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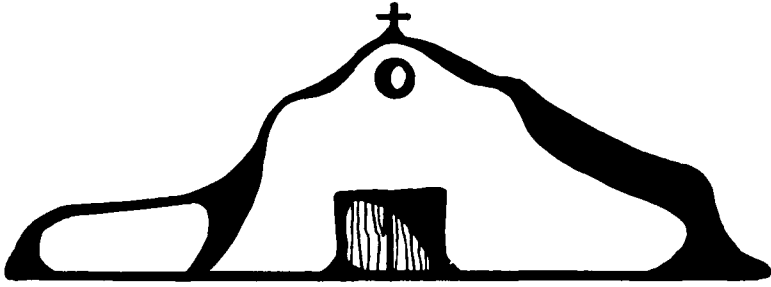
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**NEW MEXICO
HISTORICAL
REVIEW**
REPRINT

JANUARY 1936

**E. DANA JOHNSON
NEW MEXICO'S FIRST STATE AUTOMOBILE**

**FRANCE V. SCHOLES
CHURCH AND STATE IN NEW MEXICO, I**

**LANSING B. BLOOM
BOURKE ON THE SOUTHWEST, VIII**

BOOK REVIEWS

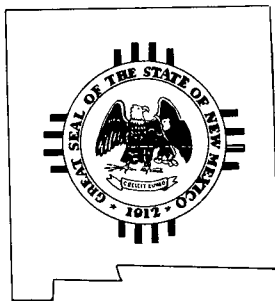
IN APPRECIATION

One of New Mexico's prime attractions, both to its own residents as well as to outsiders, is its rich and deep history. Nowhere did Indian society have greater historical impact, nor was there any area of the United States to which imperial Spain bequeathed such an indelible legacy. The pioneer period completes the trilogy and vies for historical attention.

With this historical background, today's society in the Land of Enchantment has need for substantial information concerning New Mexico. Chief vehicle for periodical publication concerning the state is the *New Mexico Historical Review*, which was born in 1926. In it, articles of maximum value have appeared quarterly for over a half century, representing a great treasury of authoritative information. However, with the passage of time some of the most important issues of the *Review* have become unavailable, with these out-of-print issues accessible at high prices at rare book shops, or sometimes unobtainable at any price. With a growing population desirous of becoming better informed concerning New Mexico, the need to provide availability to such important material became apparent.

The present reprint program was only a scholar's dream until far-sighted citizens became likewise convinced of the utility of making available a storehouse of knowledge, particularly focusing their concern on educational need for republication. Max Roybal, Bennie Aragon, Robert Aragon, Mike Alarid and Adele Cinelli-Hunley provided effective leadership. Legislators Don L. King and Alex Martinez presented Senate Bill #8 to the 1980 session of the New Mexico State Legislature and used their influence and that of Governor and Mrs. Bruce King to insure favorable consideration. The Board of the NMHR, speaking for followers of New Mexico's important history, warmly thanks these friends for such support.

Donald C. Cutter
Chairman, Editorial Board, NMHR



Cover design by Jan Carley, graphic artist, College of Education, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.

The Historical Society of New Mexico

(INCORPORATED)

Organized December 26, 1859

PAST PRESIDENTS

- 1859 — COL. JOHN B. GRAYSON, U. S. A.
1861 — MAJ. JAMES L. DONALDSON, U. S. A.
1863 — HON. KIRBY BENEDICT
adjourned sine die, Sept. 23, 1863
re-established Dec. 27, 1880
1881 — HON. WILLIAM G. RITCH
1883 — HON. L. BRADFORD PRINCE
1923 — HON. FRANK W. CLANCY
1925 — COL. RALPH E. TWITCHELL
1926 — PAUL A. F. WALTER

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CONSTITUTION

OF THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

(As amended Nov. 19, 1929)

Article 1. *Name.* This Society shall be called the Historical Society of New Mexico.

Article 2. *Objects and Operation.* The objects of the Society shall be, in general, the promotion of historical studies; and in particular, the discovery, collection, preservation, and publication of historical material, especially such as relates to New Mexico.

Article 3. *Membership.* The Society shall consist of Members, Fellows, Life Members and Honorary Life Members.

(a) *Members.* Persons recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society may become members.

(b) *Fellows.* Members who show, by published work, special aptitude for historical investigation may become Fellows. Immediately following the adoption of this Constitution, the Executive Council shall elect five Fellows, and the body thus created may thereafter elect additional Fellows on the nomination of the Executive Council. The number of Fellows shall never exceed twenty-five.

(c) *Life Members.* In addition to life members of the Historical Society of New Mexico at the date of the adoption hereof, such other benefactors of the Society as shall pay into its treasury at one time the sum of fifty dollars, or shall present to the Society an equivalent in books, manuscripts, portraits, or other acceptable material of an historic nature, may upon recommendation by the Executive Council and election by the Society, be classed as Life Members.

(d) *Honorary Life Members.* Persons who have rendered eminent service to New Mexico and others who have, by published work, contributed to the historical literature of New Mexico or the Southwest, may become Honorary Life Members upon being recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society.

Article 4. *Officers.* The elective officers of the Society shall be a president, two vice-presidents, a corresponding secretary and treasurer, and a recording secretary; and these five officers shall constitute the *Executive Council* with full administrative powers.

Officers shall qualify on January 1st following their election, and shall hold office for the term of two years and until their successors shall have been elected and qualified.

Article 5. *Elections.* At the October meeting of each odd-numbered year, a nominating committee shall be named by the president of the Society and such committee shall make its report to the Society at the November meeting. Nominations may be made from the floor and the Society shall, in open meeting, proceed to elect its officers by ballot, those nominees receiving a majority of the votes cast for the respective offices to be declared elected.

Article 6. *Dues.* Dues shall be \$3.00 for each calendar year, and shall entitle members to receive bulletins as published and also the *Historical Review*.

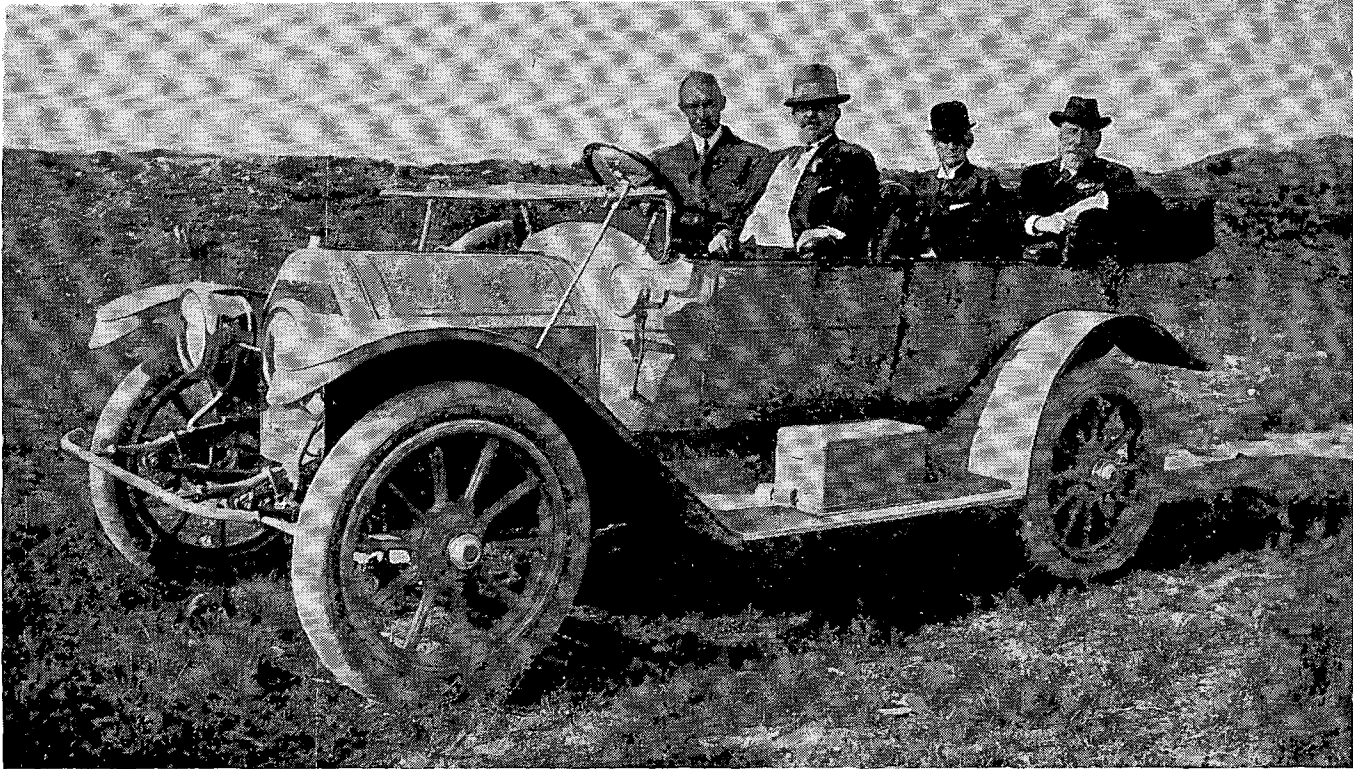
Article 7. *Publications.* All publications of the Society and the selection and editing of matter for publication shall be under the direction and control of the Executive Council.

Article 8. *Meetings.* Monthly meetings of the Society shall be held at the rooms of the Society on the third Tuesday of each month at eight P. M. The Executive Council shall meet at any time upon call of the President or of three of its members.

Article 9. *Quorums.* Seven members of the Society and three members of the Executive Council, shall constitute quorums.

Article 10. *Amendments.* Amendments to this constitution shall become operative after being recommended by the Executive Council and approved by two-thirds of the members present and voting at any regular monthly meeting; provided, that notice of the proposed amendment shall have been given at a regular meeting of the Society at least four weeks prior to the meeting when such proposed amendment is passed upon by the Society.

Students and friends of Southwestern History are cordially invited to become members. Applications should be addressed to the corresponding secretary, Lansing B. Bloom, State University, Albuquerque, New Mexico.



AN EARLY EXECUTIVE AUTOMOBILE

The late ex-Governor Herbert J. Hagerman at the wheel of his right-hand drive automobile, with ex-Governor Otero at his left; at the left in the rear seat the late ex-Governor LeBaron Bradford Prince; at the right ex-Governor William T. Thornton. This picture was taken on Fort Marcy about 1912. Experts pronounce the car a Cadillac model.

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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NEW MEXICO'S FIRST STATE AUTOMOBILE

By E. DANA JOHNSON

THE FIRST official gasoline vehicle of state in New Mexico was an imposing Ford automobile of the vintage of the early 1900's, owned, driven and frequently execrated by Territorial Governor Miguel A. Otero at the turn of the century.

While Governor Otero is under the impression that he bought the car in 1900, various testimony indicates that the year was about 1904, in which twelvemonth the first four automobiles to break the motorless silence of the Ancient City of the Holy Faith made their appearance after the lapse of some three hundred years of history. Local wiseacres claim that the first car to arrive in Santa Fé was that of Dr. J. M. Díaz, a Stevens-Duryea; the second, a Winton, was introduced to the startled population by Colonel Edmund C. Abbott; and numbers three and four, which were simultaneous, were the twin Fords purchased by Gov. Otero and J. Wallace Reynolds, known to fame through his tenure of office as Secretary of the Territory and Acting Governor.

Paul A. F. Walter deposes and says that it was in 1904 that he was building a "jig-saw" fence in front of his Palace avenue property; and that Mrs. Miguel A. Otero stopped the gubernatorial gas-chariot there and told Mrs. Walter that "your fence makes my automobile wobble every time I ride by."

It appears from all authorities that this brass-bound, high-seated, narrow-tread, lofty-clearance triumph of mechanical genius in the realm of transportation partook of the Gayety of the Gay Nineties and to that leisurely phase

added a hint of the genius of the speed-age of the Twentieth Century.

Governor Otero's Ford was the predecessor of fleets of official New Mexico cars; of an investment of \$100,000,000 in 100,000 automobiles and motor trucks and an annual expenditure, it is said, of some \$12,000,000 for gasoline in New Mexico, something at that time inconceivable in the wildest flights of imagination. The executive would undoubtedly have been skeptical of the sanity of any one who told him in 1904 that the people of this commonwealth would in thirty years be spending more to get from place to place than on all their public schools and state institutions.

It was just three years later that the Pope-Toledo automobile electrified the world with a record of fifty miles an hour. In 1904 a Durango dare-devil won a bet that his auto could cover 200 miles in a day. It took him fourteen hours. Meanwhile folks got a terrific thrill out of the sensational speed of thirty miles per. The drunken driver and the daily highway massacre were utterly unknown in those primitive times when there were hardly a dozen gas-propelled vehicles in the territory. These included the massive red Thomas Flyer owned by Banker M. W. Flournoy, in Albuquerque; the jaunty two-lunger Maxwell driven by Dr. John W. Elder there and the automobile which I. Singer guided with a handle like that of a feather-duster.

In 1904 the motor vehicle makers were just beginning to get away from the persistent idea of an automobile which had to look like a buggy, with bicycle wheels, and three years later almost all makes uniformly had high, heavily upholstered seats, no doors, rickety surrey-canopies anchored in front with long leather straps, a maze of levers at the side of the front seat, low hoods, heavy, shiny brass headlights and parking lamps still of the buggy pattern, a horn operated by a fat rubber bulb, large wooden-spoked wheels and small-caliber pneumatic tires.

The first automobiles in Santa Fé as elsewhere were the advance guard of the greatest era of road building in his-

tory. At that time no one yet knew certainly whether or not the automobile was a passing fad, like the bicycle. In 1900 a handful of factories produced only about 4,000 autos, and crowds still followed them on the streets. But six years later ninety firms placed 18,000 motor vehicles on the market, and it first began to dawn on the public that they must have something better to run on. The new rubber tires pulled to pieces the old fashioned macadam roads, made for buggies and wagons. Experiments began with bituminous binders, oil and tar. Even with heavy veils the motoring ladies choked on the dust, and off the beaten path miry, ratty wagon-roads were impassable for the new vehicle.

Thus the "good-roads" movement was born. In 1913 it had brought such organizations as the National Old Trails Association. The idea dawned of a "coast to coast highway." In the early 1900's a pioneer named Westguard got nation-wide publicity for the adventurous trip of a Reo through the Southwest, Santa Fé and Albuquerque, to the Pacific—as hazardous an enterprise as a trip down the west coast of Mexico today. New Mexico was early in the procession and joined with Missouri, Kansas, and Colorado for an improved Santa Fé Trail before there was a national organization. Crossing the western prairies and mountains by auto became the most alluring of adventures. From then on the development of gasoline passenger and freight traffic became the most revolutionary social and economic phenomenon of American annals. The automobile industry steadily grew gigantic, and millions of Americans, thrilled with new sight-seeing possibilities, started out on the Road to Elsewhere.

In 1906, leaders were the Pierce Great Arrow at \$4,000 to \$4,200, Maxwell at \$1,450, Sterns, the \$2,500 Rambler, the \$3,500 Northern with real airbrakes, the Columbia, "smartest car ever put on the market," Pope-Toledo, Baker Electric, Cadillac, Stoddard-Dayton, Peerless, Winton, Locomobile, Haynes-Apperson, the White and Toledo steam carriages. The cars were invariably four-cylinder, forty

horsepower machines. The Ford was still somewhat in the background, little heard of in the advertising, the world-shaking Model T yet to burst upon the pedestrian public. Ford was busy experimenting. He got out a six-cylinder car with a hood nearly six feet long.

How far we have progressed in the era of uncountable garages, service stations, filling stations, is indicated by a glance at *Country Life in America* in 1907, which carried a long illustrated article on "How to Overhaul an Automobile," with explicit directions to the car-owner how to dissect it into all its component parts and re-assemble them with none left over. Today if the carbureter develops a slight hoarseness or there is a grease-spot on the upholstery the owner immediately telephones to the garage, and the majority of motorists have only a nebulous idea of what is under the hood, if anything.

During his nine years as territorial executive Governor Otero was always a stickler for due and fitting official pomp and state ceremony. The brilliantly uniformed Otero Guards paraded at his frequent inaugurations and his omnipresent official staff was heavily loaded with gold braid and epaulettes.

It was with characteristic enterprise that he decided to keep abreast of the times and substitute the gas-wagon for the victoria-and-four as the equipage of state.

The capital awaited the arrival of the Otero and Raynolds automobiles with considerable excitement and from all accounts their subsequent careers were of recurring stimulus to the popular entertainment.

"The two Fords," said Governor Otero, with a reminiscent grin, "each painted yellow, each a four-seater touring car, occupied a whole freight car on the Santa Fé railroad and Mr. Raynolds and myself were at the station to supervise the delicate job of unloading them when they arrived. We had quite a crowd of spectators and a good many remarks from the bystanders."

The Fords were filled with gas and with unexampled moral courage and hardihood the two newly fledged motorists put on their heavy black leather gauntlets, donned their heavy leather motoring caps, adjusted their motoring coats, took their places at the wheel, manipulated the levers at the side, stepped on the gas and went up town. It is of interest in this connection that so far as known neither had ever previously touched the wheel of an automobile or taken a single lesson in its operation. "I didn't know a thing about running a car, but we got away with it," said the governor. It is reported there were scattered cheers as the vehicles clattered and banged up Montezuma avenue, past the capitol, and reached the owners' respective homes.

"That, however, was only the beginning," said Governor Otero in an ominous tone. At this point we may pass on for a moment to see the end.

"Four months later a man came up from Albuquerque, called on me and asked me if it were true I had an automobile for sale," said the author of *My Life on the Frontier*. I clutched him tightly and hurriedly piloted him to my new garage, probably at that time the best of the few in the territory.

"I showed him the Ford and after he had looked it over he offered me \$400 for it. It had cost me \$2,400 in the first instance and about \$275 a month to operate.

"'You can have it on one condition,' I told him. 'That is, that you promise also to take every single thing in the garage connected with it, tools, parts, gadgets, appurtenances, accessories, supplies, and everything which could possibly remind me of it.' I told him moreover that if he refused I would get in the auto and chase him all the way to Albuquerque if necessary, run him down and take the check from him by force. But he made out the check and signed it and I stuck it in my pocket, helping him to load up all the dinguses in the car, and experiencing a feeling of great relief when he finally drove it out of the yard. He ran it in Albuquerque for many years; in fact may be running it

yet, as it was indestructible. Thereafter I made a solemn vow that I would never own another automobile until I was able to hire a chauffeur to run and take care of it, which resolution I have kept scrupulously to this day.

"You must remember that in those days there were no public garages or filling stations where there are now thousands, and very few repair shops equipped to do automobile work. There were no paved or graveled roads to speak of, the highways were not made for cars, and if it rained and got muddy you simply stayed wherever you happened to be.

"If anything went wrong with the car, if you had a flat, or carbon in the cylinders, or broken steering gear you either fixed it yourself or sent a telegram to R. L. Dodson in Albuquerque, and he came up to fix the car at a cost of \$15 a day and expenses. Apparently Dodson was the only man in New Mexico who knew much about the insides of a car. And when you bought an automobile you had to purchase a whole automobile supply stock. When I got the Ford I bought a drum of gasoline, several dozen gallons of oil, numerous boxes of inner tubes, extra casings, chains, jacks, tire tools, wrenches, vulcanizing outfits, pumps, oilcans and other paraphernalia too numerous to mention."

Governor Otero estimates that during his four months as a motor-car owner he probably did more walking than during any other similar period in his life. His recollection is that it was the Raynolds auto which took its owner, the governor and a party of friends down to Bonanza, some ten miles out of Santa Fé, near the turquoise mines. Everybody wore motoring clothes, the women having voluminous veils tied over their hats and large goggles were considered indispensable. "The automobile broke down," said Otero. "I was elected to walk in to the penitentiary to send a team of horses out and haul the thing in."

"On another occasion I drove out over the winding wagon-road to Tesuque, six miles distant. The machine gurgled, choked and died and would not resume. After I had walked as far toward Santa Fé as the top of the Tesuque

Hill I met a man whom Raynolds had sent to my rescue. I instructed him to go on out and burn the car up, and I walked home."

The governor was unable to recall all the misadventures connected with the gubernatorial Ford. He did mention a trip to Lamy Junction with the late Levi A. Hughes and several other friends who were having a jovial evening in the open air; the vehicle thundered into a deep sandy arroyo and stood on its front end, being righted with considerable toil and labor but with no serious injury to the occupants.

Mrs. Otero, according to the governor, drove the car a great deal. In case of a flat tire, she would just tie a rope around the tube, casing and rim and thump along. She was having trouble with the machine one day in front of the Palace of the Governors. A truck driver for Charley Dudrow politely tied his horses and jumped down to assist her in turning the automobile around. It backed suddenly and violently and broke his nose.

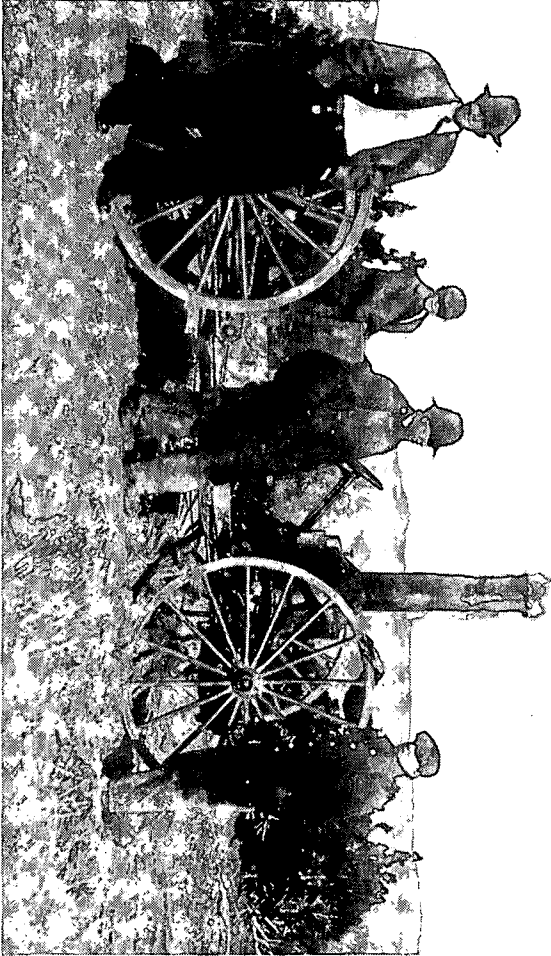
"I remember," said the governor, "what was probably the most agile movement ever made by the late Levi Hughes. I was driving up Palace avenue with Mr. Hughes, the late Charles A. Spiess of Las Vegas and my young son Miguel on board. I attempted to turn in high gear without stopping and start back down town. Something went wrong with the mechanism. To avoid crashing into a telegraph pole I had to drive over a high bank into the Arroyo Sais. As we started over Mr. Hughes and Mr. Spiess soared out of the car. Miguel stuck with me and we landed in the bottom of the arroyo right side up with no bloodshed. Citizens came running to the rescue and with their assistance we managed to extricate the car."

To avoid frightening horses and thus causing disastrous runaways seems to have been one of the prime responsibilities of a motorist in 1904.

It is to be regretted that the Historical Society of New Mexico is unable to add to its carretas and stagecoaches this first official state automobile in New Mexico. It deserves a

place in the State Museum. A place in the transportation collection should also be awarded to the first home-made coal-burning steam automobile fabricated by Walter Miller of Santa Fé, which, when short of fuel in the country, subsisted on fence posts and piñon fagots and inhaled water through a hose from convenient streams.

This machine, it is said, caused such widespread public panic that the common council eventually barred it from operating inside the city limits. Another vanished but historic vehicle of later date was the pioneer motorcycle of Jesse L. Nusbaum, whose deafening siren so afflicted public nerves that the motorcycle was also made subject to municipal regulation.



A HOME-MADE AUTOMOBILE

Courtesy of Walter Miller

CHURCH AND STATE IN NEW MEXICO
1610-1650

By FRANCE V. SCHOLES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE guiding principles of Spanish governmental policy from the age of Ferdinand and Isabella to the nineteenth century were orthodoxy and absolutism. By the conquest of Granada, the establishment of the Inquisition as a separate tribunal for the extirpation of heresy, the expulsion of the Jews, and the initiation of that policy of whittling down the charter of liberties of the Moors which culminated in the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609-1614, the Catholic Kings completed the territorial reconquest of Spain and assured the triumph of Roman Catholic orthodoxy within their dominions. No less important were their victories over the feudal nobility, the Cortes, and the municipalities by which they laid the foundations for the absolutism of the Hapsburgs and Bourbons. Centralization of political power in the Crown matched the imposition of orthodoxy in matters of conscience, and henceforth the two despotisms, political and spiritual, were identified with Spanish tradition.

But neither the Catholic Kings nor their successors believed that the maintenance of orthodoxy required them to guarantee to the Church all of the privileges it had acquired during the long centuries of the Reconquest. Although ready to recognize the Church as a separate corporation with its own system of organization, law, and courts, with special privileges under the ecclesiastical *fuero* and with rich endowments, the Spanish monarchs were firm in their purpose to assert the preponderance, "or at least the liberty of action," of the State in dealings with the Church, and to limit those ecclesiastical privileges which threatened the sovereignty of the State in temporal affairs. Politico-ecclesiastical relations were characterized by an increasing

regalism which culminated in the Bourbon absolution of the eighteenth century.²

The discovery of America created new responsibilities, as well as unlimited opportunities, for the business of governing a vast colonial empire raised problems of the first magnitude. It was inevitable that the principles of absolutism and orthodoxy which the Catholic Kings were making effective in the Old World should be applied in the New. The Indies were regarded as separate realms united with the Crown of Castile in the person of the king, and political organization was based on the Castilian model. Royal control was imposed by means of a separate Council of the Indies, appointed by and responsible to the Crown, which acted as the supreme administrative organism for the colonies, and by local administrative officers and tribunals responsible to King and Council. Even the municipalities which in the beginning represented a certain amount of local self government rapidly lost their democratic character. The manner in which the Crown tried to impose its will in colonial affairs is best illustrated by the mass of legislation on details of government and administration. On the ecclesiastical side, the supremacy of Roman Catholic orthodoxy was secured by the imposition of restrictions on the emigration to America of foreigners, Jews, New Christians, and persons who had been punished by the Inquisition, and by the ultimate establishment of the Holy Office in America with very wide powers of independent jurisdiction. The conversion of the aboriginal population was declared to be the most important aim of colonial enterprise, and the Crown expended large sums on the support of missions, the building of churches, and the endowment of ecclesiastical foundations.

The Spanish monarchs were just as eager, however, to assert a preponderance over the Church in the New World as in the Old. In certain respects it was possible to begin with a clean slate in the New World, especially with regard to ecclesiastical appointments, the erection of dioceses, and

the establishment of ecclesiastical foundations, and the kings took full advantage of the opportunity. Yielding to pressure from the Catholic Kings who urged their services to the faith as arguments for the concessions they desired, the popes issued a series of important bulls which gave the Crown comprehensive powers over the Church in the colonies.

The bulls of Alexander VI, May 4, 1493, gave the Spanish monarchy (1) title over the Indies, with the conditional obligation of carrying on the conversion of the aboriginal population, and (2) all the concessions, privileges, rights, etc., that former popes had conceded to the kings of Portugal in lands discovered beyond the seas, of which the most important was the right of presenting to ecclesiastical office.³ Eight years later, November 16, 1501, the same pope granted to the Crown the right to collect the tithes in the American colonies, with the condition that the Crown should provide revenues for the establishment of churches and missions.⁴ On July 28, 1508, Pope Julius II conceded to the Crown universal patronage over the Church in the Indies.⁵

On the basis of these concessions, which were clarified by later papal decrees, the Crown established an unparalleled control over ecclesiastical organization in America. The tithes were collected by the officials of the royal treasury and expended by them according to instructions from the crown. The consent of civil authority was required for the establishment of every cathedral, parish church, monastic house, hospital, and pious foundation in the Indies. Appointment to all sees and benefices was reserved to the king or his representatives. The establishment and delimitation of dioceses were made by royal authority. The emigration of clergy to the New World was controlled by royal license, and the movements of those who went to the Indies were supervised by the civil officers in the several provinces. The meetings of provincial and diocesan councils and the publication of their decrees were subjected to supervision by the State. Papal bulls and letters directed to the Church in

America were examined and certified by the Council of the Indies. It is not surprising, therefore, that these powers were jealously guarded, that the viceroys and lesser colonial officials were instructed to resist any encroachment on the patronage, or that bishops were required to take an oath not to violate the rights of the Crown under the patronage.

In actual practice the Crown exercised direct power of appointment in the case of archbishops, bishops, and cathedral chapters. The nominations of archbishops and bishops were sent to the Pope who formally installed the appointees in office. Appointment to lesser benefices was made by the viceroys and provincial governors, acting as vice-patrons, from a list of nominations made by the local prelates. The person chosen was then presented to the bishop who installed him in office. The Crown permitted private individuals to endow local ecclesiastical foundations, such as chaplaincies, and to exercise patronage over them, but this form of private patronage was under the strict control of civil authority. Rigid supervision was exercised over the monastic orders, and all prelates, visitors, and guardians elected by the orders were obliged to present their patents of office to the appropriate civil officers. Although the tithes were collected by the officials of the *real hacienda*, the sums collected were expended according to a general scheme ordered by the Crown. It was the usual custom to divide the tithes into four equal parts, of which one was paid to the bishop and one to the cathedral chapter. The remainder was divided into nine parts or *novenos*, of which the Crown retained two and the remaining seven were distributed among the lesser clergy, hospitals, and the general fund of the Church. The *dos novenos*, or king's share, were frequently used for pious purposes. Finally jurisdiction in suits relating to the patronage and the tithes was reserved to the civil tribunals.^o

But this extraordinary measure of control exercised by the Crown was no guarantee of peaceful relations between

Church and State. In fact, problems of the patronage and tithes often complicated these relations instead of simplifying them. The viceroys and other local officials had constantly to be on guard against the creation of any rights which, in the course of time, the Church might claim to be prescriptive, although royal legislation specifically stated that prescription could in no way alter the character of the patronage. Evasion of the patronage took various forms, such as assumption of the appointing power by bishops and other prelates, or the building of churches and convents without license. Solórzano cites the case of the bishops of Cuba who disregarded royal cédulas forbidding them to appoint the collector-general of the cathedral church.⁷ Occasionally ecclesiastical buildings were actually torn down by royal command as the result of violation of the patronage. The appointment to benefices, the enjoyment of the revenues derived therefrom, and the removal for cause of regularly installed appointees by their prelates were a constant source of controversy involving both the patronage and the canon law. One of the most fruitful sources of embarrassment for the State was the constant need for settling disputes between the secular and regular clergy, especially with regard to the examination of religious appointed to benefices, the supervision of *doctrinas* served by the monastic orders, and the secularization of missions. Suits over secularized missions often dragged on for years and justified the proverb, *si te quieras hazer immortal, hazte pleito eclesiastico*.⁸ The rapid accumulation of property by the Church, by means of private endowment and investments, and the administration of revenues from the same, especially the disposition of *espolios* and the revenues of sees *sede vacante*, created another group of complex and controversial questions. The collection and administration of the tithes raised many issues. What articles of production were subject to the tithes? Were the military and monastic orders exempt from payment? Numerous controversies of a personal character, frequently caused by dis-

agreement concerning precedence at ceremonial functions, engendered bitterness and unduly disturbed the relations of Church and State.⁹

Besides these problems that were created by or directly related to the power of the Crown under the patronage, there were many other conflicts of interest between the two jurisdictions, civil and ecclesiastical. For the sake of convenience, these may be divided into two classes: (1) those which related to the position of the Church as a privileged, corporate institution under the canon law; and (2) those which grew out of disagreement concerning the place of the Indian in the general colonial scheme. It is apparent, of course, that the missionary activities of the Church frequently caused a merging of strict canon law questions with problems related to the administration of the aborigines. Moreover, problems within each class were often complicated by the theory and practice of the patronage.

