expedition*, published in 1844. According to his statement, it had no intention of making war; but simply to endeavor to open a mercantile trade. The Mexican authorities, however, naturally regarded it as a direct invasion of their territory; and terrible stories were circulated as to the ferocity of the Texans, who, it was said, would burn, slay, and destroy wherever they went.

The expedition set out from Austin on the 18th of June, 1841, under command of General McLeod; and consisted of 270 mounted volunteers, divided into six companies, of which one was of artillery and provided with a brass six-pounder; and about fifty others, including commissioners, merchants, tourists, and servants. Their march was a very dangerous and arduous one, as it passed through a country entirely untraveled. When a long distance out on the plains, Lieutenant Hull and four men were killed by the Caygua Indians; and soon, on account of the difficulty in finding water, it was determined to divide the party, Captain Sutton, with eighty-seven soldiers and twelve civilians, being sent in advance on the best horses to find the nearest settlements and send word back to the remainder. They took rations for five days, but owing to their lack of knowledge of the country, it was thirteen before they met any human beings, when they fell in with a party of Mexicans in the vicinity of the present Fort Bascom. From here two of the party, Captain Lewis and Mr. Van Ness, who spoke Spanish, were sent ahead to confer with the authorities, and two merchants with Mr. Kendall accompanied them.

The following morning they proceeded through La Cuesta to San Miguel, and on the way were met by Damacio Salazar, with 100 roughly dressed but well mounted soldiers. Having surrounded the party with his men, Salazar said that he must demand their arms. These were given up, and soon after Salazar said that his instructions were to take all papers and similar articles. They were shocked a little later to see twelve men

drawn up before them with the evident intent of shooting them then and there; and this would have been accomplished but for the intervention of Don Gregorio Vigil, who stopped the bloody deed. The prisoners — for such they now were — were then marched through La Cuesta and Puertocito to San Miguel, where they were confined in a room; the women all along the route showing a kindness and sympathy in marked contrast with the unnecessary cruelty of their captors. The next day on the road to Santa Fé, they met Governor Armijo, who directed them to be retaken to San Miguel. Here, from their little window, they saw two of their late companions shot for having attempted to escape after being taken.

On the 17th of October the whole Texan expedition marched out of San Miguel, on the way to the city of Mexico, under a strong guard commanded by Salazar. The story of their sufferings and privations; of the numberless cruelties and persecutions inflicted by Salazar; of the great contrast in their treatment when they were transferred at El Paso to the care of General J. M. Elias Gonzales, who put Salazar under arrest; of the kindness and hospitality of this General "Elias" and Padre Ortiz, and of their long imprisonment in Mexico — is graphically told by Mr. Kendall, but cannot have further space here.

In 1844 Governor Martinez issued a proclamation which is interesting as containing the last arrangement of civil divisions under the Mexican rule, and also as giving the estimated populations. The districts are as follows:

Central District — Counties of Santa Fé, Santa Ana, and San Miguel del Bado, with populations of 12,500, 10,500, and 18,800.

North District — Counties of Rio Arriba and Taos, with populations of 15,000 and 14,200.

Southeast District — Counties of Valencia and Bernalillo. Populations 20,000 and 8,204.

This gives the total population of the territory as 99,204. The proclamation is dated June 17, 1844.

Governor Martinez was a special friend of education. He

sent a number of the most promising young men in the territory to Durango and the city of Mexico to receive military educations; and established additional government schools in Santa Fé.

Mariano Martinez was the only governor except Perez sent direct from Mexico to rule this remote northern department. He was a distinguished military man, of fine appearance and many progressive ideas. It was he who planted the first trees in the plaza of Santa Fé, which had before been a sandy waste. The large cottonwoods, still standing, were placed there by his orders. He also made a park in front of the Rosario Chapel, and an avenue of trees leading to it. For lack of care, all of those trees perished. Governor Martinez is best remembered on account of the killing of the Ute chief, Panasiyave, with a blow from his chair, in the reception room of the palace, when he was attacked by six chiefs who were dissatisfied with the presents given to them. This was on September 7, 1844, and the next day the governor issued a four-page statement of the case, giving all the particulars, in order that the people should understand the provocation that led to this unfortunate affair.

During the Mexican régime New Mexico was from time to time represented in the Mexican Congress. Among the most distinguished representatives were Antonio José Martinez, of Taos, Juan Felipe Ortiz, of Santa Fé, and Diego Archuleta, of Rio Arriba.

This completes the summary of the leading events prior to the American occupation in 1846, but, before proceeding to that, we will devote a chapter to a list of the Spanish and Mexican governors, so far as they can be ascertained. The burning of the records in the plaza of Santa Fé in 1680 makes it impossible to be entirely accurate as to those holding office before that day.

CHAPTER XVI

The Insurrection of 1837

For the commencement of the causes which led to this outbreak, we must go back two years, to the time when Albino Perez, a colonel of the Mexican army, was appointed political chief by President Santa Ana, in 1835. Ever since the independence of Mexico the people of the territory had been governed by native New Mexicans, or by those who had become identified with their interests. Members of well-known families, as Baca, Chaves, Armijo, Sarracino, and Abreu had been among their recent rulers, and the last Spanish governor, Melgares, was one of whose brilliant record they were all proud; but Governor Perez was an entire stranger, sent from Mexico; and even if he had been absolutely perfect, his appointment would have occasioned discontent. The feeling was increased during the next year by events connected with the trial of the disbursing officers of the territory, who were charged with peculation; and the highest pitch of excitement was reached when in April, 1837, the new Mexican constitution went into effect, which changed the territory into a department, centralized power in many respects, and imposed taxes to which the people had never before been subject. The opponents of the government exaggerated the bad features of the new system so as to render them still more obnoxious, until the people, especially in the north, were ready to break into revolt at the first signal. An occasion soon presented itself in the arrest and imprisonment of a local judicial officer on what the people considered a false charge; a large assemblage hurriedly gathered, released him by force, and raised the standard of revolution. This was on the 1st of August, 1837. Santa Cruz became the headquarters of the movement, and within two days a

large number of men dissatisfied with the government had collected there, embracing many Mexicans from the northern counties, especially from the vicinity of Chimayó, and the majority of the Pueblo Indians from the adjacent villages, except San Juan. On August 3d they issued the following "plan," which was published and circulated:

"Viva! God and the Nation! and the faith of Jesus Christ! For the principal points which we defend are the following:

"1st. To be with God and the Nation, and the faith of Jesus Christ.

"2d. To defend our country until we spill every drop of our blood in order to obtain the victory we have in view.

"3d. Not to admit the departmental 'plan.'

"4th. Not to admit any tax.

"5th. Not to admit the disorder desired by those who are attempting to procure it. God and the Nation!

"Encampment, Santa Cruz de la Cañada, August 3d, 1837."

As soon as Governor Perez received news of this revolt, he assembled what troops he had at command, and called on the militia to report for duty; but this call received a very lukewarm response. The Indians of San Juan and Santo Domingo, however, remained apparently true, and accompanied by the warriors from those pueblos and his own soldiers, he marched to put down the rebels. These he met on the second day, near San Ildefonso, but upon approaching them, nearly all of the governor's army deserted and fraternized with their opponents; leaving so few faithful to his standard that Perez was forced to move with all speed toward Santa Fé. Lieutenant Miguel Sena, Sergeant Sais, and Loreto Romero, who were among those who remained loyal, were killed by the revolutionists near the Puertocito, between Santa Cruz and Pojuaque. Finding that there was no security at the palace, the governor left the city at 10 o'clock at night to escape to the south, but the roads were all blocked by squads of revolutionists, and his party was soon forced to retreat and again retire towards the capital. Traveling on foot, the better to conceal his identity, Governor Perez reached the house of Salvador Martinez, about a league southwest of Santa Fé, and

took refuge there, but was soon found by Indians from Santo Domingo, who were following his track, and almost instantly killed. The exact place of his assassination is now marked by a stone monument, erected in 1901 by the Daughters of the American Revolution. Before his pulse had ceased to beat, they cut off his head — compelling Santiago Prada, one of his own soldiers, to perform the deed — and carried it to the headquarters of the insurgents, which were near the Rosario Church, in the western outskirts of Santa Fé. On the same day Jesus Maria Alarid, secretary of state, and Santiago Abreu, formerly governor, were taken together near the mesita of Santo Domingo, and killed; the latter with special cruelty. Ramon Abreu and Marcelino Abreu, brothers of the ex-governor, and Lieutenant Madrigal and another, were overtaken on the same road, at a place called "Las Palacias," between Cieneguilla and Agua Fria, and killed. Colonel Aponte was wounded, taken prisoner, and killed.

All this was on the 9th of August; and the next day the insurgents entered the city without opposition, under command of General "Chopon," of Taos, and the Montoya brothers took possession of the palace, and offered up thanks in the parish church for their victory. José Gonzales, of Taos, was elected governor, and duly installed in office in the palace; and the revolutionary army, having now accomplished its object, immediately disbanded — its members returning to their homes.

There can be no doubt that the movement had the secret support and approval of many of the leading men of the northern counties, including Santa Fé itself; and on August 27th and 28th a general assembly composed of the alcaldes and other influential citizens in the northern half of the territory, met at Santa Fé at the palace and ratified the acts of the revolutionists. Among those participating was Manuel Armijo, but almost immediately thereafter he left for the Rio Abajo or lower country, where he organized a counter-revolution and prepared to march to Santa Fé with a considerable force.

The sentiment against the "Canton," as the revolutionists called their organization, was formulated in what is known as the

"Pronunciamiento de Tomé," promulgated on September 8, 1837, in the name of the "Citizens, Lovers of their Country, in Favor of the Constitution and the Laws." This declared that until other orders from the supreme government of Mexico they would recognize the prefect of the district of Albuquerque (southern district) as the legal authority in New Mexico; that an army be raised to be commanded by Manuel Armijo, with Mariano Chaves as second in command, and with Vicente Sanchez Vergara as secretary. This pronunciamiento was signed by Manuel Armijo, Francisco Ignacio Madariaga (the parish priest of Tomé), José Salazar, Pablo Salazar, José Francisco Montoya, and Miguel de Olona. It was rapidly distributed throughout the country and met with an immediate response in all the Rio Abajo region.

When Gonzales heard that Armijo was marching up from Albuquerque, he withdrew from the capital to Santa Cruz, which was the center of the revolutionary feeling. Armijo thereupon entered Santa Fé, assumed charge of the government and proclaimed himself commandant-general of the province. He immediately sent dispatches to the central government in Mexico, stating that he had overthrown the rebellion; and as a result was appointed governor of New Mexico — a position which he held for the greater part of nine years. At the same time the national authorities dispatched troops from Zacatecas and Chihuahua to assist in the final suppression of the insurrection. With these and his own soldiers, Armijo made a rapid march to Santa Cruz, in January, 1838, and succeeded in defeating the entire rebel army and capturing all the leaders. Immediate punishment followed, no mercy being shown. On January 24th, the two brothers Montoya (Desiderio and Antonio Abad), Juan José Esquibel, and Juan Vigil were executed near the old Spanish fort or Garita on the little hill in the northern part of Santa Fé. Gonzales was killed by the immediate command of Armijo himself directly after the victory at Cañada. The story is that Gonzales, on being captured, was brought before Armijo, who was then in the outskirts of the town, and on seeing the general, Gon-

zales came forward with hand extended, saying "How do you do, Compañero?" as was proper between two of equal rank as governors. Armijo replied, "How do you do, Compañero? Confess yourself, Compañero." Then turning to his soldiers, added, "Now shoot my compañero!" — which command was immediately executed. This effectually ended the revolution of 1837.

CHAPTER XVII

The Santa Fé Trail

Though Mexico was settled early in the sixteenth century, and the Spaniards soon after penetrated over 1,500 miles to the north and occupied the valley of the Rio Grande as far as northern New Mexico, and another colonization from England and France had populated the eastern shores of what is now the United States and Canada early in the seventeenth century, and had extended westward to the Mississippi Valley, yet it was left for the nineteenth century to see any communication whatever between these two populations, situated on the same continent, yet separated by mountains and by the great expanse of desert plain.

The French and Spaniards had successively been the rulers of the vast territory extending westward from the Mississippi, then all included under the name of Louisiana; yet the people of neither of those nationalities had displayed the enterprise requisite to cross the intervening space between themselves and New Mexico, and brave the hostility of the tribes which roamed over the plains between.

It was not until after the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States that such a journey was accomplished, or even attempted. In 1803 President Jefferson completed the negotiation for the purchase of Louisiana from the Emperor Napoleon, and the sovereignty of that vast domain was transferred from the French to the Americans. The chief city of the Mississippi Valley, in the newly acquired territory, was St. Louis; the principal settlement on the easterly side of the river, within the old boundaries of the United States, was Kaskaskia. Each of these places claims the credit of sending the first adventurers across the plains to meet

the tide of Spanish colonization coming from the south, at Santa Fé; and it is difficult to say which has the prior right.

In 1804, Mr. Morrison, an enterprising merchant of Kaskaskia, sent a man called Baptiste La Lande, a French creole from Louisiana, to the headwaters of the Missouri and Platte, and furnished him with goods with which to trade with the Indians. With little idea of distance, the astute Kaskaskia merchant directed La Lande, if it should be possible, to press on to Santa Fé. La Lande was evidently a man of energy, though we cannot admire some of his other qualities; and succeeded finally in sending in some Indians to the Spanish borders, who gave a report of the arrival of this stranger from the far and almost unknown east. A party of Mexicans on horseback conveyed him and his goods into the northern settlements near Taos, from where he traveled on to Santa Fé, selling his merchandise as he went. Pleased with the country, in which he obtained far higher prices than he had dreamed of elsewhere, and where the hospitable people offered him land and other inducements if he would stay; and captivated by some of the bright-eyed brunettes of the city, he concluded to return no more, not even to account to Mr. Morrison for his goods; and so, with the proceeds thus simply obtained, he settled down in the capital of the province.

Two years before La Lande left the banks of the Mississippi, James Pursley, or Purcell, an enterprising Kentuckian, who was by turns a hunter, trapper, and trader, and a fair type of the pioneers of those early days, left St. Louis on a hunting expedition to the headwaters of the Osage river, in what is now southwestern Missouri, with two companions. His varied adventures during three years of wanderings, which covered most of the country between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains, cannot be narrated here. After much travel and many adventures, he finally reached the northern border of New Mexico, in company with a great party of Indians, fully 2,000 in number. Wishing to ascertain whether the Spaniards would receive them in a friendly way and enter into trade, the Indians sent Pursley, with a small escort, to Santa Fé as a kind of ambassador. The

governor (Alencaster) acceded to the request, and shortly afterward the whole band followed its advance guard, and after some time spent in trading, set out on its return to the north.

But Pursley, tired of life among the savages, concluded to remain in Santa Fé. He arrived there in June, 1805 — over three years after his departure from St. Louis — and settled down to the pursuit of his trade as a carpenter; at which, we are told, "he made a great deal of money, except when working for the officers, who paid him little or nothing." Here Pike found him in 1807, and had the celebrated conversation which has given to Pursley the fame of being the first discoverer of the gold of Colorado — more than half a century before the discovery which brought so many thousands to Pike's Peak and the cañons and mountains of the Centennial State. "He assured me," says Pike, "that he had found gold on the head of La Platte, and had carried some of the virgin mineral in his shot-pouch for months; but that being in doubt whether he should ever again behold the civilized world, he threw the sample away."

These two adventurous traders may be called the fathers of the Santa Fé Trail, although the route which they traveled was far from direct, and their final arrival in New Mexico more the result of chance than of any calculation. The visit of Lieutenant Pike and his unfortunate party to Santa Fé in 1807 was rather involuntary than otherwise, yet from it flowed important results; for the descriptions which he published of his travels on his return created much interest throughout the west, and many of the adventurous sons of the border yearned to follow the path which led to the city whose very isolation gave it an air of romance.

The first real expedition was undertaken in 1812 by a company of about a dozen enterprising men of St. Louis, who fitted out a party under command of Robert McKnight, which followed nearly the route described by Pike. They arrived after various hardships, in safety, at Santa Fé, but only to encounter unexpected troubles. Unfortunately, their appearance at the capital was exactly at the wrong time. The attempted revolution under Hidalgo had just been put down, and every American adven-

turer was looked upon with suspicion. McKnight and his party found themselves arrested as spies, their merchandise seized and confiscated; and they were themselves soon sent to follow Pike to Chihuahua, in the prison of which city they languished in rigorous confinement until the success of the republican movement under Iturbide brought their release.

In 1815, Auguste P. Chouteau and Julius DeMunn, from St. Louis, went to the headwaters of the Arkansas to trade with the Indians and the next year penetrated southward to Taos and Santa Fé, where they were well received by Governor Maynez. But shortly afterwards Pedro Maria de Allande became governor, and a change of policy took place; and Chouteau and De Munn were arrested on the Animas River, brought to Santa Fé, imprisoned for fifty days, and finally deprived of all their property.

Shortly after, in 1819, David Meriwether, an Indian trader, was captured on the Arkansas River and imprisoned for some time at Santa Fé. These events naturally prevented any further attempt at traffic across the plains until the overthrow of the Spanish authority by the Mexican revolution in 1821. By a strange chance of fortune the same David Meriwether who was imprisoned in Santa Fé in 1819, reëntered the city as American governor of New Mexico in 1853.

In 1821, an Ohio merchant named Glenn arrived in Santa Fé with a small caravan, having come by what appears still to have been the only known route — into the mountains of the present Colorado, and thence down the Rio Grande.

In the same year, 1821, Captain William Becknell, who is now called the founder of the "Commerce of the Prairies," a Missourian, who had made an expedition from Franklin to the Rocky Mountains, to trade with the Indians, concluded to seek the new Mecca of merchants to the south; and found at Santa Fé a far better market than among the Comanches. Returning that winter with the fruits of his enterprise, he raised a company of thirty friends, and with them and an assortment of goods which cost about $5,000, and was the largest venture of the kind yet made, started across the plains. They determined to try a more direct route, and so branched off from the Arkansas River at the

point called "the Caches," intending to march directly southwest to Santa Fé. But this daring enterprise came near costing them all their lives, for the unknown country into which they thus started as pioneers was utterly devoid of water. Their scanty supply was soon exhausted, and the horrors of thirst took possession of them. They killed their dogs and cut off the ears of their mules in order to endeavor to find a moment's relief by drinking the warm blood of the animals.

Early in May, Colonel Cooper, a neighbor of Captain Becknell, had left Missouri, about fifteen being in the party, and by pursuing the better known route up the Arkansas, had successfully made the journey. Down to this time, and indeed until 1824, all of the expeditions were on mule-back, and of course the amount of goods that could be transported was comparatively inconsiderable; but in the latter year a new departure was made by the employment of vehicles. The caravan which then started consisted of twenty-five wagons of different kinds, the largest part being what were then called "Dearborn carriages," besides a number of the pack-mules which had usually been employed; and their success in making the trip, which presented fewer difficulties than had been anticipated, gave a great impetus to the Santa Fé trade. The original cost of the goods brought by this caravan was $25,000 to $30,000.

From this time the trips across the plains became more frequent. The profits made on American goods successfully transported were immense, because the only other route by which they could be received was by the sea to Vera Cruz, across the country to the city of Mexico, thence over the long and difficult road to El Paso, and finally by the semi-annual caravans up the Rio Grande, and crossing the Jornada, to Santa Fé. Plain domestic cottons sold as high as $2.00 or $3.00 per yard, on the plaza of the capital. It is not strange that the reports of such profits should have stimulated enterprise, and caused the adventurous merchant to esteem the Santa Fé market as better than a gold field.

The occurrence of murderous attacks by Indians caused the government in 1827 to furnish an armed escort, consisting of four

companies of troops under Major Riley, which was to protect the caravan as far as Chouteau's Island, in the Arkansas, and the various traders consolidated their trains into one long caravan. But for some unexplained reason the government failed to furnish similar military protection the next year, and it was only repeated on special occasions thereafter, as in 1834, when Captain Wharton's dragoons were detailed for the service, and in 1843, when a formidable army under Captain Cooke escorted two large caravans past the principal points of danger.

As early as 1825 the government had taken the first steps in favor of encouraging the traffickers of the plains by appointing a commission, consisting of Messrs. Reeves, Sibley, and Matthews, to lay out a road from the border of Missouri to the confines of Santa Fé, but this work was never completed.

The first route followed, as we have seen, was by a line almost directly westward to the mountains of Colorado, and thence south to Taos. Afterwards, when the trade assumed importance, a road along the Arkansas, and thence southwest to the Raton Pass, following substantially the present line of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé Railroad, was used; but another route which was a favorite one for a long series of years was that along the Arkansas, thence across to the Cimarron, and so entering New Mexico, proceeding in an almost direct line to the Wagon Mound — which made a conspicuous landmark — and thence to Las Vegas, San Miguel, and Santa Fé. A few trips were made by a more southerly route, starting from Van Buren, in Arkansas, instead of Independence; and Mr. Gregg pronounced this the most excellent natural line of travel. But it never became popular, or was more than an experiment.