It was a recognized principle of both Spanish and Indian legislation that the clergy and ecclesiastical property enjoyed certain privileges and immunities. Cases of ecclesiastical discipline and offenses committed by the clergy were normally outside the jurisdiction of lay authority. Ecclesiastical property enjoyed special privileges, such as protection against desecration and immunity from the ordinary jurisdiction of civil officers. The right of asylum was generally recognized. Finally, all lay members of the Church were subject to its jurisdiction in cases ecclesiastical in character. Jurisdiction in ecclesiastical cases belonged to courts presided over by ecclesiastical judges ordinary, such as bishops or their vicars and the prelates of the monastic orders. The intervention of civil authority, except in cases related to the royal patronage, or in cases of open and violent denial of royal authority, was usually unwarranted. On the other hand, for the arrest of laymen and for the execution of sentence on them, the ecclesiastical judges ordinary and their officials were obliged to call in the aid of the secular arm, i. e., of civil authority. Thus

there existed two sets of law, canon and civil, and two sets of courts, ecclesiastical and secular. This dual system of jurisprudence had always been a source of conflict between Church and State, for it had never been administered or applied with full satisfaction to either.

The Crown recognized the privileges, immunities, and jurisdictional powers of the Church in the New World, and tried to maintain a just balance between Church and State in matters of this kind. Civil officers were instructed to aid and protect the clergy, to respect the privileges of ecclesiastical persons and things, to refrain from interfering in the exercise of jurisdiction by ecclesiastical judges, and to lend the aid of the secular arm under the customary conditions. Prelates were charged not to usurp or obstruct the exercise of civil justice. But the execution of these instructions presented many difficult problems. The maintenance of order and the suppression of public scandal were functions of civil authority, but how should the civil officers deal with cases involving persons enjoying the immunities of the ecclesiastical *fuero*? Mere investigation of the conduct of clergy by laymen might be regarded as a violation of ecclesiastical immunity. The normal method of procedure was to call a given case to the attention of the appropriate prelate who would make the necessary investigation and impose discipline. If the prelate who had immediate jurisdiction failed to act, then the case was brought to the attention of a superior prelate. Finally, if such measures were ineffective, the Crown might be informed, or, if the offender was incorrigible, the civil authority could, by proper legal formulae, assume jurisdiction. Expulsion of clergy from the Indies was decreed for certain offences, such as abandonment of the habit of a monastic order, chronic and notorious disturbances in the elections of prelates of the regular clergy, and scandalous, public attacks on civil authority. Discipline of this sort was to be arranged, if possible, by joint action of the two jurisdictions, but the civil officers could act alone if necessary.¹⁰

The right of the Church to protest against injustice and to interpose its influence to obtain a remedy for abuse of authority by civil officers was recognized, but the prelates were instructed to admonish the clergy not to use "scandalous words touching the public and universal government" in the pulpit, and not to preach against the "ministers and officials of our justice." If the civil officers were remiss in their performance of duty, the clergy might admonish them privately.¹² The imposition of censures and excommunications on civil officers for ecclesiastical offenses was subject to appeal, and if appeal was denied, the royal aid could be invoked. Copies of all the papers pertaining to the case would then be sent to the audiencia possessing jurisdiction, and pending the decision of the audiencia all censures would be raised.¹² It was also ordered that absolution of civil officers should be granted in a simple and quiet manner without show or elaborate ceremony.¹³

Two special ecclesiastical tribunals exercised a wide range of independent jurisdiction and exerted great influence in colonial affairs. These were the tribunals of the Santa Cruzada and the Holy Office of the Inquisition. The sale of bulls of the Santa Cruzada, or indulgences, was introduced into the colonies at an early date, and in the course of time the revenues therefrom became an important source of income for the Crown. The business of the Cruzada was finally put on a permanent administrative basis by the appointment of a Commissary General Subdelegate for the capital of each audiencia district who was subject to the authority of the Commissary General of the Cruzada in Spain. Each Commissary General Subdelegate was assisted by the senior oidor of the district, a fiscal of the audiencia and an accountant.¹⁴ Together they formed the supreme tribunal for the district. Local business of the Cruzada was in the hands of subdelegates, who had charge of preaching the bulls, and lay treasurers, who received the money resulting from the sale of the indulgences. The net revenues were sent to Spain at convenient intervals. The

district tribunals and the subdelegates possessed jurisdiction over all business of the Cruzada; appeals from the district tribunals went to the Commissary General and Consejo de Cruzada in Spain. The civil courts and the ecclesiastical courts ordinary were forbidden to interfere in such matters.

The activities of the district tribunals, the subdelegates, and the local treasurers caused numerous conflicts of jurisdiction. The sale of the bulls and other business operations of the Cruzada provided opportunities for the abuse of privilege. Treasurers who were tempted to use their authority for personal profit claimed exemption from all civil jurisdiction. Ecclesiastical members of the organization were wont to claim freedom from the authority of their prelates. Although colonial legislation denied these claims for general immunity, the laws were not easily enforced. Moreover, the Cruzada, like all other tribunals with power of independent jurisdiction, sought to extend its influence whenever possible. It tried, for example, to assert control over unclaimed property, especially livestock, and to obtain the management of, or a share in, the goods of persons who died intestate. By special concessions the Cruzada in Spain possessed jurisdiction of this kind, but in the Indies no such concessions were made.

The Holy Office of the Inquisition was the most important ecclesiastical court in the New World.¹⁵ Bishops and prelates of the monastic orders exercised jurisdiction in matters of the faith during the early years of the conquest, but in 1569 the Crown ordered the establishment of tribunals of the Holy Office in Mexico City and Lima. In 1611 a third was set up in Cartagena. These tribunals consisted of a board of inquisitors, attorneys, consultants on theology and canon law, receivers of confiscated property, jailers, and numerous lesser officials, and servants. In provincial capitals and important towns local commissioners were appointed to investigate cases of the faith and arrest offenders when so ordered by the inquisitors. These local agents

had no authority to try cases; the accused parties were sent to the central tribunals for trial.

The jurisdiction of the Inquisition was wide and elastic. Heresy, apostasy, blasphemy, bigamy, the practice of superstition, sorcery and demonology, propositions subversive of the faith, denial of ecclesiastical authority, lack of respect for ecclesiastical persons, institutions, and censures, solicitation in the confessional, evil sounding words,—these were some of the causes for prosecution by the tribunal. No member of the non-aboriginal community was exempt. Spaniards, creoles, negroes, mestizos, mulattos, clergy and laymen, officials and private citizens,—all were subject to its authority. The Indians alone were exempt. In addition to its spiritual jurisdiction in matters of the faith, the Holy Office exercised wide authority of a temporal character. It owned and administered property and exercised temporal jurisdiction over all persons, even lay familiars, who were connected with it in an official capacity. The civil courts were forbidden to interfere in the business of the Inquisition, and appeals from the American tribunals were taken to the Council of the Inquisition (the Suprema) in Spain.

Such a broad range of independent jurisdiction made the Inquisition the most powerful and most feared ecclesiastical tribunal in the New World. It could defy the power of the viceroy, and even the orders of the Crown were frequently disregarded with impunity. In Peru, and to a lesser degree in Mexico, the members of the Holy Office exercised a freedom of action that was not infrequently the cause of public scandal. For the Church the Inquisition was a weapon of great importance in dealing with civil authority, because the broad definition of heresy and related spiritual offenses made it easy to bring charges against officials who resisted the policies of the clergy. Moreover, criticism of the actions of the Holy Office or resistance to its demands could be made cause for action on the ground that the offender was guilty of lack of respect for and opposition to the tribunal as an instrument of orthodoxy. It should not

be forgotten, on the other hand, that sometimes the State found the Inquisition a convenient means for dealing with leaders of rebellion and for the suppression of doctrines contrary to accepted theories of government.

The endless conflicts of jurisdiction caused by the extensive temporal powers of the Holy Office, the boldness with which it used them, and the unjustified manner in which it sometimes imposed censures to enforce its will caused the Crown to intervene in order to define and regulate the relations of the Inquisition to civil authority. But these definitions of jurisdiction, known as *Concordias*, failed to solve the problem. The isolation of the Indies, the delays involved in the transmission of reports to Spain, the necessity of discussing all fundamental problems with the Suprema, which found delay and procrastination an effective means of avoiding an issue, and the ecclesiastical censures and penalties which the Inquisition could impose made it impossible to arrive at any permanent solution of the major problems. Many a viceroy preferred to wink at abuses rather than risk a serious dispute. In the provinces the influence of the local commissaries was all pervading, for even the authority to investigate cases of the faith and denounce offenders to the central tribunals was a most effective instrument of power. Finally, the obligation of every member of the Church, even the most ignorant, to report words and deeds subversive of the faith became a convenient means of giving expression to personal jealousy and passion. A word hastily spoken, expressions of anger or excitement, a joking phrase, neglect in the performance of some minor ceremonial obligation of the Church, and harmless and innocent actions were often noted, misinterpreted or misunderstood, and later denounced to the commissary of the Holy Office. No person who has any acquaintance with the records of any of the great American tribunals can fail to realize the tremendous social and political importance of the Inquisition in the Spanish American colonies. Even the sheer bulk of the fifteen hundred volumes of the Inquisition

archive that is preserved in the Archivo General y Público de la Nación in Mexico City is impressive evidence of the activity of the Mexican tribunal.

The general questions of jurisdiction which have been discussed above were familiar issues for which there were numerous precedents to guide the Spanish monarchs in formulating policy for the Indies. The problem of the aboriginal inhabitants was, however, essentially new, and it provoked a storm of controversy in which was revealed a cleavage of opinion and interest based on the contradictory aims and motives inherent in the colonial scheme. The religious motives of the conquest were implicit in the bulls of donation and later papal concessions, and the Spanish kings wholeheartedly accepted the obligation to foster and promote the general missionary program. But the maintenance of empire, the establishment of colonies of Spanish immigrants, and the exploitation of the resources of the Indies for the benefit of the Crown and the colonists brought into play economic interests opposed to the maximum development of the missions. The conflict of motives caused open rivalry between the clergy and the civil population, and created two sets of vested interests that struggled for supremacy. In their efforts to reconcile the claims of each group, the kings issued a mass of legislation that was inevitably confused and contradictory. The ultimate result of the laws was to reduce the Indians to a status of permanent legal minority, for although the Crown sought to protect the Indians from abuses, it also restricted their freedom of action and limited their social position. The Indians were left serving two masters, the clergy and the Spanish colonists, whose interests were never thoroughly reconciled. The major controversies caused by the conflict between the religious and economic motives of colonization are too well known to require restatement here, but a discussion of certain phases of mission administration will be worthwhile as an introduction to the problems of New Mexico with which this essay is concerned.

The methods of indoctrination were fairly simple. In the beginning a few elements were stressed, such as veneration of the Cross, respect for the clergy, instruction concerning the sacraments, the teaching of a few simple prayers, and regular attendance at religious services. Admission to the sacraments of the Church was granted as soon as the Indians received sufficient instruction. These were the positive phases of missionary labor. The negative phases consisted of measures to prevent the practice of the old pagan ceremonies, to destroy the influence of the native priests and sorcerers, and to combat concubinage and sexual promiscuity. The building of churches and monastic foundations was carried forward as rapidly as possible, and to facilitate the teaching of the Indians in these centers the Indian villages were often consolidated into larger and more conveniently located units. At each mission lands were set aside for the raising of food and the grazing of livestock for the mission clergy.

Sooner or later this missionary program brought the clergy into conflict with either the civil authority or the Spanish colonists. The resettlement of the Indians villages in larger units frequently resulted in a temporary reduction in agricultural production, with a resultant decrease in Indian population, which caused a corresponding reduction in the amount of tribute available for the royal treasury or for the private individuals who held Indians in *encomienda*. At each mission there was a group of Indians employed as servants of the clergy,—sacristans, cooks, porters, etc.,—who were exempt from tribute, and any tendency to increase the number of these servants brought immediate opposition from the beneficiaries of the tributes. The expanding economic interests of the colonists, the formation of haciendas, and the rapid development of stock raising led to inevitable encroachments on the lands of the Indian villages. The clergy were quick to denounce any infringement on Indian rights, but the colonists found it difficult to accept criticism of this sort when they saw Indian lands under cultivation

for the benefit of the mission and the large herds of livestock belonging to the clergy grazing on the Indian ranges. Likewise, the employment of Indian labor was a constant source of controversy, for although the system of personal service, or forced labor for pay, was characterized by abuses, it was customary to answer the charges of mistreatment by counter charges that the clergy employed a large number of Indians in the building and maintenance of churches and convents that were far more sumptuous than the simple needs of indoctrination required. Finally, the frequent accusations made by the clergy that the Spaniards were guilty of acts of cruelty and demoralizing social conduct in their ordinary relations with the Indians were countered by an increasing number of complaints concerning the harsh discipline enforced by the clergy on their wards and the moral laxness of an unfortunately large number of the mission priests.

The civil authorities were charged with the difficult task of aiding the missions in every possible way, promoting the economic development of the country, and acting as umpire between the conflicting interests. It was a task for which few local officials had sufficient administrative ability and integrity of character. The conscientious administrator, anxious to promote the general welfare of the Indian population and root out abuses, found himself face to face with essentially irreconcilable interests and soon discovered that the role of benevolent umpire usually aroused criticism and denunciation from both groups. Moreover, his position was not made any easier by certain provisions of colonial legislation enacted for the protection of the Indians which in practice often caused misunderstandings and serious controversy. For example, the civil authorities were instructed not to permit the clergy to molest the Indians by requiring an excessive amount of service,¹⁰ but investigation of the conduct of the missions or limitations placed on the number of Indians to be used as mission servants were usually regarded as failure to co-operate in the work of in-

doctrination. Likewise local officials were charged not to permit the clergy to imprison or detain the Indians, to flog them, or to impose other harsh penalties on them for infractions of mission discipline, except under certain conditions.¹⁷ The mission clergy were likely to complain that strict enforcement of such regulations demoralized mission discipline. Moreover, the intervention of civil authority might easily be denounced as unwarranted interference with or denial of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and immunity. Finally, the laws which gave the church authority over the Indians in ordinary ecclesiastical offenses, but reserved cases of sorcerers (*hechiceros*) to civil justice frequently caused misunderstandings.¹⁸

Officials who followed a course of strict justice were few. Most of them were interested only in their own profit, and found that personal gain was best advanced by joining with the colonists in a conscious policy of exploitation. Against such abuse of authority, the clergy was loud in denunciation and often effective in action. Their economic resources, the power of ecclesiastical censure, including the dread authority of the Inquisition, brought more than one provincial governor to ruin.

Conflict between Church and State characterized the administration of every province of the Spanish empire in America. In New Mexico it was the most important phase of political history during the seventeenth century. No other question troubled the political life of the community to the same degree or with the same persistence. It was a problem which involved practically all of the provincial governors and most of the leaders of the clergy.

There were fundamental reasons why the question of Church and State was so significant a factor in New Mexican history during this period. Failure to discover in New Mexico rich mines or other notable sources of revenue doomed the province to a rather miserable existence. Success in conversion of the Indian had saved New Mexico from possible abandonment, so that the province became pri-

marily a mission area, and it is not surprising that the clergy acquired a position and influence of paramount importance. There was present in all their writings a self-consciousness born of the fact that the province was essentially a mission field, and that the most important duty of the laymen was to aid and protect the missions. Thus the friars were over-zealous in defense of their privileges, and they assumed an attitude of authority which the civilians resented. It irritated the governors, who were usually restless men and impatient under the restraining hands of the clergy, to be reminded of the fact that one of their important duties—perhaps the most important—was the defense and protection of the missions. They also resented many actions of the clergy which they regarded as unwarranted interference in affairs political in character. Moreover, the distance which separated New Mexico from New Spain made easy, if not inevitable, the persistence of many evils which might otherwise have been remedied. Realizing that, in the main, the situation was one which they were obliged to solve for themselves, both the governors and the prelates assumed an unyielding attitude.

For a clear understanding of certain phases of local Church and State relations, it is necessary to emphasize a few facts concerning the organization of the Church in New Mexico. First, all of the clergy were members of the Order of Friars Minor. Consequently the Church was not weakened by rivalry between various monastic orders or by quarrels between secular and regular clergy. Second, no bishop exercised effective jurisdiction in New Mexico prior to 1680. Ordinary ecclesiastical jurisdiction in all cases affecting the friars, Indians, and Spanish colonists was exercised by the prelate of the Franciscans under authority granted by the bull *Exponi nobis* of Adrian VI, May 10, 1522, which gave the prelates of monastic orders the right to exercise quasi-episcopal power in areas where there were no bishops.¹⁰ Moreover, the power of the prelate was frequently increased by appointments under the Inquisition or

the Santa Cruzada. Thus ecclesiastical authority was concentrated to a remarkable degree, and this fact gave the Church a great advantage in dealing with the civil officers of the province. Finally, the combined economic resources of the Franciscans were sometimes greater than those of the colonists.

The character of political administration in New Mexico during the seventeenth century contributed much to the friction between the two jurisdictions. The governors violated the laws forbidding them to engage in trade; they exploited the Indians to the limit; they organized slave raids against the nomadic tribes of the plains,—in short, they sought every means to enrich themselves at the expense of the province. Many were violent in action and speech, and guilty of open immorality. Few of them seem to have been inspired by any deep sense of obligation to the Church and the missions. Peñalosa, the most notorious of all, was a mere adventurer who, in the end, tried to betray the interests of his country. The lesser provincial officials, the *alcaldes* and *regidores* of Santa Fé and the *alcaldes mayores* of the rural districts, were frequently mere servants and tools of their unscrupulous superiors.

The history of the conflict between Church and State in New Mexico in the seventeenth century may be divided into two periods. The first extends from 1610 to 1650, during which the friction between the clergy and the civil authorities became progressively worse until it nearly resulted in civil war. During this period the Inquisition played a minor rôle. The second period covers the years from 1659 to 1664, during which the Inquisition was a most effective instrument of ecclesiastical policy. Governor Mendizábal and his wife, Governor Peñalosa, four soldiers of the province, and Friar Juan Ramírez, ex-custodian of missions, were all tried by the tribunal of the Holy Office in Mexico City as the result of bitter disagreement with the clergy on various phases of mission doctrine and ecclesiastical practice. The first period will be described in the

present study. The second will be covered in a separate series of articles.

NOTES

1. R. Altamira, *Historia de España* (3^a ed., Barcelona, 1913), § 590.
2. For brief summaries of politico-ecclesiastical relations in Spain from the late fifteenth century to the end of the eighteenth, consult Altamira, *op. cit.*, §§ 576, 584, 590, 688, 715-719, 813-821.
3. For the text of these bulls, see F. J. Hernández, *Colección de bulas, breves, y otros documentos relativos a la iglesia de América y Filipinas* (Brussels, 1879), I, 12-16.
4. *Ibid.*, I, 20, 21.
5. *Ibid.*, I, 24, 25.
6. For detailed treatises on the patronage and related problems, consult: Juan de Solórzano y Pereyra, *Política Indiana* (various editions), lib. iv; P. Frasso, *De regio patronatu Indiarum* (Madrid, 1775); A. J. de Ribadeneyra y Barrientos, *Manual compendio de el regio patronato Indiano* (Madrid, 1755); P. J. Parras, *Gobierno de los regulares de América* (Madrid, 1783); Diego de Avendaño, *Thesaurus Indicus* (Antwerp, 1668); A. J. Álvarez de Abreu, *Victima legal real* (2a ed., Madrid, 1769); Alonso de la Peña Montenegro, *Itinerario para párrocos de Indias* (nueva ed., Madrid, 1771). For briefer discussions: L. Ayarragaray, *La iglesia en América y la dominación española* (Buenos Aires, 1920); L. E. Fisher, *Viceregal administration in the Spanish American colonies* (Berkeley, 1926), 182-250; J. L. Mecham, *Church and State in Latin America* (Chapel Hill, 1934), ch. I. For the legislation consult: [Diego de Encinas] *Provisiones, cédulas, capitulos de ordenanzas . . . tocantes al buen gobierno de las Indias* (Madrid, 1596); *Recopilación de leyes de las Indias* (various editions).
 7. *Política Indiana*, lib. iv, cap. iii; *Recopilación*, lib. i, tit. vi, ley xxxii
 8. *Solórzano*, lib. iv, cap. ix.
9. Cases illustrating these general problems may be found in the history of all the important Spanish colonies in America. Fisher, *loc. cit.*, describes a number of examples. The legal questions are discussed in Solórzano, lib. iv.
10. Solórzano, lib. iv, caps. vii, viii, ix, xxvi, xxvii; *Recopilación*, lib. i, tit. vii, ley liv, tit. x, leyes i, ii, xi-xiii, tit. xii, ley xix, tit. xiv, leyes lxxxiii, lxxxiv, lxxxv, lxxxvi.
11. *Recopilación*, lib. i, tit. xii, ley xix.
12. *Ibid.*, lib. i, tit. x, ley x.
13. *Ibid.*, lib. i, tit. vii, ley xviii.
14. The organization of the Cruzada as a *ramo* of the *real hacienda* in New Spain is described in F. de Fonseca y D. de Urrutia, *Historia general de real hacienda* (Mexico, 1850), III, 263-337. For the legislation, see Encinas, I, 234-237, and *Recopilación*, lib. i, tit. xx.
15. The history and organization of the Holy Office in America is described in H. C. Lea, *The Inquisition in the Spanish dependencies* (New York, 1908), 191-516; J. T. Medina, *Historia del tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición de Lima* (Santiago de Chile, 1887); —, *Historia del tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición de Cartagena de las Indias* (Santiago de Chile, 1899); —, *El tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en las provincias del Plata* (Santiago de Chile, 1899); —, *Historia del tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en México* (Santiago de Chile, 1905); Solórzano, lib. iv, cap. xxiv; *Recopilación* lib. i, tit. xix.
 16. *Recopilación*, lib. i, tit. xiii, ley xi.
 17. *Ibid.*, lib. i, tit. xii, ley vi.
 18. *Ibid.*, lib. vi, tit. i, ley xxxv.
 19. For the text of this bull, see Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, 382-389.

CHAPTER II
ESTABLISHING AN EVIL TRADITION
1610-1618

I

THE first major incident in the long history of troubled relations between Church and State in New Mexico occurred during the administration of Governor Pedro de Peralta (1610-1614). Peralta took office at a very critical time in the history of the province. For nearly a decade following the establishment of the first settlement in 1598, Juan de Oñate, founder and first governor, had struggled in vain to put the colony on a sound and permanent basis. The failure to discover rich mines, the limited agricultural resources of the country, the sorry consequences of the exploitation and maltreatment of the Indians, and the arbitrary character of certain phases of Oñate's administration had brought bitter disillusionment to the colonists, many of whom had invested their entire fortune in the venture. In 1601, while Oñate was absent on the exploring expedition to Quivira, many of the soldiers who had remained behind in the provincial headquarters at San Gabriel deserted. With them went most of the Franciscan friars. The desertion of the colony punctured the New Mexico bubble. Neither the glowing account of the Quivira expedition which Vicente de Zaldívar brought to New Spain in the winter of 1601-1602 nor the reports of the discovery of the head waters of the Gulf of California in 1604-1605 could restore the reputation of New Mexico and its founder. The viceroy and his advisers realized at last the true character of the New Mexico colony, and they refused Oñate's appeals for a large force of soldiers and for adequate supplies with which he hoped to follow up these discoveries. In 1607 Oñate tendered his resignation and at the same time served notice that unless sufficient aid were granted fairly soon the colonists who had remained loyal to him would be forced to abandon the prov-

ince. For several months the advisability of a complete withdrawal of the colony was discussed by the viceregal authorities and the Council of the Indies. During the winter of 1608-1609 Friar Lázaro Ximénez and Friar Isidro Ordóñez arrived in Mexico City with the news that the religious had at last been able to make considerable progress in the conversion and indoctrination of the Indians, and on the basis of this report Viceroy Velasco decided to maintain the province as a mission area. Supplies of all kinds were provided for the aid of the colonists; eight additional friars, including a new prelate, Friar Alonso Peinado, were sent to the missions; and a new governor, Pedro de Peralta, was appointed with full instructions for the reorganization of provincial administration.¹

Peralta arrived in New Mexico during the winter of 1609-1610. The first duty imposed by his instructions was the establishment of a new villa to take the place of San Gabriel as provincial headquarters. The new settlement, called the Villa de Santa Fé, was founded during the spring of 1610, and the population of San Gabriel was moved to the new capital as soon as buildings could be erected. The instructions contained full details concerning the organization of the government of this new villa. The second obligation of the new governor was the reorganization of defense. Oñate had reduced the Pueblos to submission by the drastic punishment of Acoma in 1599 and by firmness in dealing with the Jumanos on the eastern frontier, but numerous complaints had been received concerning his failure to deal in an appropriate manner with the Apaches and Navahos. Consequently Peralta's instructions contained detailed suggestions concerning relations with the Apaches and the proper measures for defending the pueblos from attack by these marauders. There were to be no more expeditions to the frontiers until the already occupied area had been placed on a sound basis; the Pueblos were to be concentrated into fewer and larger villages, as a means of assisting the missionary program and to enable them the better to with-

stand attack by the Apaches; and future *entradas* to unconverted Indians were to be made only by the friars. The instructions also contained provisions concerning the granting of encomiendas, the maintenance of a minimum number of Spanish colonists, and instruction of the Indians in the Spanish language.²

Reorganization of the non-aboriginal colony and the adoption of adequate measures for defense laid the foundations for an expanding missionary program. During the Oñate period missions had been established among the Tewa pueblos, and attempts had been made from time to time to indoctrinate the Indians of other villages. Several thousand converts were reported in 1608. But the permanence of the mission program was not assured until after the arrival of Friar Alonso Peinado with reinforcements and supplies in the winter of 1609-1610. Friar Peinado was a saintly person thoroughly devoted to the task of saving souls, and under his inspiring leadership as prelate notable progress was made. A convent and church were built in Santa Fé to minister to the colonists and the Indian families settled there. The area of evangelization was gradually enlarged to take in the Keres villages, especially Santo Domingo which became the ecclesiastical capital of the province, the Tanos, and the Río Grande Tiwas. In 1611 Friar Isidro Ordóñez was sent to New Spain to seek further aid for the missions. The viceroy authorized the purchase of large quantities of supplies for the clergy already serving in New Mexico and for a group of new friar-recruits furnished by the Franciscan Order. The supply caravan consisting of twenty wagons, military escort, clergy, servants, etc., departed from Zacatecas toward the end of May, 1612, and arrived at Sandía, the southernmost of the missions on August 26.³ During the succeeding twelve months the mission area was extended to include the Manzano Tiwas on the eastern frontier and the pueblo of Isleta on the south.⁴

Thus the work of indoctrination was proceeding rapidly when a bitter controversy occurred in 1613-1614

between Governor Peralta and Friar Isidro Ordóñez, which caused a slowing down of the mission program and created a feeling of bitterness between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities that was never forgotten.

II

The history of this controversy must be based almost entirely upon a single source written as a *pièce justificatif* by Friar Francisco Pérez Guerta, one of the missionaries who accompanied Ordóñez in 1612. Friar Pérez Guerta was a member of a group of friars who later became highly dissatisfied with Ordóñez' conduct, and for his own personal opposition to some of Ordóñez' actions he was harshly punished. His *Relación Verdadera*⁵ is, therefore, a biased and circumstantial account of what took place. But it is quite apparent that Ordóñez was ambitious for power and that he was inspired by unnecessary zeal as prelate of the clergy. It is also possible that he resorted to fraud in order to gain his ends. With many members of his own order he was not able to maintain friendly relations; with the civil authorities he was uncompromising and exceedingly tactless. His aim seems to have been completely to submit civil authority in New Mexico to the influence of the Church.

Lack of harmony between Ordóñez and a group of the friars was present from the beginning. During the journey northward a certain amount of bitterness was engendered, partly because the new friar-recruits felt that Ordóñez had not made proper provision for the journey, and partly because Ordóñez was harsh and outspoken in his attitude toward them. There was some discussion among the newcomers about turning back, and one lay-brother actually deserted the caravan. But Ordóñez quieted these complaints, and the others continued the journey to New Mexico, where, as Pérez Guerta said, "God had greater labors for them."⁶ When the group arrived at Sandía Ordóñez presented a letter in which the Commissary General removed Peinado from the prelacy "and ordered him to obey the said

P. Fr. Isidro Ordóñez." This letter may have been forged, but Friar Alonso Peinado, who had been commissary since 1609-1610, accepted it as genuine and immediately turned over the government of the missions to Ordóñez.⁷ At Santo Domingo a few days later Ordóñez held a chapter meeting in which mission assignments were made, and several of the recently arrived friars were disgruntled because they were named off as subordinates to other friars instead of receiving independent mission assignments.⁸ There was also a measure of dissatisfaction regarding Ordóñez' disposition of the mission supplies and his division of the same among the several convents and churches.⁹ Moreover, Ordóñez aroused considerable feeling by his treatment of individual friars. He treated Friar Alonso Peinado so shabbily that Peinado finally decided to "banish himself" by undertaking the conversion and baptism of the Indians of Chililí, one of the Tiwa pueblos on the eastern frontier. Friar Luis Tirado, a new arrival who was assigned to the Santa Fé convent, was so aroused by Ordóñez' actions that he called a meeting of some of his associates in which it was voted that they should return to New Spain; but "God Our Lord ordered otherwise."¹⁰ Apparently Tirado was soon appeased, however, for he later became the chief aid of Ordóñez in the latter's quarrel with Governor Peralta.

Relations between Peralta and Ordóñez were apparently none too cordial even during the period prior to 1612, and it was reported that when Peralta heard that Ordóñez was returning as prelate he remarked, "Would to God the Devil were coming instead of that Friar."¹¹ Soon after his arrival in New Mexico in 1612 Ordóñez presented a *real provisión* (a vice-regal decree issued in the name of the king) ordering Peralta to permit all those soldiers and colonists who might wish to do so to leave the province and return to New Spain. This was a matter of considerable importance, for the number of colonists was so small that the departure of even a few might seriously weaken the defense of the province. Was the *real provisión* another of

Ordóñez' forgeries? Pérez Guerta declared that it was; evidence of another sort indicates that it may have been genuine.²³ Forged or not, it was a grave threat to the security of the province, and Peralta urged Ordóñez not to present it. Ordóñez was adamant, however, and in the end Peralta had to accept the order and give license to depart to all who desired to do so. Peralta tried to induce some of them to stay by offering them grants of *encomienda*, but they refused to remain even on such terms. If the *real provisión* was a forgery, Ordóñez must be held responsible for a policy which not only weakened the colony, but also seriously hindered the progress of the missions by reducing the number of soldiers available for protection of friars who wished to preach in outlying *pueblos*.²³

Another cause of friction was the old, old problem of personal service. The labor of the Indians was absolutely essential for the building projects in the new Villa de Santa Fé, and on the governor's orders Indians were summoned in relays from the several *pueblos*. Some of the *pueblos* were at a considerable distance from Santa Fé, and the journey to and from the villa was arduous. The Indians were given only the most meager rations of food—mostly toasted maize—and in many instances they received none at all. Ordóñez interposed his influence in behalf of the Indians by writing letters to the mission friars and by direct representations to the governor, but Peralta received his suggestions with poor grace. Perhaps, as Pérez Guerta remarked, "the governor was not greatly devoted to us and any little thing that touched his jurisdiction was sufficient to dissipate his patience."²⁴ Peralta did his best, however, to moderate the abuses and to set a good example by supplying food to the Indians who were working for him. Some of the Spaniards did the same, but "because of the poverty of the land all of them could not give the Indians food . . ."²⁵ Apparently the colonists were still dependent on the maize collected from the Indians as tribute, and it was within the governor's authority to divide up supplies collected from those

pueblos not granted in encomienda. "And on this point there were disagreements."¹⁶ "Finally," to quote Pérez Guerta again, "certain actions (*atrebimientos*) of the soldiers gave the Father Commissary occasion to declare himself against the governor, although this might have been excused and softened down with a little reason."¹⁷

Thus relations between "the heads" were strained,¹⁸ when, in the summer of 1613, an incident occurred which led directly to a violent outbreak. Early in May, 1613, Peralta sent a detachment of soldiers to the pueblo of Taos to collect the tributes. Within a few days they returned with a report that the Indians of Taos were in revolt and refused to pay what was due. Ordóñez and the Father Guardian of Santa Fé, Friar Luis Tirado, were greatly agitated by this news, and they urged the governor to use stern measures in dealing with the situation.¹⁹ Peralta calmed their fears and decided to send two Indian traders to Taos as spies. Before these were actually sent messages were received from Taos explaining that when the soldiers had arrived to make the collection of tribute some of the Indians had been absent and that the others had not dared to make the payment during their absence. The mantas were now ready and the governor should send for them. Peralta decided to send another collecting party at once, lest the Indians regard any delay as a sign of anger on his part. On Friday, May 24, two captains and six companions left Santa Fé on this errand.

Meantime the Father Commissary had gone to the Tewa area on a tour of inspection. At Nambé on his journey back to Santo Domingo he met a member of the detachment going to Taos. After questioning the soldier concerning the nature of his mission, he gave orders that the entire group should return at once to Santa Fé in order that they might celebrate the Feast of Pentecost (May 26) in proper fashion.²⁰

When the soldiers returned to the villa Peralta ordered them to resume the journey because he deemed it very important to collect the tribute without delay, but he also

instructed them to hear mass on the day of Pentecost at one of the northern pueblos, such as San Ildefonso or San Juan. Ordóñez had also returned to Santa Fé and when he learned that the governor had ordered the soldiers once more to proceed to Taos, he sent his notary to the Casa Real to make a formal demand, as follows :

I, Friar Isidro Ordóñez, Apostolic Commissary and Judge Ordinary, by the (authority of) Sr. Lic. Bernardo Gutierrez de Quiros, chief Inquisitor of New Spain, order the governor, Don Pedro de Peralta, under pain of major excommunication *late sententie ipso facto incurrendo* to recall the soldiers who are going to Taos within two hours and to have them appear before me for investigations of matters pertaining to the Holy Office.²¹

The governor very properly replied that he had not understood that Ordóñez had brought any commission from the Holy Office; that as chief civil officer of the province he should have been notified in a formal manner; and that if the commissary would present the patent of appointment he would obey it with all haste.²² "The commissary was not pleased by this reply," and before the two hours had expired he pronounced Peralta excommunicate and posted the formal declaration of public excommunication on the door of Santa Fé church. The same day he gave Friar Luís Tirado, the Father-Guardian of the Villa, instructions concerning the form to be followed in case Peralta came to seek absolution,—

If the governor wishes to be absolved, he shall pay fifty pesos fine in the manner I may wish to apply them. At the door of the church let him be absolved with the Psalm *De miserere* in conformance with the Manual. Later let him be taken into the church where he shall swear to be obedient, and there, barefoot and a candle in his hand, in the presence of all the people let him hear mass.²³

The following day during the mass of the Eve of Pentecost Father Tirado publicly declared that any person who might speak to the governor or uncover in his presence would also incur the pain of excommunication.²⁴

During the months preceding this incident Tirado had been on friendly terms with Peralta,²⁵ and he appears to have been anxious to arrange for the absolution in a manner that would not hurt Peralta's pride and dignity. He secretly informed the governor that Ordóñez had left for Santo Domingo, and urged that the absolution should not be delayed until Ordóñez returned, otherwise "things would not take place with the equity and secrecy that he offered." He stated that he would receive the governor before the dawn on the following day and have the mass of penance said in the presence of only three or four of the governor's friends. But Peralta felt that the excommunication was not justified and he refused to accept absolution in this form.²⁶

There followed several weeks of wrangling during which both sides adopted a stiff-necked attitude. Father Tirado abandoned his attitude of personal friendship, and henceforth he was an efficient instrument of Ordóñez' policy. Peralta was convinced of the injustice of the whole proceedings,²⁷ and tried to obtain statements in legal form concerning what had taken place. He demanded a copy of the terms of absolution, but Tirado refused to give it. Peralta then summoned Alférez Asencio de Archuleta, a layman who was serving as ecclesiastical notary and requested a written statement concerning Tirado's order that no citizen should speak to him under pain of excommunication. When Archuleta refused this request, Peralta ordered him arrested. Tirado met this challenge by issuing a second decree of excommunication against the governor.

Both sides also proceeded to make justificatory investigations. Tirado and Ordóñez summoned witnesses in the name of the Inquisition, and Pérez Guerta, who served as notary, stated that they conducted the questioning of these witnesses in a partial and partisan manner.²⁸ The governor proceeded to investigate the source of rumors that he had made a disrespectful remark concerning the Feast of Pentecost,²⁹ but his inquiries were soon interrupted when Tirado ordered the person who was acting as Peralta's notary, Juan

Donayre de las Misas, not to serve in such a capacity. Donayre took this command seriously, and when he refused to act as notary Peralta had him arrested. Finding that this failed to move him, Peralta sentenced him to the garrote. Thoroughly aroused by this action, Tirado summoned the cabildo and citizens and ordered them to demand Donayre's immediate release. Failing in this, they were forcibly to free him and kill the governor. "And he told them that if they did not dare to do it, he, the said Father Guardian, would sally forth (with the aid of) his brothers to do the releasing and killing, and failing this he would consume the host and go to the convent of Santo Domingo where the Father Commissary was and see to it that no friar went to the Villa."⁹⁰

Alarmed by this outburst of passion, the cabildo begged Peralta to release Donayre in order to avoid possible tragedy. Peralta heeded their request, but took pains to declare that in releasing the prisoner he was moved more by the fear of "some disaster" than by their pleas. Having scored a victory on this issue, Tirado then demanded the freedom of Archuleta, the ecclesiastical notary, on the ground that he was exempt from civil jurisdiction. Peralta refused to admit that Archuleta enjoyed ecclesiastical immunity, and for several days governor and friar exchanged legal petitions and uncomplimentary epithets and threats.⁹¹

On June 11 the Father Commissary returned to Santa Fé. Peralta once more sought absolution but refused to submit to the terms previously imposed. Third parties now tried to mediate between governor and prelate, but at first they were unsuccessful. On one occasion during the negotiations Ordóñez threatened to bring the friars to Santa Fé and seize the governor. In the end, however, certain friends of the prelate arranged a compromise which omitted the public mass of penance. But before Ordóñez would proceed with the formula of absolution, he demanded that Peralta should hand over all the papers and records of the investigations he had made. After considerable haggling, Peralta

sent for the documents, but instead of handing them over to the Commissary, he tore them up in the presence of witnesses.⁸²

The peace that was thus effected was merely temporary, for both the governor and the Father Commissary had been too deeply aroused to resume wholly friendly relations. Peralta had been cut to the quick by the actions of Tirado, and the threat to arrest him had made him suspicious of every move made by the clergy. And Ordóñez appears to have regarded the settlement as merely a truce, pending the discovery of an issue which would justify more direct action.

Toward the end of June certain citizens who were about to depart for the country to round up and brand some cattle asked Peralta to appoint one of the *alcaldes ordinarios* to accompany them as a mediator, because these round-ups were accustomed to degenerate into quarrels. Peralta chose Don Juan Escarramad for this thankless task. During the round-up Escarramad and a citizen named Simón Pérez engaged in some sort of dispute. Swords were drawn and Escarramad received a serious wound. He immediately sought redress, but Pérez, aided by friends and relatives, fled to the sanctuary of the Santa Fé convent. Although Peralta took pains not to violate the right of asylum, he issued a formal summons against Pérez and, pending investigation of the case, ordered the persons who had aided Pérez confined to their homes. By this act Peralta aroused the hostility of a group of important citizens, for Pérez' associates were Capt. Alonso Baca, Capt. Alonso Barela, Alférez Pedro Barela, Capt. Jerónimo Márquez, and others who belonged to families who had served in the conquest and were leaders in the colony. Fearing punishment at the hands of the governor, they appealed to Ordóñez for protection.⁸³

About the same time that these events were taking place, Peralta authorized a levy of Indian laborers from the pueblo of San Lázaro. The guardian of San Lázaro, Friar

Andrés Perguer, wrote to Ordóñez to inquire whether he should permit the Indians to leave. In his reply Ordóñez urged Perguer to inform the governor that the Indians should be summoned from more distant pueblos which were not called upon for service so often as those of San Lázaro. Moreover, Perguer should insist that the governor "leave off afflicting the miserable soldiers and citizens of the villa with pleas . . . and that the more he tries to afflict and incriminate them and shed their blood, the more trouble will rain down on him." "I believe," Ordóñez added, "that I must go to the villa this week for I imagine that this man must once more be put in a position from which he cannot escape . . . (for) according to what I am told, I believe that I must do (now) what I did not do in the past affair." Friar Perguer added a few lines to the commissary's letter and sent it on to the governor.²⁴

This was on July 5. The next day Ordóñez went to Santa Fé where he soon forced a crisis. His first act was to notify the governor that he desired an escort in order to go to New Spain to make a report concerning "serious matters" to the viceroy, audiencia, and Inquisition. Peralta replied that he would grant him the necessary soldiers, and added that he, the governor, might accompany the soldiers, "in order that your Fathership may be better protected and served." Smarting from the sting in this reply, the prelate lost no time in paying Peralta back in kind. On Sunday, July 7, when the governor's chair had been put in its usual place in preparation for mass, Father Tirado had it thrown out into the street. "Seeing this, the governor ordered the chair, which he found outside the church, placed inside the door near the baptismal font, and there among the Indians he sat down, the others, captains, alcaldes and cabildo, being seated near the high altar." After the gospel the ecclesiastical notary, Alférez Asencio de Archuleta, who had probably been released at the time of Peralta's absolution, read an edict to the effect that excommunication and a heavy fine would be imposed on any person who might send dis-

patches to Mexico, or even carry them, without first giving notice to the Father Commissary. This announcement was followed by an impassioned speech by Ordóñez, in the course of which he said:

Do not be deceived. Let no one persuade with vain words that I do not have the same power and authority that the Pope in Rome has, or that if his Holiness were (here) in New Mexico he could do more than I. Believe (ye) that I can arrest, cast into irons, and punish as seems fitting to me any person without any exception who is not obedient to the commandments of the Church and mine. What I have told you, I say for the benefit of a certain person who is listening to me who perhaps raises his eyebrows. May God grant that affairs may not come to this extremity.⁸⁵

Pérez Guerta remarked that if the citizens were scandalized by the removal of the governor's chair, the prelate's speech made an even greater impression.⁸⁶

On the following day (July 8) Peralta sent Ordóñez a formal notification (*auto*) to be ready to leave for New Spain on August 1, "but the Father Commissary sent away the secretary and did not wish to hear the *auto*."⁸⁷ The same day Ordóñez informed Peralta that he desired the services of three soldiers, whom he had appointed as *sindic*, *fiscal*, and notary of the Church, for certain ecclesiastical business. In particular, he desired the *sindic*—it should be noted that he was none other than Capt. Alonso Baca—to begin collecting the tithes. Peralta refused to grant his request on the ground that the three men were soldiers in the service of the king, and that, as for the *sindic*, there were no tithes to be collected. When he heard the governor's answer Ordóñez flew into a rage, denounced his opponent as a Lutheran, a heretic and a Jew, and threatened to arrest him and send him off to Mexico.⁸⁸

The next morning (July 9) Peralta was informed, on what seemed good authority, that the prelate planned his arrest. Summoning the citizens, he informed them of the

prelate's intention, which, in view of the letter to Friar Perguer and the speech of Ordóñez on the preceding Sunday, now seemed clear enough. Accompanied by the soldiers, he then proceeded to the convent. Pérez Guerta's description of what took place at the convent is a striking commentary on the bitter passion that the events of the preceding six weeks had aroused. Invoking the authority of the Crown, Peralta ordered the Father Commissary to return immediately to Santo Domingo. A shocking scene ensued during which the governor's pistol was fired, wounding the lay-brother, Friar Jerónimo de Pedraza, and the armorer, Gaspar Pérez. The prelate immediately declared his adversary excommunicate. The soldiers who had been present were summoned and absolved, except for Gaspar Pérez who blamed Ordóñez for the whole affair. The same day the Host was consumed and the church closed. The friars then set out for Santo Domingo where a meeting of all the clergy was called to discuss future policy.³⁹

To the assembled friars Ordóñez presented his version of the incident and proposed that they should return to Santa Fé to force the governor's arrest. Father Peinado urged caution and delay, but the impassioned arguments of Ordóñez prevailed.⁴⁰ On July 13 the prelate and several of his associates returned once more to the villa, where the following day they summoned the cabildo and demanded the immediate imprisonment of the governor. The cabildo refused to assume such a grave responsibility. The prelate then decided to appeal to the viceroy. On July 23 a friar and four soldiers were sent to New Spain with a message describing the general situation and asking the viceroy's authorization to arrest the governor. Peralta sent the *alcalde ordinario*, Juan Ruiz de Cáceres, to stop them, but inasmuch as Ordóñez had induced the said *alcalde* and some of the *regidores* to sign the letter of appeal and complaint, it is not surprising that the messengers were permitted to get away. When they arrived in Mexico City they were severely reprimanded by the viceroy for having departed from New

Mexico without license from Governor Peralta. Investigation of the situation in New Mexico was intrusted to Bernardino de Ceballos, whom the viceroy had recently appointed to succeed Peralta as governor of the province. But long before Ceballos arrived in New Mexico Father Ordóñez had exacted vengeance.⁴¹

Peralta was not willing that the Father Commissary's version of New Mexican affairs should go unchallenged in the court of the viceroy, but it was difficult to find messengers who were ready to incur the pain of excommunication which Ordóñez had decreed against persons who might dare to carry despatches without his consent. The governor decided, therefore, to be his own messenger. Ordóñez was determined, however, to prevent Peralta's departure. To this end he sought to create an anti-Peralta faction among the soldiers and civil population which would not only assume the responsibility for any use of force, but make it possible to proclaim that any action taken was done in the name of civil authority. By skillful argument and sweeping promises he won over several soldiers, notably Alonso Barela, Capt. Alonso Baca, and Capt. Jerónimo Márquez who had been involved in the Simón Pérez affair, and the second *alcalde ordinario* of Santa Fé, Juan Ruíz de Cáceres. With these men as a nucleus a considerable faction was formed under the prelate's leadership with headquarters in the convent of Santo Domingo.⁴²

A double-dealer in the group professing loyalty to Peralta kept Ordóñez informed concerning all movements in Santa Fé. On August 10 Ordóñez received word that the governor had set out on his journey southward. The prelate immediately sent a summons to the clergy to come with arms to Santo Domingo. "(Certain) friars came, but (other) friars excused themselves." After midnight, August 11, Ordóñez and his party left for Sandía and there passed on to Isleta to await the governor. At Isleta the prelate induced many of his soldier associates to sign a statement justifying the seizure of the governor. According to Pérez

Guerta this document was dated at Santa Fé, August 12, although it was really written at Isleta. Pérez Guerta also stated that it contained the forged signatures of citizens who were actually in Santa Fé at the time.⁴³ During the night of August 12-13 Ordóñez surprised the governor's camp and arrested Peralta in the name of the Inquisition. The convent of Sandía was selected to serve as a jail, although the guardian, Friar Estéban de Perea, disliked the duty and responsibility thus thrust upon him. There Peralta was held in chains under guard of three soldiers and several Indians of the pueblo. The first *alcalde ordinario*, Juan de Escarramad, a loyal member of the governor's faction who had accompanied Peralta from Santa Fé, was also arrested and held a prisoner in Santo Domingo for two months.⁴⁴

For nine months during which Peralta was held a prisoner Father Ordóñez was the unquestioned master of New Mexico. One of his first acts was to proceed to Santa Fé where he seized the governor's private papers. To quiet the fears of the citizens he preached a violent sermon in which he asserted that he expected a great reward for his actions and that those who had helped him arrest the governor could expect no less. To justify his actions and stir up resentment against Peralta, he had Friar Jerónimo de Pedraza, the lay-brother who had been wounded during the affair of July 9, carry from house to house a letter which had been found among the governor's papers in which Peralta called the citizens half-breeds.⁴⁵ Inquiry was made concerning the July 9 incident; ecclesiastical censures were freely used; and inquisitorial process was started against persons known to favor the governor. "Excommunications were rained down . . . and because of the terrors that walked abroad the people were not only scandalized but afraid . . . existence in the villa was a hell."⁴⁶ Even the civil government felt the weight of the prelate's hand. In October the lieutenant-governor who had been left in charge of provincial administration when Peralta left Santa Fé was obliged to permit Ordóñez to arrange for and participate in a mili-

tary expedition against Ácoma.⁴⁷ In November Ordóñez was informed that Juan de Escarramad, recently released from confinement at Santo Domingo, and others were planning to free their chieftain. He immediately ordered an *alcalde ordinario* of Santa Fé to arrest Escarramad in the name of the Inquisition and bring him back to Santo Domingo. For three and a half months Escarramad was held a prisoner without having any charges preferred against him.⁴⁸

The prelate spent December reading Peralta's papers and preparing reports to be sent to New Spain. To carry the despatches Ordóñez chose Capt. Alonso Baca, who had formerly served as *sindic* of the Church and had been a member of the group that had helped to effect Peralta's arrest. He read some of the reports to Baca who was said to have asserted to two friars: "I swear to God there is no truth in all that he writes." The prelate also took pains to prevent the sending of letters by other persons who might make a contrary report. To one of the soldiers who was to accompany Baca there had been delivered secretly a *pliego* of papers by the lieutenant-governor and *cabildo* of Santa Fé. Ordóñez seized the papers, and, according to report, falsified the signatures. The messengers finally left for New Spain in February, 1614, but on the way they met the new governor, Bernardino de Ceballos and delivered the papers to him.⁴⁹

On March 18 Peralta escaped from Sandía and fled to Santa Fé where he took refuge in the house of the lieutenant-governor. Friar Luís de Tirado, the guardian of the Santa Fé convent, immediately summoned a group of soldiers and demanded of them, under threat of censure by the Inquisition, that they seize the fugitive and take him into custody. "So the Father Guardian and all (of them) went to the house of the lieutenant-governor and brought the said governor a prisoner to the convent where they put him in a cell and set guards over him that night. God Our Lord knows how much he suffered because he had had no food for two or three days. He was emaciated, and his foot was

bruised by the fetters. On Saturday, eve of Palm Sunday, twenty-second of the said month, a day bitter cold with snow and wind, the Father Guardian had him put on a horse and covered with a skin like an Indian. And in this manner under guard, the Father Guardian took him to the Father Commissary in Santo Domingo."⁶⁰

Meantime Father Ordóñez had heard that an Indian of Cochití had been killed by Indians from the Jemez pueblos. Immediately he sent soldiers to seize some of the offenders and bring them to Santo Domingo, and there the *alcalde ordinario*, Juan Vitorio de Carabajal, sentenced one of the prisoners to death and executed him under the very eyes of Peralta, despite the fact that the said *alcalde* had no authority to exercise jurisdiction in the case. "He hanged the said Indian by command of the Father Commissary, and it was ordered that more should be executed, with the result that the (Indians) of his nation wished to rise in revolt." Immediately after the execution Ordóñez summoned the Indians so that they might see Peralta as he was taken away to his jail at Sandía. Peralta was held in custody in Sandía until April 7, when, at the request of Friar Estéban de Perea, who was tired of his task as jailer, he was moved to the convent of Sía.⁶¹

Thus the Father Commissary directed the affairs of the province according to his plans and desires. Some of his fellow friars disapproved of his actions, however, and during the winter of 1614 three friars, including Pérez Guerta, discussed plans to return to Mexico. The Father Commissary was able to block this move. A little later Friar Andrés Juárez decided to risk the prelate's ill will and depart. One of his brother friars urged him not to do so, but he replied "that only God could remedy (the situation), that he was determined to leave, (otherwise he would either) hang himself or kill the commissary, because he could not stand it (any longer.)" He went ahead with his plans and finally set out. But Ordóñez, who lay in wait along the way, seized him and took him to Santo Domingo, "where he was ab-

solved and put in a kind of jail for a period of four months.⁵²

Among the letters that Juárez was taking to Mexico was found one written by our chronicler, Friar Francisco Pérez Guerta. For some time there had been a coolness between Friar Pérez and Friar Tirado, the Father Guardian of Santa Fé. This had its origin in a difference of opinion concerning certain incidents that occurred during the journey to New Mexico in 1612. In the summer of 1613 Pérez had served as notary for Tirado and Ordóñez during the litigation over the excommunication of Peralta and later during the investigations that were made subsequent to Peralta's arrest. Pérez had not been in agreement with Tirado on many points and had tried to present arguments in behalf of a more reasonable policy; but this attitude of independence merely increased the antagonism that Tirado already felt toward him. During the spring of 1614 Tirado denounced Pérez as a member of the group planning to return to New Spain. Summoned to Santo Domingo, Pérez was lectured by Ordóñez and sent back to Galisteo where he was serving as mission friar. But Pérez was by no means satisfied with the general situation, for he prepared a letter of complaint which he entrusted to Friar Juárez for delivery in Mexico City. This letter was seized at the time Juárez was taken into custody. Immediately Pérez was summoned once more to Santo Domingo where Ordóñez denounced him in the presence of his fellow friars. He was finally sent to Sía where he was held in seclusion for some time.⁵³

Such was the situation when the new governor, Bernardino de Ceballos, arrived early in May, 1614. At first Ceballos expressed great displeasure concerning the events of the preceding months and boasted that he came to restore the honor of his predecessor, but apparently the influence of Ordóñez and his faction was so great that Ceballos soon abandoned this attitude of indignation. Soon after his arrival in Santa Fé on May 12 he started the residencia of Peralta. All of the malcontents seized this opportunity to

justify their acts and denounce those of the former governor. Not until July 4 was Peralta brought to Santa Fé, and even then his position was that of a man accused of serious offenses. Realizing that a fair trial could not be obtained in New Mexico he refused to present a defense and appealed the entire process to the viceroy and audiencia. In October he sent an agent with dispatches for the audiencia. An effort was made to capture the messenger but he escaped. About a month later (November 10) Peralta was finally permitted to depart, but only after having been despoiled of most of his belongings. And at Perrillo on the journey southward four soldiers sent by Ceballos and Ordóñez ransacked his effects searching for letters and dispatches.⁵⁴

Peralta arrived in Mexico during the spring of 1615 and doubtless brought action at once before the audiencia. Unfortunately his residencia has not been found, so that there is an almost complete lack of satisfactory information on this later phase of the affair. The investigation moved very slowly, for it was not until October 6, 1617, that final sentence in the residencia was rendered.⁵⁵ It seems clear, however, that Peralta received satisfaction on one important point, viz., the lack of authority for his arrest in the name of the Inquisition. The Staatsbibliothek of Munich possesses an interesting manuscript entitled *Extractos de Causas de Familiares y Ministros que no son oficiales, que ay en la Camara del Secreto de la Inquisicion de Mexico, 1572-1725*⁵⁶ which contains the following entry:

1615. Fr. Ysidro Ordóñez, Commissary of St. Francis in New Mexico; because pretending to have a commission from the Holy Office and *por causa de Inquisicion*, he sought the aid of soldiers and citizens against the governor, D. Pedro de Peralta, seized him and held him in chains for nine months. On complaint of the said Don Pedro and (on the basis of) information which he gave, (Ordóñez) was brought to Mexico and confined to his convent. But nothing was done, and (after) giving Peralta a statement that there was no *causa*

del Santo Officio (as a basis) for his arrest, license was given to the friar to go as Procurator of this province (of the Franciscan Order) to the General Chapter in Rome.

Except for this brief statement, we have no record of the action by the Holy Office. That some investigation was made seems evident, but no formal *proceso* had been found in the Inquisition papers in the Archivo General y Público, Mexico City. It is probable that the Franciscan Order was forced to make an investigation, but no documents dealing with this phase of the case are available. All that is known is the fact that sometime in 1616, or earlier, a new prelate for New Mexico was appointed *with the title of custodian (custodio)*. This change of title indicates a greater dignity for the prelates and a larger measure of local autonomy for the New Mexico missions. Whether the change was due to considerations other than the increasing importance of the missionary program is not clear. It is significant, however, that the new prelate was Friar Estéban de Perea, a man of mature years, who had not been sympathetic toward many of the policies of Ordóñez. The exact date on which Perea took office is not known. It was sometime during the winter of 1616-1617, and not later than January 30, 1617.⁵⁷

III

Thus Friar Ordóñez continued to exercise the powers of prelate for approximately two years after the departure of Peralta in November, 1614. During this period the friendship and coöperation which had characterized the relations of Ceballos and Ordóñez in the summer and autumn of 1614 gradually changed to rancor and bitterness. The chief cause for this change seems to have been disagreement over Indian affairs.

According to Pérez Guerta, Ordóñez had cleverly used the Indian problem as a means of making trouble for Peralta. Not only did he object to certain phases of Peralta's levy system for Indian labor, but he also kept a sharp watch

for abuse and mistreatment of Indians by private individuals. "Every little fault, no matter how unimportant, was denounced and exaggerated in the extreme. He saw to it that the governor did not dissimulate, or pardon any act committed by a soldier, rather he kept laying it on his conscience." To keep the peace and set some limits to the actions of irresponsible citizens, Peralta had issued decrees imposing damages in the form of mantas and a penalty of ten days imprisonment for offenses against the Indians.⁵⁸ On one encomendero, Asencio de Archuleta, Peralta imposed a fine of fifty mantas and fifty fanegas of maize for various offenses.⁵⁹ Seeing that the governor actually executed the decrees, the Indians, "greedy for mantas," provoked and invited the Spaniards to commit acts of violence in order to claim damages.⁶⁰ The result of this policy had been to stir up the antagonism of the soldiers, and, if one may believe Pérez Guerta, this was the Father Commissary's purpose in denouncing abuse and oppression and urging Peralta to adopt stern measures. It is interesting to recall that Archuleta was an active member of the ecclesiastical faction in the summer of 1613, that he served as notary and messenger for Ordóñez, and that it was his arrest by Peralta for failure to furnish an official statement of Father Tirado's pronouncement against citizens who spoke to the governor while under pain of excommunication that had greatly complicated matters during that difficult period. These facts give especial point to Pérez Guerta's statement that "the said Asencio and all his relatives, of whom there were many, became capital enemies of Peralta because they were not accustomed to have justice done."⁶¹

The same policy of making complaints against soldiers and citizens was tried out on Ceballos, but, warned by Peralta's experience, the new governor "permitted the soldiers to do certain things that were advantageous to them in order to maintain himself and keep friends, and not find himself in the same position as his predecessor."⁶² Moreover Ceballos, who was "opening his eyes" and learning to

assert himself, astutely exhibited all such letters of complaint to the parties who were denounced, and thus turned the wrath of the citizens against the prelate.⁶³

Relations between the governor and prelate were rapidly embittered. "For the space of two years . . . there was no lack of pleas between the Father Commissary and the governor." And between Ceballos and Friar Tirado, the Father-Guardian of the Santa Fé convent, so much passion was engendered that there were threats of violence. "There were such great scandals," Pérez Guerta wrote, "that they would require another memorial and relation like this one to describe them."⁶⁴

Meantime Ordóñez' influence among the clergy was gradually weakened. Friars like Estéban de Perea, Agustín de Burgos, Andrés Juárez, Bernardo de Marta, and Pedro de Haro de la Cueba had never been wholly sympathetic toward the prelate's policies. They doubted the wisdom of many of his actions and they resented his treatment of the former prelate, Friar Alonso de Peinado. At the time Peralta left New Mexico in 1614 several of the friars wrote letters of complaint to Mexico. Ordóñez made every effort to seize these reports, but one letter written by Friar Peinado to the viceroy could not be found, even when Peralta's effects were searched. Ordóñez summoned Peinado and ordered him to write a second letter denying the things he had written in the first one. "Both letters were received by his excellency who thus had reason to regard Peinado as inconsistent (*liviano*)."⁶⁵ Not content with this, Ordóñez called a council of the clergy in Santa Fé in which he used such severe language against Peinado that the two friars came to blows. The next day Peinado was ordered to leave Santa Fé, "although there was no occasion for it, nor could he (Ordóñez) justly send him away from the Villa where the Venerable Father was loved, esteemed, and welcome because of his age, religious zeal, and poor health." But in order not to cause further trouble Peinado departed.⁶⁶

More than a year passed by. Early in February, 1616, Friar Agustín de Burgos went to Chililí to help Peinado baptize the Indians whom he had converted. During the visit the friars looked over certain papers, including the letter by which Ordóñez had relieved Peinado of the prelacy. Examining this document carefully, Friar Agustín "found it was false from the first letter to the last, (even) the seal." A quiet investigation was started by a few of the friars. Friar Pérez Guerta immediately took the lead in humbly asking Ordóñez that he show him his true patent of appointment. For a few days Ordóñez temporized, but finally exhibited "a patent." "I saw it," Pérez Guerta said, "and I read it, and to this day I do not believe he was prelate, for if he were, there was no reason why he should have falsified the other letter." Having exhibited the patent, the Father Commissary ordered Pérez Guerta held in custody at Santo Domingo.⁶⁷ The prelate circulated a petition condemning certain opinions attributed to his opponent and urging that he should leave New Mexico. A few signatures were obtained, but certain friars, including the prelate's good friend, Friar Cristóbal de Quiros, guardian of Sia, and Friar Juan de Salas, guardian of Isleta, refused to sign. Arrangements for the departure of Pérez Guerta were made, and apparently he actually set out for New Spain. But for reasons that are not entirely clear, the journey was cut short before he left the jurisdiction of the province.⁶⁸

Such was the general situation in the spring of 1616. Nothing is known concerning events during the remainder of the year. Sometime before the end of January, 1617, the mission caravan arrived with supplies and additional friars for the missions. The appointment of Friar Estéban de Perea as prelate and the summons requiring Ordóñez to return to New Spain were probably received at the same time. The caravan returned to New Spain in the autumn of 1617, and with it went Friar Francisco Pérez Guerta who presented the *Relación Verdadera* to the Franciscan Commissary General soon after his arrival in Mexico. Friar Isidro Ordóñez probably left New Mexico at the same time.⁶⁹

All that is known concerning the later career of Ordóñez is contained in the brief item from the Munich manuscript quoted above.