In 1839 an attempt was made to establish a route from Chihuahua and El Paso to the east, without going to Santa Fé at all. This was undertaken chiefly by Mexican merchants, but Dr. Connelly took a leading part in the enterprise also. The expedition set out from Chihuahua, April 3, 1839, amid general acclamations, as the people saw in it the commencement of a great wholesale trade for their city. Seven wagons, with about $250,000 in bullion, constituted the caravan; and for lack of knowledge of

the country, lost considerable time, both in going and returning, and did not reach Chihuahua, on their return (when they brought sixty or seventy wagons laden with merchandise), until August 27, 1840. A change, meanwhile, had taken place in the Mexican officials, which greatly affected the duties to be paid, so that the enterprise was a financial failure, and was never repeated.

Down to 1824 only pack-animals were employed; in 1824 and 1825 pack-animals and wagons; and commencing in 1826, nothing but wagons. Oxen were first used in 1830. The following statistics, taken from Gregg's *Commerce of the Prairies,* show the gradual increase in the business from its commencement in 1822 until 1843, when the trade was temporarily closed:

YEAR	COST OF MERCHANDISE	NO. WAGONS	MEN
1822	$ 15,000		70
1823	12,000		50
1824	35,000	26	100
1825	65,000	37	130
1826	90,000	60	100
1827	85,000	55	90
1828	150,000	100	200
1829	60,000	30	50
1830	120,000	70	140
1831	250,000	130	320
1832	140,000	70	150
1833	180,000	105	185
1834	150,000	80	160
1835	140,000	75	140
1836	130,000	70	135
1837	150,000	80	160
1838	90,000	50	100
1839	250,000	130	250
1840	50,000	30	60
1841	150,000	60	100
1842	160,000	70	120
1843	450,000	230	350

In the beginning of the traffic across the plains, those engaged in it were nearly all Americans or French, from the western states; but gradually New Mexicans of wealth began to take part in the business, until in 1843 the greater part of the traders were New Mexicans, and they bid fair to secure a monopoly.

While the time occupied in making the passage, of course, varied considerably according to circumstances, yet an average trip to Santa Fé, with loaded wagons, occupied about seventy days, and the return trip about forty days. The eastward loads were comparatively light, usually from 1,000 to 2,000 pounds, and the approaching winter compelled haste. On one occasion F. X. Aubrey, a young man of Canadian descent, rode, on a wager, from Santa Fé to Independence in five days and ten hours; his own mare Nellie carrying him 150 miles of the distance.

Gregg, in his *Commerce of the Prairies*, gives a graphic account of the way in which the movements of the caravan were managed. The first business was to elect a "Captain of the Caravan," who directed the order of travel and designated the camping-grounds. The proprietors furnished a full list of the wagons and men, and the caravan was then apportioned into about four divisions, each with a lieutenant in command, as they generally marched in four lines abreast.

The place of rendezvous for the caravan was usually Council Grove, the wagons leaving Independence at somewhat different times.

It was the custom when about 200 miles from Santa Fé to send a party of couriers, composed generally of proprietors or agents, ahead to that city, with a view to procuring provisions, securing good storehouses, and if possible arriving at an understanding with the custom-house officials. At the crossing of Red River, some part of the caravan frequently left the main body to proceed westerly to Taos; and a little further on they were met by the custom-house guard, who came to escort the caravan into Santa Fé to prevent smuggling.

When the caravan finally came in sight of Santa Fé, great excitement prevailed both among those connected with the wagons,

and in the city, and the arrival produced a great deal of bustle among the natives.

The wagons were soon discharged in the warerooms of the custom-house; and the weary travelers had time to take that recreation which a fatiguing journey of ten weeks had rendered so necessary.

The *derechos de arancel* (tariff duties) of Mexico were extremely oppressive, averaging about 100% upon the United States' cost of an ordinary Santa Fé assortment. Those on cotton textures were particularly so. According to the *arancel* of 1837 all plain-wove cottons, whether white or printed, paid twelve and a half cents duty per *vara*, besides the *derecho de consumo* (consumption duty), which brought it up to at least fifteen. For a few years, Governor Armijo established a tariff of his own, entirely arbitrary — exacting $500 for each wagon-load, whether large or small, of fine or coarse goods! Of course this was very advantageous to traders having large wagons and costly assortments, while it was no less onerous to those with smaller vehicles of coarse heavy goods. As might have been anticipated, the traders soon used only the largest wagons, drawn by ten or twelve mules, and omitted the coarser and more weighty articles of trade. This caused the governor to return to the *ad valorem* system, though still without regard to the *arancel general* of the nation. It was calculated that the amount collected each year at this time amounted to between $50,000 and $60,000.

The return trip usually commenced four or five weeks after the arrival at Santa Fé; generally about the 1st of September. Usually the caravan consisted of only thirty or forty wagons, a large portion of those taken out being disposed of in the country. The return cargo, which was the proceeds of the venture, was silver bullion from Chihuahua — and in later years, gold-dust from the placers south of Santa Fé — buffalo-rugs, furs, coarse Mexican blankets and wool, the latter, however, hardly paying a fair freight, but being used to fill wagons which would otherwise have been empty.

Stories of tragedies on the plains, during the early days, could

be multiplied almost indefinitely. Generally they resulted from the carelessness or over-confidence of the traders.

After the year 1831, however, Indian attacks on the regular route ceased; but soon after, new difficulties arose. The treatment of the Texan "Santa Fé Expedition," in 1841, which is narrated elsewhere, aroused great indignation in the "Lone Star" republic, and rumors were rife in 1842 that a band of Texans was preparing for an organized attack on any Mexicans whom they could find on the Santa Fé Trail. Early in the next year one Colonel Warfield, said to have held a Texan commission, formed a company, with which he attacked the town of Mora — then the most advanced settlement in that direction — killing five men and driving off a lot of horses. About the same time a Texan named John McDaniel, claiming to hold a captain's commission, raised a party of men on the border of Missouri, and started to join Warfield. On the way he met Don Antonio José Chavez, of New Mexico, traveling towards Independence with a small party, consisting of five servants, with two wagons and fifty-five mules, and $10,000 or $12,000 in specie and bullion. Although within the United States territory, the marauders did not hesitate to attack Chavez, and rifle his baggage, from which each member of McDaniel's party obtained about $500 as his share of the booty; and immediately after, seven of them left for the settlements, satisfied with this exploit. The remaining eight for some reason determined to murder Chavez, and soon after carried their cruel design into execution — taking their victim a few rods from the camp and shooting him in cold blood. A considerable amount of gold was found on his person and in his trunk, and was divided among the murderers, who thereupon fled towards Missouri.

This outrage was the more abominable because Chavez belonged to a very influential family, who had done all that kind hearts could dictate to alleviate the sufferings of the Texan prisoners, on their march down the Rio Grande.

As soon as the outlaws reached the borders of civilization, ten of them were arrested and sent to St. Louis for trial, five others escaping. Those of the prisoners who were found guilty of par-

ticipation in the murder of Chavez, including Captain McDaniel, were executed according to law, and the others were convicted of robbery and sentenced accordingly.

About May 1st, of the same year, a company of 175 men was organized in northern Texas, under Colonel Snively, for operations against Mexicans engaged in the Santa Fé trade. They soon after encountered a Mexican caravan, containing about 100 men, attacked it, and killed eighteen besides five who subsequently died, and captured nearly all of the remainder. This was in Mexican or Texan territory, and has been justified by some as a fair act of warfare; but by others it has been held to be beyond the proper limits of belligerency.

The occurrence of such events determined President Santa Ana to close the north of the Mexican republic against any further commerce; which for a time ended the business of the Santa Fé Trail. The decree is dated at Tacubaya, August 7, 1843, and was to take effect in forty-five days. The next spring, however, the custom-houses were reopened and the trade renewed. In 1846 the number of wagons in the caravan was 414, and the value of the merchandise transported was estimated at $1,752,250. After the American occupation the business of the Santa Fé Trail still further increased; new and large commercial establishments being founded at the capital city, from which a great part of northern Mexico as well as New Mexico and Arizona were supplied.

CHAPTER XVIII

Spanish and Mexican Governors

SPANISH GOVERNORS AND CAPTAINS-GENERAL OF NEW MEXICO

Juan de Oñate, 1598-1608.
Pedro de Peralta, 1608.
Felipe Zotylo, 1621-8.
Manuel de Silva, 1629.
Fernando de Arguello, 1640.
Luis de Rosas, 1641.
—— Valdez, 1642.
Alonso Pacheco de Heredia, 1643.
Fernando de Arguello, 1645.
Luis de Guzman, 1647.
Hernando de Ugarte y la Concha, 1650.
Juan de Samaniego, 1653-4.
Enrique de Avila y Pacheco, 1656.
Bernardo Lopez de Mendizabal, 1660.
Diego de Peñalosa Briceno, 1661-4.
Fernando de Villanueva.
Juan de Medrano.
Juan de Miranda.
Juan Francisco de Treviño, 1675.
Antonio Otermin, 1679-83.
Domingo Jironza Petriz Cruzate, 1683-6.
Pedro Reneros de Posada, 1686-9.
Domingo Jironza Petriz Cruzate, 1689-91.
Diego de Vargas Zapata Lujan Ponce de Leon, 1691-7.
Pedro Rodriguez Cubero, 1697-1703.
Diego de Vargas Zapata Lujan Ponce de Leon, 1703-4.
Juan Paez Hurtado, acting, 1704-5.

Francisco Cuervo y Valdez, *ad interim*, 1705-7.
José Chacon Medina Salazar y Villaseñor, Marquez de la Peñuela, 1707-12.
Juan Ignacio Flores Mogollon, 1712-15.
Felix Martinez, *ad interim*, 1715-17.
Juan Paez Hurtado, acting, 1717.
Antonio Valverde y Cosio, *ad interim*, 1717-22.
Juan de Estrada y Austria (?), *ad interim*, 1721.
Juan Domingo de Bustamante, 1722-31.
Gervasio Cruzat y Góngora, 1731-6.
Enrique de Olavide y Micheleña, *ad interim*, 1736-9.
Gaspar Domingo de Mendoza, 1739-43.
Joaquin Codallos y Rabal, 1743-9.
Francisco de la Rocha (appointed), 1747 (never acted).
Tomas Velez Cachupin, 1749-54.
Francisco Antonio Marin del Valle, 1754-60.
Mateo Antonio de Mendoza, acting, 1760.
Manuel Portillo Urrisola, acting, 1761-2.
Tomas Velez Cachupin, 1762-7.
Pedro Fermin de Mendinueta, 1767-78.
[Hereafter the title of captain-general is omitted.]
Francisco Trebol Navarro, acting, 1778.
Juan Bautista de Anza, 1778-89.
Manuel Flon (appointed), 1785 (never acted).
Fernando de la Concha, 1789-94.
Fernando Chacon, 1794-1805.
Joaquin del Real Alencaster, 1805-8.
Alberto Mainez, acting, 1807-8.
José Manrique, 1808-14.
Alberto Mainez, 1814-16.
Pedro Maria de Allande, 1816-18.
Facundo Melgares, 1818-22.

MEXICAN GOVERNORS

(With the title of jefe politico until 1837)
Antonio Viscarra, 1822.
Francisco Javier Chaves, 1823.

Bartolomé Baca, 1823 to September, 1825.
Antonio Narbona, 1825 to May, 1827.
Manuel Armijo, 1827-8.
Antonio Viscarra, acting, 1828.
José Antonio Chaves, 1828-31.
Santiago Abreu, 1831-3.
Francisco Sarracino, 1833-5.
Juan Rafael Ortiz, acting, 1834.
Mariano Chaves, acting, 1835, May to July.
Albino Perez, 1835-7 (assassinated). (Title of governor from 1837.)
Pedro Muñoz, acting, 1837-8.
José Gonzales, revolutionary governor, 1837-8.
Manuel Armijo, 1838-40, and till 1846.
Antonio Sandoval, acting, 1841.
Mariano Martinez de Lejanza, 1844-5.
José Chaves, acting, 1845.
Juan Bautista Vigil y Alarid, acting, 1846.

CHAPTER XIX

The American Occupation

The commencement of a war between Mexico and the United States naturally caused great concern and excitement in New Mexico, not only because a part of the soil was directly in controversy as being within the boundaries claimed by Texas, but also because the news of the commencement of hostilities at Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma, in May, 1846, was almost immediately followed by information that an expedition was being fitted out in Missouri for an attack on Santa Fé.

This was the American "Army of the West," which was ordered to rendezvous at Fort Leavenworth, under General Stephen W. Kearny, for the conquest of New Mexico and California. This army was composed of the First Dragoons, U. S. A., of which Kearny was colonel; a Missouri regiment under Colonel Doniphan; a battery of light artillery, commanded by Major Clark; two companies of infantry, and the La Clede Rangers of St. Louis; the whole together comprising 1,658 men and sixteen pieces of ordnance.

Although intended to meet at Fort Leavenworth, the different parts of the little army did not really come together until they had crossed the plains and arrived at Bent's Fort, near the present village of Las Animas, and then the great rendezvous for western traders, at which point they found no less than 414 loaded wagons, awaiting protection. From here a small detachment was sent to the Taos Valley to ascertain the disposition of the people, the main body going on by way of the Raton Pass. The Taos party rejoined the army near the Poñil, with fourteen prisoners, and bringing the news that five thousand of the Pueblos

and other Indians had joined the Mexicans, who were determined to contest the entire route from San Miguel to Santa Fé.

The first habitations seen were on the banks of the Mora, on the ranch of James Bonney, who had recently settled there and who treated the officers with much hospitality. On August 15th the army entered Las Vegas, then a comparatively new and small town, and here stopped long enough for the general to make a proclamation of pacific intentions towards the people, and to administer the oath of allegiance to the United States to the alcalde, Juan de Dios Maes, who was then confirmed in his office. Tecolote was the next town reached, and here similar proceedings were had, as well as at San Miguel, then the county seat and principal town of the portion of New Mexico east of the mountains, on the next day.

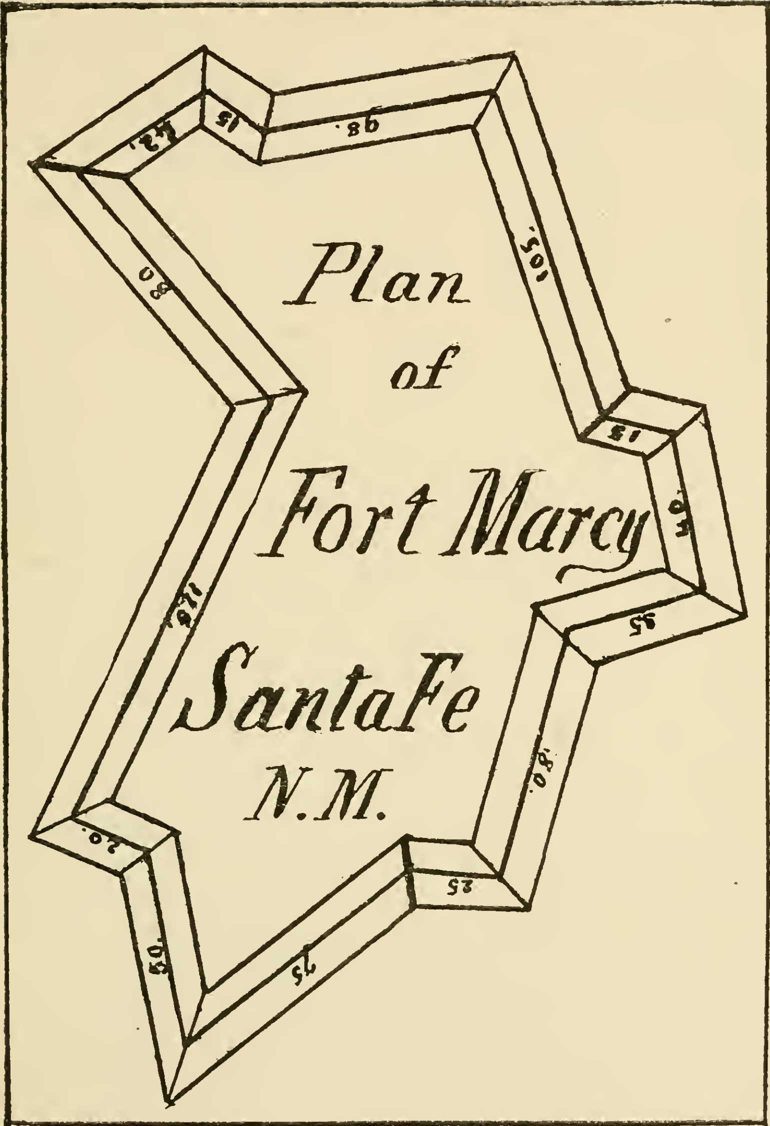
Meanwhile General Armijo, the Mexican governor, after issuing a stirring proclamation calling on the people to rise and defend their homes, had marched from Santa Fé to the narrow pass at Cañoncito, where he had encamped in an almost impregnable location, to prevent the passage of the American army. So strong was the position, that Kearny did not think of attacking it directly, but had arranged to take a circuitous route which would carry him around it without great danger, and encamped near the ruins of Pecos with that intent on the night of August 17th. But, during the night, the Mexican army, largely made up of inexperienced volunteers, poorly armed, had heard such exaggerated accounts of the force of the Americans, that it became demoralized; many left for their homes, and Armijo, after a council of war with his chief officers, concluded to retire with those who remained faithful to him, toward the south.

So the Americans, instead of a mountain trail, found the main road open, and proceeded toward the capital unembarrassed except by the breastwork of trees that had been thrown across the cañon. Wishing, if possible, to reach there in one day, especially as their provisions were almost exhausted, they made a forced march, and arrived at Santa Fé before night-fall, raising the stars and stripes over the palace, and then retiring to the high

ground in the southeast part of the town, for a camp. This was on August 18th. General Kearny and several officers came a little in advance and were received at the palace by the secretary and acting-governor, Juan Bautista Vigil, who formally delivered to them the government of the city.

Few marches in American history exceed in daring that of the little "Army of the West" across the plains. Consisting of less than two regiments of men, it marched nine hundred miles from its base of supplies, largely through a desert region, not seeing a habitation except Bent's Fort between Leavenworth and the Mora River; suffering greatly from lack of water, and with neither provisions nor money sufficient to procure them for so long a march. During the last part of the journey they were reduced to one-third rations, and even with this small allowance only enough remained for the least number of days possible to reach Santa Fé, by rapid and uninterrupted marching, so that they arrived at the capital entirely destitute. Even here their privations were not at an end, for the commissary was without money, and the people having been declared citizens of the United States, and therefore fully protected, no property could be taken without cash payment.

The first business of General Kearny, after taking possession of Santa Fé, was to commence the building of Fort Marcy, on the heights overlooking the city, in order to secure the fruits of his bloodless victory; and then to establish a provisional government. On the morning of the 19th, he assembled the people in the plaza, and addressed them in reassuring language, saying that the army came with peaceable intentions and kind feelings, that they would be secure in their persons, property, and religion; announcing that he had taken possession of all New Mexico for the United States, and that "you are no longer Mexican subjects, you have become American citizens. I am your governor; henceforth look to me for protection." This address was received with general satisfaction, was replied to in fitting terms by Juan Bautista Vigil, who accepted the new sovereignty in the name of the people; and the governor then confirmed in their positions



GROUND PLAN OF OLD FORT MARCY, SANTA FE

most of the former officers, administering to each of them the oath of allegiance to the United States.

Fearing that there might be a concentration of Mexican troops to the south, General Kearny marched with 725 mounted men down the Rio Grande valley as far as Tomé; being everywhere well received by the people and finding no enemies of any kind. On the 22d of September, he established a regular civil government by the appointment of Charles Bent, of Taos, as governor, Donaciano Vigil as secretary, and Francis P. Blair as district attorney, together with judges and other officials. Governor Bent was an old resident, married to a New Mexican, and highly esteemed throughout the entire territory. Having thus provided for the government of the territory, General Kearny set out with his little army on September 26th for California, as a wider field for his energy and administrative ability, leaving Colonel Doniphan in command.

This latter officer had orders to march immediately to Chihuahua, where it was supposed that General Wool had arrived with a column from San Antonio; but just as he was starting news arrived of an attack by Navajós on Polvadera, which induced a change of programme, and an expedition against those Indians was determined on; so that the troops, which had come across the plains in hostility to the Mexicans, found their first active duty in their defense against their old enemies.

This was a matter difficult to explain to the Indian mind, which considered that the Americans and themselves were both at war with the same enemies, but Colonel Doniphan finally succeeded in having a treaty made by which they agreed to cease from all depredations. This accomplished he set out on his celebrated march to Chihuahua, on December 14th, leaving the remaining troops in command of Colonel Sterling Price.

Scarcely a day had passed after his departure before rumor became rife of an impending revolt by people of the territory. In judging of this we are to remember that these people were Mexicans, that their mother country was at war with the United States, and that the American troops had invaded and practically

conquered New Mexico, which was occupied by a portion of the army; so that from their point of view, it was an act of patriotism to attempt to drive from their soil these invaders of their country and restore it to its old position.

The leaders in the contemplated revolt were Diego Archuleta, who had been a member of the Mexican Congress, and Tomas Ortiz, who had been high in command under Armijo, both men of large influence, and they were supported by many of the leading Mexicans of the north of the territory and especially by two prominent priests, Padre Ortiz, the vicario, and Padre Gallegos. The first general meeting was held on the 12th of December, when it was decided that the rising should take place one week from that day, when all Americans, and all Mexicans who had consented to hold office under the American governor, should be killed or driven out of the territory.

Everything was carefully arranged, and the attempt might have been successful, but that, by the advice of some timid spirits, the time of action was postponed until Christmas eve. This delay was fatal to the project, for meanwhile information of the conspiracy was conveyed to the governor, who promptly arrested those suspected, and took such measures as rendered the attempt abortive.

Although thus quelled for a time, however, the spirit of revolt was far from destroyed, and suddenly developed itself in a most unexpected manner. Supposing all danger to be passed, Governor Bent left Santa Fé on January 14th, on a visit to his home in Taos, being accompanied by the sheriff and prefect of Taos county, the district attorney, and some others. On the night of the 19th, a large body of men, partly Mexicans and partly Pueblo Indians, attacked his residence and succeeded in killing not only the governor, but Sheriff Lee, Prefect Vigil, District Attorney Leal, Narciso Beaubien, a son of Judge Beaubien, and Pablo Jaramillo, a brother-in-law of the governor. At the same time attacks were made on the Americans at the Arroyo Hondo and Rio Colorado above Taos, and at Mora, a number being killed at each place. The intention evidently was to have a general rising all over the

territory, as messengers came from Mora to Las Vegas bringing the news of the revolt and urging the people there to rise; but no action was taken there, owing to the loyalty of the alcalde and the timely arrival of a few troops.

The startling news of the assassination was swiftly carried to Santa Fé and reached Colonel Price the next day, quickly followed by tidings of the approach of a large Mexican and Indian force, down the valley of the Rio Grande, to attack the capital. The situation was extremely critical. Very few troops were in Santa Fé; in fact the number remaining in the whole territory was very small, and they were scattered at Albuquerque, Las Vegas, and other distant points. Delay meant destruction, and Colonel Price lost no time in taking such measures as were possible with his limited resources. Orders were sent to Albuquerque for the two companies stationed there to come northward, and Price himself determined to march immediately to meet the insurgent army.

All the force that he could muster was three hundred and ten men, including Captain Augney's company and a few other regular troops, and a volunteer company composed of nearly all the Americans in the city, under command of Colonel Ceran St. Vrain, who happened to be in Santa Fé at the time. In this latter company were also Manuel Chaves, Nicolas Pino, and some other prominent New Mexicans, who volunteered their services. They set out on January 23d, nerved by the belief that there was no alternative but victory or annihilation. Scarcely had the little army passed Pojoaque, when, in the narrow defile on the road, they met the advance guard of the Mexicans, and soon after found the main body drawn up on the high bank of the Santa Cruz River just east of the town of that name. They were commanded by General Montoya, aided by Generals Tafoya and Chavez. Here a fierce battle took place. The Mexican army was large, but undisciplined and poorly provided with arms. They had, however, a great advantage in their position and in the occupancy of a number of adobe houses, which were practically fortresses. Nevertheless, by a vigorous charge in front and a

flank attack by St. Vrain's volunteers, they were finally dislodged and forced to retreat, leaving thirty-six dead on the field, General Tafoya being among the number.

At Los Luceros the Americans were reënforced by the timely arrival of Captain Burgwin's company of cavalry, which had hastened up from Albuquerque, and much encouraged thereby they rapidly marched toward Taos. At Embudo the Mexicans made another stand, in a narrow cañon, but were forced to abandon it, and retreated towards the north, finally concentrating at the pueblo of Taos, in the church of which, with walls from three to six feet thick, they fortified themselves, large numbers having deserted since the battle at Santa Cruz (often called the battle of La Cañada) and returned to their homes.

Against this building the Americans, as soon as they arrived, directed their attack; but cannon-balls made little impression on the massive walls, in which they simply imbedded themselves, without doing any damage; so after two hours' bombardment they withdrew, towards evening, to the Mexican town of Fernandez de Taos, three miles distant. Early the next morning the attack was renewed, but was bravely met, and it was not until after a seven hours' struggle, in which the cannon were finally brought up within sixty yards of the church, and one or two unsuccessful attempts were made to carry it by storm, that the stronghold was taken; and then with a loss of a number of soldiers and of the gallant Captain Burgwin, who was mortally wounded at the very wall. One hundred and fifty of the insurgents were killed, and the next day the entire pueblo surrendered.

This practically ended the revolt. General Montoya and fourteen others were tried for the murder of Governor Bent and the others killed on January 19th, and were convicted and executed. Others were sentenced to be hung for treason; but the President properly pardoned them on the ground that no Mexican could be guilty of treason against the United States while war actually existed between the two countries. A few outbreaks occurred at isolated points soon afterward, but they seem to have been insti-

gated rather for purposes of plunder than by any regular attempt to destroy the American authority, and later in the year the arrival in Santa Fé of large reënforcements made any future revolt futile. At the same time the people began to see that they had really more freedom and better protection from the Indians, under the American flag, than that of Mexico; and finding that the stories circulated about the new-comers generally proved to be untrue, they gradually became reconciled to the change in government.

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ceded all New Mexico to the United States, at the same time constituting all of its people, except those who preferred formally to retain their Mexican citizenship, citizens of the United States, with the full rights and privileges belonging to that character; and thus the territory and its people became an integral part of the great American republic.

CHAPTER XX

U. S. Provisional Government, 1846-51

As soon as peace was established the people of the territory began to desire a settled civil government, and this feeling was strengthened by a letter from Hon. Thomas H. Benton, then senator from Missouri, addressed to the people of California and New Mexico, advising them, in the absence of action by Congress, to organize governments for themselves. Captain W. Z. Angney, who had borne a conspicuous part in the American occupation, endeavored to have the people act on this, and a number of meetings were held, until the excitement ran so high that Colonel Washington, the civil and military governor, thought it necessary to issue a proclamation on the subject.

Meanwhile, under the provisions of the Kearny Code, the first legislature of New Mexico had been elected, and had held its regular session, beginning on December 6, 1847. The Council consisted of seven members elected by districts, with Antonio Sandoval, of Bernalillo county, as president; and the House of twenty-one members with W. Z. Angney as speaker.

This legislature could do little but local business, as the treaty of peace with Mexico was not yet signed, but it has been rendered famous by the bold and excellent character of the message delivered to the joint session by Governor Donaciano Vigil, especially relative to public education.

This legislature passed an act providing for a convention to consider a permanent form of government for New Mexico, and the delegates for this purpose were elected in 1848 and met on October 10th of that year. This convention continued in session four days, with Father Antonio José Martinez as president, and J. M. Giddings, secretary. It adopted a memorial to Congress

asking for a regular territorial government, and declared against the introduction of domestic slavery.

Early in 1849 a number of citizens requested Hugh N. Smith to go to Washington, as an unofficial representative of the territory, in order to obtain immediate legislation, his expenses being paid by private subscription. This, however, created some jealousy, and the military governor called an election of delegates to a convention to frame a territorial form of government. This convention met on September 24, 1849, and organized by electing Antonio José (Padre) Martinez as president, and James H. Quinn, secretary. By a vote of 15 to 4 Mr. Smith was elected as delegate to Congress, but failed to have the election recognized or to obtain a seat.

Meanwhile, Texas, which claimed all the territory east of the Rio Grande, sent Spruce M. Baird, as judge, to organize that district into a county to be called Santa Fé. But he was received with such opposition that he did not attempt to carry his instructions into effect. Soon afterward, early in the spring of 1850, they sent a second commissioner, Robert S. Neighbors, to organize counties of the state of Texas and to hold elections in them of local officers. This created some excitement, but produced no practical result. Almost at the same time, however, it became an "open secret" that the President and his cabinet at Washington desired the people of California and New Mexico to organize state governments without delay, in order by their own action to settle the question of slavery within their borders, and thus allay the great national excitement on the subject and relieve the administration of responsibility.

A convention was consequently called, which met on May 15th, and adopted a state constitution, which, among other things, prohibited slavery. This was submitted to the people on the 20th of June, and adopted with substantial unanimity. At the same time state officers and a legislature were elected, Henry Connelly being chosen governor, and Manuel Alvarez, lieutenant-governor. The legislature met on July 1, 1850, and elected as United States senators Francis A. Cunningham and Richard H. Weightman. Had this taken place a few months before, perhaps it might have

Candidatos del Pueblo

Para Gobernador
Tomas C Baca

Vice Gobernador
Manuel Alvarez

Congreso General
Wm S. Messervy

Senadores
Jose Frco Leyba
Jose Nangle
Domingo C Baca

Representantes
Miguel Sena y Romero
Hilario Gonsales
Jose Jesus Montollo

BALLOT AT FIRST STATE ELECTION, 1850

been ratified by Congress, and New Mexico have taken her place in the sisterhood of states; but, while Mr. Weightman was on his way to Washington to claim his seat in the senate the famous compromise measures of 1850 were passed, one feature of which was the act organizing New Mexico as a territory. This was passed September 9th. It created the state of California, and it erected New Mexico into a territory, with boundaries including the areas now embraced in New Mexico, Arizona, and southern Colorado, and with a form of government similar to the other territories. The act also provided for setting at rest all claims of Texas on any part of the United States.

During the preceding period the territory had been presided over by governors, who were appointed by the military authorities, or who were themselves officers of the army; Charles Bent having been appointed by General Kearny, and Donaciano Vigil, who was appointed secretary by Kearny, succeeding Governor Bent on the assassination of the latter. In 1848, the chief authority was devolved upon the commandant of the military department, Colonel J. M. Washington, being the first of such military governors. During the next year he was succeeded by Colonel John Munroe.

But, under the Organic Act of September 9, 1850, the territory had regular civil officers appointed by the president. The first of these were James S. Calhoun, governor; Hugh N. Smith, secretary; Elias P. West, United States attorney; and John G. Jones, marshal. The judiciary was composed of Grafton Baker, chief justice, and John S. Watts and Horace Mower, associate justices. Under these officers, a regular civil government was inaugurated on the 3d of March, 1851, and a legislative assembly was elected, which met in June, Padre Martinez, of Taos, being elected president of the Council, and Theodore Wheaton, a prominent lawyer, speaker of the House.

From that time, the form of government was continued without any material change; the principal additional officer being the surveyor-general, appointed under an act of 1855, which delegated to him large powers in determining questions relating to Spanish and Mexican land grants.

CHAPTER XXI

The Territorial Period, 1851- 1912

This period of sixty years will be considered briefly under the administrations of the successive governors; but for convenience of treatment and clearness of understanding, the Texan Invasion of 1862, and the Struggle for Statehood will constitute separate chapters. Matters connected with churches, schools, and newspapers are also arranged in groups in a distinct chapter, in order to present a connected view of each subject.

JAMES S. CALHOUN (1851)

was the first governor of New Mexico appointed by the President under the regular territorial government. He was inaugurated on March 3, 1851, and at the same time William S. Allen became secretary, Grafton Baker, John S. Watts, and Horace Mower, justices of the supreme court, and Elias P. West, United States attorney.

Governor Calhoun was already a resident of Santa Fé, as he had been Indian agent for New Mexico since July, 1849, and had shown himself a most intelligent and diligent official. Soon after his inauguration he called an election for the first territorial legislature, and that body convened in the governor's palace on June 2d. It held a second session on December 1st of the same year. Antonio José Martinez, of Taos, (Padre Martinez), was president of the Council at the first session, and Juan Felipe Ortiz (Vicar-

General Ortiz), at the second. Theodore D. Wheaton, a lawyer of Taos, was speaker of the House.

Governor Calhoun's position was anything but a bed of roses. The situation was new, and the limits of the authority of the civil and the military officials not yet closely determined. Troubles with the Indians, Navajós and Apaches, were of constant occurrence. The governor was also Indian agent and endeavored to keep the peace and prevent depredations. Colonel E. V. Sumner, in military command of the department, had different views of the method of procedure. The governor graphically explains his position in an official report, in which he says he is "without a dollar in our territorial treasury, without munitions of war, without authority to call out our militia, without the coöperation of the military authorities." Finally he started on a journey to Washington in May, 1852, and died on the route. Meanwhile Colonel Sumner built Fort Defiance, Fort Union, and other army posts.

The secretary left the territory even before the governor. When the latter departed he endeavored to appoint Manuel Alvarez as acting-governor during his absence, but this was manifestly illegal, and John Greiner, firstly as superintendent of Indian affairs and afterwards as secretary, was in executive charge until the arrival of the new governor appointed by President Fillmore.

William Carr Lane (1852)

Governor Lane had been an army surgeon and afterwards mayor of St. Louis. He arrived in 1852, endeavored to pacify the Indians by supplying them with rations, issued a proclamation claiming the Mesilla Valley as part of New Mexico, and became a candidate for Congress before election but failed of success, a

small majority being given to José Manuel Gallegos (Padre Gallegos of Albuquerque). Soon after this disappointment he left for the east, leaving W. S. Messervy, who had been appointed secretary, in charge of the territory, and never returned.

David Meriwether (1853)

The next governor was David Meriwether, appointed by President Pierce at the beginning of his administration in 1853. He was a Kentuckian by residence but had had a very varied and romantic experience in the Far West, and in 1819 had been captured by the Spaniards and confined as a prisoner for some time in the palace. He made an intelligent, practical governor, but during his administration of four years there was incessant war with the surrounding Indian tribes. Incursions and depredations by the Navajós on the west, the Utes and Jicarilla Apaches on the north, the Mescaleros on the east, and the Gila and Mogollon Apaches on the south, were of frequent occurrence, and the military was kept busy nearly all of the time in expeditions against the various tribes, including a number of battles in which the Indians were generally defeated and dispersed for the time.

During this administration the Gadsden Purchase was made from Mexico, by which a strip of territory from the Rio Grande to the Colorado River was added to the domain of the United States.

A notable event of this period was the killing of F. X. Aubrey by Major R. H. Weightman, in the store of the Mercures on the south side of the plaza in Santa Fé. This occurred on August 18, 1854, just after Aubrey had returned from California, in twenty-nine days from San Jose to Peralta, demonstrating the feasibility of a railroad route to the Pacific. He had previously

achieved celebrity by his record-breaking ride on the Santa Fé Trail, referred to in the chapter on that subject.

In 1854 Congress made an appropriation of $50,000 for the construction of the capitol, this being in addition to the $20,000 appropriated in 1850, with which the foundation was laid. The structure was now carried up one and a half stories and thus remained, roofless, until it was utilized for the exposition of 1883 and subsequently completed. In 1860, $60,000 was appropriated for its completion, but the delegate in Congress relinquished this in consideration of the exemption of New Mexico from the war tax of 1862.

W. W. H. Davis, who had previously been United States attorney, was secretary during much of Governor Meriwether's term, and had a number of important documents in the "Archives" translated, and wrote several books on New Mexican history. He was acting-governor for nearly a year before the arrival of the next governor, who was

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Abraham Rencher (1857)

appointed by President Buchanan at the beginning of his presidential term, and who served for four years. He was a lawyer who had been a member of Congress and also in the diplomatic service.

During this administration the Indian difficulties continued, especially with the Navajós. In 1859 and 1860 nearly 300 citizens were killed by the Indians, and on February 7, 1860, they made a bold attempt to capture Fort Defiance itself. This was followed by an active campaign by Colonel Canby, which ended in victory and a temporary cessation of hostilities.

The United States land office was established at this time under

a congressional act of May 24, 1857, and the Santa Fé office was opened on November 25, 1858. The surveyor-general's office had been established in 1854, and William Pelham continued as its head until 1860. Besides the usual business of this office the surveyor-general of New Mexico had placed in his charge the investigation of titles of Spanish and Mexican land grants.

On the last Monday in December, 1859, the Historical Society of New Mexico was organized, with Colonel John R. Grayson as president, Chief Justice Kirby Benedict delivering the opening address.

Henry Connelly (1861)

Governor Connelly was a man of large experience in the Southwest, and the first citizen of New Mexico to be appointed governor under the organic act, and the only one during forty-four years. He was originally a physician in Kentucky, but went to Chihuahua in 1828, and was actively engaged in commercial pursuits for many years. At the close of the Mexican War he settled in Santa Fé, and lived there and at Peralta during the remainder of his life. He was thus well equipped by knowledge and experience for the duties of the governorship. He was appointed governor by President Lincoln early in 1861, and was reappointed in 1865, continuing in office until his death in July, 1866.

At the time of the attempted state government in 1850, Dr. Connelly was elected governor at the election held in June, over Tomas C. de Baca. He was absent in the East at the time and the contest in favor of the legality of the state government was vigorously conducted by Lieutenant-Governor Manuel Alvarez, as acting-governor.

At the time of the appointment of Governor Connelly, Miguel

A. Otero was appointed secretary, through the influence of Judge Watts, notwithstanding that Otero had sympathized with the Southern leaders before the actual breaking out of the war. His actual loyalty justified his selection, but he only served for a short time, and after another brief term of James H. Holmes, W. F. M. Arny, of Kansas, was appointed, and became a prominent figure in New Mexican affairs until his death.

The most important events of Governor Connelly's administration were those connected with the War of the Rebellion, narrated in another chapter. Throughout the whole trouble he was an ardent Union man and his large acquaintance gave him much influence in preventing defections from the Union cause.

On February 24, 1863, Congress passed the act establishing the territory of Arizona out of the western portion of New Mexico, and on December 31st of that year the newly appointed officials of Arizona organized its territorial government at Navajó Springs, just within its boundaries, and afterwards established the capital at Prescott. Colonel J. Francisco Chaves was designated as the escort of the officers of the new territory.

Robert B. Mitchell (1866)

Governor Mitchell was appointed by President Johnson shortly after the death of Governor Connelly. He was a man of varied experience, a lawyer in Ohio, a lieutenant in the Mexican War, an active participant in the free state movement in Kansas, an official in that territory, a colonel and finally a brigadier-general in the Union army. He became governor of New Mexico in 1866, and served until 1869. His administration was a troublous one through its entire period. He seemed to follow in many ways the example of the president who appointed him. He was out of

harmony with the legislature, and exercised the veto power, which was then absolute, unsparingly. The legislature appealed to Congress and the organic act was amended by providing that a veto could be overridden by a two-thirds vote. He invoked criticism by long absences from the territory, and the legislature went so far finally as to ask for his removal.

The joint resolutions of the two houses of the legislature fill nearly five pages, and denounce the governor for almost every offense, and especially for illegally removing officials and endeavoring to appoint others to fill their places. About the same time they passed complimentary resolutions, commending Secretaries Henry H. Heath and W. F. M. Arny.

On December 15, 1867, occurred the tragic death of Chief Justice Slough (the Colonel Slough of the Colorado volunteers) at the hands of Colonel W. L. Rynerson in the office of the Exchange Hotel, then called the "Fonda," in Santa Fé.

William A. Pile (1869)

On the accession of General Grant to the presidency he appointed, as governor, William A. Pile, of Missouri, afterwards minister to Venezuela.

It is one of the curiosities of history that this gentleman, who is uniformly well spoken of by those best acquainted with his character, should be known in New Mexico principally from his supposed connection with the sale of a portion of the Spanish archives for use as wrapping paper. Probably that connection was very slight; but it is certain that quantities of old documents were sold or given away to merchants for that purpose, and that an indignation meeting was held in Santa Fé to protest against such vandalism. Part of the papers were restored to the terri-

torial library by the merchants, and others are occasionally found in private houses to this day. Ira M. Bond was territorial librarian at the time, and insists that the affair was greatly exaggerated and that no papers of real value were destroyed.

During his administration the soldiers' monument in Santa Fé was completed, and Lincoln and Colfax counties were created, telegraphic communication with the East was opened on July 8, 1869, and the First National Bank of Santa Fé, the oldest in the entire Southwest, was chartered and organized.

Marsh Giddings (1871)

Under appointment by President Grant, Marsh Giddings succeeded Governor Pile in the executive office in 1871, and continued as governor until his death on June 3, 1875.

Perhaps the most important event in his administration was the earnest effort made to secure statehood and the holding of a constitutional convention for that purpose, as elsewhere narrated.

In 1871, John Martin, a soldier of both wars, discovered water in the center of the Jornada del Muerto, at Martin's Well or Aleman, which was of such importance to the public that the legislature specially recognized the benefit thereby conferred.

In August, 1872, the Second National Bank of Santa Fé was established.

In 1873, the United States military road from Santa Fé to Taos was completed. This has ever since been the usual line of travel, being the road up the Rio Grande through Santa Cruz, Los Luceros, La Joya, and Rinconada, and it took the place of the old route much farther east. The principal expense of the road was in the cañons of the Rio Grande below and above Embudo. In 1861 Congress appropriated $15,000 for this road, and subsequently $25,000 for its completion.