IV

Friar Estéban de Perea was fifty years of age when he succeeded Ordóñez as prelate of New Mexico. A native of Spain, where he entered the Franciscan Order, he went to Mexico in 1605 and affiliated with the Province of the Holy Evangel. Four years later he joined the group of friars sent out to New Mexico with Peralta and Peinado. He was assigned to the Tiwa of the middle Río Grande valley, where he built the church and convent of Sandía and served as a missionary during the major part of fifteen years. Even during the five years (1617-1621) when he was custodian he spent part of his time in Sandía. Although he had not been sympathetic toward many of the actions of his predecessor, Friar Isidro Ordóñez, Perea was zealous in the propagation of the faith, fearless in denunciation of error, and unrelenting in defense of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and immunity. During the ten years from the winter of 1616-1617 to the autumn of 1626 he was the central figure in provincial history.

The first act of Perea as prelate for which we have documentary evidence was a grant of power of attorney to Sebastian de Noboa y Castro, Sindic and Procurator General of the Custodia. This was on January 30, 1617.⁷⁰ On April 17, 1617, Noboa y Castro made a formal complaint against Alférez Juan Escarramad, citizen of Santa Fé, on the charge of having made scandalous and insulting remarks concerning certain friars. The complaint was filed before Friar Bernardo de Aguirre, guardian of Santa Fé, judge-delegate by appointment of Perea, who admitted the plea and ordered the arrest and imprisonment of the accused pending trial.⁷¹

Escarramad had served under Oñate in the conquest and occupation of the province. During the Peralta-Ordóñez affair he had held office as one of the *alcaldes ordi-*

narios of Santa Fé and had been a loyal member of the Peralta faction. He was seized with Peralta in August, 1613, and held in jail for two months. After his release he was once more arrested on the charge of plotting to free Peralta and was kept in custody for another three months without trial. Some time during the period from 1614 to 1616 he went to Mexico on business; in fact, it is probable that it was he who carried dispatches for Peralta in October, 1614.⁷² In Mexico City he had given testimony concerning the state of affairs in New Mexico, and it is logical to assume that his statements were not friendly to Ordóñez and the Church. He returned to New Mexico with the mission caravan of 1616.

As a loyal follower of Peralta he was a marked man; his every word and deed were sure to be noted and criticized. And in view of his experience with Ordóñez, who had held him in jail for some five months, it was inevitable that sooner or later he would express his resentment in bitter terms. Sometime during the winter of 1617 Escarramad went to Sandía for confession. The confessor, Friar Cristóbal de Quiros, showed to Escarramad a report concerning statements of the latter that were distasteful to the clergy, and informed him that before he could receive absolution he must retract. It is not clear whether the statements he was asked to retract were part of the testimony he had given before the audiencia (as one man deposed later during the trial) or merely certain libelous and derogatory remarks. In any case Escarramad refused to comply with the demand on the ground that he would not retract the truth.⁷³ It was not long after this incident, apparently, when Noboa y Castro presented formal charges before the ecclesiastical judge-delegate.

During the course of the trial eight witnesses were examined, and in their sworn depositions they testified that on numerous occasions Escarramad had made derogatory statements concerning the clergy. The most important of these statements are summed up as follows: (1) that Friar

Pedro de Escobar had been a highwayman and thief—in fact, one of the greatest thieves in New Spain—before he had become a friar, but having robbed the whole world, he had taken the habit and made himself a saint; (2) that Friar Alonso de San Juan was a villain and a licentious person; (3) that Governor Peralta was a much better Christian and more religious than all the friars, and that Ordóñez had made false statements to the viceroy and audiencia in regard to the Peralta incident; (4) that in New Mexico there had been only three friars worthy of the name, for all the others were devils who wished to disturb the land.⁷⁴

The trial moved slowly. Escarramad became more and more impatient as time passed on, and on one occasion created a scandal by shouting out from behind the bars of his cell that it was true, the friars were villains and thieves.⁷⁵ He was in an uncompromising state of mind, therefore, when, at the end of June, he was called upon to reply to the charges and to select an attorney to defend him. He refused either to testify or to appoint an attorney; moreover, he denounced Noboa y Castro and questioned his authority to prosecute the case, challenging him to show any authority from the viceroy or audiencia. He also demanded that Friar Cristóbal de Quiros, who was now associated with Friar Aguirre as one of the judges in the case,⁷⁶ should give him a copy of the *memoria* of things he was asked to retract when he went to confess at Sandía. Quiros replied that when Escarramad had refused to make the retraction he had destroyed the paper.⁷⁷

The defendant's protestations against the validity of the trial had no effect and on July 1 the judges-delegate handed down their decision. Escarramad was found guilty of slanderous and disrespectful remarks concerning the clergy, fined fifteen mantas, and ordered to make a public confession of his errors. He immediately appealed from the sentence of the audiencia, but the judges refused to admit the appeal and reaffirmed their decision.⁷⁸

There is some uncertainty concerning the next stage in this affair. The last folio of the original manuscript of the trial record contains a brief petition signed by Friar Quiros and countersigned by the ecclesiastical notary asking the aid of the secular arm for execution of the sentence. On the margin of the same folio and running over to the verso there is an additional statement, apparently supplementary to the above-mentioned petition, which justified the refusal to grant Escarramad an appeal on the ground that he should pay the penalty where his offense had been committed, and threatened that if Governor Ceballos refused to cooperate in execution of sentence the clergy would withdraw from the province and present themselves in person before the viceroy and audiencia. This additional note not only referred to the scandalous remark attributed to Escarramad, but also alleged that Peralta, "his instigator (*factor*)" had made false statements concerning the clergy to the viceregal authorities in New Spain. This passing reference to Peralta gives especial interest and importance to the case, if, indeed, it does not provide the key to the whole affair.⁷⁹

In the copy of the trial record sent to the Holy Office by Perea in 1617, the request of Quiros for the aid of the secular arm is given with the additional note incorporated as an integral part of the petition. It is followed by a document dated July 2, 1617, in which Ceballos stated that he was ready to grant the said aid but with the stipulation that in executing sentence Friar Quiros should avoid any dishonor to Escarramad, in view of the fact that he was a former official of the Crown in New Mexico and that it was not just that in "such a new land" the Indians should see the Spaniards put to shame.⁸⁰ But this document is not found in the original trial record. Instead, the petition of Quiros with the marginal additions is followed by a statement signed by Ceballos in which he not only threatened that if the clergy withdrew to New Spain he would follow after them and present his version of affairs to the viceroy, but he even

cast doubt on the jurisdiction of the clergy in the particular case in question.⁸¹

At the very bottom of the verso of the last folio of the original record is another note, probably written in 1639 when the manuscript was sent to New Spain as part of a justificatory report presented by the cabildo of Santa Fé at the time of the Rosas affair. (See Chapter IV) This note, after briefly referring to the sentence and final execution of the same, states: "And because of this, they excommunicated the governor and absolved him with public penance, as the *real provisión* states . . ."⁸² This *real provisión*, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter III, was an order sent to Friar Perea in 1621 as the result of a series of complaints laid before the viceroy during the years 1617-1620. It contains a definite statement to the effect that Ceballos, as well as Peralta, was excommunicated and later absolved with public penance, but the reasons why Ceballos incurred the censure are not given.⁸³

It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that Ceballos at first refused the aid of the secular arm, but later reconsidered after having incurred ecclesiastical censure. It is difficult to understand, however, why this phase of the litigation does not appear in the copy of the trial record in the Inquisition papers, unless Perea had some doubt concerning the validity of Friar Quiros' actions and did not want the authorities in Mexico City to know that another governor had been subjected to public penance by the Church.

The manner in which the sentence against Escarramad was finally executed is indicated in the 1639 marginal note on the last page of the original record, and by a formal document in the copy of the record. In irons and gagged, he was taken through the streets to the parish church where, in the presence of the assembled citizens, he heard mass and made formal retraction of the libels and slanders he had made against the clergy. According to the certification in the Inquisition copy of the trial record, this was on July 2, 1617, the day following the imposition of sentence. Did the ex-

communication and absolution of Ceballos take place during this brief interval?

When the mission caravan returned to New Spain in the autumn of 1617 numerous reports and letters dealing with the events of the preceding period were dispatched by both the clergy and laymen. Two of these have been preserved and they throw a deal of light on the general situation in the province.

One contained testimony to prove that Capt. Jerónimo Márquez was an inveterate trouble maker, that by innuendo and complaints of one kind or another he was constantly arousing the passion of the governor against the clergy or *vice versa*, that he and his sons were a law unto themselves, even to the extent of stealing the property of others whenever and wherever they wished. In a letter accompanying the testimony Perea asked to have Márquez and his family expelled from the province.⁸⁴ This report illustrates an aspect of the general problem that will be made perfectly clear in subsequent sections of this study, viz., that many citizens of the province were not interested in either the clerical or the secular side of the issues at stake as a matter of personal conviction. They were interested in their own personal profit. If the governor's policy limited their scope of action, they supported the clerical faction; if they were permitted to follow their own line and their own interests, they might be found on the governor's side. As for Captain Márquez, it may be observed (1) that he had been a strong supporter of Oñate during the early years of the conquest and had taken the lead in preparing a denunciation of the clergy and soldiers who deserted the colony in 1601; (2) that twelve years later he was a member of the faction that made possible the arrest and imprisonment of Peralta; (3) that in 1617 he was accused of having caused a public scandal by calling Ordóñez a shameless friar who had destroyed the honor of the citizens.⁸⁵ Moreover, although Márquez voluntarily gave testimony against Escarramad during the trial of the latter, evidence was submitted at the same time that

he had maintained communication with Escarramad despite the threat of excommunication against all who did so.⁸⁶ Thus there is point to the general complaint that he was a trouble-maker. Incidentally, this welter of charge and counter-charge illustrates another sorry aspect of the general situation.

The second document is a letter of Francisco Pérez Granillo, *alcalde ordinario* of Santa Fé. It had been impossible heretofore, he said, to make a report "because of the many excommunications and terrors designed to prevent us from informing that Holy Tribunal⁸⁷ concerning the things that have occurred in New Mexico; the land is afflicted and we live under such constant threats that we have to do only the will of our superiors." If some of the soldiers had assisted in the arrest of Peralta, it was because they had been incited to it by Ordóñez under threat of punishment ("con muchas terrores"). "The people of this New Mexico, Señores, have little learning . . . we have been led and guided by PP. Fr. Isidro Ordóñez and Fr. Luis Tirado, whom we believe to have taken advantage of our ignorance. We now find ourselves called traitors, some of us suffering imprisonment, some have fled, and others are about to lose their property, honor, and life . . . Look with eyes of pity on us and aid our cause, for, on our part, there is little malice, and pardon us if we have been in error."⁸⁸

V

It is extremely unfortunate that it is necessary to base the story of the Peralta-Ordóñez episode almost wholly on the prejudiced account of Pérez Guerta. But even if we discount heavily Pérez Guerta's story, two facts are clear: (1) Ordóñez was responsible for the arrest and imprisonment of a governor and captain general holding office under the Crown; (2) his assertion of authority under the Inquisition was without warrant. It need not be supposed that Peralta was a model governor. But if the clergy believed that they had such serious grievances that further coöperation with the governor was impossible, they should have

taken other measures to remedy the situation. The Peralta incident was never forgotten. It poisoned relations between Church and State at a time when friendly coöperation was so essential.

The Escarramad trial also raised serious questions for the future. Could there be no appeal from the sentence of an ecclesiastical court in New Mexico? Did the governor enjoy no discretion in granting or refusing the aid of the secular arm?

Peralta had been imprisoned. Ceballos had been forced to do public penance. Was there no limit to the authority of the Church?

(To be continued)

NOTES

1. The best account of the Oñate period is G. P. Hammond, *Don Juan de Oñate and the founding of New Mexico* (Santa Fé, 1927).

2. The instructions of Peralta have been published, Spanish text and English translation, in *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, IV (1929), 178-187.

3. Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla (hereafter to be cited as A. G. I.), Contaduría 714, 715, 850; *Relación Verdadera q. el p^e predicador fr. Fran^{co} Perez guerta de la orden de S^t fran^{co} guardian del conuento de galisteo hiço al R^{mo} Gomiss^o Gen^l de la dha orden de la nueba espa de las cosas succedidas en el nuebo Mex^{co} por los encuentros que tubieron don Pedro de Peralta g^{or} de la dha prouy^a y fr ysidro ordoñez Comiss^o de los frailes de la dicha orden de S^t Fr^{co} q. residen en ella.* (1617?) Archivo General y Público de la Nación, México (hereafter to be cited as A. G. P. M.), Inquisición 316, ff. 149-174.

4. *Relación Verdadera*, A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316.

5. For full title, see note 3, *supra*.

6. "Salimos con sumo gusto todos los religiosos dando a Dios gracias por auernos escogido para la suerte de su ministerio ofreciendole a su mag^d mil feruorosas Voluntades y deseos encendidos en su seruy^o preseguimos R^{mo} P^e N^{ro} Viage de Zacatecas a S^{ta} Barbara q. son ciento y mas leguas casi todo despoblado y la tierra por donde bienen los carros casi de ningun regalo ni refugio porque si no es solo el fresnillo y Cuencame pobres poblaciones y bien necesitadas no ay otras a mano, pasamos los religiosos en este Tp^o por ser de quaresma y ser despoblado y ir caminando mucha necesidad absteniendonos Violentam^{te} de cosas q. necesitabamos y pudimos remediar en la ciudad de Mex^{co} la queja de estas cosas era comun de todos y atribuiamos la culpa al p^e fr. Ysi^o Ord^z por auernos siniestram^{te} informado del camino y de lo que se pasa padecimoslo por esta causa y ser todos o casi los mas Visoños y poco traginadores del mundo, llego a oidos del dho P^e fr. Ys^o Ord^z la queja delos dhos religiosos y deseo de voluerse algunos (como de hecho lo hiço un her^{no} Lego) queriendonos satisfacer y dar q^{ta} de si nos junto en el rio florido y alli nos propuso q. lo q. llebaba era p^a todos p para tierra donde gustariamos tener algun regalo q. no enbargante eso nos probeeria de lo neces^o eficaces fueron las rrazones y como no eran ellas las q. nos auian de mober a dejar n^{ra} S^{ta} prou^a y todas las cosas de gusto y regalo sino Dios en confaça de su diuina Mag^d y de lo propuesto y

prometido por el dho P^e Fr Ys^o Ord^z pasamos y padecimos lo q. n^{ro} S^{or} saue en el camino—Tubo con el dho P^e Fr. Ys^o Ord^z el P^e fr Pedro de haro frayle Viejo y antiguo algun desconsuelo y no fue poco porq. le trato el P^e Fr. Ysidro con palabras que era menester mucho espiritu para sufrirlas. Con el P^e fr. Andres perguer tubo otras que tubo q. sentir el religiooso muchos dias y principalm^{te} por le auer notado delante de seglares de codicioso. y mas adelante teniendo poca rraçon el dho P^e Fr Ysidro con los her^{nos} Legos fr. ger^{mo} de Pedraça y fr Xpobal de la asumpcion tambien tubo cosas q. obligo a desconsolarse y aun a querer yrse y dejarlo enpegado. Dios q. los tenia para mayores trabajos no lo permitio. Dios n^{ro} S^{or} fue seruydo llegasemos a este Nuebo Mex^{co} a donde antes de llegar alg^s quince o Viente leguas enuio el P^e fr. Ys^o Ord^z a la Villa de S^{ta} fee y R^l delos españoles por guardian al p^o fr. Luis tirado dando entre nosotros que murmurar y en los religiosos y prelado q. estaban en el nu^o Mx^{co} q. pensar diciendo todos q. sin presentar sus papeles ni sauer de cierto como no nos constaba fuese prelado como entraba mandando.” *Relación Verdadera*. A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316.

7. “Entramos R^{mo} p^e en el primer conv^{to} de este nu^o Mex^{co} llamado S. Fran^{co} de Sandía a 25 de ag^{to} de 1612 a^s donde el p^efr. Ys^o Ord^z mostro su patente y dio la carta al P^e fr. Alonso Peynado en q. le absoluta N^{ro} R^{mo} p^e de su officio y le mandaba obedeciense al dho P^e fr. Ys^o Ord^z esta carta R^{mo} como adelante dire parecio ser falsa lo qual no hecho de ber el dho P^e fr. Al^o Peynado.” *Ibid.* Cf. also discussion in the text below. But the proof of fraud is not absolute. The treasury accounts (A. G. I., Contaduría 714) dealing with purchase of supplies for the 1612 caravan refer to Ordóñez as “Comisario,” but this may mean merely that he was to be commissary of the new group of friars during the journey to New Mexico. That is Pérez Guerta’s version. “Señalons N^{ro} R^{mo} P^e Commiss^o fr Ju^o Zureta por n^{ro} pres^{to} y Commiss^o en el camino hasta llegar a este nuebo Mex^{co} a el P^e fray Ysidro ordóñez mandando en las patentes q. los religiosos traíamos nos presentase el dho. P^e pres^{te} o Commiss^o al que de pres^{te} era y asistia en este nu^o Mex^{co} o real de los españoles que era el padre fr Alonso Peynado.” “N^{ras} patentes recaban q. fuesemos presentados al pe Commiss^o que era y estaba en el R^l tambien en Mex^{co} dijo el p^e Fran^{co} de Velasco a otro que no uenia por pre^{do} sino por pres^{te} y Commiss^o en el camino.” *Relacion Verdadera*, A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316.

8. As a matter of fact there were not convents enough for all of the friars, new and old, to have guardianships. Moreover, according to Pérez Guerta’s own report, three of the new arrivals were given assignments: Fray Luís Tirado, Fr. Juan de Salas, and Fr. Pedro de Haro de la Cueba. What the new arrivals wanted was immediate assignment to *new* missions, but Ordóñez properly insisted that they should wait for a few months until they had gained a certain experience with conditions in New Mexico. *Relación Verdadera*, A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316.

9. “Llegados los carros que traian el socorro y limosna q. el rey nos auia dado al pu^o de S^{to} domingo a 28 de ag^{to} se descargo alli lo que trayan encargandose dello el P^e Commiss^o para repartirlo entre los religiosos como lo hiço dando de lo que traya a unos mas a otros menos de q. ubo alg^s murmuraciones entre alg^{os} que porque no les auia de dar el p^e Commiss^o lo q. daba a los otros aqui se dijo que el p^e Commiss^o auia comutado en Zacatecas muchas arrobas de cera por uno espada una cuera de anta y unos calçones de terciop^o y que auia hecho otras cosas y commutaciones en Mex^{co} de calices Velos y otras muchas cosas las quales no ui pero oilas a religiosos de quien se podran sauer con alg^a dilig^a y estas mobian pesadumbres que alteraban el animo del p^e Commiss^o y despues que ubo hecho la reparticion de la ropa entre los religiosos le quedaron al dho p^e Commiss^o en su conu^{to} muchas cosas las quales tubo con superfluidad careciendo otros Conu^{tos} dellas como es ganado, mulas, vacas, bueyes, tafetanes cant^d de yerro, acero, herraje, de q. necesitaban los religiosos y con dificultad y por mil suplicaciones las sacaban de poder del dho p^e Commiss^o teniendo su conu^{to} hecho almacén de generos para el gasto y abundancia del.” *Ibid.*

10. “En esta junta q. el p^e fr Ys^o hiço (Pérez Guerta refers to the chapter meeting at Santo Domingo) le quiso quitar la casa y su rincon al p^e fr Al^o Peynado q. auia

acabado de ser Comiss^o con color de q. se fuese con un religioso para que le regalase aunq. no ygnoraba el p^e fr Ysidro ordoñez la diferencia q. ay de esta tierra a la nueva Esp^a y de conu^{tos} a conu^{tos} con todo quiso llevarlo por aquellos terminos, fuele ala mano el padre fr estaban de Perea g^{an} de Sandia y por su respecto le concedio una casa llamada galisteo donde estubo poco porque a pocos dias le mando por un enojuelo que tubo con el se fuese a otro conuento a ser subdito de otro guardian lo qual hiço el dho p^e fray Alonso Peynado, luego mando el p^e fr Ys^o Ord^z le quitasen a aquella casa lo que tenia adquirido por este Santo Varon y cosas de la mesma casa no dejando como dicen estaca en pared con esta primera afrenta estubo este Santo Viejo por subdito de el padre fray andres Bautista algunos meses hasta que por enfermedad fue traydo a la uilla de Santa fee R^l de los españoles—en este tiempo y dia procuro dar pena al p^e guardian de la V^a por q. no le auia entregado (o contradecia q. se le entregasen) los diezmos de los V^{os} de la V^a diciendo q. solo pertenecian al conu^{to} della le reprehendia grauem^{te} y le quiso açotar en el conu^{to} de galisteo por que ya eran coxquillas atrasadas por q^{to} en el camino le dijo el dho p^e fr Luis Tirado al dho p^e fr Ys^o Ord^z q. sauia poco en una porfia y poco era necess^o para encender fuego se yba estos dias encendiendo—El dho p^e fr Luis Ti^{do} quiso hacer junta y la hiço en realidad de Verdad de algunos religiosos y nos juram^{to} y hiço firmar n^{ros} nombres para q. con licencia o sin ella nos fuesemos ala pres^a de V. R^{ma}. Todos con el demasiado desconsuelo teniamos gana de hacerlo y suficiente causa. Dios n^{ro} S^{or} lo ordeno por otro camino." *Ibid.* In another place, referring to the slowing down of the mission program during Ordóñez' prelacy, Pérez Guerta stated: "Y assi en tres años de quatro que a que es comiss^o no se baptiço ynfiel ni se aprovecho en la conversion saluo un pueblo que el p^e fr Al^o peinado baptiço desterrandose Voluntariam^{te} a las Salinas por apartarse de las cosas del p^e Comiss^o que le auia tratado mal y puesto en ocasion de causarse un grande escandalo." *Ibid.* There are several references to Peinado's mission at Chilili in other parts of the *Relación Verdadera*.

11. "Antes que el p^e fr ysidro ordoñez fuese a la nu^a esp^a a procurar el sobre dho. despacho y a traernos a los dhos religiosos ut supra auia tenido con el g^{or} muchas cosquillas dijo un seglar amigo del p^e fr Ys^o Ord^z que es el Cap^{an} Vaca que el dho. fr. Ysidro yba a traer el off^o de G^{or} en su propia pers^a otros an dho que fue para armarse contra don P^o de peralta porq. no le tenia buena Voluntad ni el dho don P^o de P^{ta} a el dho fr. Ys^o y asi dicen que dijo el G^{or} q^{do} supo que benia el dho fr Ys^o hecho comiss^o plugiera a Dios biniera el demonio y no biniera ese fraile." *Ibid.*

12. "En el mes de Sept^{re} del dho año de 612 bino el p^e fr. Ys^o Ord^z a la V^a de S^{ta} fee a presentarle a don Pedro de Peralta una prouys^{on} R^l que el dho p^e auia ympetrado para abrirles la puerta a los soldados que quisiesen salir, leyda q. fue la prouys^{on} al gou^{or} respondió q. la obedecia y cumpliria auriendole antes pedido al p^e fr Ys^o q. no se la notificasen porq. resultaria della mucho daño a la tierra como resultado por la mucha gente casada y avecindada q. salio della por la dha prouys^{on} porque la gente era poca, la tierra nueva, muchos los enemigos y saliendo los q. se fueron pudiera auer peligro en los que quedaban, y de un gran desercuio de Su Mag^d por ello y aunque el G^{or} tomo muchos medios para que no se le presentase no bastaron y ult^{amente} le amenaço el comiss^o diciendo q. sino cumplia la dho prouys^{on} dejando salir la gente q. lo podia hacer en uirtud della selo auia de pagar y que le auia de hacer salir sin almofrex. y con esto el g^{or} complio la prouision." *Ibid.* But in fairness to Ordóñez the following facts should be noted. In 1608 and again in 1609 soldiers were enlisted in New Spain to serve as escort for the friars and supplies that were sent to New Mexico, and they were paid a year's salary in advance. A. G. I., Contaduría 09. Cristóbal de Oñate and Peralta forced several of these soldiers to remain in New Mexico to serve as members of the local militia, instead of permitting their immediate return to New Spain. It is not unlikely that when Ordóñez returned to New Spain in 1611 these soldiers appealed to the viceroy and the latter may have sent back a formal decree (a *real provisión* invoking the name of the king could not be

ignored) authorizing their departure. In any case, several soldiers who did leave New Mexico in 1612, after presentation of the *real provisión*, brought suit in the audiencia of Mexico for back pay, and although the audiencia refused to recognize the full amount of these claims, lump sums were paid in order to discharge the implied liability. A. G. I., Contaduría 716.

13. Pérez Guerta stated that Ordóñez tried to blame Peralta for the departure of the soldiers by asserting that encomiendas were not available. But our informant insisted that Peralta published decrees offering encomiendas, and he took pains to point out, also, that Ordóñez's action had a direct influence on the slowing down of the mission program. When some of the newly arrived friars asked for permission to undertake teaching and indoctrinating unconverted pueblos, and thus prevent the missions from becoming a "calmed ship," Ordóñez justified his refusal of permission on the ground that there were no soldiers available for escort. "And in this he was right," Pérez Guerta remarked, "for he [Ordóñez] was to blame for many leaving the province because of that *provisión* which, as has been noted, he forged." *Relación Verdadera*, A. G. P. M. Inquisición 816.