In 1874 a new land office was established at Mesilla with a district embracing half of the territory.

On the death of Governor Giddings, Secretary William G. Ritch acted as governor for about two months, until the inauguration of Governor Axtell. Secretary Ritch was appointed to that position by General Grant in 1873, and held the office for twelve consecutive years. He had served in the war as lieutenant and adjutant, and in Wisconsin as state senator. He was a very progressive man, especially devoted to public education. To the establishment of an effective public school system he gave his best efforts for years against persistent and organized opposition, with admirable courage and excellent effect.

Samuel B. Axtell (1875)

Governor Axtell was appointed by President Grant and inaugurated as governor on July 30, 1875. He had been a member of Congress from California for two terms, and was governor of Utah at the time of his appointment to New Mexico. He was a man of strong convictions, tenacious of his opinions, entirely fearless, and of the positive character which makes warm friends and bitter enemies. He was vigorously supported by the majority of the dominant political leaders and as vigorously denounced by their opponents.

During his official term the Lincoln county war between rival cattlemen and their adherents was a prominent feature. The contending factions were named after Murphy and McSwain, who were the leading cattle owners of that section. In this "war" a number of men were killed and the whole southeast of the territory was involved. A somewhat similar condition existed in Colfax county where the cowboy element was strong. Great excitement was occasioned in 1875 by the murder of Rev. F. J. Tolby, a

Methodist minister, on the road from Cimarron to Elizabethtown; and an attempt was made to connect Governor Axtell with that outrage. Party feeling ran very high between what was called the "Santa Fé Ring" and its local adherents, and their opponents headed by Frank Springer, a prominent lawyer. Numerous charges against the governor were forwarded to Washington and special agents were sent from there to investigate. In the calmer judgment of history each side misjudged the other, but the result was a determination by the national administration to change the principal New Mexico officials, especially the governor and United States attorney. Accordingly in the fall of 1878 Governor Axtell was superseded by General Lew Wallace, and Colonel Sidney M. Barnes, of Kentucky, was appointed United States attorney in place of Thomas B. Catron, who had resigned.

Subsequently, in 1882, Governor Axtell was appointed chief justice, and performed the duties of that office to the general satisfaction of the people.

The vigorous attempt to secure statehood, made in Congress by Hon. S. B. Elkins, having failed in 1875 as elsewhere narrated, New Mexico suffered a considerable loss of territory by the change of the northern boundary whereby the new state of Colorado acquired everything north of the 37th parallel of latitude. This change in area took place July 4, 1876, when Colorado was finally admitted.

Lewis Wallace (1878)

Governor Wallace was appointed by President Hayes with instructions to restore tranquillity in the territory as soon as possible and to reform any abuses he might find prevailing. He was inaugurated October 1, 1878. He was a man of ability and

THE BEN HUR ROOM IN PALACE

reputation, having served in the Mexican War as lieutenant, and as major-general and corps commander in the War of the Rebellion. He was not in harmony with the local leaders of the Republican party who had generally been friends of Governor Axtell, and some friction was experienced during the legislature of 1880 which was the only session held while he was governor. He superseded the treasurer who had been in office many years and nominated for attorney-general Eugene A. Fiske, who was rejected by the legislative Council. After the adjournment of the legislature he attempted to appoint Mr. Fiske, which was clearly illegal under the organic act, and was so held by the court.

The first special business undertaken by Governor Wallace was the pacification of the Lincoln county troubles. With this object, at great personal risk, he visited Lincoln itself and had several interviews with "Billy the Kid" and other active participants. The war was not concluded, however, until the killing at Fort Sumner, on the 14th of July, 1881, of the "Kid," whose real name was William H. Bonney, by Pat Garrett, sheriff of Lincoln county.

During his administration, the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railroad entered the territory, affording direct connection with the east. This line reached Otero station, near the present town of Raton, in February, 1879; Las Vegas on July 1; Santa Fé on February 9, 1880; and Albuquerque on April 22, 1880. On its completion to the capital a brilliant celebration was held, the last four spikes being driven by the governor, chief justice, commanding general, and chairman of the county commission. An address of congratulation was delivered by Chief Justice L. B. Prince. The Denver and Rio Grande Railroad was built south from Antonito as far as Española. The advance of the railroads stimulated all kinds of enterprises; street railways, modern hotels, gas works, and large commercial houses were constructed; mining enterprises covered the territory; there was increased development in Grant county and the location of hundreds of claims at Cerrillos, White Oaks, Socorro, and other promising camps. General incorporation acts for municipalities, religious and charitable societies, and foreign corporations were enacted. On Feb-

ruary 15th, the legislature passed an act establishing a Bureau of Immigration, which organized April 15th with L. B. Prince as its first president. Many churches and schools were established, as will appear elsewhere.

On December 27, 1880, the Historical Society of New Mexico was reorganized and incorporated, the original society organized in 1859 having suspended operations during the war. Hon. W. G. Ritch was the prime mover in the reorganization and the first president. In 1882 L. B. Prince succeeded Governor Ritch as president and has continued as such to the present time. For thirty years this society has had its home in the palace at Santa Fé under national and territorial authorities, and has accumulated and preserved a collection of New Mexican antiquities and historic material absolutely invaluable, and which but for its faithful and continued efforts would have been scattered long ago and be incapable of collection at any cost at the present time.

The event which most closely identifies Governor Wallace with New Mexico was the completion of his famous book, *Ben Hur*, by the writing of the sixth, seventh, and eighth "books" in his bedroom back of the executive office in the palace, which has since been known as the "Ben Hur Room" and has become a Mecca for tourists.

On the election of General Garfield as president, Governor Wallace applied for a foreign diplomatic position and was appointed minister to Turkey.

Lionel A. Sheldon (1881)

Governor Sheldon was appointed by President Garfield soon after his inauguration and assumed office May 15, 1881. He was a personal friend of the president, having been lieutenant-colonel

of the Ohio regiment of volunteers of which General Garfield was colonel. After the war he served three times in Congress from Louisiana.

Governor Sheldon unfortunately began his gubernatorial career by antagonizing old citizens and officials who would otherwise have been friendly, and thereby injured his influence. But he succeeded finally in what appeared to be his special desire, which was the building of the penitentiary to accommodate the increasing number of condemned criminals. In the legislature of 1884 a bill was also passed for the erection of a capitol in Santa Fé, and a commission was appointed for that purpose.

Governor Sheldon gave much attention to organizing and strengthening the militia as a protection not only against a lawless element that had entered the territory in connection with the construction of the Southern Pacific and other railroads, but also against the Indians who were still disposed to be aggressive. These measures were successful and beneficial to the people. His term of office covered a period of active business and speculation in New Mexico. The territory was covered with mining camps, each of which believed itself a second Leadville. The rapid construction of railroads added largely to the general feeling of business enthusiasm. The only drawback was the intensity of political feeling which caused unfortunate divisions among its people. On the 13th of July, 1882, the Santa Fé Board of Trade was organized and incorporated, being the first commercial organization in the Southwest.

In 1883 there was held in Santa Fé a great historic celebration called the "Tertio Millennial," which exceeded both in its scope and realization anything of the kind ever attempted in America. The regular programme covered thirty-three days, during which each important Indian pueblo and tribe in turn was represented by forty of its people, who exhibited their ceremonials and dances in the genuine costumes required by their religion or custom. The celebration began with a three days' historic pageant of gorgeous magnificence. This really occupied the greater part of the year and while a financial failure, was well worth all that it cost.

Edmund G. Ross (1885)

The Democratic party having regained power by the election of Grover Cleveland as president, Edmund G. Ross was appointed governor, and assumed office June 15, 1885. It had been so long since the advent of a Democratic governor (Governor Rencher was the last, twenty-five years before), that his friends considered the new official as a special deliverer from oppression, and remembering the Pueblo tradition that Montezuma would some time appear at break of day to bless his people, Governor Ross took the oath of office exactly at sunrise, in the palace, Governor Sheldon having been roused from his slumbers for that purpose. Unfortunately these high hopes were doomed to disappointment, as his administration was quite barren of result.

Governor Ross was a man of strong opinions and courage, of the temperament that rather rejoices in opposition and spurns the idea of being influenced by numbers or circumstances. In early life he left Wisconsin to take part in the free state movement in Kansas and was an active participant in the border war of those days. In 1861 he naturally entered the Union army, did active duty as captain and major, and made an enviable record. From 1867 to 1871 he was United States senator, filling the unexpired term of Senator James H. Lane. It was then that he met the crisis of his life, in the impeachment trial of President Johnson. Party feeling was at fever heat and the Republicans of Kansas were practically unanimous in opposition to Johnson. Senator Ross believed that a political conviction would revolutionize the government and utterly destroy it, and in the face of a storm of opposition he had the courage to cast the decisive vote which ended the impeachment. His enemies attributed this to every bad motive, including corruption, and he left office with scarcely a friend. As governor he had the same disregard for public opinion, for conciliation and success that he showed in the Senate. Absolutely honest and well-meaning, but proud of his firmness, he antagonized his own party as well as the Republican legislature, and was soon powerless to accomplish anything. Party spirit ran high, and as between the governor and the legis-

lature each seemed bent on embarrassing the other. The judiciary however was still independent. When Governor Ross attempted to repeat the mistake made by Governor Wallace, by removing an official duly confirmed by the Council, in violation of law, the Democratic courts were as prompt in rebuking this assumption of arbitrary power by a governor of their own party as the Republican courts in 1880 had been in the case of a Republican governor. The idea that the executive could interfere with the judiciary or legislative branch of the government was not yet entertained.

The laws of 1889, so far as the executive action thereon is concerned, are a curiosity. Under other governors there may be one or two laws during each session passed over a veto, and one or two becoming valid "by limitation" without the signature of the governor. In 1889 there were in all 145 laws enacted. Of the first 45, Governor Ross approved 26, three were passed over his veto, and 16 became valid "by limitation." The relations between the governor and the legislature being more and more strained, we find that of the last 100 laws he approved only 21, nine being passed over vetoes and 70 becoming valid without action by the governor. This is a unique record.

Three important laws were passed by the legislature, one establishing a university, an agricultural college, a school of mines, and an insane asylum; Chapter 30, establishing a financial system for the territory; and Chapter 99, providing for a constitutional convention. Chapter 30 was the first attempt to introduce any system into the finances of New Mexico and it stands as a monument to the good sense of Pedro Perea who introduced it. Chapter 99 was an intelligent attempt to obtain statehood, and is further treated of elsewhere. The act establishing four territorial institutions was good in its object but unfortunate in its method. It was a log-rolled measure, passed by uniting enough local interests to control a majority of votes, and therefore without any consideration of general benefit and proper selection of locality. An insane asylum should obviously be in a low altitude favorable to nervous diseases. A separate school of mines was

entirely unnecessary as the needed instruction should be part of the university work. The agricultural college with its experiment station should be in the center of the territory and at an average altitude, in order to be of use to all; instead of which it was located in the extreme south and lowest altitude, so that its experiments are no guide for nine-tenths of New Mexico. Lastly, by having the university and agricultural college together, each would be benefited and much unnecessary duplication of instruction and experiments avoided.

On January 9, 1886, at a meeting of lawyers, presided over by Hon. H. L. Waldo, the Bar Association of New Mexico was organized, with nineteen members and the following officers: President, William A. Vincent; vice-presidents, L. B. Prince, W. H. Whiteman, and J. D. Bail; secretary, F .W. Clancy; treasurer, Eugene A. Fiske. Since then it has continually increased in membership and influence, and has become a recognized power in legislation. Its membership is now over a hundred and fifty.

L. Bradford Prince (1889)

The election of President Harrison returned the Republicans to power and L. Bradford Prince was appointed governor. Being the first appointee in many years taken from permanent residents of the territory, the choice created much enthusiasm and the inauguration on April 17th, on the west side of the capitol, was the most brilliant that New Mexico had seen. From long legislative experience in New York, an active judicial career in New Mexico, and a thorough acquaintance with local conditions, Governor Prince was saved from mistakes otherwise almost unavoidable, and was enabled to subordinate politics to material interests and thus secure important benefits for the people.

Public education was the most important consideration. The university, agricultural college, and school of mines were immediately built and opened, by boards appointed by the governor and of which he was an active member; and during his administration the normal institutions at Silver City and at Las Vegas, and the military institute at Roswell were established. Even more important to the people at large was the inauguration of a modern public school system for the whole territory, with a superintendent of public instruction at its head. Under this system the cause of general education has advanced with remarkable rapidity down to the present. For the important position of superintendent, the governor selected Amado Chaves, a man of education and tact, thoroughly in harmony with advanced ideas and methods. The native New Mexican people had larger recognition in important appointments than ever before.

A convention to formulate a state constitution was elected in August and commenced its session September 3, 1889. Unfortunately, owing to dissatisfaction with the apportionment of members, the chairman of the Democratic committee, Mr. Childers, advised his party friends to take no part in the election and consequently but one prominent Democrat, Judge L. S. Trimble, participated in the convention, and very few advocated the excellent constitution which was submitted to the people. The result was its rejection by a decisive vote and a long delay in the attainment of statehood.

The most pressing matter then pending in New Mexico was the settlement of its land grant titles. For years Congress had been importuned to take action, but in vain. As increased immigration and prosperity were impossible under this incubus of uncertainty, the governor finally appointed a committee of fifty to go to Washington and endeavor to obtain favorable action. Twenty-five actually went, paying their own expenses. They arrived on April 25, 1890, and remained a month, with the governor as chairman. They appeared before congressional committees, cabinet officers, and the president, and induced the latter to send a special message to Congress on the subject on July 1st.

The result was the establishment of the Court of Private Land Claims by an act approved March 3, 1891. This court consisted of seven judges, continued in existence until June 30, 1904, and finally settled all grant titles in the Southwest and thus gave that section a chance for permanent prosperity. The claims confirmed amounted to 2,051,526 acres, and those rejected reached 33,439,-493 acres.

This period was one of unusual business prosperity. All the principal industries of the territory were fostered and flourished. The public finances were very satisfactory. In 1890 the territorial auditor reported a surplus of $40,000 in the treasury. which was used to reduce outstanding indebtedness. The reduction of the bonded debt of the territory began at this time, $30,000 of penitentiary bonds being paid off and cancelled. So high was the credit of New Mexico that the territory had to pay 117 for the bonds thus paid off, as they had a number of years to run.

On March 20, 1891, after the adjournment of the legislature, without making a legislative apportionment based on the new census, Governor Prince proceeded, in accordance with law, to make such apportionment and announced the same by proclamation. This delicate duty was so fairly and equitably performed that the apportionment thus made continued in force for nearly sixteen years, without a word of objection or criticism. On May 12, 1892, the beautiful capitol building in Santa Fé was destroyed by fire, probably of incendiary origin. Almost all the public documents of value were saved, including the Spanish and Mexican archives. The governor's office was transferred to its old home in the palace, and the other territorial officials found temporary accommodations until the completion of the new capitol in 1900.

William T. Thornton (1893)

President Harrison having failed of reëlection and Grover Cleveland being again president of the United States, a Democrat was naturally to be appointed governor in the spring of 1893, and the choice fell on William T. Thornton, who had been a resident of New Mexico since 1877, and prominent in legislative and legal affairs.

Through his entire administration he devoted himself to the punishment of crime, especially of murders, which had become alarmingly frequent, often in connection with politics. Two of these cases were especially conspicuous, that of Francisco Chaves, sheriff of Santa Fé county, and of John Dougherty, former sheriff of Mora. There was also a flagrant murder at the bridge in Las Vegas and the mysterious disappearance of a man named Silva and his family in the same town. Around each of these cases clustered other crimes that were developed as investigation proceeded. In every instance the guilty parties were finally discovered, and the vigor of the prosecutions did much to stop the wave of crime that seemed flowing over the territory. Nineteen criminals were executed during the four years' term, and a large number of convictions for crimes punishable by imprisonment were obtained.

Governor Thornton was much hampered in his official action by the jealousies and ambitions of many of the leading Democrats, which made any unity of action impossible. In one legislative Council three Democratic members were candidates for the same official position, and each insisted on immediate appointment as the price of his support. While he was absent in Washington to prevent presidential interference with the execution of the Chaves murderers, the secretary as acting-governor appointed a number of important officials and had them confirmed before the governor's return. Everyone admitted his good intentions and appreciated his energy, but he could never rely on loyal support.

The Columbian Exposition at Chicago was held in 1893 and New Mexico was very creditably represented there by a territorial building and a fine display of its varied products. It

gained a valuable reputation by exhibiting the finest oats in the United States and the best wheat in the entire world, and receiving prizes accordingly.

As an outgrowth of work for this exposition, a unique organization, known as the Woman's Board of Trade, was formed in Santa Fé in 1903. From that time it has done the principal civic work in that city. It has entire charge of the plaza, attends to the public charities, manages the cemetery which it has greatly improved, and has erected a fine library building in which it conducts a free circulating library.

In 1895 the legislature passed an act for the rebuilding of the capitol by a commission appointed by the governor. The sum of $75,000 was appropriated for that purpose, together with the use of old capitol material and of convict labor.

Miguel A. Otero (1897)

The appointment of Governor Otero was as much of a surprise to himself as to others. He went to Washington as a candidate for marshal, but that position not being available, the application was changed to secretary. President McKinley was anxious to appoint as governor his old friend and neighbor in Canton, Ohio, George H. Wallace, then sojourning in Santa Fé, and it was practically decided that Wallace should be governor and Otero secretary, when strong opposition was made to the Wallace appointment on the ground that he was not a bona fide citizen of New Mexico. The president then concluded to reverse the positions, with the idea that the two officials would work together and the result be practically all that he desired. This plan proved a failure from the beginning, and was definitely ended by the death of Secretary Wallace, who was succeeded by James W. Raynolds.

The most important event in this administration was the participation of New Mexicans in the Spanish-American War. Immediately after the proclamation of the president calling for 125,000 volunteers, there was a rush of New Mexicans to enter the military service. Five times the number called for could easily have been obtained. The only difficulty experienced was from the number of applicants for every official position.

The quota assigned to New Mexico consisted of four troops of a regiment commanded by Leonard Wood as colonel and Theodore Roosevelt as lieutenant-colonel, and universally known as the Rough Riders; and they were mustered into the service with great promptitude in Santa Fé. The commissioned officers were as follows:

Major, Henry B. Hersey.
Troop E — Captain, Frederick Muller,
First Lieutenant, William E. Griffin,
Second Lieutenant, Sherrard Coleman.
Troop F — Captain, Maximiliano Luna,
First Lieutenant, Horace W. Weakley,
Second Lieutenant, William E. Dame.
Troop G — Captain, W. H. H. Llewellyn,
First Lieutenant, John Wesley Green,
Second Lieutenant, David L. Leahy.
Troop H — Captain, George Curry,
First Lieutenant, William H. Kelly,
Second Lieutenant, Charles L. Ballard.

The regiment was brought together at San Antonio, Texas, and from there, on May 29, 1898, forwarded to Tampa en route to Cuba. One company had to remain in Florida, and the troop of Captain Curry encountered that bad fortune. No one regretted this loss of the opportunity for danger and glory more than themselves. The others embarked on June 14th, and on the 22d landed on the island near Santiago. The rest of their career is national history, and no brighter page is to be found than that which chronicles the gallantry of the New Mexico troops at Las Guasimas and San Juan Hill. According to the colonel's own

statement, the first standards planted on the summit were those of the three troops from the Sunshine State.

Under the second call for volunteers, a battalion of four companies marched forth from New Mexico. They were mustered into the service in July, 1898, and remained in camp in Kentucky and Georgia for a considerable time, but had no opportunity actually to meet the enemy. This, however, should not detract from their reputation, as they were always not only ready but anxious for active service.

Their officers were as follows:

Company E, Albuquerque.	Captain, John Borradaile, First Lieutenant, L. H. Chamberlin, Second Lieutenant, L. A. McCrea.
Company F, Las Vegas.	Captain, W. C. Reid, First Lieutenant, W. O. Morrison, Second Lieutenant, A. Luntzel.
Company G, Santa Fé.	Captain, William Strover, First Lieutenant, Page B. Otero, Second Lieutenant, J. P. S. Mennett.
Company H, Las Cruces.	Captain, A. B. Fall, First Lieutenant, J. W. Catron, Second Lieutenant, N. E. Bailey.

During this administration the territory continued to increase in population, especially by the settlement of the eastern portion and the Estancia Valley, which had been considered sections only adapted to grazing, but which under the improved system of dry farming were rapidly covered with homesteads. There were constant attempts to secure statehood, as will be more fully stated in a separate chapter.

The most important legislation was the passage by Congress of the act of June 21, 1898, championed by Delegate H. B. Fergusson, donating to the territory large areas of public lands for edu-

cational and other purposes, in advance of statehood; this being in partial reparation for the injustice done by Congress in continuing to deprive New Mexico of self-government.

At the Trans-Mississippi Exposition at Omaha in 1898 and the great Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis in 1904, the territory was officially represented and made very creditable exhibitions of its resources and products.

In 1900 the new capitol was completed, in a very satisfactory and creditable manner; and on June 4th was formally opened, with an address by ex-Governor Prince.

This administration itself was essentially a political one and introduced methods to enforce and perpetuate its power unknown in New Mexico for many years, the result being a compact political organization which included officials of every character. These methods and the expense necessarily entailed by them naturally provoked opposition, and appeals to Washington in the form of charges were frequent. By organized action and the skilful use of personal influences, however, the governor continued in office until the beginning of 1906, when the president appointed Mr. Hagerman in his place.

Herbert J. Hagerman (1906)

Governor Hagerman was a comparatively young man, whose experience in public life consisted of a brief service as assistant secretary of legation in St. Petersburg under Ambassador Hitchcock, since secretary of the interior. His father, J. J. Hagerman, was the largest property owner in the Pecos Valley, and had done very much for the development of that section.

The new governor was of liberal education and high ideals, and had every desire to conduct a creditable administration and inaugurate for himself a successful public career. It was understood that he was appointed with the definite idea of reforming

alleged abuses. But, lacking in experience and so self-confident as to deprecate advice, his position was difficult if not dangerous, and he was naturally looked upon with distrust if not enmity by the adherents of the old organization which his appointment displaced.

Friction soon arose and his enemies watched for an opportunity to dislodge the governor whom they could not control. Before very long this presented itself in an act which though well-intended and practically right, was yet technically incorrect. The "organization" pressed this advantage both in New Mexico and Washington, and finally induced the president to call for the governor's resignation. It was the almost universal sentiment, that in its manner if not in its substance, this action of the impulsive president was ungenerous and unjust toward his own appointee, who had incurred enmity by following his instructions, and whose lack of experience was as well known before his appointment as afterwards.

George Curry (1907)

The new governor was George Curry, Rough Rider captain, official in the Philippines, and personal friend of President Roosevelt, who assumed office on August 8, 1907.

Governor Curry had always been a Democrat of the Southern type, and had held many offices in New Mexico, including that of president of the legislative Council. In the Spanish War he had been a captain of a company but unfortunately had no opportunity to see service in Cuba. Afterwards in the Philippines he was chief of police in Manila, and governor of Samar, and in all positions achieved an excellent reputation. He was a worshiper of Roosevelt, and at the time in question called himself a Roosevelt Republican.

As governor he showed marked ability in conciliating adverse

interests, was amiable, frank, and helpful, and untiring in endeavoring to make the office useful to the people. He took much interest in securing public lands for the territory, in promoting immigration, and in good roads, and was indefatigable in visiting all sections of the territory that required any attention. Accustomed to outdoor life, nothing was so oppressive as office work; and with an extremely active temperament he seemed at times almost to live on the railroads and to be in Washington nearly as much as Santa Fé.

It was over these Washington trips that friction first arose between the secretary of the interior and the governor, and this gradually increased until the president in November, 1909, decided to make a new appointment and offered the position to William J. Mills, who for twelve years had been chief justice of New Mexico. The appointment of Governor Mills was confirmed on December 20th, but in accordance with the formal resignation of Governor Curry, the change in the office did not take place till March 1, 1910. It was during this administration that the Spanish-American Normal School at El Rito was founded, in March, 1909.

William J. Mills (1910)

Governor Mills came to the gubernatorial office well equipped for its duties. He had legislative experience in both houses of the Connecticut legislature, and had been chief justice of New Mexico since 1898. This experienee not only gave facility in disposing of most administrative questions but a poise and tact which smoothed many difficulties.

Much of his term of office was occupied by matters connected with the transition to statehood. On June 20, 1910, the enabling act was signed by the president. This was followed by the

preparations for the election of a constitutional convention, and that election itself on September 6th. The governor, chief justice, and secretary constituted a commission to apportion the delegates among the respective counties, and this duty was performed on June 28th and the election proclamation was issued the next day. The convention contained 100 delegates, and as elected consisted of 71 Republicans and 29 Democrats. Charles A. Spiess, of Las Vegas, was elected president. The convention met on October 3, 1910, was in session till November 21st, and formulated a constitution good in most of its provisions, but not containing the new theories rife at the time and then called "progressive." The section as to amendments was especially objectionable on account of the difficulties that it placed in the way of future constitutional changes. The constitution was very satisfactory in guarding with extreme care the rights of Spanish-speaking citizens.

The vote of the people on the adoption of the constitution was taken on January 21, 1911, when the result as recorded was 31,742 in favor and 13,399 against. While this is not an accurate expression of the people's will, because unfortunately in a few counties over-zealous friends of statehood prevented any ballots against the constitution being circulated or cast, yet even with a liberal calculation of the votes thus suppressed, the majority in favor of the proposition was many thousands. There was much discussion and delay in Congress, but finally the resolution admitting New Mexico and Arizona was passed, and signed by the president on August 21st. The only proviso, so far as New Mexico was concerned, was that at the first election the people should vote on the proposition to facilitate the making of amendments to the constitution. As the congressional resolution provided that this question should be voted on separately, by a ballot printed on blue paper, the question was commonly called "The Blue Ballot."

The final acquisition of the long-fought-for boon of statehood brought new duties to the governor, upon whom it devolved to fix the date of the first state election and give notice thereof by proclamation. This was accordingly done, the day selected be-

ing November 7th. Instantly political activity was rife throughout the state, everyone desiring to take part in the first state election. With many it was the first opportunity they had ever had to vote for a governor or for a regular member of Congress.

Both parties made strenuous efforts to carry the state at its first election. The Republican convention, confident of victory, met at Las Vegas on September 28th, and the Democratic at Santa Fé on October 2d. Had wise counsels prevailed at Las Vegas there was no doubt of Republican success. But several circumstances weakened the chances for the ticket nominated. The insistence on Hon. H. O. Bursum as candidate for governor, when he had evident elements of weakness, an unfortunate and impassioned address raising the "race issue," by Mr. O. A. Larrazola, until recently a Democratic leader, and the arbitrary manner in which the remainder of the ticket was dictated, were chiefly responsible for the subsequent defeat. The Democratic convention was less confident, and perhaps therefore more careful. It nominated William C. McDonald, of Lincoln county, for governor and placed two progressive Republicans on the ticket.

The succeeding campaign was brief but vigorous, and the number of "split" tickets cast and the wide difference in the aggregate votes of the leading candidates, show that the people cast their first state ballot with a care and study most commendable and encouraging. The "blue ballot" amendment received a much larger majority than any individual candidate, 34,897 to 23,831, which is surprising, because as a rule it is difficult to arouse the interest of voters in an abstract proposition. Of the principal officers, the Democrats elected the governor, lieutenant-governor, one congressman, superintendent of public instruction, secretary of state, and treasurer; and the Republicans the attorney-general, auditor, one congressman, the commissioner of public lands, and two of the three supreme judges. The total vote cast was 60,842.

Nothing now remained for the territorial government which had existed so long but to end its days with dignity and grace.

On January 6, 1912, the president signed the proclamation admitting New Mexico into the American Union.

On January 15th, at noon, the first governor of the state of New Mexico took the oath of office, and the territorial authority, which had existed for over sixty years, was at an end. The ceremonies were dignified and appropriate. Governor Mills made an address, largely a review of the past; Governor McDonald took the oath which made him the chief executive of the state, and delivered his inaugural address, which looked to the future and what it held for the welfare of New Mexico and its people.

The flag of the nation waved from the dome of the capitol, directly over the actors in this great political drama.

The band burst into the exultant strain of patriotic music.

The New State was born. The Territory was no more.

The self-governing People began their career and their history.

The Past, with the finished story of almost four centuries of adventure, of trial, of achievement, closed its book.

CHAPTER XXII

The Texan Invasion of 1862

Once and once only since the American occupation, has what may be called civilized warfare invaded the territory and disturbed its peace, and that was in 1862, the second year of the War of the Rebellion. The record of New Mexico in that war is one of which she can be proud. Although her population was almost entirely of a nationality once foreign, and had had scarcely any communication with the other portions of the country, yet, when the shock of war came, it was found, with very few exceptions, loyal to the Union. This was especially the case with the native population; among the "Americans" the majority were from Missouri and neighboring states and were not altogether to be depended upon, but the "Mexican" element presented an almost unbroken front to the enemy.

During the winter of 1861-2, the Confederate leaders arranged a comprehensive programme of campaign for the Far West, which was intended to have the very important result of separating the Pacific states from the rest of the country, and finally taking possession of them with their long line of sea-coast and wealth of gold. The plan was to send an army northerly from Texas to conquer New Mexico and to take possession of the great stores of government arms and munitions at Fort Union, and then to proceed into Colorado, thus cutting all the lines of communication between the East and the Far West; and afterwards making a junction with the Mormons of Utah, whom they hoped to have as allies, and with them march to California. The importance of this campaign can hardly be over-estimated, for it was intended not only to secure to the Confederacy the long unguarded coast-line, which it so much needed, but by greatly extending its terri-

tory to give it vastly increased prestige in the eyes of the nations of Europe.

Mr. Floyd, of Virginia, when secretary of war, had arranged for the betrayal of the Union troops in New Mexico, by putting in command Colonel W. W. Loring and George B. Crittenden, both of whom, when the Rebellion opened, abandoned their trusts and went to Texas after vainly endeavoring to seduce the men under their command. About the same time Alexander M. Jackson, the secretary of the territory, deserted his office and withdrew to Texas.

The first actual military operations were in July, 1861, when Lieutenant-Colonel John R. Baylor, marching into New Mexico from El Paso, occupied Fort Bliss and took possession of Mesilla. Fort Fillmore was the first important army post north of Mesilla, being forty miles from El Paso, and was then in charge of Major Isaac Lynde with over 400 Union troops. For no good reason and against the indignant protests of his loyal officers and men, he basely abandoned the fort on July 27th and soon after ignominiously surrendered his entire command to Colonel Baylor. In an official report he attempted to justify his action, but for his cowardice or treachery he was dismissed from the army and there is little doubt of his disloyalty. Major James Cooper McKee, army surgeon, in his narrative of the surrender says that old soldiers and strong men wept like children when thus compelled to lay down their arms.

On August 1st Colonel Baylor issued a proclamation organizing a new territory which he named Arizona, to consist of all the part of New Mexico south of the 34th parallel of latitude, as a portion of the Confederate States, providing a fundamental law for its government, and announcing himself as governor. During the fall the Texan forces were gathered at El Paso, and by New Year included 2,300 men, commanded by General H. H. Sibley, who was another officer that had been stationed in New Mexico and abandoned the service of his country in its hour of need.

On December 20th General Sibley issued a proclamation, skilfully worded to seduce the New Mexican people from their alle-

giance to the Union, and also offering inducements to military officers and soldiers to desert their flag, which was distributed as widely as possible but with little or no effect.

The native people of New Mexico with very few exceptions were thoroughly loyal to the Union throughout the entire war. The territorial legislature authorized Governor Connelly to call out the whole force of the territory for the protection of its soil and people, and the governor himself, who had been appointed from among the old residents of New Mexico, was faithful and active in his endeavor to support the government. At the close of the session of the legislature the Council and House issued an address of the people, signed by Facundo Pino, president, and J. M. Gallegos, speaker, and dated January 29, 1862, calling on them in most stirring and patriotic language to rally to the defense of the country against the invaders.

On the defection of Colonel Loring in 1861, General Canby, a brave and patriotic officer, was placed in command of the department, with Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts next in rank; and under them in the spring of 1862 were 900 men all told. Two regiments of New Mexico volunteers were raised, of one of which Ceran St. Vrain was colonel, Kit Carson, lieutenant-colonel, and J. Francisco Chaves, major; the other being commanded by Colonel Miguel Pino.

The Union force was concentrated at Fort Craig, when in February the Southern army under General Sibley, about 2,500 strong, appeared in the valley of the Rio Grande. Sibley attempted to gain a position which commanded the fort, and Canby endeavored to cut off the enemy from a water supply, the various skirmishes culminating in the battle of Valverde on the east side of the Rio Grande, on February 21st, when Canby's army failed in its object and he was forced to recross the river to Fort Craig. Sibley then marched up the valley and occupied Albuquerque; and there being no means of resistance at hand, the United States officials evacuated Santa Fé on March 3d, and retired to Fort Union, Sibley's army occupying the capital a week later.

Meanwhile, Governor Gilpin had sent the First regiment of

Colorado volunteers, under Colonel John P. Slough, southward from Denver to the aid of the threatened territory; and after a hard march, they arrived at Fort Union on March 11th, where they were thoroughly armed and equipped, and whence they marched with very little delay along the old trail towards Santa Fé. They were joined by a few companies of regular troops that had been in the north of the territory, and by a considerable number of volunteers, and on the 20th of March met the advancing Confederate army at Apache Cañon or Glorieta. The battle fought here, though hardly known to history, was the decisive conflict which settled the result of the war in the Rocky Mountain country. On the first day only a part of each army was engaged, and the contest though stubborn and long continued was indecisive.

Early in the next morning, Captain Manuel Chaves led four hundred men under Major J. M. Chivington by a circuitous and difficult path to the rear of the Confederate position. In the main battle which was fiercely contested and which lasted for five hours, Sibley succeeded in driving the Union soldiers back some distance to Koslowsky's ranch, but at this moment Chivington fell upon the rear of the Confederate force and destroyed its wagons and supplies. The news of this loss demoralized the Texan army, the fate of the day was changed, and Sibley commenced a retreat southerly, evacuating Santa Fé on April 8th, and proceeding down the valley. He was closely followed, and was greatly embarrassed by want of supplies; on April 15th, at Peralta, he was attacked by the Union forces and suffered considerable loss and was forced to retreat as rapidly as possible to El Paso to avoid capture. At this battle of Peralta the New Mexican company commanded by Major José D. Sena gained special credit.

For several days the contending armies were within sight of each other, on opposite sides of the river, and General Canby was criticized for not pressing his advantage vigorously and capturing the retreating Texans. But his loyalty and skill are above question, and it is evident that he was well content to have the invaders leave the territory, without incumbering himself with the care of prisoners whom he had no means to support.

This ended the campaign, and indeed was the end of the war in New Mexico so far as organized enemies were concerned. In July, the first detachments of the "California Column," which had marched across the deserts of Arizona, reached Fort Thorne, and soon after the main body under General James H. Carleton arrived at Mesilla. This column included the First and Fifth regiments of California infantry, five companies of the First California cavalry, Company B of the Second California cavalry, and a light battery of United States artillery. In all it included about 2,350 men, and its remarkable march across the desert from the Pacific to the Rio Grande is one of the most gallant achievements of the entire war.

This "California Column" as a whole consisted of an exceptionally fine body of men whose presence prevented further inroads, if they had been intended, and for many years after the war it was still represented in the territory by prominent and substantial citizens who had made New Mexico their home.

The alacrity with which the people of New Mexico flocked to the standard of the Union and enlisted in the cause of their country, during the years from 1861 to 1865, will always be a source of pride to the Sunshine State. Less than fifteen years had elapsed from the time of the American occupation under General Kearny when the great war was forced upon the country. It might have been thought that the time was too short for the growth of a general spirit of American patriotism and loyalty. But the actual events formed the best answer to such misgivings. The soldiers' monument, erected by order of the three legislatures immediately succeeding the war, in the center of the plaza at Santa Fé, fitly commemorated the loyalty and bravery of those who fell in defense of the Union in the various battles of this New Mexican campaign of 1862. The inscriptions on the east, south, and west sides are as follows:

East: "Erected by the people of New Mexico, through their Legislatures of 1866-7-8. May the Union be perpetual."

South: "To the Heroes of the Federal Army who fell at the

battle of Valverde, fought with the rebels February 21, 1862."

West: "To the Heroes of the Federal Army who fell at the battles of Cañon del Apache and Pigeons Rancho (La Glorieta), fought with the rebels March 28, 1862, and to those who fell at the battle fought with the Rebels at Peralta, April 15, 1862."

The people showed themselves as loyal as any in the nation. During the Rebellion, out of her total population of 93,567 they sent 6,561 men into the army. The value of that service to the Union cause can scarcely be overestimated. The total number of volunteers from the territories now comprising the six states of North Dakota, South Dakota, Washington, Montana, Idaho, and Wyoming, was 1,170. Colorado sent but 4,903, and Nebraska, Oregon, and Nevada taken together contributed but 6,047, being 500 less than New Mexico alone. In fact, the official statistics show that no state of the Union contributed such a percentage of its population to the Union army as did New Mexico. Surely, this is a record of which her children can be proud.

An interesting episode connected with this invasion is found in the fact that, when the American officers were entirely without funds, owing to the lack of rapid communication with the East, the person from whom they secured the necessary money to meet the immediate exigencies of the army was the governor of the pueblo of Isleta, a very intelligent and fine looking Indian, named Ambrosio Abeyta. He was considered at the time to be the wealthiest Pueblo Indian in the territory; and without any hesitation he furnished the American paymaster with $18,000 in specie, merely taking his receipt in recognition of the obligation. Years passed without his making any claim upon the government for this amount, as he imagined that it would be returned without request on his part, when it was convenient to the national authorities. But after waiting twelve years, he concluded to make a trip to Washington on the subject, and proceeded there accompanied by his nearest friend, Alejandro Padilla, who was also for a number of years governor of Isleta, and by John Ward,

at one time United States Indian agent. It is gratifying to know that through the personal interest of General Grant, then president of the United States, he received the amount so generously loaned in the time of need, with the thanks of the government.

Don Amado Chaves, then a clerk in the pension office at Washington, was detailed to escort the two patriotic Indians to their home in New Mexico.

CHAPTER XXIII

Struggle for Statehood

[This chapter is condensed from the book entitled *The Struggle for Statehood*, by the author.]

Beginning of the Struggle

In no part of the United States has there ever been such a protracted struggle for self-government as in New Mexico. In no other case has statehood been so long withheld. Perhaps nowhere in history is there such a series of failures, in what at the time seemed almost certainty, through unlooked for and often insignificant causes.

Statehood was almost attained in 1850; it was lost by a handshake in 1875, by a sudden impetuous word in 1889, by a shiver of malaria and a miscalculation of time in 1894.

The struggle for statehood began almost as soon as the American occupation. In the speeches and proclamations of Governor Kearny language was used which aroused hope, if it did not give promise, of self-government. In the first address in front of the palace, on August 19, 1846, he announced the intention to "establish a civil government on a republican basis similar to those of our own States."

The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was finally signed early in 1848, and proclaimed at Washington on July 4th, and some action regarding the newly acquired territory was anxiously awaited. The advice of the president was that the people should "live peaceably and quietly under the existing government for a few months" until Congress could act deliberately and wisely.

Hon. Thomas H. Benton, then in the height of his influence and power as senator from Missouri, was greatly interested in the

condition of the new domain, and especially of New Mexico. Under date of August 28, 1848, he addressed an open letter to the people of California and New Mexico, in which he advised them "to meet in convention, provide for a cheap and simple government, and take care of yourselves until Congress can provide for you."

The advice of Senator Benton was quickly followed. New Mexico was without any legal government, since the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo had ended the régime of military occupation, and the continuance of the *de facto* military authority was but a temporary makeshift justifiable by the peculiar conditions. The people were anxious for almost any form of government which would be regular in form and civil in character.

Under call from Governor Vigil, a convention was held at Santa Fé on October 10, 1848, and organized by the election of Antonio José Martinez, of Taos (the celebrated Padre Martinez), as president. Francisco Sarracino, who had been governor of New Mexico under the Mexican régime, in 1834, Governor Vigil, James Quinn, and Juan Perea were appointed a committee to draft a memorial to Congress expressing the views of the convention. They reported a form of petition, which was unanimously adopted, which looked to the immediate establishment of a territorial government.

Nothing resulted from the action of this convention, and the people continued to be very restless under the irregular authority of the military commanders. They were divided into two parties, one anxious for statehood, and the other believing that a regular territorial organization was all that could be obtained and that therefore their efforts should be bent in that direction.

First State Convention

In the spring of 1849, James S. Calhoun, afterwards the first governor under the organic act, was sent to New Mexico as Indian agent, but with semi-official instructions to favor the organization of a state government. In this he was actively aided by Manuel Alvarez, Angney, Pillans, etc., while Ceran St. Vrain, Judge Houghton, Carlos Beaubien, etc., favored a territorial form

of government. Subsequently all parties united in the desire for a constitutional convention, and an important meeting was held in Santa Fé on April 20, 1850, where resolutions to that effect were adopted, and Colonel Munroe, then military governor, was requested to issue a proclamation calling for an election of delegates.

This he did in April, 1850, and a regular constitutional convention was elected, and commenced its session on May 15, 1850. James H. Quinn was elected president of the convention. The convention sat for ten days and succeeded in formulating a constitution which all concede to be an admirable instrument. The two features which naturally attract most attention are the clear declaration against slavery in the new state, and the appreciation shown of the value of public education. Besides the section of the constitution forever prohibiting slavery in New Mexico, there was a strong paragraph on that subject in the accompanying address, showing that slavery had always been the curse of the communities in which it existed. It should never be forgotten that this first constitutional convention in New Mexico, in which native New Mexicans composed over ninety per cent of the membership, took this high ground and maintained it courageously, although by so doing they were placing in jeopardy their own right to self-government.