14. "Algunas cartas escriuio a religiosos cerca del expediente de los Vales que daba el G^{or} para llebar yndios de los pueblos a las obras y labores de la Villa de lo qual gustaba poco el p^e Comiss^o y con las cartas q. escreuia y lo que se hacia se yndignaba el dho Gou^{or} que no nos era sumam^{te} deuoto y qualquiera poca cosa que tocase a su jurisdiccion bastaua para desquiciarle de la paciencia fundado en el poder y mando que tenia." *Ibid.*

15. "Algunas coxquillas tubieron las cabeças acerca de sacar los yndios de sus pueblos para el seruy^o pers^{al} el p^e. Comiss^o tenia raçon de defenderlos por venir de doce de catroce y a lo mas lejos de veinte leguas por el largo camino y poca comida que ellos traen de solo mayz tostado y los españoles no darles de comer todos aunq. lo hacen algunos y a esto dice el G^{or} q. de los pu^{os} comarcanos no le dejan sacar gente y si la saca alg^a bez mas de lo q. es justo no lo tiene por acertado por ser contra conciencia que solos a aquellos V^{os} pueblos se les cargue todo el seruicio de los españoles y assi los hacia venir a todos por sus turnos y en el darles la comida el g^{or} la daba a los que a el le seruian y mandaba a los V^{os} se la dieran yo soy testigo de lo que daba a los de el pu^o de S^t ylefonso y el p^e fr andres baptista ello era poco pero no podian ni tenían mas que dar y por ser grande la pobreza de la tierra no todos podian dar de comer a los yndios y los que se lo daban no era lo que ellos comen fuera de sus casas." *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*

18. According to Pérez Guerta the relations between the governor and the clergy with the exception of Ordóñez were friendly: "A 4 de febrero de 1613 Vine a uiuir a la V^a donde estube por subdito del p^e fr Luis tirado y por la misericordia de Dios auia suma paz entre religiosos y seglares y todos estabamos muy contentos aunque no con el pre^{do} empero en casa del G^{or} entrabamos comiamos alli muchas beces veuimos chocolate que nos lo daba con mucho gusto y mas al p^e fr Luis tirado su amigo al p^e haro al padre fr Agustin al p^e Pereguer al p^e fr. geronimo can quienes tenia platicas y conversacion la pascua comimos en su casa—A 16 de abril le dio el g^{or} al p^e Tirado una pistola muy rrica y a 18 del mismo troco al p^e fr Pedro de haro que se lo pidio un muy lindo arcabuz que el g^{or} estimaba mucho por otro no tal y a 23 del dho dio el g^{or} un rrico cuchillo de monte damasquino guarnecido con plata y con la cabeza de diente de caballo marino al p^e fr. luis Tj^{do} q. se le pidio y un pedaço de acero y con esto mil ofrecimientos y buena cara para todos y para todo le hallabamos porque reprehendia y castigaba qualquier exceso de los Soldados." *Ibid.*

19. ". . . y altero mucho esta nueba al p^e guardian dela Villa, y paso al conu^{to} de S^{to} Domingo a noticia del p^e Comiss^o a quien caso mayor alteracion: pusose en camino el p^e Comiss^o y uino a la V^a a 15 del dho mes y pidio al g^{or} se acudiese con tiempo al rem^o de tal atrebimy^{to} con demostracion de escarmy^{to} de este parecer fue el p^e gu^{na} de la Villa y aunque se llegase a fuego y a sangre que era justo no se tar-

dase el castigo porq. los yndios no tomasen auilantez y juzgando poco Valor y fuerza en los españoles enprendiesen alg^a maldad." *Ibid.*

20. "Viernes 24 del dho mes de mayo queriendo el Comiss^o yrse desde el conu^{to} de nambe para el de S^{to} Domingo que era su abitacion dia en q. tambien salieron de la V^a los dhos Cap^{es} y soldados para el pueblo de los Taos a cobrar sus tributos por mandado de su g^{or} antes que el p^e Comiss^o saliese de nambe llego alli uno de los Soldados q. yban a los Taos llamado gaspar Perez a la casa del religioso y auriendose apeado topo con el p^e Comiss^o y le beso las manos y el p^e Comiss^o le preg^{to} para donde se camina respondio el Soldado a los taos nos enuia el S^{or} g^{or} a esto respondio el p^e Comiss^o pues aora Vispera de pascua; quantos van? respondio el Soldado dos cap^{es} van y seis Soldados, dijo el p^e Comiss^o pues donde estan? y el Soldado a el por el otro camino van q. yo e benido por uer al p^e guardian, a esto dijo el p^e Comiss^o pues S^{or} yo le mando so pena de excomunion mayor se Vuelua a la V^a y dijo luego a un indiequelo llamado Joseph criado suyo anda muchacho diles a aquellos Soldados q. les mando por descomunion se Vuelban a la V^a q. alla voy. el muchacho fue y luego partio el español y el p^e Comiss^o para la Villa, el muchacho llego y dijo lo que el p^e Comiss^o le auia mandado y luego q. los españoles lo oyeron se voluieron al g^{or} (alg^{os} de los dhos Soldados dicen q. se voluieron porque yban de mala gana otros que por el mandato)." *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*

22. "El g^{or} respondio al dho monit^o que era cosa nueba y no antes uista en aquella tierra auer en ella Comiss^o del S^{to} off^o que q^{do} su p^d entro no fue con tal n^o ni se entendio .que trugese tal comision del S^{to} Off^o y que a el como a cabeza que era de la just^a en esta tierra en n^o de el rey n^{ro} S^{or} pertenecia sauerlo y en uirtud de q. exercia jurisdiccion. que el p^e Comiss^o le mostrase como lo era de el S^{to} off^o y q. siendolo como decia le obedeceria con toda prontitud." *Ibid.*

23. *Ibid.*

24. "Sabado 25 del dho mes . . . se taño a misa y con auer de ser de la Vigilia de pentecostes se dijo de n^{ra} Señora y en ella el p^e g^{an} fr Luis Tirado publico por descomulgado al dho g^{or} con palabras arto pesadas contra el diciendo que ning^o le ablase ni aunq. le quitase el sombrero so pena de excom^{on} esta opinion tubo hasta q. la muchedumbre de descomulgados q. se benian a absolver le hicieron estudiarla verdadera." *Ibid.*

25. Cf. note 18.

26. "La dho orden q. dejo al p^e g^{an} el p^e Comiss^o sobre la absolucion del g^{or} se la enuia para q. la uiesse el dho p^e g^{an} en gran secreto con el Cap^{an} Bar^me Romero su teniente y a decir que pues sauia quan gran amigo suio era le rogaba pidiese la absolucion y se contentase de tomarla de su mano (porq. este dia despues de comer se auia ydo el p^e Comiss^o a su conu^{to} del pu^o de S^{to} Domingo) que procederia como amigo diciendo la misa dos oras antes de el dia y que no asistirian en ella mas que tres o quatro amigos suios y que aduirtiesse q. las penitencias de la yglesia no eran afrentosas y que no esperase a que el p^e Comiss^o Voluiesse de S^{to} Domingo porque no pasarian las cosas con la equidad y secreto que el le ofrecia—el g^{or} despues de estas palabras leyo la dha orden y haciendosele dura por no caer debajo de fundamento de justificacion respondio que el no auia hecho porque le descomulgasen aleg^{do} como ho^e q. sauia muchas y buenas raçones y juntam^{te} que no queria receuir semejante forma de absolucion y con esto no queria dar el papel de la dha orden sino quedarse con ella—el Cap^{an} Romero q. se la auia traydo le inoportuno y dijo q. de aquella manera no se le podia cumplir al p^e g^{an} fr Luis tirado la palabra q. en su n^o le auia dado de q. se la Volueria y con esto se la dio y el Cap^{an} al p^e gⁿ." *Relación Verdadera*, A. G. P. M., Inquisición 816.

27. Peralta could justify his refusal to accept the Father Commissary's order for public ablutation and penance on royal legislation dealing with the form of absolution for civil officers. The *Recopilación*, lib. i, tit. vii, ley xviii, contains the following provision based on cédulas of October 31, 1599 and March 28, 1620: "Rogamos y encargamos a los arzobispos y obispos de todas y cualesquier iglesias metropolitanas

y catedrales de nuestras Indias Occidentales, asi de las provincias del Perú como de la Nueva-España y a sus vicarios, oficiales, provisosores, y demas jueces eclesiásticos de ellas, que cuando sucediere algun caso en que hayan de absolver a alguno de nuestros oidores, alcaldes, corregidores, gobernadores, u otros nuestros jueces y justicias, o sus ministros y oficiales contra los cuales hubieren procedido por censuras, por algunas de las causas que conforme a derecho lo puedan hacer, les concedan la absolución llanamente, como se practica en estos nuestros reinos de Castilla, y no los obliguen a ir personalmente a recibirla de sus propias personas, y en sus casas episcopales o iglesias, ni para actos semejantes. Y mandamos a nuestras audiencias reales que libren provisiones ordinarias de ruego y encargo, para que sucediendo el caso los dichos prelados y jueces eclesiásticos absuelvan llanamente a nuestras justicias y a sus ministros, como se practica en estos nuestros reinos de Castilla."

28. The *Relación Verdadera*, A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316, contains several statements by Pérez Guerta describing the attitude of Tirado and Ordóñez during these troublous days. Pérez Guerta accused the friars of injustice and passion in their dealings with Peralta: ". . . vide despues por vista de ojos que se procedia con pasion y con animo Vengatiuo queriendo mas dañar que aprovechar como cada dia bían y oían todos que el p^o g^{ra} en el altar trataba de herege de judío, de luterano y de hombre Vaxo y uil al g^{or} y con estas y otras tales obras yba yo abriendo los ojos y conociendo los males q. an benido a la tierra asi de religiosos como seglares por poner dhos dos padres todo su conato en desacreditar al g^{or} y heche de ber que esto era assi Verdad de que los dhos dos padres trataban de destruir al g^{or} porque en estos dias se pusieron a hacer el p^o Comiss^o y el g^{ra} de la Villa una ynformay^{on} contra el g^{or} de off^o sin acusador y sin infamia ni yndicios mas de los que quisieron vuscar ellos, el p^o Comiss^o hiço a su pedimiento en n^o de la S^{ta} ynquis^{on} un ynterrogat^o de diez y nuebe preguntas y enpeço cabeça de proceso contra el dho g^{or} hacia el p^o Comiss^o llamar a quien le parecia y preguntabale por el thenor de las preguntas, qu^{do} el test^o se alargaba q. no auia ning^o que asi no lo hiciera diciendo bien y mal deciale el p^o Comiss^o q. no digese assi que digese lo q. la preg^{ta} contenia q. lo demas lo dirian si despues se lo preguntasen. A otros qu^{do} no decian a gusto del padre comiss^o el dho p^o corregia el language y dho diciendo eso no se a de decir assi porque aquellos Señores del S^{to} off^o no se enfaden con ese language, de este modo de hacer ynformay^{on} salian todos espantados y principalm^{te} q. qdo algo decia q. sauia lo q. decia la preg^{ta} luego incontinenti me hacia el p^o Comiss^o poner 'q. la saue como en ella se cont^o pasaron estas ynformaciones ante el que hiço esta rel^{on} que era not^o nombrado, el modo de proceder en esta ynformacion era que el p^o Comiss^o hacia encar de rrodillas a los test^{os} que el mesmo hacia llamar y puestos assi y destocados les mandaba por S^{ta} obediencia so pena de excom^{on} mayor no digesen a nadie lo q. alli juraban por ser cosas de el S^{to} off^o y luego les tomava juram^{to} en un misal sobre los ebangelios mandandoles digesen Verdad, en esta ynformacion R^{mo} P^o que hiço el p^o fr Ys^o en n^o de la Santa ynquisicion procuro sauer todo quanto podia auer hecho un ho^e en esta uida. en ella entraban alg^{as} cosas q. auian sucedido en tiempos passados procurando poner por preguntas los puntos que le notaba, es Verdad que dijo el g^{or} en cierta ocasion de enojo y de malicia por uida de Dios segun dicen, y assi ni mas ni menos que mostrandole un priuilegio de Clem^{te} 7^o en fauor de los syndicos porque queria dar pena o dar 200 açotes a uno aunque no se los dio, dijo al q. se lo mostraba que era un her^{no} lego Vaya p^o que no conozco a Clem^{te} 7^{mo} dicen tambien que a bien q. auia dho a su S^o q. pues cantaban yndios en el coro que no cantase entre ellos que se estimase, Tambien digeron que auia tenido acceso con dos primas, si todo lo demas es verdad como esta todo esta trabajoso y no aseguro las conciencias de los que an jurado en esta y otras ynformaciones por lo que ellos mesmos an dho a su g^{or} Ber^{no} de Zaballos y a otras pers^{as} diciendo que tienen dolor en el alma de lo que an jurado y el g^{or} que a hecho contra conciencia en lo que a hecho, como ello R^{mo} P^o esta en la audi^a R^l y de alli a de pasar a otro tribunal. espero en Dios que no tenga V P R^{ma} mucho trabajo en sacar en limpio la Verdad y assi yo tampoco no sere largo q. lo pudiera ser mucho por la mucha cant^d de cosas succedidas en este nu^o mex^{co} por el p^o Comiss^o fr Ys^o y fr Luis Tirado."

29. These rumors were based on statements Peralta was supposed to have made when questioning the soldiers whom he had sent to collect the tributes at Taos. "Parece q. el dia antes Jueves 23 estando el g^{or} en la plaça con alg^{os} Soldados y entre ellos Ju^o de Tapia escriu^o del caui^o y uno de los quatro encomenderos de los taos platicando sobre la nueba fresca de las 12 terneras de sibola q. le traian caçadas al g^{or} el dho tapia le dijo si VS. nos diese licencia para q. nos quedemos esta pascua en la V^a los que emos de yr a los taos nos ara mucha mr^d y luego en pasando la pascua haremos ese Viage. preguntole el g^{or} q. q. se le ofrecia que hacer en la V^a aquella pascua, el dho tapia le respondió q. ning^a cosa mas que holgarse en su casa con su muger y sus hijos y añadir a la olla alg^a cosa mas del ordin^o y el g^{or} le dijo que pues no deseaba quedarse para mas que aquello que matase un par de buenas gallinas y las hiciese cocer con un pedaço de jamon de tocino y las salpimentase y llebase en sus alforjas y se fuese a donde le enbiaba que con eso tendria buena pascua donde quiera que le cogiese y que mirase que no era mala pascua yr a seruir al Rey en aquella ocasion y hacer su propia hacienda de camino—y esto mesmo Soldado dijo despues al p^e Comiss^o y aun lo Juro q. le auia mandado el g^{or} meter la pascua en el alforja y yr donde le mandaba tengolo por patraña y puede ser verdad pero consideradas las cosas como yo las ui y oi lo prim^o me atengo—lo que este Soldado dijo formo el p^e Comiss^o un caso de ynquisi^{on} como adelante dire." *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*

31 "A 7 de Junio mando el P^e g^{an} se le notificase al g^{or} otro monit^o p^a q. hiciese soltar de la pris^{on} al dho Not^o asensio al qual no auia querido soltar aquellos dias antes procedio contra el y le auia hecho cierta condenacion a yrle a notificar este monit^o salio antes de leerse de casa y se fue a un monte que estaba como a tiro de arcabuz della Volui otra y otra vez hasta q. descuidado le halle y ley el dho monit^o a est^o Rd^{io} [respondió] q. aquel h^e era soldado del Rey y que no hallaba por donde el p^e g^{an} le podia hacer esento de la juridicion R^l que el apelaua de aquellas descomuniones y injustas penas de jueces tan apasionados y q. para ello enbiaria despues una pet^{on} al p^e g^{an} como lo higo. luego como a las tres de la tarde al conu^{to} el escriu^o y dos testigos a requerir al p^e g^{an} que no le ynquietase con tantas y tan rigurosas descomuniones y penas porque estaba patente la demasitada pasion con q. se hacian que de todas ellas apelaba para tribunal que mas desapasionadam^{te} conociese de los neg^{os} que estaban en litis. el p^e g^{an} fr. Luis Tirado arremetio al escriu^o y le quito el papel de las manos y se le hiço pedaços y le piso y le dijo digese al g^{or} mucha cant^d de palabras muy feas y indignas de q. las digese un religioso y se digesen a un g^{or} este mesmo dia le escriuio una carta de un pliego el p^e g^{an} al gou^{or} y en lugar de JHS. le puso Dios te alumbre miembro de Satanas y luego le fue diciendo palabras q. como sacerdote yndigno no se que otro hombre que Job. pudiera con las cosas pasadas dejarse de perder con esta carta." *Ibid.*

32. "en estas ydas y benidas enuio el g^{or} Su S^o con una pet^{on} para el p^e Comiss^o la qual no quiso oir diciendo delante de religiosos que alli estabamos Capit^{es} y otros soldados que diablos anda aqui el g^{or} con recaudos replicas y enbajadas un hombre tal y tal tratandole con muy feas y deshonrras palabras q. lo menos era tratarle de hombre vil y bajo &c y tras ellas dijo a los q. le oian esto digo para q. Vsms. se lo digan (como si faltaran coronistas) y prosiguió diciendo Juro por uida de Fr Ys^o q. si me anda en demandas y respuestas y no recie la absolucion como se le a dho que dentro de veinte y quatro horas haga Venir mis 20 frailes aqui y le haga prender y Vsms. dejenle que yo se lo allanare y pondre humilde. finalm^{te} alg^{os} amigos de el p^e Comiss^o le rogaron se templase y assí dispense en que no oyese el g^{or} la misa como queda referido pero que pagase los cinq^{ta} ducados digo pesos de pena y fuese absuelto a la puerta de la yglesia con el pide miserere conforme al manual—este propio dia luego que vido el g^{or} la resolucion del p^e Comiss^o se determino a Venir a pedir la absolucion y receuirla como el mesmo p^e Comiss^o en pers^a quiso darsela q. fue en esta forma el g^{or} bino a la puerta de la yglesia y el padre Comiss^o y padre g^{an} de aquella

casa y yo y otros dos religiosos salimos por el cuerpo de la yg'la el p^e Comiss^o con sobre peliz y con dos baras en las manos y antes q. procediese a la absolucion preg^{to} el p^e Comiss^o al dho g^{or} si tenia algunos escritos contra religiosos el g^{or} dixo q. no el p^e Comiss^o dijo si tiene VS. por que e sauido que a hecho una ynformacion abra pocos dias entonces dijo el g^{or} si e hecho de cierta dilig^a es q. se hiço en este conu^{to} pues combiene para receuir la absolucion la exhiba, el g^{or} le dijo mire padre que importa a esto dijo el p^e Comiss^o no le absoluere sino trae esa ynform^{on} y me la entrega el g^{or} dijo eso a de ser de esa manera, el p^e Comiss^o assi a de ser luego el g^{or} orejeando dijo a su secret^o tome S^{or} esta llave y trayga la ynformacion q. hicimos tal dia y el S^o fue y la trujo y se la dio el g^{or} la tenia en sus manos y preg^{to} al p^e Comiss^o que q. se auia de hacer della el p^e Comiss^o dijo q. se la diese. el g^r dijo q. le perdonase q. no se la auia de dar pues q. le declarase los testigos eso menos pues q. la rrompiese. eso hiço arto de mala gana acabada de romper se ynco de rodillas y el p^e Comiss^o començo la forma de la absolucion y a cada verso del miserere le daba con las Varas y acabada la absolucion le m^{do} entrar en la yglesia y que jurase de serle obediente assi lo hiço con arta humildad y luego le mando diese una firmada de su n^e que daria los cinq^{ta} p's para la cosecha por que dijo que entonces no los tenia el g^{or} se fue a su casa y nosotros nos entramos en la n^{ra}." *Ibid.*

33. "Temiendo pues los dhos amigos y parientes del hechor algun rrigor del g^{or} q. lo pedia el sucesso escriuiieron al p^e Comiss^o queriendose amparar del al p^e Comis^o le estaba bien para q. no auiedo de cesar los pleytos (como no llebaba traça) amparar esta gente por ser muchos los parientes y hacer su neg^o como adelante sucedio y en lo escrito se notara y para proceder con claridad. los presos por el sucesso y parientes del dho hechor fueron los dos her^{nos} Varelas el Cap^{an} alonso Varela y el alf^{rz} P^o Varela el Cap^{an} Ger^{mo} Marquez, el Cap^{an} Vaca amigos y tambien presos." *Ibid.*

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Ibid.*

36. ". . . se fue el p^e Comiss^o al altar y puesto en pie en una grada sin manto ni otra Vestidura mas q. su auito dijo tantas y tales cosas q. si auia causado grande escandalo en el quitarle la silla al g^{or} mayor le causaron las palabras que dijo todas picando y lastimando [,] al g^{or} llamando Vosotros al auditorio ellos el comun lenguaje suio y fueron tantas las palabras q. se atropellaban unas a otras y por esto pudo ser lapsus lingue lo que dijo." *Ibid.*

37. *Ibid.*

38. "Este propio dia hiço llamar el p^e Comiss^o al Cap^{an} Romero al qual le dijo Vaya Vm. al g^{or} y digale q. le beso las manos y q. se sirua su S^a de dar licencia al sindico, al fiscal, y al not^o (que ya estaba suelto de la pris^{on}) para yr el sindico a recoger los diezmos y los demas a otras partes que tienen que yr. el dho Cap^{an} fue y dijo al g^{or} lo que el P^e Comiss^o le auia mandado a lo qual respondió el g^{or} que aquellos hombres eran soldados y estaban siruiendo al Rey y demas de esto el Sindico no tenia diezmos q. recoger que perdonase desta manera y aun con menos palabras lo dijo el dho Cap^{an} al p^e Comiss^o estando y algando los manteles de la mesa el p^e Comiss^o tomo tan gran enojo q. le hiço decir espantosas palabras que causaron arta pena—porque llamo al g^{or} de Lut^o erege, judio, hombre Vajo y Vil maxcarero de nap^{es} y aceyerro, jurando q. se lo auia de pagar echandose mano a la barba y diciendo que auia de enbiar a llamar los frayles y que le auia de hechar al g^{or} dos pares de grillos y en una enjalma enbialle a Mex^{co} y esto a boces junto al patio que esta bien en la calle por lo qual pudo benir a noticia del g^{or} y tras esto dijo no me espanto tanto de ese bellaco peraltilla como de los Ruines que andan a su lado y consienten estas cosas.—el cap^{an} tomo eso por si y respondió p^e mire V P. que soy hombre honrrado y soy her^{no} de la orden y que no hago malas ausencias a VsP^{es} a esto dijo el p^e Comiss^o si S^{or} her^{no} es Vm. pero yo digo que son ruines los que consienten estas cosas en ese hombre. a estas rraçones el dho Cap^{an} que era h^e prudente se quito el sombrero y sin ablar palabra se fue—el p^e Comiss^o se lebanto de

la mesa y se sento luego a escreuir con las quales cartas enuiaba a llamar alg^{os} religiosos comarcanos y luego las despacho." *Ibid.*

39. For a fuller account of what happened on July 9, see Appendix I.

40. "Todos los religiosos oyeron al p^e Comiss^o sus justificaciones y culpas del g^{or} porq. sacados los que arriba referi que es el p^e g^{an} de la V^a fr Luis Ti^{do} y fr andres Xuarez y Yo y el religioso lego herido todos los demas que eran doce religiosos no sabian ni aun oy sauen lo sucedido sino por boca y relacion del p^e Comiss^o o g^{an} de la V^a fr Luis Ti^{do} y de algunos seglares amedrentados por el p^e Comiss^o para no poder decir lo que a pasado en la tierra como adelante se dira y assi yo ni mas ni menos no me atrebia a contar a nadie nada porque Viuia el p^e Comiss^o con notable cuidado con todos los que conocia que podian decir o escreuir . . . Abiendo propuesto el p^e Comiss^o a los padres todos su Voluntad que era de yr a la Villa a hacer prender al gou^{or} n^{ro} p^e fr Alonso Peynado dio su parecer de q. se mirase bien y si podia pasar adelante el hacer el g^{or} otras cosas como las pasadas y los religiosos no auian de tener seguridad en la tierra nos fuessemos y adelante enuiase el p^e Comiss^o quien diese noticia al s^{or} Virrey y audiencia R^l y que en S^{ta} Barbara podiamos aguardar el remedio de todo. El p^e Comisario barajo los pareceres gustando se hiciese el suio. Visto por los religiosos todos callaron salbo el p^e Martha que quiso dar su parecer pues para ello auia sido llamado. yba dando las propias raçones que nuestro p^e fr Alonso y que arto ynportaban, el p^e Comiss^o se auia casado con su parecer y assi nos mando a Todos los religiosos q. como cada uno pudiese se auia—y fuesemos todos a la V^a." *Ibid.*

41. Salimos del dho conuento a las dos o tres de la tarde el dho Sabado 13 de Jullio y llegamos a la Villa como a las diez o las once de la noche donde luego el dia sig^{te} domingo 14 de jullio por la mañana hiço el p^e Comiss^o un requerimiyto a los alcaldes y cauidlo pidiendoles prendiesen al g^{or} acabada la misa mayor mando el p^e Comiss^o a los religiosos saliessemos a la yglesia y alli en la peaña del altar mayor me m^{do} leyese el requerimiyto en q. les pedia a los alcaldes y rregidores Cap^{es} y demas oficiales de guerra prendiesen al g^{or} atento que auia ydo a matar al p^e Comiss^o sin mas causa que llebado de su dañada yntencion, y porque se queria huir a la nu^a esp^a por no atreberse a parecer en la R^l audiencia donde no podia dar quenta de mucha hacienda r^l que tenia Vsurpada y auer hecho otras cosas muy feas q. le ponía en el dho requerimiyto para moberlos a hacer la dha prision que el dho p^e Comiss^o, gustaba se hiciese por los españoles los quales luego pidieron treslado del dho requerimiyto y que ellos responderian—este mesmo dia a las dos de la tarde binieron los regidores un alcalde y algunos capitanes y estuvieron con el p^e Comiss^o g^{an} de la V^a fr Luis tirado dos oras dificultando en como podian ellos hacer la dha prision q. su p^d mandaba los dhos dos p^{es} la facilitaban enpero los españoles por tiempo de ocho dias que alli estubimos aguardando la resp^{ta} ning^o se mouio ni fue de parecer se prendiese al dho g^{or}. Visto esto por el dho p^e Comiss^o ordeno de hacer despacho y enuiar a los q. estaban retraydos con el qual fue el dho Alferes Simon Perez y otros tres Soldados escriuiendo al S^r Visorrey una carta haciendo relacion de lo q. auia pasado como quiso con algunos regidores y un alcalde pidiendo lic^a al Virrey para prender al dho g^{or} este papel por uer el S^o de gou^{an} como yba no quiso autoriçarle yo fui el secret^o y me peso—salí este despacho de quatro Soldados y un religioso en 23 de jullio de 1613 llegaron a mex^{co} y dicen que quiso el Virrey castigar a los que auian salido sin lic^a del g^{or} enuió la carta que el p^e Comiss^o y regidores auian enbiado a su Ex^a con el nuebo g^{or} para que la reconociesen los que la auian firmado—El mesmo dia enuió el g^{or} al alcalde Ju^o Ruiz de caceres en seguimiyto de los q. salian con otros dos soldados y puidendolos prender por respecto del p^e Comiss^o los dejaron yr." *Ibid.*

42. *Ibid.*

43. "En la V^a tenia el p^e Comiss^o un h^e q. hacia a dos manos auia dado la palabra a^l g^{or} de yr con el a la nu^a Esp^a y al p^e Comiss^o le escreuia le auisaria de la salida y los jornadas q. hiciese el g^{or} para q. con mas comodidad le prendiesen. a 10 de Ag^{to} a las quatro de la tarde llego auiso al p^e Comis^o q ya el g^{or} se auia puesto en camino. luego al punto escriuió el p^e Comiss^o a todos los religiosos

biniesen al conu^{to} de S^{to} Domingo armados como pudiesen religiosos vinieron y religiosos se escusaron para el dho caso. A 11 del dho ag^{to} despues de m^a noche salio el p^e Comis^o con alg^{as} armas y los que auia de llebar en su comp^a y fue a amanecer al conu^{to} de Sandia donde estaba el p^e g^{an} de aquella casa bien descuidado de tan subita llegada del p^e Comiss^o alli trato el p^e Comiss^o con los Cap^{es} y Soldados que llebaba q. le pidiesen por pet^{on} que ya que ellos yban a prender al g^{or} por q. desamparaba la Ti^a y salia huyendo a la nu^a espa^a q. su p^d les diese fauor y que para eso que el haria el papel ellos digeron que enora buena hizo el p^e Comiss^o una pet^{on} en q. les cargaba la pris^{on} totalmente a los españoles. Ellos biendo y oyendo la pet^{on} no quisieron firmarla mas digeron al p^e Comiss^o q. pues su p^d los llebaba para aquel efecto q. se hiciese otro papel. hizo el p^e Comiss^o y fue del S^o el p^e fr agustin. este hallaron mas aproposito los cap^{es} y le firmaron los dhos cap^{es} este papel ti^e sus falsedades en la fha porq. se hizo a 12 de agosto en el pueblo de La ysleta y pusieron la fha en la Vi^a de S^{ta} fee y pusieron por test^{os} y quedaban su parecer y consentim^{to} personas que no se hallaron presentes porque estaban en la Vi^a veinte leguas de tierra en medio q. no les pasaba por la ymaginacion ni sabian lo que en La ysleta se hacia este papel esta en poder del S^o de gou^{on} frn^{co} Perez granillo y se podra ber." *Ibid.*

44. "Este dia salio el p^e Comiss^o del conu^{to} de la ysleta para yr al camino donde auia de hacer aquella noche jornada el g^{or} que ya estaba abisado de aquel personage q. yba con el g^{or} y dige arriba q. hacia a dos manos— a 13 del dho mes de ag^{to} entre dos luces dio el p^e Comiss^o albaço al g^{or} con casi quarenta pers^s todas bien armadas requiriole el p^e Comiss^o se diera preso el g^{or} no queria y el p^e Comiss^o dijo sea preso por el S^{to} off^o el g^{or} hizo sus diligencias pero no le valieron fue preso y traydo al Conu^{to} de Sandia por tenerle mas lejos de la Vy^a y mas seguro aunq. el p^e g^{an} fr Esteban de Perea lo repugno y sintio enpero aprobechole poco porque el p^e Comiss^o era el q. mandaba luego saco y tomo los papeles que el g^{or} llebaba y en reconocerlos todos y quitarle los q. al p^e Comiss^o, le tenian cuidadoso gasto desde catorce de ag^{to} a m^o dia hasta diez y seis del mesmo y llebandoselos el p^e Comiss^ole dejo en el dho conu^{to} preso con prisiones y tres Soldados y otros muchos naturales de aquel pu^o de guarda—

a 17 del dho ag^{to} se fueron el p^e Comiss^o y los demas religiosos Cap^{es} y Soldados q. se hallaron en prender al dho g^{or} al conu^{to} de S^{to} Domingo llebandose consigo preso el p^e Comis^o a un alcalde ordin^o de la Vy^a q. se llama don Ju^o Escarramad q. yba con el g^{or} y era su amigo y le tubo preso con grillos en el dho conu^{to} de S^{to} Domingo cerca de dos meses con arta Vejacion y menoscabo de su hacienda." *Ibid.*

45. "A 9 de Sept^{re} fue el p^e Comiss^o a la V^a donde dijo un dia de fiesta que el tenia preso al g^{or} y que de auello hecho esperaba gran premio y que ni mas ni menos le podian esperar los q. se auian hallado a prenderle. abomino lo hecho por el g^{or} reprehendio a los timidos y esforçolos para adelante y certificoles que les auia hecho un muy gran bien en quitarle los papeles al g^{or} porq. llebaba cosas q. les auian de dar arta pena y con ellos una carta que enbiaba a Zacatecas en q. les trataba de g^{to} de mezclilla dandoles palabra q. despues se la enbiaria como lo hizo y mando el p^e g^{an} a fr ger^{mo} de pedraça fuese de casa en casa mostrandola de que reciuieron arta pena h^{es} y mugeres y se indignaron de nuebo con el g^{or}." *Ibid.* ". . . vn delito tan graue y tan atos como fue prender al gou^{or} y cap^{an} gen^l don P^o de peralta y tenerle un año preso en dho conbento de sandia y temiendo q. los uesinos le querian sacar y poner en su gouerno el prelado q. entonces era fr. hisidro hordoñes q. fue el q. le prendio a titulo de la santa ynquisicion sin ser comisario della se puso en el pulpito de la yglesia desta uilla con un cristo en las manos a enternesar la rrepu^a con esclamaciones y disiendo que esperaua por aquella accion de la prison ser premiado con una mitra." Statement by the Cabildo of Santa Fé, Jan. 14, 1639. A. G. P. M., Prov. Int., Tomo 35, Exped. 5.

46. *Relación Verdadera*, A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316.

47. *Ibid.*

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Ibid.*

50. *Ibid.* There is another version of Peralta's escape in the Statement by the Cabildo of Santa Fé, Jan. 14, 1639, A. G. P. M., Prov. Int., Tomo 35, Exped. 5: ". . . y abliendose uido de la prision el dho gou^{or} y Cap^{an} general en el rrigor del ybierno fue a pie y medio desnudo cubierto con un Cuero de sibola como yndio a una estancia q. esta dos leguas del dho pueblo donde sabido por su carselero q. lo era el P^e fr. esteuan de perea fue con gran cantidad de yndios con arco y flecha y serco la dha estancia y aunq. no le hallo por entonses le bolbieron a prender en esta uilla desde donde le bolbieron a llevar con grillos sentado en una bestia como muger asta el pueblo de Sandía q. era su prision q. esta catorse leguas lleuandole a su cargo el P^e fr. andres Juares digo el P^e fr. luis tirado al conbento desta uilla donde le bolbieron a prender con vos de la ynquisition."