On May 28th, Colonel Munroe, the military governor, issued his proclamation calling for an election on the adoption of the constitution to be held on June 20th, and also a vote on a separate ballot for governor and state officers. There was no real contest over the constitution, which seems to have been universally approved; the vote in favor of its adoption being 8,371 against 39 opposed. But for state and local officers there was the usual political contest. The candidates for governor and lieutenant or vice-governor on one ticket were Henry Connelly, a well-known merchant of the Santa Fé Trail, and Manuel Alvarez, for many years United States consul at Santa Fé; while opposed to them were Tomas Cabeza de Baca and Ceran St. Vrain. A few of the ballots used at this first state election are still in existence, in the collection of the New Mexico Historical Society, and are written

on paper of uniform size. Connelly and Alvarez were elected by a considerable majority.

The legislature met on the 4th of July and continued in session over a week. It elected Francis A. Cunningham and Richard H. Weightman, United States senators; made various appointments, ordered an election for local officials in August, and proceeded to enact general legislation. This was entirely contrary to the language of Governor Munroe's proclamation, and assumed that the state was actually established, and its government fully organized, without any congressional action.

A controversy immediately arose between Alvarez, acting as state governor while Connelly was absent in the East, and Colonel Munroe, the military and civil governor of the territory. Both were able men and sustained their respective positions with vigor. However, any real conflict was avoided, until the news arrived by the slow mails across the plains that Congress had passed the so-called compromise measures of 1850, which settled the whole matter.

Under their provisions California was admitted as a free state; New Mexico and Utah, covering all the remaining area acquired from Mexico, were made into territories, with no mention of slavery; Texas abandoned her claim on New Mexico east of the Rio Grande, and received a large compensation therefor.

The next formal action looking towards statehood was early in 1866, when the legislature passed an act authorizing the governor to call a constitutional convention, to be elected on the first Monday in March and to meet in the city of Santa Fé; the constitution formulated to be submitted to a vote of the people on the fourth Monday in June. Apparently nothing of a practical nature was accomplished under this law.

On February 3, 1870, the legislature passed an act providing for an election to be held on the first Monday in October of that year for the purpose of submitting a state constitution and electing the state officers and legislature provided therein, but nothing seems to have resulted from this attempt to secure self-government.

To remedy this failure, the succeeding legislature took up the subject early in the session and passed a bill which was approved by the governor on February 1, 1872, entitled "An Act providing for a General Election for the Purpose of Submitting to a Vote of the People a State Constitution and State Officers."

The constitution that was thus submitted was printed in a pamphlet of forty-seven pages and was a comprehensive and well arranged document, creditable to those who prepared and adopted it.

On the day after the election the *Daily New Mexican* said, "The election yesterday passed off very quietly, only about half of the vote being polled." The next day there appeared in the *New Mexican* an editorial article, evidently inspired by Governor Giddings, which gave a reason or rather an excuse for letting the whole subject drop.

So this attempt at statehood, which occupied the attention of two legislatures, and caused a constitution to be prepared, printed, approved by the legislature, and submitted to the people at a special election held solely for that purpose, died without any good cause; and another of the unfortunate accidents which have retarded the progress of New Mexico was added to the list.

Congressional Action

While these proceedings had been taken in New Mexico, on almost every available occasion, Congress had been no less active in considering the subject.

At almost every session a bill for the admission of New Mexico was introduced, generally reported favorably in the House, and more or less considered, but without any definite result.

In 1869 an attempt was made, though not by New Mexicans, to transform the territory into a state called Lincoln; but this project was ultimately defeated in the Senate.

In the 40th Congress, Delegate J. Francisco Chaves made a vigorous and eloquent speech in favor of statehood and in defense of the people against unjust criticism.

In the 43d Congress (1873-5) the enabling act was introduced

by Hon. Stephen B. Elkins, then delegate from New Mexico, and on the 21st of May, 1874, he delivered a carefully prepared speech on the bill, which contained the best collection of facts and arguments on the subject that had ever been presented to Congress. The bill passed the House by the remarkable vote of 160 to 54 and was sent to the Senate for concurrence. In that body it finally passed on February 24, 1875, by the decisive majority of 32 to 11, with a slight amendment. It was then that the series of misadventures which had accompanied all the attempts to secure New Mexican statehood from the beginning culminated in the incident which has become historic as the "Elkins handshake," and again dashed the cup of success from the very lips of the people of the territory. When the bill was returned to the House, after passing the Senate with amendments, but ten days of the session remained, and the difficulty was to get the bill before the House for action within this brief and busy time. To suspend the rules required a two-thirds vote, and this was necessary if the bill was to be considered at all.

Just at this time, Hon. Julius C. Burrows, of Michigan, made a powerful speech on political subjects, in which he characterized the Rebellion and those engaged in it in plain terms — which at that period, on account of its allusions to the war, was called a "bloody shirt" speech. Mr. Elkins, who had been conversing with friends in the lobby, had not heard a word of the speech, but happened to reënter the chamber just as Mr. Burrows had concluded and was receiving the congratulations of a crowd of members about him. Filled with his spirit of cordiality, Mr. Elkins joined the group and shook hands with the speaker with characteristic vigor. This was observed by a number of Southern members whose feelings had been much excited by the speech, and they instantly concluded that they would lend no aid to the passage of the New Mexico bill which it was understood would bring Mr. Elkins speedily to the Senate. The delegate did what he could in the brief interval to repair the damage, but a sufficient number of former supporters from Georgia and Alabama refused to be placated, thus making it impossible to obtain the two-thirds vote necessary; and so the enabling act was lost.

In the succeeding Congress (the 44th) Mr. Elkins again secured the introduction of the enabling act for New Mexico, and it passed the Senate during its first session, on March 10, 1876, by the strong vote of 35 to 15. In the House of Representatives it was reported favorably by the committee on territories, and was on the calendar, awaiting action at the time of the final adjournment.

After these virtual defeats, although in no case was there an actual vote adverse to New Mexico, and the retirement of Mr. Elkins as delegate, no active efforts looking to statehood were made for several years.

Early in the session of the 50th Congress, which met in December, 1887, a bill was introduced "To provide for the formation and admission into the Union of the States of Washington, Dakota, Montana and New Mexico." Accompanying this bill was a very voluminous report, or series of reports, covering 145 pages and regarding the four territories affected by it. The minority report, presented by Mr. Struble of Iowa, attracted much attention, and aroused great indignation in New Mexico, on account of its violent opposition to our admission to statehood, and the bitter attack on the territory and its people.

The subject was discussed at length, both in and out of Congress, and the result was the elimination of New Mexico and the admission of the two Dakotas, of Washington, and Montana.

On the 6th day of January, 1890, Mr. Springer, of Illinois, introduced a bill "To enable the people of Arizona, Idaho, New Mexico, and Wyoming, to form constitutions and State governments and to be admitted into the Union," etc.

In this case, again, the Southwest was neglected and the Northwest was favored; for before the passage of the bill Arizona and New Mexico, though by far the oldest of the four territories named, and New Mexico being also the most populous, were eliminated from it. They were thus left in the territorial condition, while Idaho and Wyoming, with a combined population less than that of New Mexico alone, were admitted.

In the 52d Congress (1891-3), Mr. Joseph again introduced an

enabling act, known as House Bill 7136. He succeeded in securing a favorable report from the committee on territories, and by courtesy was appointed to make the report himself, which he did on March 16, 1892. The bill passed the House on June 6th and reached the Senate June 8, 1892, but had the usual fate of failing to pass that body.

In the 53d Congress, Hon. Antonio Joseph was again a delegate from New Mexico, and introduced a statehood bill at the earliest possible opportunity of the first session. This bill passed the House on the 28th of June, 1894, and in the senate was referred to the committee on territories. As usual, the session proved too short for action on the bill, so it suffered the fate of its predecessors.

Constitution of 1890

While Congress was discussing one of these numerous bills, without result, the people of New Mexico determined to take the matter into their own hands and initiate the necessary proceedings for admission to the Union.

In February, 1889, Hon. George W. Prichard introduced in the Council "An Act to Provide for a Constitutional Convention and the Formation of a State Constitution." The bill provided for a delegate convention to be held in September, 1889, for the purpose of framing a constitution. The convention was to be composed of 73 delegates, who were apportioned by the bill among the various counties, and were to be chosen at an election on the first Tuesday in August. It was to frame a constitution and provide for a special election at which such constitution should be submitted to the people for ratification. This bill was passed by both houses, but the governor failed to approve it, as he considered the apportionment objectionable; but he did not veto it, and it became a law by limitation, February 28, 1889.

The Democrats, as a rule, under peremptory orders from Mr. Childers, chairman of their committee, refused to nominate candidates or participate in the election. A very few men of sufficient influence or independence to disregard the commands of the party leaders united with the Republicans in the campaign,

Hon. L. S. Trimble, long a member of Congress from Kentucky, being the most conspicuous example.

The convention met on September 3, 1889, elected J. Francisco Chaves as president, and continued in session till September 21st. The constitution was then printed in both English and Spanish and circulated widely throughout the territory.

After an adjournment of nearly an entire year the convention reassembled on August 18, 1890, and provided for the submission of the constitution to a vote of the people on October 7, 1890. At the election the constitution was defeated by a vote of 16,180 to 7,493.

This adverse vote had no effect on the efforts of the people for self-government, and all parties proceeded as before in endeavoring to secure admission through an enabling act of Congress.

Congressional Action Again

In the 54th Congress (1895), Mr. Joseph was succeeded by Hon. Thomas B. Catron. He had always been an active friend of statehood and lost no time in introducing an enabling act.

The history of the struggle during the next ten years presents a succession of attempts, regularly begun at the opening of each new Congress, carried on with more or less vigor, with apparent excellent prospects of success, usually resulting in the passage of the bill by the House of Representatives and its reference in the Senate to the committee on territories. Sometimes there would be public hearings by a committee; usually the delegate would make at least one speech, begging for tardy justice to his people, and then at some stage of the procedure, either in the House or in the Senate, either in committee or on the floor, a snag was encountered, and the bill died at the end of the session because it could not overcome the obstacle in time.

Mr. Catron was succeeded as delegate by Hon. H. B. Fergusson in the 55th Congress, and he, by Hon. Pedro Perea in the 56th.

Hon. Bernard S. Rodey was delegate from New Mexico in both the 57th and 58th Congresses, which extended from 1901 to 1905.

To say that he was devoted to the cause of statehood is to state

the case mildly. He was enthusiastically devoted to it. He set before himself as the one great object to be attained during his congressional service, the passage of an enabling act for New Mexico. Everything else was subordinated to it, in order that this particular matter could have undivided attention. But even his enthusiasm could not produce the desired effect; and the sessions were barren of result.

In 1905, Hon. W. H. Andrews became delegate from New Mexico, and took up the work of the struggle where it had been left by his predecessor. Mr. Andrews was no less anxious for statehood than Mr. Rodey; but his method of operation was entirely different. He was never known to make a regular "speech," except of the shortest description; but as a quiet and convincing conversationalist he had few equals. His close connection with Senators Quay and Penrose and the Pennsylvania delegation gave him an influence that was very valuable, and which was constantly used to advance the cause of New Mexican statehood.

The question of forming one state by uniting New Mexico and Arizona, became prominent at this time, the bill which elicited most debate being an enabling act for Oklahoma and the Indian Territory as one state, and for New Mexico and Arizona as one state.

Joint Statehood Movement of 1906

The idea of joint statehood for New Mexico and Arizona was distasteful in both territories. There was a good reason for this. Nature itself had separated them by placing the great continental divide as a practical barrier between them. It seemed impossible for the Eastern mind to grasp this elemental fact. The average Eastern congressman, knowing that each territory was anxious for statehood, and really unfavorable to an increase of Western states, looked at the map, saw two squares contiguous to each other, and instantly found a satisfactory solution of the difficulty by saying: "Why not join them together and make one oblong of them?" The opponents of Western influence saw in this an easy method to reduce the danger of too many senators;

and to the ignorant and unthinking it seemed a simple and natural arrangement, and so the "joint statehood" bill was passed by Congress.

What made the plan even more unpalatable to New Mexicans was the proposition to call the new state "Arizona." This showed as great an ignorance of history as the proposed union did of geography.

But the joint statehood bill having been passed, the practical question was, what to do about it. The national administration in Washington was fully committed to this plan of admission. The territories were practically threatened by the dominant powers at the national capital that if this plan for admission was rejected by the people, it would be long before any new opportunity for statehood could be obtained. In the minds of most New Mexicans it was a choice between two evils, and the intense desire to escape from the demoralizing conditions almost inseparable from the provincial system, and to enjoy the American right of self-government, prevailed with a great number of citizens.

The two political organizations in New Mexico, usually too antagonistic to work harmoniously in any cause, through their territorial committees united in an appeal to the people to vote "aye" at the election, for joint statehood.

It is probable that the almost universal belief that Arizona would vote against jointure, and that consequently New Mexico could show her desire for statehood without danger, and place herself in a favorable position for future action in Washington had influence with some. At all events, the majority in favor of admission under the joint statehood act, at the election of 1906 in New Mexico, was a very substantial one, the vote being nearly two to one in the territory and as high as ten to one in certain counties. It was officially announced as follows:

Yes 26,195
No 14,735
Majority for joint statehood 11,460

Arizona voted "no" on the joint statehood proposition, by an

overwhelming vote, as had been expected; and that negative vote ended all further proceedings under the joint statehood act.

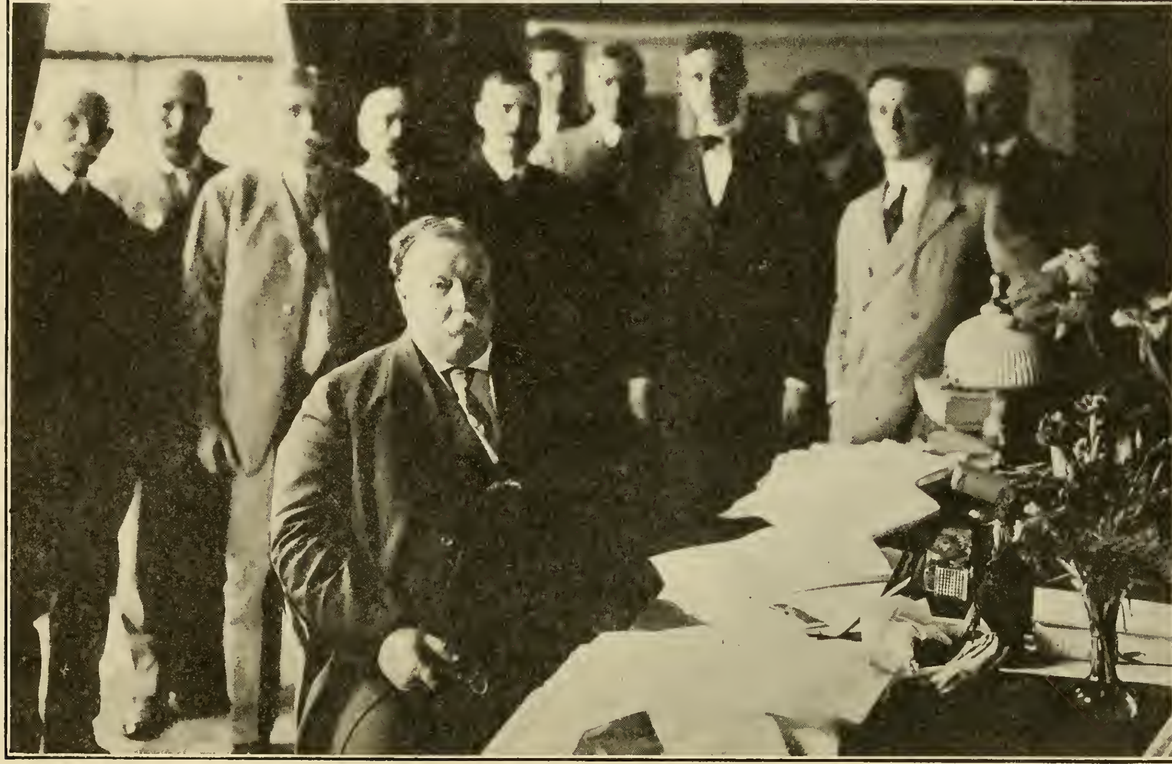
Proposed Convention of 1907

With careful foresight preliminary measures had been taken in advance of the election to take advantage of exactly the situation which actually did occur, by arranging that in case Arizona declined the proffered partnership, but New Mexico voted for statehood, the New Mexican delegates should meet and formulate a constitution for that state alone and present it in Washington with a request for admission under it.

The advantages of this course were obvious to everyone informed as to the history of the admission of territories. A considerable number of the delegates, representing all sections of the territory, met at the capitol in Santa Fé on January 7, 1907, and organized by the election of L. B. Prince, of Rio Arriba county, as president, and David M. White, of Santa Fé, as secretary. Letters were received from a large number of absent delegates stating that they would attend as soon as active business was commenced. Letters were also read from a number of leading United States senators expressing great interest in the work of the convention and urging the early formation and presentation of a constitution. After a full discussion of the situation, it was resolved to adjourn to February 5th, when the legislature would be in session.

At the February meeting, a large number of delegates who could not attend in January were present. All recognized the importance of framing a constitution as soon as practicable, in order to secure early congressional action, but there was considerable discussion as to the necessary expenses of the convention. Mr. Catron moved that a committee of seven be appointed to prepare a bill for the legislature, looking to a meeting of the convention in August, and to confer with members of that body relative to its provisions and passage.

For reasons difficult to understand, no further action was taken. The legislature was a very busy one and largely occupied by



SIGNING THE ENABLING ACT

political contentions, and gave the subject scant attention. After the legislature had failed to act, the governor was asked to name a time for the assembling of the delegates, in order to give the convention his official sanction, but this also failed.

Thus again the opportunity for almost immediate admission was lost. Every one has since realized that if the delegates had gone on with their work and prepared a constitution, and the matter could thus have been presented to Congress in the succeeding winter, free from uncertainty as to the character of the government which would be established, New Mexico would have become a state in 1908.

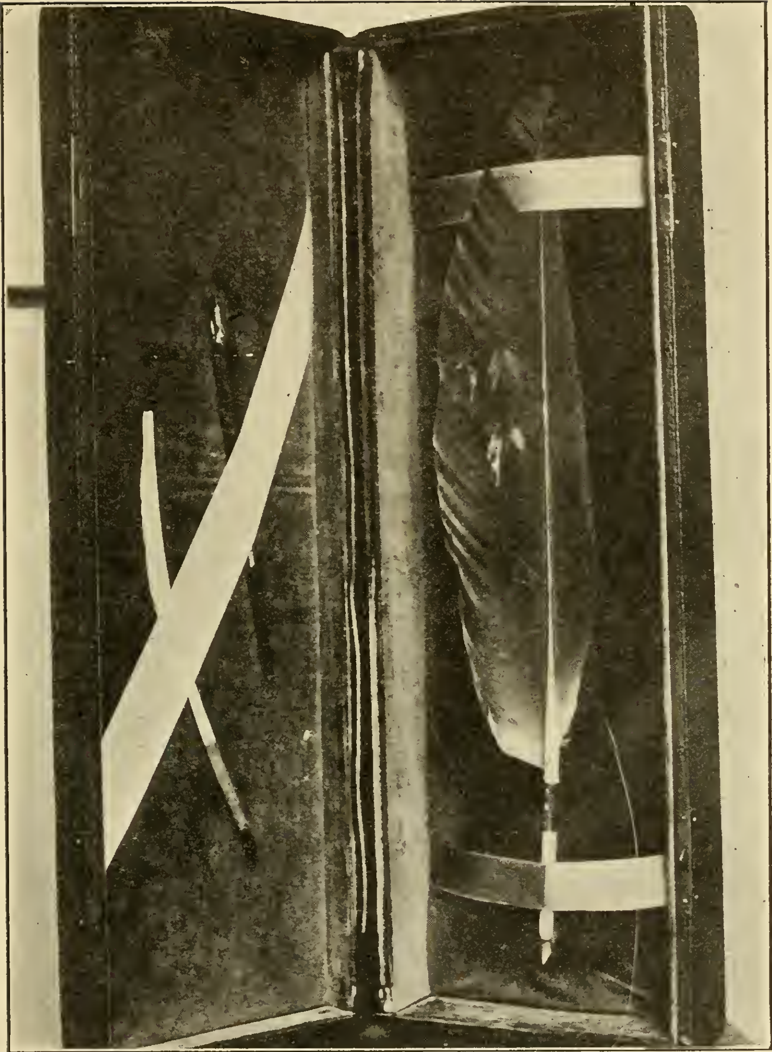
Success

When the 61st Congress met, in December, 1909, Mr. Andrews again represented New Mexico, having been reëlected mainly on the statehood issue. He pursued the course of wisdom by coöperating with the House committee on territories, with the result that on January 17, 1910, the so-called Hamilton Bill — H. R. 18166 — was passed by the House of Representatives without opposition. It was received in the Senate the next day and referred to the committee on territories.

It was well known that Senator Beveridge had in mind a number of provisions varying from those in the Hamilton bill, but thanks to strong influences outside of Congress, preëminent among which was that of President Taft, there was now little outspoken opposition to statehood for either New Mexico or Arizona.

The only division was as to preference for the Senate or the House bill. The vote on this question was by strict party lines, the Republicans voting for the Senate bill and the Democrats for the House bill, the result being 42 to 19 in favor of the former. On the final vote on the passage of the bill, the vote was unanimous!

Shortly after two o'clock on the afternoon of Saturday, June 18th, Speaker Cannon laid the bill as amended in the Senate before the House. There was a moment of suppressed excitement, and then Mr. Lloyd, of Missouri, the senior Democratic member of the committee, rose and said that while he was not entirely sat-



PENS WHICH SIGNED ENABLING ACT

isfied with the Senate bill, yet in order to insure immediate statehood for the territories he would not oppose it. Instantly Mr. Hamilton, the committee chairman, moved to concur in the Senate amendments. The question was put, viva voce, there being no demand for a roll call, and the House concurred by unanimous vote!

The deed was done! The long conflict of sixty years was over! Members crowded around Delegate Andrews to offer congratulations.

At Last

That was on Saturday.

The president had signified his desire to affix the signature which would give legal vitality to the bill and transform it into a law before leaving Washington on Monday, so all the preceding formalities were hastened.

On Monday morning, notwithstanding its length, the statehood bill was properly enrolled and ready for the official signatures.

From the capitol it was quickly conveyed to the White House, where the president was ready to act. Here were assembled several of those who had been most active in achieving its success, with such representatives of the two territories as were in the national capital.

The president said a few words of congratulation, and then proposed to affix his official signature. The postmaster-general presented a gold pen with the request that it should be used, and Delegate Andrews produced the unique gold-banded quill taken from the great American eagle captured in Taos, and furnished for the occasion, in its beautiful case, as a patriotic service by George B. Paxton, when he had no thought that death would forbid his presence at the ceremony. The president wrote half of the signature with the former and the remainder with the latter, returning the pens to the donors as mementoes of this great historic occasion.

The White House clock stood at 1:40 p. m.

That signature ended the drama of the "Struggle for State-

hood.'' There had been more than fifty statehood bills in the sixty years of effort. Those few penstrokes transformed a Statehood Bill into a Statehood Law.

CHAPTER XXIV

Churches — Schools — Newspapers

In order to take a comprehensive view of certain subjects, it seems necessary to group together the facts connected with them rather than to scatter them in the general narrative as they occurred chronologically; and this is particularly true of such distinct topics as those of churches, schools, and newspapers. With a view, therefore, to convenience of reference, and a connected consideration of each subject separately, the leading facts regarding these three topics are thus brought together in this chapter.

Churches

The introduction of Christianity into New Mexico, by the efforts of the Franciscan friars, has been referred to many times in the general historical narrative, because it is so closely interwoven with other events that it could not easily be separated.

Thus we have heard of the friars, Juan de Padilla and Luis de Escalona, who insisted on remaining as missionaries among the northern Indians when Coronado's army returned to Mexico in 1542, and who soon received the crown of martyrdom which was the certain result of their determination.

We also know the touching history of Friar Agustin Rodriguez or Ruiz, who begged the privilege of entering this field of missionary effort, and finally succeeded in reaching New Mexico with his companions, Friars Francisco Lopez and Juan de Santa Maria, with a small escort of soldiers, in 1580. Here they settled at Puará, no doubt the Tihuex of Coronado, as the center of operations; and when the soldiers of the king insisted on returning to the south, these Soldiers of the Cross refused to leave the

land where there were so many heathen to be converted; and so, in turn, each sealed his testimony with his blood.

We have read of the zeal of the Franciscans who accompanied Oñate in the colonization of the territory, and of the immediate building of the first church in New Mexico, at San Gabriel, and its dedication on August 8, 1598, with elaborate ceremonies to impress the minds of the native Indians. There were then ten Franciscans with the expedition and they were promptly assigned to the important pueblos, and the era of church building commenced.

When Oñate went on his celebrated expedition to Quivira, in 1601, he was accompanied by Father Velasco and Father Vergara, leaving Father Escalona and four other Franciscans at San Gabriel. At this date began the complaints of the Franciscans against the tyranny, cruelty, and injustice of the governors, which continued almost without intermission, and no doubt not without good cause, through most of the administrations under the Spanish crown.

About 1620 came Padre Geronimo de Zarate Salmeron, the most successful of missionaries, who baptized no less than 6,566 Indians during his eight years' residence at Jemez, and according to whom and to Benavides, 34,000 Indians had been baptized and forty-three churches built before 1626. In 1621 the New Mexican missions were organized as the "Custodia of the Conversion of St. Paul," in exclusive charge of the Franciscans and with Benavides himself as the first custodio.

Father Francisco de Ayeta was appointed custodio in 1674 but returned to Mexico and was absent at the time of the revolution of 1680. On August 10th of that year occurred the great uprising of the Pueblos, and the most wholesale martyrdom of Franciscan missionaries that the world has ever seen. In a single day twenty-one were killed in various ways in the different pueblos where they were stationed. Lack of space does not permit giving the particulars; but the terrible event created such an interest all over the Christian world that a solemn funeral ceremony took place in the cathedral of the city of Mexico on the

succeeding 20th of March, when all the dignitaries of New Spain were present and a remarkable obituary sermon was preached by Dr. Ysidro Sariñana y Cuenca.

The whole history of the Franciscan missions in New Mexico is one of wonderful zeal, devotion, and self-sacrifice. It would be difficult to imagine a greater example of self-abnegation than the practical exile from civilization and companionship involved in a residence in an isolated pueblo, absolutely cut off from the world, ministering to a people with whose habits of life and thought there could be scarcely anything in common. No more forcible example of an unselfish missionary spirit can be found in history than in the case of the Franciscans of New Mexico during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The majestic ruins of the great mission churches at Pecos, Abó, Cuará, and the so-called Gran Quivira, and a host of others, bear witness to the labors of the zealous Soldiers of the Cross; while the existing churches in the towns of the Rio Grande Valley, and at Acoma, Laguna, and other pueblos, are an additional evidence of the zeal and success of the Christian temple-builders of those days.

During the Spanish and Mexican eras, New Mexico was included in the Roman Catholic diocese of Durango, and ecclesiastically subject to its bishops. Episcopal visitations, however, were few and far between. Bishop Crespo came in 1725 but did not reach Santa Fé; and again in 1730 made a more extended tour, but in some places was not allowed to hold confirmations, as the Franciscans disclaimed his authority. A protracted controversy ensued as to this between the bishop and the Franciscan authorities in Mexico. There were also long continued controversies between the Franciscans and the Jesuits as to the ecclesiastical control of Moqui.

Just one episcopal visitation was made by Bishop Elizacochea, of Durango, and in 1760 Bishop Tamaron made a visitation during which he is said to have confirmed 2,973 persons in El Paso, and 11,371 in New Mexico. Then for a long time New Mexico seems to have been forgotten by the ecclesiastical authorities, so

that Pedro Bautista Pino, when a member of the Spanish Cortes in 1812, said that he had never seen a bishop in his life until he came to Spain.

With the Mexican revolution came the withdrawal of the Franciscans and the substitution of secular priests; and these latter were largely recruited from the leading families of New Mexico itself. In numbers the clergy were greatly reduced, there being, in 1823, but five Franciscans and six secular priests in the territory. Bishop Zubiria visited New Mexico in 1833, spending several months in the territory and making a special journey to Abiquiu in July. He came again in 1837, and once more in 1850, after the American occupation.

For a long time before that date, Rev. Juan Felipe Ortiz had been vicar-general in charge of New Mexico, and he was left in control by Bishop Zubiria in 1850; but the change in sovereignty naturally caused a change in ecclesiastical relations, and the Pope erected New Mexico into a separate vicariate, with Rev. John B. Lamy as apostolic vicar, he being consecrated as a bishop *in partibus* for that purpose, at Cincinnati, on November 24, 1850. Owing to the long delays of travel, he did not arrive in Santa Fé until July, 1851. Neither the vicar-general nor any of the clergy had been informed of his appointment, and they still held allegiance to the bishop of Durango; but this difficulty was soon set at rest, and all accepted the new authority.

In 1852 Bishop Lamy was formally given the title of bishop of Santa Fé. He found in his new jurisdiction only ten priests, and their names show them all to have been of New Mexican families. Those names are Ortiz, Gallegos, Leiva, Lucero, Lujan, Martinez, Montaño, Salazar, and Trujillo. Between such a Mexican priesthood with the habits and customs that had existed for a long period and a young and earnest bishop of French birth and ideas, not much harmony could be expected. There was friction from the beginning. One by one the old priests were removed and their places filled by French clergy whom the bishop secured by a personal visit in 1853. These latter were earnest young men, thoroughly devoted to the bishop, and the most of whom

spent their lives in New Mexico in zealous parochial labors, and left behind them a good report of influence exerted and work accomplished. Of the deposed Mexican clergy, two became important political factors in the territory, Padre Martinez of Taos, and Padre Gallegos of Albuquerque; the former also continued to exercise his priestly functions in a chapel at Taos, until his death, and was followed and supported by a large and important portion of his old parishioners.

From the time of the organization of the vicariate and subsequent diocese, there has been steady progress.

In February, 1875, Santa Fé was made an arch-diocese with Bishop Lamy as archbishop; Colorado and Arizona being within the enlarged jurisdiction.

On February 19, 1885, Bishop Salpointe, of Tucson, became coadjutor to Archbishop Lamy, and succeeded him as archbishop on his resignation, on October 11th of that year.

In August, 1891, Rev. Placido L. Chapelle, of Washington, was consecrated as bishop and appointed as coadjutor to Archbishop Salpointe, and on the resignation of the latter became archbishop of Santa Fé, January 9, 1894. He was subsequently promoted to be archbishop of New Orleans.

To the great joy of the old French clergy of New Mexico, Bishop Bourgade, who was one of the priests brought out by Bishop Lamy in 1869, was selected to succeed Archbishop Chapelle, and became archbishop, January 7, 1899.

The Rev. J. B. Pitaval, of Colorado, was consecrated bishop and made assistant to Archbishop Bourgade, July 25, 1902; and succeeded the latter, after his death on January 3, 1909. All the occupants of the archi-episcopal chair of Santa Fé have been men of high character and ability, and the affairs of the Roman Catholic church in New Mexico have been well cared for and successfully conducted under their wise administration.

Down to the time of the American occupation, the Roman Catholic was the only form of Christianity known in New Mexico,

and indeed there was little else until the coming of the railroad, in 1879; for the so-called "Americans" that came into the country before that time were not of a class that usually cares much about religious organizations of any kind.

The first Protestant clergyman to hold services in New Mexico was Rev. Henry W. Reed, who officiated in Santa Fé, in July, 1849, and also conducted a school in that city. He erected a modest adobe church, which was the first Protestant place of worship, and was dedicated January 15, 1854. As the mission did not prove a success, the property was sold to the Presbyterians in 1866. In 1852 Rev. Samuel Gorman came as a missionary to the pueblo of Laguna and was formally adopted as a member of the pueblo, and was its governor at the time of his death in 1861. Years afterwards, the work at that pueblo was renewed by Rev. John Menaul, a Presbyterian clergyman, who established a school and preached regularly there for many years. He learned the language of the Indians sufficiently well to use it in his services. He opened a printing office, in which he did the work himself, and published several pamphlets in the language of the Laguna Indians, all of which are now very rare. Since the immigration from the east the Baptists have established congregations in many places, and now have twenty-eight churches valued at $67,300.

The Methodists were the next in the field. In December, 1850, they sent Rev. E. G. Nicholson to Santa Fé, where he conducted services for about two years, but found the field so discouraging that the work was abandoned. Other attempts met a similar fate until Rev. Thomas Harwood arrived in 1871 and settled at La Junta, now called Watrous. His energy and persistence overcame all obstacles and the results of his long continued labors are now to be seen in missions and schools in all sections of the state. For a long period he was at the head of the Spanish work of the Methodist church in New Mexico, and after forty years of constant service he is still actively engaged in his official labors. The Methodist Episcopal church has now fifty-one churches in New Mexico, valued at $125,000; and the Southern Methodists,

who entered the territory much later, have twenty-five churches with an estimated value of $70,000.

The Rev. W. T. Kephardt was the first Presbyterian missionary, and he entered upon his duties in the same year, 1851, also at Santa Fé. In fact, in the beginning, all missionary work was there. Mr. Kephardt failed to make any impression, and soon devoted himself to editorial work of anti-slavery character on the Santa Fé *Gazette*. The mission work, however, was not abandoned; in 1866 the Baptist property at Santa Fé was purchased at considerable expense, and after the coming of the railroad a very creditable church was erected in place of the old adobe structure. The Presbyterians have been very active and constant in their work, both with the Americans and Mexicans; and with schools as well as churches. They now have forty-four church edifices, which are valued at over $100,000, besides their educational institutions.

On July 5, 1863, and the succeeding Sunday, the first services of the Episcopal church were held in Santa Fé, by the Right Rev. Joseph C. Talbot, then Missionary Bishop of the Northwest, assisted by Rev. M. A. Rich, and Rev. A. H. De Mora, the services being both in English and Spanish. In 1868, Bishop Randall, of Colorado, temporarily in charge of New Mexico, made a visitation and officiated, but there was not yet a resident clergyman.

In 1874 the General Convention of the Church organized New Mexico and Arizona into a missionary district and elected Rev. Wm. F. Adams, of New Orleans, as bishop. Dr. Adams was consecrated in New Orleans on January 17, 1875, by the bishops of Mississippi, Louisiana, and Georgia. He proceeded to his new field without delay, arriving in Santa Fé in time for a service on February 7th, and bringing with him Rev. Henry Forrester. Bishop Adams resigned in 1877, and left Mr. Forrester as the only Episcopal clergyman in New Mexico. He continued in charge in Santa Fé until the fall of 1879, when he moved to Las Vegas and succeeded in building the first Episcopal church in New Mexico — a very plain, adobe structure, still standing. In

1880 the district was regularly organized by holding the first convocation in Albuquerque, where resolutions were passed asking for the immediate election of a new bishop. Bishop Spalding, of Colorado, presided.

At the General Convention, held in the ensuing October, Rev. George K. Dunlop, of Missouri, was elected bishop, and was consecrated in November, 1880. During his episcopate, stone churches were built at Santa Fé, Albuquerque, and Las Vegas, a number of other points were occupied, and the affairs of the Church prospered. He died in March, 1888, and was succeeded by Right Rev. J. Mills Kendrick, of Ohio, who was consecrated January 18, 1889, and died in the summer of 1911. In 1892 New Mexico became a district by itself, and at the General Convention of 1910 Bishop Kendrick was relieved of the care of Arizona so as to devote his entire attention to New Mexico. The growth of the church, though not rapid, has been substantial. The number of churches is fourteen, valued at $66,750.

The Congregationalists were prominent in New Mexico at the time when the New West Commission was conducting the academies at Santa Fé, Las Vegas, Albuquerque, etc., and the University at Santa Fé was actively engaged in educational work. In 1881 and 1882 churches were built in Santa Fé and Albuquerque. At the present time they have four churches, valued at $20,000.

Various other Christian bodies, as well as the Jews, whose first temple was erected in 1885, are now represented in the state. All religious organizations are prosperous and doing good work. The following table shows the number of congregations and members belonging to each religious body according to the latest statistics:

	CONGREGATIONS	MEMBERS
Adventist	6	218
Baptists	62	2,403
Plymouth Brethren	1	6
Christadelphian	1	10
Congregational	5	270

Christian or Disciples	16	1,092
Episcopal	18	867
Independent	1	30
Jewish	3	120
Mormon	6	738
Lutheran	3	100
Methodist, North	62	3,513
Methodist, South	48	2,882
Methodist, Colored	5	165
Presbyterian	54	2,935
Reformed	2	70
Roman Catholic	330	121,558
Salvationists	2	30

Schools

Although there had been some royal decrees on the subject, yet it was not until the establishment of Mexican independence that any practical movement was made looking toward the general education of the people; but under the new system of self-government this important subject immediately attracted attention. As early as April 27, 1822, the provincial deputation passed the following resolution "Resolved, that the town councils [ayuntamientos] be officially notified to complete the formation of primary public schools as soon as possible according to the circumstances of each community." Unfortunately, the good intentions evinced by this resolution had very little practical result in New Mexico, owing to the circumstances of the country, and for a long period none but those who were able to afford private instruction received any education worthy of the name. The sons of the wealthy in many cases were sent to Durango and even as far as the city of Mexico on the south, while others went eastward, to St. Louis, Montreal, and even New York for their advanced education; but their numbers of course were very limited.

There were a few private schools, carried on from time to time by individual teachers, but without any organization or continuity. One of the first of these was that of Geronimo Becerra at Abiquiu, about the year 1800, at which the future Padre Martinez and a number of other boys of the northern district received the rudiments of education. The best known of all of these schools was that carried on for many years in Taos by the same Padre Martinez himself. This celebrated priest was an enthusiast on the subject of education, and the result of his teaching influenced an entire generation in the north of the territory. He printed, on a small press which had been brought from Mexico to Santa Fé, and which he carried to Taos, the first books that were ever published in the territory, being elementary books of instruction to be used by his students. He also published the first newspaper in New Mexico, which is referred to elsewhere.

At nearly the same time the Rev. Agustin Fernandez had a similar school in Santa Fé. One Rafael Pacheco taught boys, about the year 1840, in his house near the present St. Michael's college. Soon after this Mauricio Arce had a boys' school on San Francisco street, and Maraquita Arce, his wife, taught both boys and girls on lower Palace avenue. During the few years before the coming of Governor Martinez from Mexico, in 1844, there was at least a semblance of a public school, with Serafin Ramirez, Vicente Trancosa, and Nicolas Quintana teaching at various times; but the funds for the purpose were scanty and precarious.

Governor Martinez, full of energy, brought two new teachers, Edward Papy, an Englishman, from the "States," and Francisco Gonzales, from Mexico, which gave quite an impetus to educational matters for a short time. But the result or lack of result of all the efforts made, only led to the condition of matters so graphically described by Governor Vigil in his message to the first New Mexico legislature, in 1847. He says: "There is at present but one public school in the Territory, that located in the city of Santa Fé, and supported by funds of the county, which are insufficient to employ more than one teacher."

The United States government did nothing whatever to improve conditions as it has since done in Porto Rico and the Philippines,

and educational matters dragged miserably for years, at least so far as public education went.

The first English school in Santa Fé was opened on August 28, 1848, by J. W. Dunn, whose advertisement appears in the Santa Fé *Republican* as "Classical and High School." In July, 1849, Rev. Henry W. Reed, a Baptist missionary, tried a similar experiment, in which Mrs. Reed assisted, and both boys and girls were received. Soon after the arrival of Bishop Lamy, in the fall of 1851, a Frenchman named Noel opened a school, under the patronage of the bishop, in the house south of the church of St. Francis. The first English school, exclusively for girls, was established in 1852 by Mrs. Howe, the wife of an army officer, and this attracted the attendance of the daughters of some of the most prominent families in the territory, including the Pereas and the Chaveses.

Almost at the same time, Bishop Lamy succeeded in establishing an educational institution for girls in the same city. From the time of his arrival in the territory this had been his ardent desire, but it was only after much difficulty that he succeeded in inducing the Sisters of Loretta to send a sufficient number of their order to New Mexico to establish the institution. On June 27, 1852, six of the sisters left their home in Kentucky and proceeded on the long journey across the plains for this purpose. On the route they became victims of attacks from cholera, which was then raging throughout the country, and Mother Matilda, the Superior, died on the steamboat "Kansas," on which they were ascending the Missouri River to Independence. Another of the sisters was forced to return, but four of them succeeded in arriving at Santa Fé on the 26th of September, and opened their school on New Year's Day, 1853, under the title of the Convent of Our Lady of Light, with ten boarders and three day scholars. From this humble beginning their educational influence on the girls of New Mexico has extended as the years have passed. In 1863, three sisters founded a school at Taos. A year later, they opened establishments in Mora and in Denver, and continued to extend the number of their institutions by going to Las Vegas in

1869, Las Cruces in 1870, Bernalillo in 1875, and more recently at other points.

In order to secure equal facilities for the boys of New Mexico, Bishop Lamy persuaded the Christian Brothers to come to the territory, where they opened St. Michael's College at Santa Fé in 1859, and besides affording an education at that central point to more than a generation of the youth of New Mexico, they extended the sphere of their usefulness to Mora, Bernalillo, Las Vegas, Socorro, and other points. During almost all of this period they were under the charge of Brother Botulph, whose educational labor of love finds its reward in the good influence which he has exerted. In 1875, the Jesuits opened a college at Las Vegas, which was very successful until removed to Denver, and they have since added new fields for their educational activity at Watrous, Albuquerque, etc.