51. *Relación Verdadera*, A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316.

52. *Ibid.*

53. *Ibid.*

54. *Ibid.*

55. On July 7, 1616, the *oficiales reales* of Mexico paid to Peralta part of the salary due, but retained a balance of more than 1800 pesos pending final decision concerning his residencia. A. G. I., Contaduría 719. This balance was finally paid on November 28, 1617, following a certification,—"q se sentencio en Reuista en seis de octubre de DCXVII y que dio quenta y satisfizo todo lo que fue a su cargo de tal gouernador y de las condenaciones que le fueran fhas . . ." *Ibid.*, Contaduría 720.

56. Codex Hisp. 79.

57. See Appendix II.

58. *Relación Verdadera*, A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316.

59. *Ibid.*

60. *Ibid.*

61. *Ibid.*

62. *Ibid.*

63. "Despues que el g^{or} Ber^{no} de Zaballos fue abriendo los ojos en la prouy^a con las cosas q. cada uno le contaba que auian pasado entre don P^o de p^{ta} y el p^e Comiss^o hablaba sin pepita lo que queria y le peso harto no auer enuiado al p^e fr Ys^o Ord^z con don P^o de peralta a la nu^a esp^a (como muchas beces lo decia) para escusar las pesadumbres q. ya empeçaban escriuiendose cartas el p^e Comiss^o y gⁿ culpandole al g^{or} el consentir tal y tal estancia que fue por donde hiço mal quisto a don P^o de p^{ta} para hacer con Zavallos lo q. con su antecesor el g^{or} ya estaba prebenido y era astuto y todo lo q. el p^e Comiss^o y g^{an} y otros le escreuiian contra los españoles se lo mostraba y decia a ellos y asi bian de donde salia el triunfo de aficion o desamor."

64. "Por tiempo de dos años desde q. salio el g^{or} don P^o de p^{ta} hasta q. salio el p^e fr Ys^o ordz a la nueba esp^a nunca faltaron pleytos entre el p^e Comiss^o y el g^{or} como se bera por una carta q. ba en la visita escrita a tantos de Sept.^e de 1616 as.^o que el dho g^{or} escriuió al p^e Comiss^o con el p^e g^{an} fr Luis Tirado fueron ynfinitos los pleytos y las ocasiones que el dho p^e g^{an} dio al g^{or} hasta Venirle a matar al conu^{to} con un pistoleta y dos soldados andubieron ocho dias disfrazados con arcabuces para matarle de noche al salir alas secretas a sus necesidades—grandes escandalos ubo que requerian otra tan grande memorial y relacion como esta para contarlos pero por podersele atribuir lo mesmo que se atribuía al p^e fr ysidro ordóñez predicandose delos dos un mesmo modo de proceder en todo y unas mesmas cosas otros las diran y yo no lo hare por q. e sido muy agrauiado deshonrrado pu^{ca} m^{te} y maltratado deste p^e g^{an} fr Luis Tirado y por que no se diga que la pasion me llega y me hace alargar lo dejo." *Ibid.*

65. *Ibid.*

66. "A 17 de nob^e de 1614 hiço junta en la Vy^a el P^e Comiss^o de alg^{os} religiosos que alli pudo juntar comodam^{te} q. fueron el p^e fr P^o de haro g^{an} de nambe el p^e fr andres Bpta g^{an} de S^t Ylefonso el p^e fr Agustin de Burgos g^{an} de San Lazaro y el p^e g^{an} de la dha Vy^a y delante de ellos el día sig^{te} despues de auer cenado m^{do} el p^e Comiss^o al p^e fr Alonso Peynado que digese las culpas y auindolas dho como muy

relig^o que es començo el p^e Comiss^o a decir tales y tan malas palabras quales aun nouicio y que fuese conocidam^{te} sospechoso no se pudieran decir. El p^e fr A^o Peynado dijo q. le tratase bien que el no se conocia por aquel que decia entre estas y otras rraçones yntimo mucho el auer escrito la carta a n^{ro} R^{mo} P^e diciendo muchas cosas q. no yban en ella y callando las que yban—A esto le Voluio a decir el p^e fr A^o Peynado que digese Verdad en lo que yba diciendo que pues el no negaba que auia escrito aquella carta y las Verdades que contenia que no digese mas ni menos de lo que en ella estaba que aquello afirmaba auia hecho y mas a esto respondió el Comiss^o que mentia lebantase el Comiss^o y el S^{to} Viejo de las culpas y bienen a las manos apagase la candela los religiosos que a esso se llegaron se hallaron turbados que no sauian a quien ayudar ni a quien desayudar finalm^{te} los despartieron todos culpan al p^e Comiss^o solo el p^e g^{an} T^{do} simbolo y principio medio y fin de todos estos males. Ayudaba al p^e Comisario contra el S^{to} Viejo por auerle reprehendido alg^{as} cosas q. le estubieran bien al dho p^e g^{an} tomarlas como hijo y no defenderlas como obstinado y por ellas tratarle muy mal delante de seglares de que tomaron mal exemplo y se escandalizaron—El dia sig^{te} 19 de nob^{re} dia traça el p^e Comiss^o de q. saliese el p^e Comiss^o de q. saliese el p^e Viejo aunque no tenia ocasion ni podia segun just^a hecharle de la dha Vy^a donde amaban, estimaban. y regalaban al S^{to} Viejo por su anciandad gran religion y poca salud. enpero el por no dar lugar a cosas escudandolas pidio salir de alli para otro conu^{to} distante del de la Vy^a veinte leguas y aun pareciendole que no estaba alli seguro salio con artas lagrimas y sentimy^{to} de todo el pueblo el quⁱ alcançando a sauer lo que auia pasado y quedando diciendo que desterraban aquel S^{to} Viejo el Comis^o y g^{an} porque queria bien a los españoles y los trataba con amor que es lo que siempre los dhos dos padres an sentido y aborrecido a los religiosos que lo hacen assi que quisieran los dos que a su ymitacion los demas los aperrearan trataran mal de ruines g^{te} ynfame y con otros nombres tales como estos o peores q. los tubieramos por ladrones y en las confesiones les hicieramos desear la absolucion.” *Ibid.*

67. “Hice una pet^{on} pidiendole al p^e Comiss^o con toda la humildad posible me mostrase la patente de su off^o por cierta duda q. se me auia ofrecido escreuila—En este tiempo estaba el p^e Comiss^o en la Vy^a no quise yr alla porque auia de aborrotar luego la gente y con lo que digera y hiciera temia no me boluiera a meter donde decia hasta perecer no aguarde a yr a suconv^{to} por el mesmo ynconben^{te} no lo trate con los religiosos por la distancia delos lugares y no ser sentido y prim^o q. yo lo pidiese por pet^{on} me lebantase por pisar el sol que auia cometido un graue delito—fui me a aguardarle en una visita quatro leguas de la Vy^a de S^{ta} fee para presentarle alli mi peticion acertaron a hallarse en aquel pu^o doce españoles los quales llame para que fuesen test^{os} porque no me lebantase el p^e fr Ys^o que le salia a matar sali de la visita al encuentro y receuimy^{to} del p^e Comiss^o y como aun tiro de arcabuz de alli por escusar si ubiera boces que no tomaran los yndios mal exemplo le suplique con toda humildad me oyese aquella pet^{on} preguntome que era la duda y causa para presentar aquella pet^{on} y pedille la patente de su off^o yo le dije una carta falsa que emos hallado con que VR. absoluió y hiço renunciar su oficio de Comiss^o a n^{ro} p^e fr Alonso Peynado dijo a esto pues p^e no bastara que muestre cartas de Virrey y oidores y otras pers^{as} y religiosos de n^{ra} pouya a esto le dige quanto mejor sera la patente que nos dira la Verdad quedo que la mostraria y con esto nos fuimos cada qual a su conv^{to} Luego otro dia hiço el p^e fr Xpobal de quiros me escriuiese y rogase dejase la demanda empegada yo le respondi que pues en aquello no le pedia oca injusta que si era pre^{do} lo mostrase que no auia dificultad, sino lo era q. no le queria obedecer, otro dia sig^{te} me escriuió el mesmo Comiss^o rogandome no tratase dello todo esto me hacia perseverar y procurar con muy grandes veras fuera Comiss^o o pre^{do} el que gustaban n^{ros} p^{es} y quien sus paternidades ubiesen nombrado por sus patentes al tercero dia hiço llamar los religiosos y alli a mi mostro una patente yo la ui y ley y hasta el dia de oy estoy incredulo de que fuese pre^{do} pues siendolo poca necesidad tenia de hacer aquella carta falsa y asi como me mostro la patente me m^{do} clusurar y otro dia me llebo

a su conuento de S^{to} Domingo donde me pudo poner en la estufa y hacer todo el mal que quisiera llebandolo por ter^{nos} tiranos que era lo que yo reclaua. pusionos a mi y a los otros dos religiosos en dos celdas y tratando con los demas religiosos q. se haria le aconsejo el p^e g^{an} de Sandia fr Esteban de Perea que hiciese ynformy^{on} de lo hecho y que substanciado el neg^o si me hallara culpado me castigara o me perdonara—el p^e Comiss^o trato el solo de quererlo hacer y que a el se atribuyese la honrra de la liberalidad y se le diesen las gracias y assi nos mando poner en forma de presos los dias en que en S^{to} Domingo estuvimos sin mas papeles ni informy^{on} q. lo dho—despues aca e sauido que en secreto hizo firmar una carta con sola su informacion o dho diciendo q. firmasen aquel papel para tenerme el pie sobre el pescueço que el dicho p^e no me queria hacer mal empero para que si en algun T'po yo hablase pudiese mostrar aquel papel sin mas ynformy^{on} ni acusacion ni indicios ni mala fama de lo que el p^e Comiss^o quiso con su bu^a o mala conciencia poner—”
Ibid.

68. Otro papel me an dho hizo tambien pidiendo firmas a religiosos el p^e fr. Xpobal de quiros auiendo leydo el papel (con ser un muy grande amigo suio) no le quiso firmar, lo propio el p^e fr Juan de Salas porque dijo que yba en el que yo defendia y tenia nuevas opiniones, otro me dijo que auia firmado, por persuasion diciendole el p^e Comiss^o que pues lo hacian otros tambien el lo hiciese y assi lo hizo este relig^o dice q. leyo que los religiosos no llegaban a tres y que daban su parecer que yo saliese de la tierra este papel escriuio el p^e Comiss^o fr Ys^o Ord'z queriendo salir a Tierra de paz y yo con el por una licencia q. tenia de n^{ro} P^e fr Juan Zareta, yo no se en que estubo este engaño ni que penso el p^e Comiss^o q^{do} me concedio licencia para yr a la nu^a esp^a y para ello me hecho por tercero al p^e fr Juan de Salas hizo me deshacer de las cosas necesarias de mi pers^a y hicompe poner en camino y en el vit^o conu^{to} finge que auia tenido como Reuelacion del cielo comun language suio y que era la Voluntad de Dios me quedase quisome quitar la patente y hacerme quedar por mal—Visto su pensamy^{to} y que segun era de Tirano y disoluto o absoluto prelado me quede diome una firmada de su n^e que podre mostrar para q. se bea la maldad de las cartas q. hizo firmar, dijome que queriendome quedar pidiese de la tierra lo que quisiese yo creo y otros lo creen assi no me quiso llebar por q. se auian de sauer estas Verdades que aqui estan escritas.” *Ibid.*

69. The departure of Pérez Guerta at this time is indicated by a letter of Francisco Pérez Granillo to the Holy Office, October 29, 1617, A. G. P. M., Inquisición 318, f. 477. No definite information exists concerning the date of the departure of Ordóñez, but it is reasonable to assume that he went with the caravan.

70. A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316, ff. 183 v, 184.

71. The incomplete original manuscript of the trial record in the case of Escarramad is in *Diferentes Autos de molestias Hechas a los Vez^{os} de la N^a mex^{co} por los Religiosos y la soberania Con que Usen Juri^{don}* (1604-1639), A. G. P. M., Provincias Internas, Tomo 34, Exped. 1. A copy sent to the Holy Office by Perea in the autumn of 1617 is in A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316, ff 175-184. There are important differences in the two manuscripts which will be noted during the discussion of the case.

72. Pérez Guerta referred to the messenger as “Don Juan.” *Relación Verdadera*, A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316.

73. Testimony of Juan Ruiz, April 18, 1617, and of Juan Gómez, June 30, 1617. *Diferentes Autos*, A. G. P. M., Provincias Internas, Tomo 34, Exped. 1.

74. *Ibid.*

75. “Vellacos, picaros, vigardos, ladrones.” Declaration of Juan Gómez, June 27, 1617. *Ibid.*

76. Perea gave Quiros authority to act as Judge-delegate in pending ecclesiastical cases on June 15, 1617. A. G. P. M., Inquisición 318, f. 491

77. A. G. P. M., Provincias Internas, Tomo 34, Exped. 1.

78. The text of the sentence is not given in the original manuscript of the trial record in *Diferentes Autos*, but a complete statement is found in the copy of the record in A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316.

79. *Diferentes Autos*, A. G. P. M., Provincias Internas, Tomo 34, Exped. 1.

80. A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316, f. 183.

81. "Visto el auto y rrequerimiento arriva contenido por el señor almirante Ber^{no} de ceuallos dixo que lo oyo y que el dho p^e y demas rrelixyosos [decian?] lo que les conviene, y que su señoría se yra atras de los rrelixyosos si se fueren y ynformaran todos a su esex^a el s^{or} uirrey de la nueva españa de las cosas y estado destas prouincias, y que la causa no era de su rreuerencia el conocella sino como en buenos cristianos y poco temeroso de [blurred] falsamente. Por tanto a su s^a rrogamos nos De [torn] su s^a el conocella, y que a el no se mete en sus adjudicaturas, y que el R^e fr. cristoual no saue tener terminas en sus escritos y que sevastian de novoa no trate de cosa ni causa alguna ni le rreuelba la tierra porque le castigara rrigurosamente porque el susodho a traydo todas estas cosas, y que se le notifique esta rrespuesta que lo cumpla y guarde donde no que le castigara, y pide su señoría se le de el auto y rrespuesta por testimonio autorisado en forma y lo firmo su señoría. Ber^{no} de ceuallos." *Diferentes Autos*, f. 15, 15v.

82. *Ibid.*

83. The *real provisión* has been published in English translation by L. B. Bloom in *New Mex. Hist. Rev.*, V (1930), 288-298.

84. Testimony, with Perea's covering letter of Sept. 29, 1617 in A. G. P. M., Inquisición 318, ff, 398-495.

85. G. P. Hammond, *Don Juan de Oñate and the founding of New Mexico* (Santa Fé, 1927), *passim*; *Relación Verdadera* and Testimony against Márquez. A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316.

86. Testimony against Márquez, A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316; *Diferentes Autos*, A. G. P. M., Provincias Internas, Tomo 34, exped. 1.

87. The Inquisition?

88. Letter of Francisco Pérez Granillo, Paraje del Muerto, Oct. 29, 1617. A. G. P. M., Inquisición 318, f. 477.

APPENDIX I

Friar Francisco Pérez Guerta's Account of the Incident of July 9, 1613

Este propio día (8 de Julio) en la tarde mando el p^e g^{an} de la Vya sacar arina para amasar pan y la harina fue con exceso y por serlo dio que pensar en la casa donde se auia de amasar y deseo de sauer la causa al que traya la harina que era un muchacho de la yglesia español el qual sauia q. venian los religiosos y assi dijo q. para este efecto era. El dia sig^{te} martes 9 del dho mes fue bien de mañana a casa del g^{or} un Vz^o llamado Ju^o Lujan el qual preguntado por el g^{or} de las cosas nuevas q. auia o sauia respondió lo que y es q. ayer en la tarde llebaron a mi casa cant^d grande de harina para pan y preguntando mi muger para que trayan tanta junta respondió el muchacho bienen muchos frailes, y lo q. se decir mas es que oy decir a Asensio de arechuleta el not^o q. se auian de juntar los frailes para prender a VS. Luego al punto el g^{or} hiço llamar a todos los Vz^{os} q. biniesen a su casa con sus armas, lo qual hicieron los que entonces se hallaron en la V^a sin sauer para que. Despues q. los tubo juntos les represento el deseo que el P^e Comiss^o tenia de prenderle como constaba por aquella carta que el p^e perguer g^{an} de S^t laçaro le auia enuiado q. se la hiço leer a los dhos Vz^{os}, y como lo auia dho en la yglesia el domino pasado, y como otras beces lo auia dho a otras personas q. le auia de prender sin declararles mas su pensamy^{to} ni lo que auia de hacer. Tras esto probeio el g^{or} un auto y le m^{do} pregonar en q. mandaba no embiasen al conu^{to} comida pan ni camas. Luego m^{do} a su S^o q. tomase papel y tinta y todos juntos con el g^{or} binieron al conu^{to}. Este día por la mañana andaba gran ruydo de los hombres antes de juntarse en casa del g^{or} y auiendo de ser uno de los que abian de yr a la casa del g^{or} y a su mandato bar^{me} Romero, Viniendo el dho Romero benia su muger a la yglesia a misa y abiendo visto el ruido que andaba y el peligro q. podia auer entro en la iglesia llorando y dando boces mobiendo a lastima a las demas mugeres. El p^e Comiss^o acabaua de ponerse en el altar y la muger llamada Doña Lucia no teniendo atencion a que estaba el p^e Comiss^o donde la podia oir començo a culparle y aun a maldecir la suerte de su off^o pues les ponía en aquellas tribulaciones y otras muchas palabras que fue mucho decirlas la dha muger por ser muy prudente callada honesta y muy debota. El p^e Comiss^o yritado con aquellas raçones se boluio a ella y la dijo q. Callase con otras palabras que hasta oy tiene que sentir. En este tiempo que esto sucedia en la yglesia estaba yo mirando desde la portería el tropel de los soldados y aunque preguntaba que era en

lo que andaban, o que significaba tanta priesa tantas armas y tan juntos no ubo quien me digese nada porque con las cosas q. auia todos nos mostraban mala cara, y asi fuy de la porteria a donde estaba el p^e g^{an} fr Luis T^{do} fr andres Xuarez y el her^{no} fr ger^{mo} de Pedraça en la guerta y les dige, mucho mal creo a de auer que no se que anda en el pueblo que esta ynquieto. Voluiose el p^e g^{an} a mi con colera notandome de gallina y temeroso. Yo calle y disimule y pregunte que se estaba tratando. Fueseme dho Como el p^e g^{an} se determinaba con un machete yrle a matar las terneras de sibola al g^{or}. Estando diciendo estas palabras bimos entrar por la porteria gente armada y con ella al g^{or} con cota, espada en la cinta y en ella un pistolete y en la mano una pistola larga. Fuimos todos quatro hacia la puerta del conu^{to} y alli nos pusimos aguardando que el g^{or} llegase. Llego donde estabamos que era en el patio de la puerta de la libreria y alli quitandose cortesam^{te} el sombrero preg^{to} donde esta el p^e Comisario? El p^e g^{an} fr. Luis T^{do} le respondió diciendo, estaba misa, podra ser q. la aya acabado. Suplico a Vr. le m^{de} llamar dijo el g^{or}. El p^e Tirado llego a la puerta de la libreria, dijo en boz alta p^e Comiss^o aqui llama a Vr. el g^{or} El p^e Comiss^o salio por la dha puerta al patio de la casa y biendo la disposicion q. la g^{te} traia Voluio a entrar—y de un rincon tomo un bordon de ma^a asta que alli estaba y diciendo, para este desbenturado este basta, salio con el en la mano. El g^{or} le quito el sombrero y en el ynter dijo el p^e Comiss^o que quiere VS. Respondio el g^{or}, p^e Comiss^o a VP. requiero de parte de su Mag^d que oy en este dia se baya a su conu^{to} y mande a los religiosos q. a enuiado a llamar q. se esten en sus dotrinas porq. esto conuiene. A esto resp^o el p^e Comiss^o S^{or} es berdad q. yo e enbiado a llamar los religiosos pero es para neg^o q. Conbiene. En este punto se aparto con poco religiosas palabras de nosotros el p^e fr Luis T^o y entro alla dentro en la libreria y andando como buscando armas dijo a perro a Traydor—El g^{or} que era timido y Traia los ojos como de lince uido andar al p^e de aquella manera y oyo decir perro. Dijo el g^{or}, perro—Voto a Dios q. sepa yo matar un frayle. Entonces alço la pistola y le hecho el gatillo que asta entonces no le traia hechado y luego mando a dos Soldados entrasen y sacasen las armas que auia—El p^e Comiss^o les mando por descomu^{on} que no entrasen. El g^{or} les apunto con la pistola. El comiss^o los tenia y finalm^{te} entraron y no hallaron armas. Boluio despues de todo esto el g^{or} a decir, p^e Comiss^o, mire q. le requiero q. VP. se baia oy en este dia a su conu^{to} de S^{to} Domingo y haga lo q. le m^{do} dejandome en paz y a esta V^a. A esto resp^o el p^e Comiss^o q. no lo pensaba hacer que en su casa se estaba y voluendose a los Vz^{os} les dijo, Vsms. a q. bienen aqui—no saben q. son vasallos de esta yglesia, y el g^{or} dijo a esto q. se engañaba en aquello y auiendo de la una y otra p^{te} palabras y boces acometio a alçar el baston que

dige auia sacado el p^e Comiss^o en la mano para dar con el al g^{or} pero dicen q. se le tubo Juan Lujan soldado y Voluiendose al g^{or} le dijo—VS saue con quien se toma y el g^{or} resp^o, q. le parecia q. con fr. Ysidro Ord^z, y el p^e Comiss^o le dijo no se toma sino con toda la orden y hechandose mano de la Barba juro diciendo, por uida de Fr. Ys^o que os tengo de destruir q. bien parece q. no saue VS. en la que le tengo metido. El g^{or} resp^o en que me puede tener metido q. yo no sepa. a esto respondió el p^e Comiss^o no saue, ye el p^e g^{an} de la mesma manera, no saue, y Voluiendo el g^{or} a decirle al p^e Comiss^o que hiciera lo q. le mandaba de yrse a su conuento. A esto dijo el P^e Comiss^o pues puede VS. mandarme a mi. El g^{or} dijo si y hecharle dos pares de grillos. Alguacil trayga dos pares de grillos. Traygan ocho dijo el p^e Comiss^o y no oy mas palabra, porque el g^{or} dijo aqui del Rey se apreso hechándole mano de la Capilla el p^e Comiss^o le hecho mano de la ropilla el p^e fr Luis T^{do} por otro lado y el p^e fr. Andres Xuarez, y assi andando assidos se aparto el p^e fr. Luis T^{do} a sacarle a un Soldado la espada de la bayna y Voluiendo sin ella le arranco al g^{or} una manga del capotillo y el otro religioso entro en una celda a Vuscar armas y saco un haxon conque se tañe musica—Andando de esta manera yba alçando el p^e Comiss^o el palo para descargarselo en la cabeça al g^{or} q. la tenia oprimida y harto llegada al suelo. Yo que estaba mirando estas cosas de afuera q^{do} el p^e Comiss^o como dige yba alçando el palo llegue tenelle y en aquel punto el g^{or} aduirtiolo y tambien yba alçando la pistola q. tenia en las manos y alçandola como q. queria dar con ella al p^e Comiss^o, se la tubieron por detras el Secret^o y otro. Voluio con enojo el g^{or} y soltandola el q. la auia tenido como tiro el g^{or} jurare que no fue en su mano dispararse la pistola porq. ni fue Vista ni casi oida con el alboroto de boces y rruido hasta q. Cayo el religioso lego herido. Esto duraria por espacio de dos credos cantados. Luego ceso todo. Los españoles apartaron al g^{or} y nosotros nos pusimos a cuidar de n^{ro} herido. Fue tan grande el escandalo y confussion y labrimas de las mugeres q. mas es para encomendarlo a Dios y rogarle no entre en juicio con quien fue la causa que de tratar mas de esta lastimosa materia.

Este dho dia 9 de Jullio en q. fue este suceso hiço llamar el p^e Comiss^o a todos los que auian benido con el g^{or} y a cada uno de por si los fue absolviendo salbo al armero no quiso absoluer por q. saliendo tambien herido de la municion q. derramo la pistola del g^{or} salio el dho hombre culpando al p^e Comiss^o de lo sucedido, y porque despues en una ynformy^{on} que el dho g^{or} mando se hiciesse culpaba el dho armero al dho padre Comiss^o, estando enfermo y peligroso este dho hombre y pedia confesion, ni confesion ni absolucion no le quisieron d^{ar} el p^e Comiss^o ni g^{an} del R^l. Este mesmo dia mando el P^e Comiss^o pusiesen a la puerta de la yglesia al g^{or} por pu^{co} descomulgado y despacho el p^e

Comiss^o a los religiosos q. benian a la Villa fuesen a S^{to} Domingo para donde despues de consumido el sacram^{to} santiss^{mo} del Sagrario y cerrada la Yglesia y la Sacristia a piedra y lodo sin quedar religioso nos partimos todos con el p^e Comiss^o por su mandato.

Relación Verdadera, A. G. P. M. Inquisición 316.

APPENDIX II

The New Mexico missions had been supervised by the Commissary-General of the Franciscans of New Spain and the Provincial of the Province of the Holy Evangel, to whom the local commissaries were responsible. It was customary, however, for a new mission area to be set up as a *custodia*, or semi-independent administrative area, as soon as a sufficient number of convents were established. The prelate of such an area was called a custodian (*Custodio*), and his duties and powers were essentially the same as those of a provincial of an independent province, subject, of course, to supervision by the province to which the *custodia* was attached. It is not clear whether the appointment of Perea with the title of custodian was due primarily to a decision that the New Mexico missions had reached the stage where local autonomy was justified, or to the belief that, in view of the seriousness of the situation in New Mexico, the prelate should have the greater dignity and authority that the title of custodian implied. There is some justification for thinking that the appointment was the result of an emergency, for Perea was named by the Commissary-General rather than by the *definitorio* of the Province of the Holy Evangel which, later on, exercised the power of appointment. In any case, by choosing Perea the Commissary General gave responsibility to a mature and experienced friar who had not been a violent partisan of Ordóñez. The exact date of Perea's appointment is not known. In my article, "Problems in the early ecclesiastical history of New Mexico," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, VII (1932), 32-74, I discussed Perea's statement that he had been "superior prelate" of New Mexico three times and identified these periods, as follows: (1) Commissary, 1614; (2) Custodian, 1616-17 to 1621; (3) Custodian, 1629-1631. Identification of the first period was based on Zárate Salmerón's statement that Perea was "Commissary of those Provinces" when the bones of Friar Francisco López were found at Puaráy in 1614. *Ibid.*, p. 50. The dates for the second period were based on an accumulation of data from various sources. *Ibid.*, 47-64. Perea's own *Relaciones* dealing with certain events of his terms as custodian beginning in 1629 had long been known. Pérez Guerta's *Relación Verdadera* makes it clear that Ordóñez, not Perea, was commissary in 1614. Consequently Zárate Salmerón's phrase, "Commissary of those provinces," evidently means that Perea was in charge of missions

among the Tiwa pueblos, not commissary of *all* the New Mexico missions. There are other instances of the use of the word commissary to designate the friar in charge of some part of the Pueblo area. But how was Perea prelate twice during the early period, i. e. prior to 1621? The Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Inquisición, leg. 1228, núm. 3, has a document entitled, "*Mem^a del P^e frai Esteban de perea custodio que a sido de nuebo mex^{co} 1629*, which contains information concerning Perea's *limpieza de sangre* requested by the Holy Office of Mexico in 1627. It contains the following statement: "Memoria de los Padres y aguelos (naturaleça y off^o) del P^e fr. esteuan de Perea, predicador, y cust^o q. a sido dos ueces de las prouincias del nueuo mexico. la primera ues por n. p^e frai xpoual Ramirez Comiss^o g^l de estas yndias y despues continuando por n. p^e fr. diego de otalora comis^o g^l tambien de estas yndias." Now Friar Cristóbal Ramírez was Commissary General of New Spain during the years 1612-1617, and Friar Diego de Otalora for the years 1618-1622. (Fr. Francisco Antonio de la Rosa Figueroa, *Bezerro General Menológico y cronológico de todos los Religiosos...en esta St. Prov^a del S^{to} Evang^o...Ayer* Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago.) It appears, therefore, that Perea's first two terms as prelate were by appointment by these two Commissaries General, and that they cover the period I assigned to the second term in my article cited above. It is logical to assume that the appointment by Friar Cristóbal Ramírez was made sometime between the arrival of Peralta in Mexico in the winter or spring of 1615 and the departure of the mission supply caravan for New Mexico in the summer or early autumn of 1616. (For data concerning the supply caravan, see A. G. I., Contaduría 718, 845 A-B.) This supply train arrived in New Mexico not later than January, 1617, because we have a copy of a *poder* signed by Perea as custodian, dated at Santa Fé, January 30, 1617. (A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316, ff. 183 v. 184.) The re-appointment of Perea to the custodianship by Friar Diego de Otalora, who served as Commissary General from 1618 to 1622, may have been made during the year 1618 and the patient sent with Gov. Juan de Eulate who arrived in New Mexico in December, 1618.

BOURKE ON THE SOUTHWEST, VIII

Edited by LANSING B. BLOOM

Chapter XV

FIRST VISIT TO THE NAVAHO

THE search for ethnological material among the native peoples of the Southwest took Lieutenant Bourke into some regions with which he had hitherto had no acquaintance. As a result of General Hatch's invitation,¹ he spent some days late in April, 1881, at Fort Defiance; and then after a quick trip back to departmental headquarters at Omaha, he returned to western New Mexico and spent most of May in work at the pueblo of Zuñi, and in a second trip to the Navaho agency.

To those who know the Southwest of today, Bourke's observations contain much of absorbing interest. His notes give a composite view of the country and the people as he saw them over fifty years ago, yet he made very little use of this Navaho and Zuñi material.² In his published work he restricted himself largely to the study of the Apaches and the Hopi, and one reason for this clearly was the fact that he found men like Frank Cushing and Washington Matthews already well advanced in their studies of the Zuñi and Navaho peoples.

[April 22, 1881] . . . At 3 p. m., Gen'l Hatch, Colonel Bennett and myself took the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé train for Lamy, 22 miles. The day was lovely and the ride enjoyable. At Lamy, we changed cars for Albuquerque, our chances for observing the country being much narrowed by the gloom of the evening. We rode through a very interesting region—one filled with the villages of the Pueblo Indians—all of which I hope to be able to visit this summer. Among these were San Domingo, San Felipe, and Ysleta—all prom-

1. See N. MEX. HIST. REV., X, 306.

2. Cf. the Bourke bibliography in *ibid.*, VIII, 11-15. Some of his Zuñi notes may be found in *The Snake Dance of the Moqui*.

inent and interesting. A number of the young men from San Domingo boarded our train to sell specimens of what they called "chalchuitl" (turquoise) of which I purchased three pieces. It is not genuine turquoise, but rather an impure malachite (carbonate of copper). Turquoise is chemically a phosphate of alumina, colored with oxide of iron and oxide of copper, giving it a sky blue tint. The real turquoise, however, is found in New Mexico and is held at an extravagant valuation by *all* the Indians of the South-West.

We were glad to exchange the crowded cars of the Topeka and Santa Fé Road for the caboose of a freight train on the Atlantic and Pacific at Albuquerque;" but we found very soon to our sorrow that in avoiding Scylla we had run upon Charybdis. The conductor kindly made down for us rough berths in the corners, but we had no covering; the car was jammed with passengers most of them smoking villainous pipes; the air became foul, and to complete the list of discomforts a wild-eyed young man became possessed of the idea that the stove needed more fuel and in a trice had it red hot. Every one was too sleepy to get up and too indifferent to comfort to try to mend matters. The conductor left the door open for an hour to aid in the ventilation; he ventilated our feet and ankles so thoroughly that when morning broke, half a dozen of us had such beastly colds we couldn't speak above a whisper. We had by that time reached "Crane's station," the terminus of the road and all tumbled out to get a cup of coffee and a sandwich in a "saloon," doing business in a tent alongside the track. The coffee was quite good and the sandwiches fresh; the shaggy haired men behind the bar were courteous and polite in their demeanor and reasonable in the charges, all of which is more than can be said of a great many hash-factories I have patronized in my travels.

3. The old "Atlantic and Pacific Railroad" was chartered by congress in July, 1866, to build a line along the 35th parallel to the Pacific coast. By 1872, this company had leased and consolidated about 844 miles of smaller lines, principally in Missouri, but because of debt it had to sell about a third of its mileage in 1876. Then a newly formed "St. Louis and San Francisco Company" bought the old line and, under the original charter, planned to build westward. In December 1879, the "A. T. & S. F." made a deal with the "Frisco" to build jointly west from Albuquerque and these two companies created a *new* "Atlantic and Pacific Company," of which the central division extended from Vinita, Indian Territory, to Albuquerque. By the final agreement made January 31, 1880, the western division was to be constructed immediately from Albuquerque to the coast. Work began the following summer and by July, 1881, 200 miles were completed and the tracks had crossed into Arizona. See Coan, *History of New Mexico*, I, 446.

April 23rd, 1881. Saturday. From Crane's, the Railroad extends still farther some 30 miles, but is not yet in a condition to do business; travel is done in freight cars alone, as far as Fort Wingate, and from there nothing but gravel and construction cars are permitted on the line.

We were favored with a perfect day; a sky without a flaw and a sun bright and warm enough to inspire but not to enervate. The scenery in its components could not strictly be called beautiful. The foot-hills were covered liberally with scrub oak and cedar; bold bluffs of red sandstone, carved by sand laden winds into all sorts of fantastic shapes, frowned upon us from the Right, like a long line of gloomy, castellated fortifications. The plains were covered with stunted sage-brush and as said before no single part could be regarded as beautiful but they blended so softly that the general effect of the landscape was far from disagreeable.

At the terminus we were almost 40 miles from Fort Wingate, so plainly visible on the skirt of the hill that we could scarcely believe it to be more than a few moments walk away.

It is at the Ojo del Oso (Bear Spring), and at present is garrisoned by 8 companies of the 13th Infantry and 9th Cavalry, commanded by General Bradley, in whose temporary absence Major Van Horn presided. We were kindly taken care of by the different officers, Captains Clift, McArthur, and Auman of the 13th, Parker of the 9th Cav'y., Asst. Surgeon Torney, Lts. Chance, Bishop, Fornance, Olmstead, Griffith, Holmes, Scott, Parker and Hughes, and Lt. Wotherspoon, 12th Infantry, enroute from his post in Arizona. Some of them I had met before, especially, Olmstead, Griffith and Fornance, cadets in a class below me at the Academy.

De Courcey took me around the post on a very interesting promenade, including the sutler's store, where my national pride was aroused by the display of goods of the *very best quality*, and put up in excellent style. These included raisins, almonds, figs, olives, honey, preserves, pickles, canned salmon and other fish and all varieties of wines and liquors, all of California production.

This store is peculiar in having a private room for ladies' shopping, a feature to be commended to other military traders. The proprietor, Mr. Hopkins, evidently understands his business.

The fine band of the 13th Infantry gave General Hatch a serenade this afternoon, the selections being good and the performance excellent.

April 24th, 1881. Sunday. After Guard Mounting and Inspection, during which latter General Hatch closely examined the gun of every soldier and afterwards the arrangement and police of the quarters; we started for the Navajo Agency at Fort Defiance, Arizona. We had another lovely day for our journey and a very good team of mules. For the first twelve miles, there was not much to notice beyond the titanic blocks of sand stone piled up into great hills, one of the most peculiar being the spire called the Navajo Church, a land mark distinguishable for a number of miles in every direction.

The ranch at the Mineral Spring (ferruginous) 12 m. from Wingate furnished our relay, which had been sent out from the post the day previous. We had an unusually good road, over an elevated rolling country of an average altitude of 7000' above tidewater. The Bluffs still continued to be well covered with piñon and scrub cedar, but the almost total absence of water was painfully noticeable. 25m. from Wingate, rested our team for an hour while we lunched. Erected a monument of a beef can and two beer bottles to commemorate our occupancy of the country and resumed our course (due West.)

30 m. from Wingate, came to a singular formation of sandstone, called the "haystacks"; these are three immense boulders of sandstone, 200' above ground and named in accordance with their shape. In front of these is the "natural bridge," a stone archway, spanning a chord of not less than 75' horizontal, with a "rise" of nearly 200'.

Farther on were grim palisades of columnar basalt, with mounds of the same rock and "dunes" of coarse red sand, in which no doubt a considerable percentage of disintegrated lava could be found. Through the sand-stone bluffs, seams of coal protruded.

Our proximity to the Navajo Agency was indicated by an occasional corral of stone or an abandoned "hogan." (When a Navajo dies his house or "hogan" is always abandoned.) On the summit of a favorably-situated hill we were shown by Col. Bennett, the decayed fence of brush wood, formerly enclosing the "antelope run," made by these Indians for hemming in antelope and deer.

Old Fort Defiance 10 mi. across the Arizona line was reached at sun-down, so I reserve a description of it until making up the record of tomorrow.

Here I met the post-trader, Mr. Leonard, an old friend of former days in Arizona, who without delay or ceremony escorted us to his kitchen whose presiding genius was a full-blooded Navajo Indian, answering to the Mexican name of "Francisco." Kitchen and dining room as well as pantry were all in one, and our conveniences were, as might be expected under the circumstances, of the simplest description; but the hospitality was genuine and the cooking unexceptionable. We had beef boiled in great big chunks, but boiled well, good bread, butter fresh from the Mormon settlements, 50 miles West, canned pears, good warm tea and excellent rice pudding. We devoured our meal with great relish and praised Francisco to the skies.

A good sleep refreshed us after our long ride and we were ready for the business of sight-seeing when we awakened on the morning of

April 25th, Monday. The first thing claiming my attention was the wretched position, in a military point of view, of the Navajo Agency formerly Fort Defiance. It is at the Eastern entrance of the Cañon Bonito and so closely pressed by the vertical walls of the cañon that no defense could be long continued were the Indians to become hostile. Indeed, I had pointed out to me the door in which the wife of an army officer was shot dead by an Indian in the cliffs, at a time when the garrison comprised four companies of regular troops. Several other cases equally as bad are on record, but this one impressed me most vividly.

Of the post, in its present condition, only a few meagre sentences need be written; it is of adobe in an advanced stage of decay, not one of the buildings being suitable for occupancy, and none possessing any of the halo of former value supposed to be inseparable from the ruins of antiquity. It is a collection of old dilapidated mud, pig sties and sheep pens and nothing more. Being the agency of the Navajoes, it is of the utmost importance and should be maintained in better repair. The Navajoes, according to Colonel Bennett, number not far from 20,000, own 30,000 ponies and about 1,500,000 sheep! They are from their wealth, intelligence, compactness and the inaccessible nature of the country they inhabit, the worst band of Indians to have in a state of hostility, if we drive them to it, as the indifference and neglect

of our government will surely do if a change of method be not soon effected. All this will appear farther on in proper place, as well as a more detailed account of the Navajoes, their manners, customs, &c. than I am now about to give.

In personal appearance, they are strikingly like the Apaches whose language they speak, but they differ from them in being better dressed and in showing the refining influences of lives of greater ease and comfort. Several of the children I saw coming into the Agency, (this is vacation day) would be considered beautiful anywhere. Their foreheads were broad and high, eyes beautiful and expressive and countenances frank and bold. The dress of the women is very beautiful and closely similar to the costume of their Shoshonee and Bannock sisters; the material is different, the Navajoes using blankets, but the cut is almost identical. When the young Navajo belle is especially high-toned, the blankets have a blue or black body, with deep border of scarlet at bust and knees; or to be more exact, the middle third is blue, and the upper and lower thirds scarlet, the two blankets fastened at shoulders and sides exactly as is the costume of the Bannock and Shoshonee women. This is bound around the waist by a girdle of worsted work, like that used by the Zunis & Moquis, while garters of same material sustain the silver-buttoned leggings of black buck skin.

Both men and women are passionately fond of silver ornaments and being good workers in that metal, it need surprise no one to be told that many of the grown men and women, more particularly the former, are fairly loaded down with it. It is used as ear-rings, great circular loops, each containing at least one trade dollar; as belts, to gird about the waist, as sashes, to run across the breast and shoulder, as rings, as bangles (not infrequently can be seen a squaw with ten and eleven on each arm) as buttons to moccasins, leggings and last, but by no means least, to encrust their saddles and bridles. They make it into fantastic necklaces which contest the supremacy of their affections with chalchuitl and red coral, the latter brought into the country during the Mexican domination. A few elk tusks can be found, and still fewer sea shells and mother of pearl, the last perhaps obtained from the Zunis who are said to make long pilgrimages every four or five years to the waters of the Pacific Ocean.

On my way to the store, I observed a man knitting and was told that a considerable percentage of the tribe possessed this accomplishment. The squaws of the Navajo and Apache blood are noted for their small feet: one of them taken at random had on a loose moccasin corresponding to a No. 3 shoe, and, upon weighing her, we discovered that she turned the scale at 115 lbs.

Although this is the regular issue day, not over a thousand Indians all told appeared at the Agency; the majority, no doubt, preferring to remain away with their sheep-herds to making a weary ride merely for the scant supplies doled out to them. A party had just gotten in from the La Plata, in the Ute country; one of the squaws had a brand new buffalo robe which she told me was from the Oo-tay (Utes).

The scene in the store was in the extreme animated and picturesque, altho' the old den was so dark that upon first entering it was difficult to distinguish the mass of parti-colored blankets, men, squaws and papposes pressed against the counter. The Navajoes are keen at a bargain and as each unpacked his ponies and ripped open the blankets full of wool he had brought to market, he acted as if he knew its value and meant to get it. Mr. Leonard said that last year he purchased 250,000 lbs. and this season expects to buy a greater quantity.

One of the old bucks in the store wore suspended by a chain from his waist belt, a silver tobacco pouch of simple but tasteful workmanship.

By this time the Indian "crier" had set up a fearful gabbling, yelling and screaming at top of his voice to let all know that it was time to draw rations. I should state to make things clear that at Fort Defiance there are two corrals, the Navajoes being in front of the store which is in the outer corral. Colonel Bennett and his assistants took station at the entrance of the inner corral, and as each head of family filed by handed over the tickets representing the amount of food due. The column surged along, a steady stream of whinnying ponies, each with its cargo of humanity; some bore only a painted and jewelled warrior; others, only a squaw with a pappoose slung in its cradle to her back and others again had two and three youngsters perched from withers to croup, all jabbering, laughing and calling out in their own language. I was very careful to note closely all that transpired under my post of observation (the top of the gate). I am certain that at least a dozen of the

children I saw riding by could not have been four years old and one little toddler, scarcely able to keep on his own pins was unconcernedly leading a gentle old pony through the mass of Indians, dogs, burros and horses crowding about him. The scene was essentially barbaric, the dresses of the riders gorgeous and fantastic and the trappings of the ponies jingling with silver. None of the throng wore a hat—men and women wearing the hair alike—that is brushed smoothly back behind the ears and gathered into a knot above shoulders; a bandana handkerchief or fillet of some kind keeping it in position. The display of coral and turquoise beads was something to excite astonishment, while those who were not the fortunate possessors of such heirlooms contented themselves with strands of silver *hemispheres* and balls of copper. Only pure metal is employed by the Navajo; plated ware, he rejects at once. Their chalcuitl beads are made by slicing the turquoise into narrow plates and boring these with *flint*. This boring is done by the Indians of Zuni, Santo Domingo &c. from whom the Navajoes purchase the beads. No amount of money will persuade an Indian to surrender one of these necklaces, and when pressed for cash, they will *pawn* them at the traders, but the pledge is always redeemed promptly at the expiration of the term specified. As may be imagined without saying, the riding of these people was simply perfect; they use the flat Turkish stirrup and do not always appear graceful in their seat, but they are *there*, nevertheless.

It took over an hour to issue the tickets, some of the Indians being very dilatory in appearing; after that it took 2 or 3 hours more to distribute the rations. These are shamefully inadequate; there are 20,000 Navajoes, for whose subsistence the Government has provided very meagre supplies. I counted the wheat on hand (69) sixty-nine bags, each of one hundred pounds—or a total of less than 7000 pounds to last the whole tribe until June 30th. The amount was so utterly out of proportion to the needs of the case that at first I was certain that this wheat must be intended for *seed*, but Colonel Bennett corrected my error and told me that he feared for the worst unless prompt measures were taken to send in sufficient food before summer.

While the Interior Department has persistently neglected the Navajoes, it has showered favors upon their neighbors, the Utes and Apaches, much to the dissatisfac-

tion of the former who feel that their long period of good behavior and their efforts at self-maintenance entitle them to recognition. A comparison of the sums of money and amounts of supplies allotted to the Apaches, Utes and Navajoes respectively during the past year would occasion surprise to any reflecting mind. For all purposes the agent of the Navajoes has only \$75,000 per annum, about 1/3 of what they should have.

The Agent displaced by Colonel Bennett, was a Mr. Eastman, a psalm-singing hypocrite whom the Navajoes despised and detested and whom they tried to kill. This Eastman had *on paper* a Boarding School for Indian children, of which he wrote glorious accounts to the Sabbath-school papers and which I visited.

It consisted of one miserable squalid dark and musty adobe dungeon, not much more capacious than the cubby hole of an oyster schooner: it was about 12x10x7 in height. No light ever penetrated but one window let darkness out from this den and one small door gave exit to some of the mustiness; Eastman reported that he had accommodations for *sixty children*, but I saw only nine (9) cottonwood bunks, in which, if he made them double up, eighteen little children could be made wretched. It surpassed in cold-blooded disregard of the comfort of his scholars anything I have ever read of *Dotheboy's Hall* or of Rev. Mr. Crowley's *Shepherd's Fold*.

The Navajo chiefs became indignant at this outrage and withdrew their children from the unworthy Agent's care.

I had a long conversation with Mr. Damon, the Agency farmer and with Jesús, the Agency interpreter, relative to obtaining information bearing upon the Navajoes, but as something may occur to prevent me from coming again to this country I deem it only prudent to insert here the answers to the questions asked during this long interview. Mr. Damon has been Agency farmer since 1868 and Jesús was a captive among the Apaches before coming to live with the Navajoes.

The answers under Section II correspond so closely with those obtained from the Shoshonees and Bannocks that it is not worth while to repeat them here.⁴

4. In gathering ethnological data, Bourke follows the "sections" of the outline which he had prepared. (See N. MEX. HIST. REV., X, 281) The titles of the sections are as follows: I- Tribes; II- Births; III- Dress and Personal Adornment; IV- Toys, Games, Musical Instruments and Modes of Recreation; V- Personal Appearance; VI- Marriage and Divorce; VII- Residences; VIII- Implements and Uten-

Section III will be described in detail on next visit.⁵

Their dresses are generally of woolen goods, woven by themselves, or of buckskin which is generally stained black. Their moccasins are made without toe-shields and button over the instep like our low quarter gaiters.

Their neck-laces, bracelets, bangles and ear-rings are, as said above, of coral, chalchuitl, or silver, sea-shells and malachite are seen at times, but silver may be regarded as the typical Navajo ornament. The ear-ring is inserted at the lower extremity of the lobe only; is made in the form of a simple solid ring and is fastened by a sliding button at bottom . . . They make no use of masks, nose-rings, nose-sticks or labrets, arrange the hair in the simple way already described and freely apply vermilion or red ochre to the cheek-bones and fore-head. They are clean, lithe and muscular in appearance, handsome and intelligent in the face and nearly all understand more or less Spanish. Some of them speak Spanish fluently, notably Francisco, our cook of last night. Others again, as Captain Jack, one of General Hatch's principal scouts, converse freely in Navajo, Spanish, and English.

Section IV. Their children have about the same toys as those of the Shoshonees and also play with arrows—the game of “odd or even” only here 100 tally sticks are used instead of 40 as among the Shoshonees—the game of the Apaches played by casting a bundle of colored sticks against a flat stone and determining the value of the cast by the position of the fallen sticks with reference to a circumscribing circles of pebbles. The game of shinny, the game of foot-ball, and a maniac burlesque upon “Base Ball.”

The men and women are inveterate gamblers, and play with dexterity both kinds of “monte” and “cancan.” I looked at two or three games of monte to-day; the stakes ran as high as two or three silver dollars on a side. Their musical instruments to call them such, differ in no essential particular from those of the Shoshonees, but I was unable to find out that they ever used fiddles, made of the stalk of the century plant, as their blood relations the Apaches do. Both

sils of War and Peace; IX- Food; X- Colors, Dyes, Paints and Powders; XI- Standards of Measurements and Value; XII- Kinship; XIII- Tribal Government; XIV- War Customs; XV- Therapeutics; XVI- Mortuary Customs; XVII- Religion, Superstitions and Myths; XVIII- Miscellaneous.

5. The second visit will be related in Chapter XVIII below.

Mr. Damon & Jesus contended that their songs had no words to them; but were merely sounds.

Section V. They paint only the face in the manner herein described.

[Sec. VI] Girls marry at any time after ten, 12 to 15 being the more general average. The ceremony attending a girl's entrance to womanhood consists of a feast, where her parents can afford it, and much singing by the matrons. The young lady is decked with beads and other ornaments which she wears constantly for four or five days. Before marriage, girls assist their mothers in all household duties and where they assume the duties of wives, everything in the way of work that they can do, they do cheerfully. The men are good workers too and hire themselves out, whenever they can, to make adobes, herd sheep, or, at present date, to grade tracks for the Atlantic and Pacific R. R. Marriage is largely a question of purchase, but at times, strong-willed or impecunious young men seize their sweethearts and carry them off by main force. They are polygamists to the extent of their inclinations and ability to support their wives. They marry a brother's widow, or have the first refusal of her hand. Divorces are a matter of mutual convenience and may be permanent or transient; slight disagreements often eventuate in separation, in which case the woman takes with her all that she brought to her husband.

[VII] Their habitations, called "hogans," are made of stone or timber. Where stone is employed, after excavating a hole 12 ft. in diameter and 3 in depth, they build a semi-globular mound to a height of ten feet, by laying stones in regular courses, each course approaching the vertex lapping over a few inches on the course below it. An aperture is left at the apex for the escape of the smoke and a small hole with steps for an entrance. The building is next covered with dirt or mud and is ready for habitancy. If palisades be used, after the excavation is made, straight, rough cedar logs, of 12 or 15 ft. in length are placed firmly in the ground inclining toward each other at the top and these are covered with earth also. Inside the "hogan" may be seen rugs of sheep-skin, blankets and coverlids of wool woven in bright colors, many of these being of considerable beauty and value—crockery "ollas" and dishes from the Pueblo tribes of Zuni, Moqui, Laguna, Acoma or the Rio Grande, and the elegant baskets from the Apaches. A fire

in the center is a *sine qua non*, and a couple of squaws, two or three papposes and as many dogs complete the picture.

The weather in the Navajo country is generally so serene that their councils, without exception, are held in the open air: Their women are admitted to participation in these and don't hesitate to express their opinions when they feel called upon to do so. They are like other Indians in their firm belief in the efficacy of sweat lodges; these may be made like "hogans," but, generally are temporary structures of willow work and brush. Sweet grasses, when obtainable, are burned in both sweat lodges and "hogans."

They do not paint gentile emblems upon the outside of their residences, neither could I at this time, ascertain anything relative to their social organization.

[VIII] The Navajoes who were present at the Agency were poorly provided with warlike weapons, the most dangerous being the old-time Yager rifle. Bows arrows and lances are still retained in use, but shields have been discarded.

The only stone implement to be found among them now is the war-club.

They use pipes very rarely, and smoke their tobacco, kinni-kinnick and other substances in cigarritos wrapped in corn-husks. Their tobacco receptacles are of buckskin, and of beaten silver. Earthen ware they obtain from the Pueblo villages and basketry from the Apaches, principally, altho' they make some fair specimens themselves which they coat with piñon pitch to make them retain water.

They understand and practice the art of obtaining fire by rubbing two sticks together; one stick of hard wood is held vertically between the two hands and pressed into and revolved rapidly in a hole in the lower stick, in which hole a little sand is thrown and around it some dried grass, punk or dung.

[IX] They are extremely fond of fruit, especially apples and peaches and have considerable orchards of the latter; they eat piñons, acorns, grass-seeds, sun-flowers, wild potatoes, mescal (generally obtained from the Apaches.), the juicy inner coating of the pine tree, and plant small quantities of corn, wheat, beans, squashes and melons. They readily eat elk, deer, antelope, porcupines, beaver, mules and horses but will not touch bear, *dogs*, or fish. They come under the designation—chthonophagi—as they are eaters of clay, being very fond of an impure kaolin found in abundance in their country.

They have some horned cattle, a few goats and chickens, a goodly number of donkeys, about 30,000 ponies and (estimated) 1,500,000 sheep. All grinding of wheat, corn and seed is performed in metates.

Section X. In decorating, they make use of stained porcupine quills, (occasionally) shells and elk tusks (rarely) but (principally) beads of coral and chalchuitl. Their clothing, blankets, sashes, garters, and saddle cloths are of woolen fabrics woven by themselves, the prevailing styles being broad bands of red, white and black, relieved by a little diamond or triangular ornamentation, or a narrow banded check work in scarlet, black, purple, green and white. Their taste is very correct and the designs turned out from their simple looms will hold their own in comparison with the most pretentious examples of Persian or Turkish skill.

[XI] They use silver alone as money.

[XIV] They seem to have the custom of "coup" among them in this way; that, in hunting, it is the man who first puts an arrow or lance into the game that owns, even tho' he may not be the one to overtake and kill it.

[XV] Their "medicinemen" are arrant imposters whose favorite mode of treating desperate cases is to suck out from the affected arms, legs or body the beads which they allege have brought on all the trouble.

Their women bear the pains of child-birth with much less inconvenience than do their white sisters; their free mode of dressing and natural mode of living contribute to this comparative immunity from distress. It is generally believed that Indian women make light of child-bearing; this is far from correct. Where comfort and attentions cannot be secured, they bear with the stolidity of their race that which cannot be avoided; but, in all possible cases, they extend to their pregnant women the attention their delicate condition requires.

[XVI] They have no professional mourners, but they do seem to bury their dead with processional honors and other mortuary ceremonies. The corpse is decked in its best raiment and, if full grown, carried to the place of burial; if a child, two young men, friends of the family, carry it to the appointed spot. The burial is made in a full length position, feet to the East. Ollas, baskets and other utensils in the case of a female, and bows & arrows, if the corpse be that of a man, are next broken in or upon the

grave, which is sometimes marked by a heap of stones. The corpse-bearers returning to the village stop at a point designated by a blazing fire which has been kindled while the procession has been moving toward the grave and there wash their hands. The women keep up their lamentations so long as the humor may seize them, but beyond cutting the hair, do nothing in the way of disfigurement and mutilation.

"Ganado Mucho" (Heap of Cattle) and other chiefs rode in during the afternoon to hold a conference with General Hatch.

Colonel Bennett presented General Hatch with a fine Navajo blanket and myself with another and both General Hatch and I succeeded in buying each half a dozen blankets, rugs and such articles of Navajo manufacture. Mr. Leonard very kindly presented me with a pair of silver bangles and a pair of silver bridle rosettes, all made by the Navajos—these for myself and a very excellent bow and quiver full of arrows for General Crook. The quiver was a beautiful one of panther skin. Colonel Bennett desired me to say to General Sheridan and Gen'l Crook that he hoped, during the coming summer, to secure for each of them a fine Navajo blanket.

The treatment I have received from every one in this isolated station of Fort Defiance has been so cordial, unaffectedly good natured and generous that I would be lacking in common gratitude did I not refer to the matter in this feeble way in my journal.

Fort Defiance which deserves its name because its position is in defiance of nearly every principle of military science, is a wretched hole, but the people living there redeem the place most charmingly and fix my visit there as one of the pleasantest episodes of my life.

After supper, General Hatch held a council with the Navajo chiefs who had come into the agency. Only a small number was present, the shortness of the General's stay and the distance many of them would have had to come, preventing a larger attendance. The substance of the remarks made by the Indians was that they were extremely anxious to make their own living and not be dependent upon any outside source for supplies; that 12 years ago when they made peace with the Great Father, he had given them 12,000 sheep and told them to raise flocks and he would protect them in so doing and would also give them seed to put in the ground. They had listened to these words and taken good care of their flocks which had increased greatly, but as their

Reservation had so little water, they had been obliged to seek pasturage outside. Now the Railroads were approaching their country, bringing settlers who had taken up most of this outside grazing land and their flocks were crowded back upon the arid tracts of their own domain and were beginning to suffer. They had made in good faith an effort to raise crops and last year had sowed a large tract of land. (N.B. about 1000 A. J. G. B.); but first of all came a very high wind which blew all the seed out of the ground and when they had replanted and their crops were coming above ground, a freshet descended the stream and destroyed all the fruits of their labor. Consequently, until their next crop appeared, they would be dependent upon the government for help; $\frac{3}{4}$ of the tribe are now without supplies. They had been promised farming tools, but had received nothing except a few hoes; they most earnestly desired plows and axes. Since coming on the Reservation, their numbers had increased rapidly; a great many babies were born each year and only a few died.

General Hatch promised to make an urgent representation of their case to Washington and appeared to feel the importance of making instant provision for the support of this the most compact, powerful and formerly most warlike nation of savages in our country. The General spoke quite freely to Bennett and myself upon this subject which is assuming greater gravity from the different treatment accorded the Apaches and Utes, neighbors of the Navajoes and so recently on the war path. They have ample provision made for their support and as they are constantly running in and out among the Navajoes, (the Apaches speak the same language and the Utes are to some extent intermarried) keep up a feeling of irritation and a sense that the government is unjust in its dealings—that it is good to those whom it fears and neglectful of those who observe its counsels.

While our government has not provided food, it has purchased for them 68 doz. *lead castors*, which are still at the agency, in barrels *uncalled for*: and has laid out a boarding school, as already described.

The Railroads are bringing close to the Navajoes a wicked set of wretches who keep the young bucks supplied with the vilest whiskey.

April 26th, 1881. Tuesday. Returned to Wingate, making the 40 miles in 7 hours. Colonel DeCoursey pre-

sented me with three or four specimens of Zuni pottery—an owl, a rooster, and a couple of bowls—all most unique in their way.

On the grade of the R. R., not far from the Fort, we came across a band of Navajoes working at laying ties and shovelling dirt.

We ate our lunch at Hopkins' ranch. Mr. Bennett, a splendid specimen of physical power, said he was an old soldier from the 15th Infantry, and declined to receive any pay for the hospitality extended.⁶

During the two hours of our stay at the Post I made hurried calls upon the charming wife and sister-in-law of my old friend, General Bradley (now Colonel 13th Inf'ty).

A rapid drive of four miles brought us to the Rail Road station and the construction train; as our return journey was partly by daylight, I had a chance to see how the work of building this line had progressed. To supply water to gangs of graders and track-layers in arid sections, tank cars are run, each carrying several thousand gallons of good, cold water. A telegraph line runs along the Road, the wire being stretched on upright sleepers.

Commencing at the Arizona boundary, and running E. and N. E., past Fort Wingate and 50 miles farther, is the peculiar sandstone formation noticed in my trip to the Agency. It stands out boldly against the horizon, all its walls and angles as clear-cut and well defined as the parapets and salients of a master piece of military engineering. Near Blue Water, 40 m. E. of Wingate, the formation began to change, eruptive rocks making their appearance as basalt and black lava. Lava came in in small islets and mounds, gradually changing into large mesas and ridges and dykes. One of the latter alongside which the track runs for 5 miles, is traceable 14 m. back to its source, an extinct crater. A stream of pure water gushes out from under this dyke and trickles down to join the Rio Puerco of the East;⁷ this stream, I am told, is full of speckled trout. (The Rio Puerco of the East joins the Rio Grande: near its head waters, are those of the Rio Puerco of the West, an affluent of the Colorado.⁸)

A great deal of alkali is visible in the low flat places near the Rail Road; the heat of the sun draws it as a saline efflorescence to the surface.

6. This Bennett at Hopkins' ranch should not be confused with Col. F. T. Bennett, Navaho agent at Fort Defiance.

7. Known today as the Rio de San José, flowing eastwards into the Puerco.

8. Through the Little Colorado. Of course the Continental Divide separates these two streams.

The last I saw of the country was a flow of lava, a petrified black sea, such as the Ancient mariner might have come across in his wanderings; the iron horse ploughs his path through it for 5 miles. As lava is not a very compact rock, the engineers experienced some trouble in blasting, but the fragments make excellent track ballast.

Before retiring, I had a long conversation with General Hatch who gave not only an interesting recital of his services during the war, but of those since performed against the Indians in Texas, Ind'n Territory, New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona and Chihuahua (Mexico). Then of his early career at sea, and voyaging up the Amazon, and finally in the lumber regions of Minnesota.

General Hatch is an unusually handsome man, tall, finely proportioned and powerful, head finely shaped, hair white, eyes keen and penetrating, expression of countenance firm, intelligent and good natured.