The other religious bodies were not idle. In 1870, Rev. J. A. Annin, a Presbyterian clergyman, established a school at Las Vegas. This was the beginning of the Presbyterian educational work which has since become very extensive in New Mexico.

In 1871, Rev. Thomas Harwood commenced his mission school at La Junta (Watrous), and for over forty years has been the head of the Methodist educational work in this part of the country and has seen it increase to large proportions.

In 1878, in view of the expected arrival of the railroad connecting New Mexico with the east, and the influx of eastern population, the attention of the New West Educational Commission was attracted to this territory, and on July 4, 1878, Santa Fé Academy was incorporated, to be carried on as a portion of their work. A year later a similar academy was organized in Las Vegas, on July 14th, and shortly thereafter the third was added at Albuquerque. All of these did excellent educational work which only ceased when public educational institutions made its continuance unnecessary. In 1881, the Educational Association of New Mexico was organized to continue and amplify the work done by the Santa Fé academy, and in the same year the University of New Mexico, at Santa Fé, was incorporated, to prosecute in an

extended manner the work then carried on by the New West Commission, and Whitin Hall at Santa Fé was erected at a cost of $15,000 as the center of its work. Other private and denominational institutions added their educational facilities within the first few years after the coming of the railroad; but the public school system was still unimportant as an educational force.

The people were unaccustomed to any direct tax for such purposes, and at best their means were small.

The legislature, from time to time, passed acts intended to improve the situation, but without any actual result. When the question of establishing public schools to be supported by a general tax was first submitted to the people in 1855 the remarkable result was a vote of thirty-seven in favor and 5,016 opposed! Really effective measures to put a modern public school system in operation always met influential opposition. In 1876 such a bill passed the Council, but was defeated in the House by four majority. A similar measure was likewise defeated in 1878 and 1880. Even as late as 1889 the opponents of public schools succeeded in killing the ''Kistler Bill.'' In connection with this long struggle for free public non-sectarian education, the services of Secretary William G. Ritch should never be forgotten. His indefatigable zeal and courage had much to do with the final success.

It was not until the legislative session of 1891 that what may be called a comprehensive, modern public school system was inaugurated. Governor Prince made that subject the salient point in his biennial message to the legislature, with a powerful appeal for immediate action. On February 12th of that year, a law was passed ''Establishing common schools in the Territory of New Mexico and creating the office of Superintendent of Public Instruction,'' which marked a new era in the educational history of the territory, so far as common schools were concerned. During the two preceding years, three institutions of higher education had been established — the Territorial University at Albuquerque, the College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts at Mesilla Park near Las Cruces, and the School of Mines at Socorro. For each of these substantial buildings were erected, and although

their first years were necessarily "a day of small things," yet the foundations were well laid and they have constantly increased in educational character and practical usefulness as time has passed.

The act of 1891 provided for a territorial board of education, which included the governor and the presidents of some of the higher institutions, and for a superintendent of public instruction, with powers which gave him the actual oversight of all the public schools in the territory, to be appointed by the governor. The wise appointment of Amado Chaves to that position smoothed the way for the successful introduction of the new system and secured its favorable reception. From that time until now, educational matters in New Mexico have progressed with great rapidity, the number of public schools, which was about 500 in 1891, having doubled and reached the full figure of 1,000 in 1912. The percentage of illiteracy which has been used in the East and in congressional debates, as a reproach to New Mexico, has been rapidly reduced, showing a ratio of improvement unprecedented in its extent. Sixty thousand scholars are enrolled and 40,000 in actual attendance. The number of teachers, which was but 552 in 1891, has increased to 1,548; the great gain being in the number of women, which in the twenty-one years has risen from 179 to 1,043. The value of public school property is almost a million dollars; that of the state institutions over a million; of private schools about $400,000; and of the Indian schools over $400,000.

In 1891, the Goss Military Institute at Roswell was given an official character and afterwards became a regular territorial institution. The first normal school of any kind in New Mexico was held in 1891 in Las Vegas, on a call made by the county superintendent asking the teachers of San Miguel county to meet for mutual improvement and instruction. It commenced as a teachers' institute, but was continued for almost a month, from June 22d to July 17th, as a normal school, with very encouraging success; and, from this arose, almost immediately after, the establishment by the legislature of two territorial normal institutions, one at Las Vegas and one at Silver City. In 1909 the

Spanish-American Normal School was established at El Rito, for the important purpose of preparing native New Mexican teachers for the great number of rural schools in the state. In recent years, the educational work has progressed very rapidly, not only in the way of general and public instruction, but through a multitude of denominational and private schools which are to be found in all parts of New Mexico.

Meanwhile, the education of the Indians has not been neglected, and is still one of the most conspicuous features of the school work in the state. The University at Santa Fé took up this work in 1886 and established for that specific purpose an institution known as the Ramona School in memory of Helen Hunt Jackson. This was successfully carried on for a number of years, until 1894, when private efforts were superseded by the government Indian schools, established at Santa Fé and Albuquerque. These institutions have increased in their capacity and improved by experience in their methods, year by year, and the instruction given to the pupils both in the ordinary branches and in industrial education has reached a very high grade. There are also local government and denomination schools for the Indians at a number of points in the state.

Newspapers

The first printing press is said to have been brought from Mexico in the year 1834, and the Abreu family is credited with that piece of enterprise.

One of the first specimens of printing executed in New Mexico was the proclamation of Governor Perez, greeting his fellow citizens. This is dated June 26, 1835, thirty-four days after his arrival, and at the bottom is the publication note "Imprenta de

U. S. INDIAN SCHOOL, SANTA FE

Ramon Abreu, á cargo de Jesus Maria Baca" (printing office of Ramon Abreu in charge of Jesus Maria Baca). Mr. Baca appears to have followed the fortunes of that press for many years. He was with it in Taos, and returned to Santa Fé when the press was restored to the capital.

The manifesto of Governor Martinez in 1844 is inscribed "Imprenta particular á cargo de J. M. B." (private printing office in charge of J. M. B.).

The first newspaper printed in New Mexico was *El Crepusculo* (The Dawn), which was published by Padre Martinez in Taos, commencing November 29, 1835. It was the size of foolscap paper, and but four numbers were issued, as it failed to pay expenses. Padre Martinez printed a number of small books of instruction while the press remained in Taos.

The first paper published in Santa Fé was *La Verdad*, shortly after 1840. It was the official organ, and the matter contained in it was mainly of an official character. It was finally discontinued about 1843.

On June 28, 1845, as a successor to *La Verdad*, appeared *El Payo de Nuevo Mejico*. The printing office was now an official affair, as the inscription on it is "Imprenta del Gobierno á cargo de J. M. B."

The first newspaper wholly or partly in English was the Santa Fé *Republican*, which first appeared on September 4, 1847. It was a well printed four page weekly, two pages in English and two in Spanish. Hovey and Davies were the publishers, and G. R. Gibson the editor. The file belonging to the Historical Society begins with No. 5, October 9, 1847. In December, Mr. Gibson ceased to be editor and thereafter the name of Oliver P. Hovey appears.

In 1849, on December 1st, the *New Mexican* appeared at Santa Fé, published by Davies and Jones. The present *New Mexican* commenced publication January 22, 1863, Charles Leib being the founder. Within a year it was sold to Charles P. Clever and by him to W. H. Manderfield. In May, 1864, Mr. Manderfield formed a partnership with Thomas Tucker, and their firm con-

tinued to publish the *New Mexican* until 1880, when it was sold to a company representing the A., T. & S. F. Railroad, Charles W. Green being editor. Through a long career it has always retained a commanding position in New Mexican affairs, and particularly under Colonel Frost was a political power. It became a daily in 1868.

Among the early papers were:

The Mesilla *News*, issued in 1860.

The *Amigo del Pais* and the *Gaceta*, in Santa Fé, in the early "fifties."

El Democrata, at Santa Fé, by Miguel Pino, in 1859.

The New Mexico *Press*, at Albuquerque, edited by Hezekiah S. Johnson, in 1863.

The Elizabethtown *Lantern*, in 1868.

The *Advertiser*, at Las Vegas in 1870, by O. V. Aoy, who subsequently had papers at Carbonateville and Red River.

The *Mail*, at Las Vegas, also in 1870. (This subsequently became the *Gazette* under the Kooglers.)

Mining Life, at Silver City in 1873.

Eco del Rio Grande, at Las Cruces in 1874.

With the coming of the railroad, newspapers sprang up like mushrooms, and many perished almost as rapidly. They did good work, however, in the development of the country.

In 1850 there were but two newspapers in New Mexico, but they had the very substantial circulation of 1,150. In 1870 the number had increased to five, with a circulation of 1,525. In 1880 there were eighteen, with a circulation of 6,355, and in 1885 there were thirty-nine papers, of which eight were dailies, a larger number of the latter than a quarter of a century later.

In those earlier days there were papers published in many places which have none now or are almost forgotten, as Bernalillo, Cimarron, Mesilla, Lake Valley, Georgetown, White Oaks, Tiptonville, Golden, San Pedro, San Lorenzo, Mineral Hill, Cerrillos, Carbonateville, and Elizabethtown.

To attempt a history of all the papers that have arisen within the last twenty-five years would be far beyond the scope of this

work. With the settlement of the eastern counties the number has greatly increased, until at the opening of statehood, New Mexico has a list of no less than 125 periodicals, of which about 100 are printed in English and twenty-five in Spanish. Corresponding with the increasing number, has been the general improvement in the papers as to size, typography, and the character of the literary work. New Mexico has no reason to fear a comparison with any of its neighbors as to the excellence and high character of its press.

CHAPTER XXV

United States Officials

The following list of governors includes all those who were appointed to that position while New Mexico was a territory. In some similar lists the names of secretaries who have served as governor for a considerable period are included. But it seemed difficult to draw the line of selection. Under the organic act, the secretary becomes acting-governor the moment the governor leaves the territory. In accordance with this provision, every secretary has acted as governor, more or less; Secretaries Ritch, Arny, and Davis, probably longer than others. The only proper course, therefore, was to insert a full list of secretaries.

The list of chief justices shows the heads of the judiciary of New Mexico, through the whole territorial period.

A full list of delegates in Congress is also presented.

Governors Under Military Appointment

1846 August 19, Stephen W. Kearny.
1846 September 22, Charles Bent (assassinated January 17, 1847).
1847 January 17, Donaciano Vigil, acting.
1847 December 17, Donaciano Vigil.
1848 October 11, J. M. Washington, Commandant of the Department.
1849 John Munroe, Commandant of the Department.

Civil Governors Under the Organic Act

(March 3, 1851)

1851 James S. Calhoun.
1852 William Carr Lane.
1853 David Meriwether.
1857 Abraham Rencher.
1861 Henry Connelly.
1866 Robert B. Mitchell.
1869 William A. Pile.
1871 Marsh Giddings.
1875 Samuel B. Axtell.
1878 Lewis Wallace.
1881 Lionel A. Sheldon.
1885 Edmund G. Ross.
1889 L. Bradford Prince.
1893 William T. Thornton.
1897 Miguel A. Otero.
1906 Herbert J. Hagerman.
1907 George Curry.
1910 William J. Mills till January 15, 1912.

Secretaries

1846 Donaciano Vigil (appointed by General Kearny).
1848 Donaciano Vigil (appointed by Col. Washington).
1851 Hugh N. Smith (not confirmed).
1851 William S. Allen.
1852 John Greiner.
1853 William S. Messervy.
1854 W. W. H. Davis.

1857 A. M. Jackson.
1861 Miguel A. Otero.
1861 James H. Holmes.
1862 W. F. M. Arny.
1867 H. H. Heath.
1871 Henry Wetter.
1872 W. F. M. Arny.
1873 William G. Ritch.
1884 Samuel A. Losch.
1885 George W. Lane.
1889 B. M. Thomas.
1892 Silas Alexander.
1893 Lorion Miller.
1897 George H. Wallace.
1901 James W. Raynolds.
1907 Nathan Jaffa to 1912.

Chief Justices

1846 Joab Houghton.
1851 Grafton Baker.
1853 J. J. Deavenport.
1858 Kirby Benedict.
1866 John P. Slough.
1868 John S. Watts.
1869 Joseph G. Palen.
1876 Henry L. Waldo.
1878 Charles McCandless.
1879 L. Bradford Prince.
1882 Samuel B. Axtell.
1885 William A. Vincent.
1885 Elisha V. Long.
1889 James O'Brien.

1893 Thomas Smith.
1898 William J. Mills.
1910 William H. Pope.

Delegates in Congress

CONGRESS	DATE	NAME
31st	1849-51	William S. Messervy.
32d	1851-53	R. H. Weightman.
33d	1853-55	José Manuel Gallegos.
34th, 35th and 36th	1855-61	Miguel A. Otero.
37th	1861-63	John S. Watts.
38th	1863-65	Francisco Perea.
39th and 40th	1865-69	J. Francisco Chaves.
41st	1869-71	Charles P. Clever.
[Contested by J. F. Chaves, who was seated at end of session.]		
42d	1871-73	José Manuel Gallegos.
43d and 44th	1873-77	Stephen B. Elkins.
45th	1877-79	Trinidad Romero.
46th	1879-81	Mariano S. Otero.
47th	1881-83	Tranquilino Luna.
48th	1883-85	F. A. Manzanares.
49th to 53d	1885-95	Antonio Joseph.
54th	1895-97	Thomas B. Catron.
55th	1897-99	H. B. Fergusson.
56th	1899-1901	Pedro Perea.
57th and 58th	1901-05	Bernard S. Rodey.
59th to 62d	1905-12	William H. Andrews.

Duplicate.

Sixty-first Congress of the United States of America;

At the Second Session,

Begun and held at the City of Washington on Monday, the sixth day of December, one thousand nine hundred and nine.

AN ACT

To enable the people of New Mexico to form a constitution and state government and be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States; and to enable the people of Arizona to form a constitution and state government and be admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the qualified electors of the Territory of New Mexico are hereby authorized to vote for and choose delegates to form a constitutional convention for said Territory for the purpose of framing a constitution for the proposed State of New Mexico. Said convention shall consist of one hundred delegates; and the governor, chief justice, and secretary of said Territory shall apportion the delegates to be thus selected, as nearly as may be, equitably among the several counties thereof in accordance with the voting population, as shown by the vote cast at the election for Delegate in Congress in said Territory in nineteen hundred and eight: *Provided,* That in the event that any new counties shall have been added after said election, the apportionment for delegates shall be made proportionate to the vote cast within the various precincts contained in the area of such new counties so created, and the proportionate number of delegates so apportioned shall be deducted from the original counties out of which such counties shall have been created.

The governor of said Territory shall, within thirty days after the approval of this Act, by proclamation, in which the aforesaid apportionment of delegates to the convention shall be fully specified and announced, order an election of the delegates aforesaid on a day designated by him in said proclamation, not earlier than sixty nor later than ninety days after the approval of this Act. Such election for delegates shall be held and conducted, the returns made, and the certificates of persons elected to such convention issued, as nearly as may be, in the same manner as is prescribed by the laws of said Territory regulating elections therein of members of the legislature existing at the time of the last

FIRST PAGE OF STATEHOOD ENABLING ACT

CHAPTER XXVI

State Organization

1912

The state government was put in actual operation by the inauguration of the governor, on January 15, 1912. The other elected officials of the state assumed office at various times, shortly before or after that date.

The legislature met and organized on March 11, 1912, and continued in session until June 8th. During the session of the Senate a number of the appointive officials were appointed and confirmed; some others remaining in office under their previous appointments, and not yet being superseded.

The following elective, appointive, and legislative officials were those holding their respective positions on July 1, 1912:

Elected Officials

STATE

Governor	William C. McDonald
Lieutenant-Goœvernor	Esequiel C. de Baca
Secretary of State	Antonio Lucero
Attorney-General	Frank W. Clancy
Auditor	William G. Sargent
Treasurer	Owen N. Marron
Commissioner of Public Lands	Robert P. Ervien
Superintendent of Public Instruction	Alvan N. White
Corporation Commissioner	Hugh H. Williams
Corporation Commissioner	Matthew S. Groves
Corporation Commissioner	Oscar L. Owen

Elected Officials

CONGRESSIONAL

U. S. SENATORS

Thomas B. Catron	Santa Fé
Albert B. Fall	Three Rivers

REPRESENTATIVES

George Curry	Tularosa
H. B. Fergusson	Albuquerque

Elected Officials

JUDICIAL

Supreme Court, Chief Justice	Clarence J. Roberts
Supreme Court	Richard H. Hanna
Supreme Court	Frank W. Parker
District Court, 1st District	Edmund C. Abbott
District Court, 2d District	Herbert F. Raynolds
District Court, 3d District	E. L. Medler
District Court, 4th District	David J. Leahy
District Court, 5th District	John T. McClure
District Court, 6th District	Colin Neblett
District Court, 7th District	Merritt C. Mechem
District Court, 8th District	Thomas D. Leib

Appointed State Officials

Traveling Auditor	Howell Earnest	1912
State Engineer	James A. French	1912
Insurance Superintendent	Jacobo Chavez	holds over
Librarian	Lola C. Armijo	holds over
Adjutant-General	A. S. Brooks	1912
Superintendent of Penitentiary	John B. McManus	1912
Game and Fish Warden	Trinidad C. de Baca	1912
Mine Inspector	Joseph E. Sheridan	holds over
Coal Oil Inspector	Frank Lopez	1912
Captain Mounted Police	Fred Fornoff	1912

MEMBERS OF THE FIRST STATE LEGISLATURE OF NEW MEXICO

State Senate

TERMS OF STATE SENATORS EXPIRE JANUARY, 1917

DISTRICT	NAME	RESIDENCE
1	John S. Clark	East Las Vegas
2	Juan Navarro	Mora
3	Louis C. Ilfeld	Las Vegas
4	Thomas D. Burns	Tierra Amarilla
5	Joseph F. Sulzer	Albuquerque
6	Epimenio A. Miera	Cuba
7	Isaac Barth	Albuquerque
8	Edwin C. Crampton	Raton
9	Eugenio B. Gallegos	Gallegos
10	Benjamin F. Pankey	Lamy
11	Squire Hartt, Jr.	Ranches of Taos
12	Boleslo Romero	Los Lunas
13	Charles J. Laughren	Deming
14	A. C. Abeytia	Socorro
15	William M. McCoy	Mountainair
16	Herbert B. Holt	Las Cruces
17	Gregory Page	Gallup
18	John M. Bowman	Alamogordo
19	James F. Hinkle	Roswell
20	Fred F. Doepp	Carlsbad
21	A. J. Evans	Portales
22	C. H. Alldredge	Tucumcari
23	Thomas J. Mabry	Clovis
24	William B. Walton	Silver City

House of Representatives

TERMS OF STATE REPRESENTATIVES EXPIRE JANUARY, 1915

Roman L. Baca, Speaker

DISTRICT	NAME	RESIDENCE
1	Zacarias Padilla	Los Lunas
1	Miguel E. Baca	Los Lunas
2	Conrad N. Hilton	San Antonio
2	Thomas Cooney	Mogollon
3	Tomas A. Gurulé	Albuquerque
3	John B. Burg	Albuquerque
3	Rafael Garcia	Albuquerque
4	Roman L. Baca	Santa Fé
4	Charles C. Catron	Santa Fé
5	Julian Trujillo	Chimayó
5	J. P. Lucero	Lumberton
6	George W. Tripp	East Las Vegas
6	Jose G. Lobato	Tecolote
6	Francisco Quintana	Sapelló
7	Blas Sanchez	Wagon Mound
7	Remigio Lopez	Roy
8	J. R. Skidmore	Raton
8	Manuel C. Martinez	Poñil
9	Luis R. Montoya	Taos
9	Manuel Cordova	Taos
10	Marcos C. de Baca	Bernalillo
11	Oscar T. Toombs	Clayton
11	Juan D. Casados	Clapham
12	James W. Chaves	Willard
13	John J. Clancy	Puerto de Luna
14	John A. Young	Gallup
14	Duncan McGillivray	Crown Point
15	W. H. H. Llewellyn	Las Cruces
15	Presiliano Moreno	Las Cruces
16	James V. Tully	Glencoe
17	Chas. P. Downs	Alamogordo

DISTRICT	NAME	RESIDENCE
18	Jas. W. Mullens	Roswell
18	J. T. Evans	Dexter
18	W. E. Rogers	Roswell
19	Hugh M. Gage	Hope
19	Florence Love	Loving
20	P. E. Carter	Portales
21	S. J. Smith	Mountainview
22	A. S. Goodell	Silver City
22	Robt. H. Boulware	Silver City
23	George H. Tucker	Hillsboro
24	W. H. Chrisman	Aztec
25	J. W. Campbell	Tucumcari
25	John L. House	House
26	W. W. Nichols	Clovis
27	Antonio D. Vargas	Ojo Caliente
28	Tranquilino Labadie	Santa Rosa
29	M. P. Manzanares	Fort Sumner
30	W. E. Blanchard	Arabela

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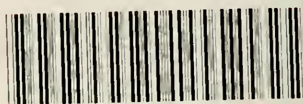
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