The conductor of the freight train (to which we changed at Crane's) kindly made down berths for us and, wrapped in General Hatch's Navajo blankets our sleep was sound, until we were awakened at Albuquerque, N. M., at 2 a. m. on the morning of

April 27th, 1881. At the moment of stepping upon the platform, two high-toned gentlemen of the town were blazing away with pistols at each other a little farther up the street. Unfortunately neither was killed. General Hatch and I then entered what was said to be the "toniest" rum mill of the town, and took a glass of whiskey, which with a good coffee and a sandwich made a middling good breakfast. The establishment, the barkeeper politely informed us, was kept open day and night, Sunday and Monday, and was doing a rushing business. Albuquerque, a very old town of the Mexicans, is now noted for being the center of a growing R. R. system of considerable consequence and the place of resort of swarms of the hardest characters of the East and West.

Loaded down with all kinds of plunder—Indian pottery, Navajo blankets, baskets, bows and arrows, and our personal baggage, we patiently awaited the approach of the train from the South. In the gray of the dawn, it appeared and without a moment's delay started for Lamy.

On the way up to that point, I saw much to admire in the scenery of the Rio Grande Valley, so tame and uninteresting farther to the North. Here, it is laid out in broad

fields, irrigated and ready for the coming crop. Dozens of villages, of Mexicans and Indians, dot the thread of the stream, each embowered in a grove of fruit trees in full blossom. Across the valley, scores of acequias, large and small, wound between rows of fresh young sentinel cottonwoods which completely concealed the precious treasure of limpid water they were carrying to the parched fields, excepting where here and there it sparkled like jewels of price through rifts in the foliage. The morning was far enough advanced to throw a roseate flush over the dome of the sky and enable us to distinguish clearly, every village, house, barn and orchard in the landscape: and in one word, I may say the effect was enchanting.

At Lamy, General Hatch and I took breakfast and then separated, he to return to Santa Fé, and I to continue on to Atchison, Kansas.

During our brief tarry at Fort Wingate, I had the great pleasure of making the acquaintance of Mr. Cushing, of the Smithsonian Institute, who has been living among the Zuni Indians since last summer.⁹ They have regularly adopted him into the tribe, made him a chief and invested him with their costume. Noticing a string of sea-shells around his neck, I inquired whence they came. "From the Pacific Ocean; the Zunis make pilgrimages there every four years." Cushing is a man of intelligence, persistency and enthusiasm, just the character to carry to a successful conclusion the mission he has undertaken.

Leaving Lamy, our train soon entered "Glorieta Cañon," the site of an engagement between U. S. Vols. and Texan rebels in 1861.¹⁰ There is much pine timber of small size and the scenery is picturesque. On the East side of the cañon, we came in full view of the ruins of the "Pecos church," built by the missionaries years ago for the benefit of a pueblo, which becoming decimated by disease, finally merged in with the people of Jemez.

9. Frank Hamilton Cushing had accompanied the Powell expedition to New Mexico in 1879 and had been left at Zuñi at his own request. When Bourke met him, Cushing was already deeply versed in Zuñi lore and had been made a member of the Macaw clan. Later Bourke expressed his warm regard for Cushing and the work he was doing in interviews which were published in the papers of Omaha, Chicago, and elsewhere.

10. This important battle which saved New Mexico for the Union occurred late in March, 1862.

Dined at Las Vegas (the Meadows), a bustling, growing town, situated in the center of broad, fertile farm lands. Supper at Raton (mouse) at the foot of the Rocky Mts.: here we took on two powerful engines and began to climb over the Continental Divide. In the pass, there appears to be a good deal of coal, indications and outcroppings being abundant. At the summit, we entered a long tunnel, having passed which, we had easy work to get down a long, steep descent to Trinidad. This is another Mexican town which like its neighbors, Pueblo, Santa Fé, Albuquerque, and El Paso, has awakened to new life under the influence of the pushing, busy Yankee. When I was last here in 1869, it was as a worn-out sleepy passenger on the overloaded stage running from the terminus of the R. R. in Kansas to Santa Fé. No one was then sanguine enough to dream of a Rail Road to Santa Fé and to every important point in New Mexico and Arizona; certainly not in our generation.

April 28th, 1881. A disagreeable, cold Kansas "blizzard" tormented us all day. We were bowling over the interminable plains of Kansas. Stretching on all sides to the clouds, without any more undulation of surface than a wind-rippled sea, the total absence of timber confirmed the resemblance to ocean travel. For a number of hours we kept down the valley of the placid Arkansas, but at noon this diverged to the S. and left us to continue our journey in a belt of land unrelieved by any attraction. The land seemed well adapted for farming and the careful fencing, the comfortable dwellings and the great flocks of sheep gave the idea that farming had not been without profit. This former home of the buffalo has not now a single one of those noble creatures within her borders.

April 29, 1881. (Friday). Reached Topeka, Kansas, at 2 a. m. Took the chaircar on the branch line to Atchison (60 m.), which we reached at 5 a. m. Put up at the Union Depot Hotel, had a nice nap, good breakfast and refreshing shave. Telegraphed my whereabouts to General Williams.

All communications between Atchison and the country to the North and East had been destroyed by the great flood in the Missouri River, which at Atchison was five miles wide, 20' @ 30' deep, and was rushing along with the overwhelming power of the ocean, sweeping before it houses and farms, fences and barns. This flood has wrought immense destruction at Council Bluffs, Iowa, East Atchison,

and Kansas City, Mo. Omaha, Neb., has escaped with scarcely a scratch demonstrating that *there* is the safest point on the Missouri for the investment of capital. Not seeing any other way of escaping from this point, I hired a buggy for \$7.50 to take me 20 m. to Troy, the junction of the "Atchison and Nebraska," with the "Saint Joseph and Denver" R. R.

Atchison is an important R. R. town: it is touched by the "Burlington," "Rock Island," "Topeka and Santa Fé," "Hannibal and Saint Joseph," "Missouri Pacific," and the "Central Branch" of the last named line. It has a great many respectable brick buildings and many marks of wealth and prosperity.

Our drive was over a rough road, coursing around steep hills, tracked by freshly made furrows or emerald with the tender blades of wheat. Solid farmhouses of stone and brick, with huge barns well filled with grain and hay, and their fields dotted with herds of cattle, flocks of sheep and chickens and droves of swine made a scene of contentment and prosperity, pleasant to contemplate, and made one forget the horrible winter through which all this Western country has so lately passed. Upon all the orchard trees, multitudes of blossoms gave hope of a rich crop of fruit in the coming summer; tiny violets peeped out from every shaded nook, rich green grass and young wheat covered the sunny slopes and the silver-voiced meadow lark sang its blithesome song in defiance of the gloomy sky and raw, chilly East wind.

There was not much timber on our line of travel; in places, groves of planted cottonwoods, but fine orchards in every favorable spot. All houses and barns of good size, and frequently of tasteful appearance.

Troy Junction is a straggling country town, the seat of a large trade with a rich farming region. It is at the intersection of the two R. R.'s. already mentioned and is 20 m. from Atchison, (14 by R. R.) 11 from Saint Jo., Mo., 238 from Grand Island, Neb., and about 100 S. from Lincoln, Neb.

Put up at the Higby House and ate a good dinner served by a motherly landlady.

April 30th, 1881. Saturday. Had an early breakfast at 6 a. m. Smart rain fell for an hour or two. At 8, the train came in from Wahtheena, the nearest point to Saint Jo. Learned the welcome news that the Missouri had fallen

a foot last night at Saint Jo., which means, of course, that it has subsided still more at Omaha. The Saint Jo. & Western R. R. runs along the Northern tier of Kansas counties and the Southern of those of Nebraska.

At Marysville, half way between Saint Joseph and Grand Island, there is a branch line of the B. and M. R. R. to Omaha, via Lincoln; this I had hoped to be able to take, but found to my regret that the floods had practically destroyed it and no trains were in operation.

The country traversed is a broad rolling prairie, of rich black soil, cut up by numerous timbered ravines all well filled with perennial streams. By all odds, it is the prettiest piece of farming land I've seen since starting back from Arizona. At Hanover, a little village in the middle of a broad prairie, is the intersection with the main line of the Burlington & Missouri River R. R.

A little N. W. of Hastings, we crossed the Platte river, like the Arkansas bankfull. Half an hour after, we reached Grand Island. Here I put up at the R. R. Hotel, kept by my friends Mr. and Mrs. Chauncey Wiltze.

May 1st, 1881. Sunday. Took the U. P. Passenger for Omaha, which we reached on time.

May 4th, 1881. Wednesday. Lieutenant Schwatka, 3rd Cavalry, called upon me. Schwatka's card was peculiar in its way, consisting of a piece of board with his name scrawled on it in lead pencil.

None of our mess having seen Schwatka since his departure for the North Pole, 3 years ago, the conversation at dinner this evening related largely to former services together and to the numerous pranks in which our friend had been engaged. While serving in the Dep't of the Platte, Schwatka was stationed at the (old) Spotted Tail Agency, N. W. Nebraska, where, finding time hang heavily upon his hands, he gathered as strange a menagerie, for its size, as ever was seen. It included among other items, a young owl, a pair of cayotes, a pair of wild cats, 2 or 3 young deer and I don't know what else besides. Schwatka gave a very amusing description of this menagerie and said that once Captain (then Lieutenant) W. P. Clark, 2nd Cavalry, came up to see him. They had been "drinking freely," as Schwatka expressed it, and after retiring to rest Clark suffered from an all-consuming thirst. He arose from his couch, wandered around in the darkness hunting for water

and in a trice ran in upon the wild cats which scratched him badly. His mind was bewildered by sleep, by the darkness and to some extent no doubt, by whiskey, so that he failed to grasp the situation. He couldn't understand what brought those strange animals to that room; so groping his way to another room, (Schwatka was living in a large building) he encountered the cayotes and while he was striving to collect his faculties and make out what it all meant, the owl flew at him, perched on his head and sank its claws in his skull. At the same moment, Clark was sure he heard two or three people running around the room on *stilts* (they were the fawns, moving about in their peculiar, stiff-legged manner), and this satisfied him he "had 'em" sure enough. He threw himself into his bed, covered his head with the blanket and remained concealed until morning. This is Schwatka's side of the story; I have not yet heard what Clark has to say.

May 5th, 1881. Thursday. With Schwatka, calling upon people in Omaha, all day.

May 7th, 1881. Passed a delightful evening at the house of Mrs. G. S. Collins, Miss Horbach,¹¹ Miss Wakely, and Mr. Charles Ogden.

May 10th, 1881. Busy all day packing clothes &c. and passed the afternoon & evening in calling upon friends in the post and in town—the Lovingtons, Horbachs, Watsons, Savages and others.

Chapter XVI

PRELIMINARY WORK AT ZUÑI

May 11th, 1881. Rec'd a very pleasant personal letter from Lieut.-General Sheridan, in reference to the prosecution of my work under his orders. Bade adieu to Gen'l Crook, Roberts, Williams, Ludington, Col. & Capt. Stanton, Col. Burnham, Gen'l King, the Bachelors' Mess. (Foote, Palmer, Lee's, Hay.) and started for Santa Fé. Passing through town saw several of my best friends and on the train met numerous pleasant acquaintances whose society as far as Cheyenne served to make time fly with rapidity. There were Mr. Vining of the Union Pacific, S. S. Stevens of the Rock Island, Lt. Reynolds, 3rd Cav'y, Mr. Rustin of the Omaha Smelting Works and his young son, Mr. Barklow of

11. The young lady who, two years later, was to become his wife.

Omaha, Drs. Coffman and Mercer and Mr. Congdon of the U. P. R. R. and his son. The last four were proceeding hurriedly to North Platte to attend to Mr. Congdon's nephew, who had met a serious accident, involving a strangulated hernia which they feared might end fatally. Lt. Reynolds was returning to Regimental Hd. Qrs., Fort Russell, Wyo., from the wedding of Cap't McCauley, A. Q. M. Besides the above we had in our two sleepers the Raymond Theatrical Company, thus representing all moods, sentiments and interests. Mr. Vining who has utilized every moment of his leisure in hard studies in philology interested me immensely by his conversation upon the subject of Indian dialects, from which I drew many hints for future use.

The weather which for the past week had been sultry and unpleasant to a degree, culminated this afternoon in a violent storm of hail & rain, the effect of which was delightful in the coolness of the evening air, enabling us to enjoy the scenery of the picturesque valley of the Platte, green with the interminable fertility of Nebraska.

May 12th, 1881. Morning bright, cool, and fair, excepting a few broken masses of cloud, reminders of yesterday's storm.

At Sidney, Neb., met Col. Gentry, 9th Inf'y, Price, Adam and Waite, 5th Cavalry. Mr. Stevens, Mr. and Mrs. Vining and Mr. Barklow, kept on with me to Denver where we were separated, they going to the Windsor and I to Charpiot's, an excellent hotel.

May 13th, 1881. Took 8 a. m. Denver and Rio Grande train for Pueblo. A long file of impatient ticket-buyers waited behind a woman who was employing a good deal of useless energy in the effort to have a couple of extra trunks passed to her destination without paying for them. The ticket-agent was deaf to all persuasion, but she remained at her post trying our patience to the utmost. Miracles sometimes happen; that woman's jaw became tired and we had a chance to buy our tickets.

We had a lovely day; the temperature was warm without any approach to undue heat, the sky was clear as sapphire, and the scenery lovely to look upon. Fields and hills were covered with rich green, the trees were in full foliage and back of all in the Western horizon rose the blue and gray line of the Rocky Mountains, the higher peaks still retaining their bridal purity of white. Lt. Erwin, 4th

Cav'y, was a fellow passenger as far as Pueblo, where I found 4 cos. of the 4th Cav'y. & 3 of the 6th Inf'y. all moving out to the Uncompahgre Ute Agency in S. Colorado. I knew only a few of the officers—in fact, I think, only one—Wint of the 4th, whom I met in Kansas City, Mo., when I was a member of a Horse Board last year.

The last time I passed through Pueblo (April 1881), I spoke of the great improvements noticed; I forgot to say it has a street car line and several brick yards, and bids strongly to become in a few years more a dangerous rival of Denver. The American element is changing everything with the rapidity of lightning; yet, I observed a half dozen Mexican women washing linen in an acequia, in the good old fashioned way, pounding them between flat rocks. Changed cars at Pueblo to the train of the Atchison Topeka & Santa Fé, which ran along the timber-clad line of the Arkansas for 63 m. to La Junta, where I had to get out to await the arrival of the Westward-bound express.

During the past 2 days, have read General Simpson's sketch of Coronado's march (1540),¹ which is a most pleasant article, very carefully considered and entitled to respectful attention. But I think that Simpson has fallen into an error in making Old Zuni² the seven cities of Cibola: having to employ the egregiously defective map of the Engineer Corps in use at the time of preparing his essay, Simpson makes Coronado march in a straight N. E. line from Chichil-tecale (Casa Grande) to Zuni, which would require the passage of mountains, and cañons of the most rugged nature: whereas, right in front of Casa Grande, across a narrow desert is the junction of the Verde and Salt Rivers, the former flowing for a long distance nearly N. and S. Down this river runs at the present day the trail made by the Moquis in coming and going to and from Prescott to sell their peaches and blankets and to buy our commodities. There can be no reasonable doubt that in 1540, they had the same general line of travel to the country of the Pimas, who lived along the Salt river, near the mouth of the Verde, as well as on the Gila and Santa Cruz. Neither can there be any doubt that Coronado as a good soldier, took the precaution of sending out an advance-guard to learn the lay of the land and to ascertain the best course to pursue. The very

1. In the Smithsonian Annual Report of 1869.

2. Bourke always spells Zuñi without the tilde. Ethymologically the tilde is correct, if Cushing was right as to the Cochitian (Keresan) origin of the name: Sunyi. See Bureau of American Ethnology, *Seventh Annual Report*, index.

authorities cited by Simpson assert as much and though their account of the march after leaving Chichiltecale, is given in vague & indefinite terms, there is nothing in it to militate against the theory I advance, which besides has every physical fact in its favor. The Verde route would furnish a sufficiency, at times, an abundance of water, wood and grass, besides its directness, running N. E. across the skirt of the S. Francisco Mtns. to Moqui. I can hardly reconcile myself to the idea that Coronado would forego all these advantages for the pleasure of scaling mountains and descending cañons which in 1870-1875 were regarded with dread by young soldiers of ambition and courage, in fair quantities. Without pretending to introduce it as evidence of great weight, I may here allude to the curious ruin found by Lt. Almy and myself in 1872, on the Upper Verde,³—a ruin satisfying all conditions as a place of defense and storage of supplies, and which *may* have been constructed by some of Coronado's advance parties. The description of the place where Coronado was wounded, accords singularly well with that of Moqui, at this moment; the Moqui towns are *seven* in number, lying within 3 miles of each other. Zuni has but *one* town, and two or three small farming villages, not permanently occupied. General Simpson's translation (which I am satisfied is correct and trustworthy, as I have not seen the originals) says that Acoma was 5 days from Cibola, but if Cibola be Zuni, Acoma being less than 60 miles from there and about 120 m. from Moqui, the latter distance would appear to represent more closely the distance traversed by veteran soldiers and Indians, inured to the climate and noted for pedestrian performances. Espejo's statement that when he reached Zuni, he found there some of the Indians who had come in with Coronado and that *that* place was Cibola may be taken for what it is worth; he says in the same breath that these men had been so long at Zuni, they were unable to speak *their own* language with facility and as they never knew his to any great extent the difficulty of communicating with them and the dangers of falling into mistakes will be understood and appreciated by those who have had any dealings with savages at the present day; when a treaty such as that concluded with the Utes last autumn, whose provisions were explained to them with such care, was so completely misunderstood that the Utes can now claim they never ceded the lands for which they ac-

3. See N. MEX. HIST. REV., IX, 425-427.

cepted \$60,000 of our money! The branch expedition to Tusayan, which Simpson says went to Moqui in my opinion went to the ruins, N. of those villages and within close proximity to the grand cañon of the Colorado.

The above views I endeavored to elucidate in a letter to the Rev'd. E. E. Hale, of Boston (written in February 1881.) It should be remarked that the Pinal Mountains are out of position on Simpson's map. This criticism is inserted here to preserve some of the "points" which I hope to more clearly establish after my examination of this country shall have been concluded.

"La Junta" is simply what its name indicates, "the junction" of two Railroads—in a little village on the banks of the Arkansas. Here I ran against my old friend Mr. Hiram Stevens of Arizona, formerly delegate from that T'y. We had an enjoyable talk about many of my old friends in Tucson and other parts of the T'y and then withdrew to the room we were to occupy. I copied a very amusing "notice" pasted to the wall.

"*Notice.* Gentlemen occupying this room will please remove their boots before retiring and also will please not expectorate in the foot-bath as that is not what it is intended for—By order of the proprietor, (signed) R. Jeffries, clerk."

May 14th, 1881. Had to get out of bed at 1 a. m. to take the train for Santa Fé; altho' it was pulling 3 Pullmans, not a berth was vacant. The passenger coaches were also filled and it was with difficulty we secured seats.

Trinidad, on the Purgatoire, a pretty mountain tributary of the Arkansas, is growing wonderfully, on account of coal and coke industries fostered by the R. R. It possesses a large number of nice houses, some of them of brick. The D.&R.G. road has a branch running to Mora, only 3 m. from Trinidad. With the extension of this to the latter place, which no doubt will be effected shortly, Trinidad will assume increased importance.

Raton pass was gaily decked with green grass and pretty flowers, but our enjoyment of the scenery was marred by the entrance of a gang of low Mexican women, accompanied by still viler American men. My experience with all grades of life, assures me that the vilest whelps on the face of God's earth are degraded Americans.

4. The views above expressed are interesting but they are not those now accepted either as to the route of Coronado or as to the identity of Cibola. Cf. Cushing, *Zuñi Breadstuff* (1920), pp. 129, 361.

We breakfasted at Raton, which seems to be a collection of grog-shops, on the slope of the Rocky Mountains. The meal, as all meals I have eaten on the Santa Fé line, was quite good. Having passed the divide, we entered a very lovely country; broad plains carpeted with tender grasses and flowers, and low table-lands, breaking the contour of the surface every few thousands of yards. In the distance to the North, were elevated peaks upon whose hoods of snow, the warm spring sun has as yet made no impression. Bold knolls of flinty limestone, shaded with stunted cedar, pine and piñon and mounds of black lava began to press in upon our line of travel: these have yielded excellent material for the construction of the road-bed which will soon be unexcelled in this country. The Topeka & Santa Fé people realize the economy of building solidly at the start; their rails are steel, their "stations" are nearly all of stone, their tanks are capacious and upon solid foundations and the ballast of the road will soon be altogether of stone. On one of the side tracks was standing a construction train, the roofs of the cars decorated with cactus in full flower.

We ran along the banks of the Mora, (Mulberry) a pretty stream, recently very troublesome with swollen currents threatening the grade and necessitating a good deal of masonry rip-rapping.

While crossing the Rocky Mtns. this morning, the air was too chilly for comfort; in the lower elevations, a more genial temperature and balmy breezes awaited us.

Flocks of sheep and frisky lambs, goats with their kids and donkeys with their young were to be seen at every point, each flock or herd under the care of a diminutive, swarthy "muchacho" who gazed stolidly at the train whirling by.

"Las Vegas" is situated in a fine meadow land, well cultivated in places; this town is putting in gas and water works and "there is some talk" of a street car line. Four miles distant are the famous Hot Springs which I hope to be able to see some time during the coming summer. Mr. Stevens concluded to remain over for one day at this point. In the Apache cañon near Glorieta, is a quarry of limestone, worked by the R. R. company. It is the finest limestone I've ever seen; compact crystalline, clear white, hard, and obtainable in blocks of any desired dimensions.

In the Pecos Valley is the old ruined church and Pueblo, already referred to and to be visited, if possible, this summer.

A sprinkling of rain fell this afternoon.

This Apache cañon, called erroneously Glorieta Cañon in the notes of my last trip, must have been a terrible place for ambushades of those cruel & wily savages during the years they held sway in this region. In and around Glorieta, the pines increased in number and size, some being of very respectable height and the source of great piles of ties and telegraph poles piled up for the use of the R.R. company.

Met the Rev'd Dr. McNamara, an Episcopal clergyman doing duty at Las Vegas and Santa Fé, and formerly stationed in Omaha; with him were Rev'd. Mr. Cossett and wife, the latter very handsome.

At Lamy, changed cars for Santa Fé and at Santa Fé, put up at the Exchange Hotel. Paid my respects to Gen'l & Mrs. Hatch and called upon Major Van Horn, Lieut. Goodwin and Mrs. Lee.

May 15th, 1881. A lovely bright morning. The papers contain a telegraphic statement that Lt. Cherry, 5th Cavalry, was on the 12th instant killed by highwaymen, not far from his station at Fort Niobrara, Neb. Poor Cherry entertained me very hospitably last November and was one of the officers of the Thornburgh Expedition, I saw at Milk River, Colo., in Oct. 1879.

Met Mr. Posey Wilson of Cheyenne and "Captain Jack" Crawford, "the poet-scout," who served under General Crook in the campaign of 1867.⁵

Lunched with the Woodruffs: our conversation referred to Conline who was in Santa Fé during my last visit, and has since, poor fellow, developed a violent type of insanity and is now confined in the Government Asylum, near Washington, D. C.

At 2 p. m. took train for Lamy Junction where I met Cols. Lee and McKibbin and Mr. Stevens. A brisk rain beat down upon us, as we were moving through the Indian Pueblos of Santo Domingo and San Felipe, the latter extremely pretty. Their orchards promise an abundant yield of fruit, their fields are all planted and their acequias bank-full of water promise all the moisture needed to ensure good crops.

5. Crawford was touring at this time as a lecturer, and had appeared at the Garcia Opera House in Santa Fé, the night of April 7. The State Historical Society has an old handbill which announced his talk on "The Camp Fire and the Trail: a Story of Thrilling Adventure Graphically Related."

Low black lava mesas bound the valley of the Rio Grande between Lamy & Albuquerque.

At Albuquerque, I left the train hoping to connect with one on the Atlantic and Pacific road: in this I was not successful, but I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. F. W. Smith, of the A&P road, a very bright gentleman, much interested in all pertaining to the Indians of the N. W. New Mexico and Arizona.

The baggage-master at the depot inadvertently locked up all my baggage in the store-room, leaving me to grope my way in a drenching rain, but fortunately without any encumbrance, along the street rail road track to the Armijo House, a hotel just built and opened in the "new town." This new Albuquerque is a noisy place; its streets are lined with gin-mills, each with its "accordeon fiend" warbling forth his strains to the delight of an audience of open-mouthed miners, train-hands and "tender-feet."

The "Armijo" is not a bad hotel in appearance and being brand new has not yet had a chance to become dirty. In the parlor, a squad of ladies and gentlemen were torturing the ears of night with their ideas of vocalization: they did fairly well with a couple of negro camp-meeting songs which sufficed as an excuse, if excuse were needed, in Albuquerque, for classifying their entertainment as a "sacred concert." They sang selections from Pinafore too, but sang them so wretchedly that their violation of the *Sabbath* was degraded to a venial offense in the presence of their more heinous crime of singing which merited hell-fire any day of the week. They regaled my ears with this musical banquet, until long after midnight. Not having any weapons with me, they escaped unharmed.

A gentleman at the R.R. depot, this evening showed me a quantity of delicious strawberries and beautiful flowers, raised in the "old town," he said.

May 16th, 1881. The train leaving Albuquerque this morning was composed of a long line of freight cars, with one "combined" coach to carry passengers, mail and express.

Last night's plenteous rain had laid all dust and made the air fresh and bracing and with the immaculate blue sky above him one could not help feeling how true are the praises lavished upon the climate of the valley of the Upper Rio Grande.

6. El Rito took its name from the Rio de San José. As indicated below, it was six miles east of Old Laguna.

At El Rito^o stopped for dinner in an unpromising woodshed, but the proprietor, Mr. Sheridan, disappointed us most agreeably. The bill of fare was not very pretentious, but composed of well cooked food—a rich broth, good fresh bread, boiled potatoes, beans, stewed mutton, apple pie and coffee. The sugar bowls & salt cellars were bric-a-brac that would have set Eastern collectors crazy with envy; they were of ornamented ware, made by the Pueblos of Laguna, 6 m. distant. Mr. Sheridan had a strikingly handsome face and head; he said he had wandered all over the world from the place of his birth, Charleston, S. C.—to Great Britain, India, China, Japan and Australia. Noticing my interest in pottery, he displayed a great number of specimens, all odd & not a few very beautiful. A dozen or more of the Indians were hanging around the door, waiting to sell their wares to the passengers. Not having the least bit of room in my valise, I had to content myself with an earthen duck and a painted cup, my purchases costing me the sum of just (15) fifteen cents. These Indians, like all the Pueblos, I've seen, are very short, but strongly built; their faces are decidedly good.

The R.R. companies permit them to ride up and down to their heart's content and not a train passes along without a half-dozen or so availing themselves of the privilege. The track cuts through the middle of their town which is on the Rio Puerco (of the East) about 75 m. from Albuquerque. This band have not confined themselves to the town proper, but under the security now afforded them, have branched out into a considerable number of dwellings, standing alone or grouped in hamlets too small to be called towns. Each of these has its strip of cultivated land, its irrigating ditches dug at an immense expenditure of labor, and its orchards of peach trees. In one field not a stone's throw from the cars, the Indians were plowing with the rude wooden instrument of this country. This was fastened to the horns of a pair of small oxen, driven by one of the Indians and led by the other. Saw a mill-stone of *lava*.

15 m. beyond Laguna is the pueblo of "Acoma," composed of 3 small villages, a stone's throw apart.⁷ Close to Acoma, I noticed mesas formed of lava and sandstone in juxtaposition, the lava on top: on summit and flanks, these mesas had a straggling growth of scrub cedar, not suffi-

7. This was "Little Acoma," then the seasonal residence of many of the Acoma Indians who came north from old Acoma to find irrigable land along the river. Bourke did not see the old pueblo and the Enchanted Mesa at this time.

ciently plenty to hide the surface beneath. On a promontory projecting from one of these mesas, saw another pueblo, of very small size, containing not over a dozen houses: we should not have noticed its existence had not our train been chased by a parcel of white-toothed, bright-eyed children whose voices rang out in musical laughter as they emulated each other in a frolicsome attempt to overhaul us.

The valley of the Pueblo, and indeed nearly all the country thus far penetrated by the line of the Atlantic and Pacific R.R. consists of a succession of broad flat fields, bounded by low mesas of lava and sand stone. These fields lie well for good drainage and are filled with rich soil, the decomposed lava of the bluffs, mixed with sand and clay. All they need is irrigation to make them bloom as a garden. Artesian wells would furnish all the water needed and would, I am convinced from the looks of the country, strike it at a moderate depth, say within 300 ft. A gentleman on the train told me that the R.R. had struck water at 60 ft. but that very likely was an exceptional instance. Were our Government to expend a small sum in the demonstration of this fact, a stream of colonists would quickly set in upon these lands and draw from them rich harvests of wheat and sub-tropical fruits, such as oranges, figs, olives, grapes and raisins, almonds, peaches &c.

Going from the station to the Fort,⁸ had the company of Mr. Small, U. S Mail agent a very intelligent companionable gentleman.

Put up with Col. DeCoursey and called upon General Bradley and family before going to bed.

May 17th, 1881. Put in a good day's work upon my journal; also called upon Gen'l Bradley to arrange about my transportation to Zuni, and finally visited the Great Spring, by which the post is built. This is a stream of very good size, especially for such a dry climate. It supplies more than enough water for all the needs of the post, where at present nine companies of cavalry and Infantry are stationed and much building is going on.

May 18th, 1881. (Wednesday). After breakfast, left post, going nearly due S. climbing a steep grade for about 3 or 4 miles, the flank of the mountain being plentifully covered with piñon, scrub cedar, scrub oak and occasionally, stunted pine. From the summit, a fine view was obtained

8. Fort Wingate.

of the surrounding country which was seen to be a series of plateaus, or perhaps it might be better to say one plateau seamed and gashed with countless ravines and cañons. There was a great deal of timber to be seen, chiefly of small growth, but there was little water.

To my surprise we now entered a very pretty park, a thick forest of pine encircling little grassy glades. The driver said that a fine spring poured out of the ground a mile to the left of our trail. Several wagons loaded with ties for the rail road passed us. The timber along this part of road was of good size. This plateau is, undoubtedly, a prolongation of the Mogollon of Arizona.

The formation is generally sandstone; limestone crops out occasionally and a kiln is now burning, a half mile to L., for the use of Wingate.

We found the weather delightful, on this elevated tableland; the sky, as it so generally is in Arizona & New Mexico, was faultless and the temperature so balmy that the birds in the swaying pine tops were stimulated to floods of melody.

Eight miles from Wingate, rested our team.

Here we were overtaken by a band of Navajoes, driving a large herd of several thousands of sheep and goats. We journeyed along with them, an odd procession of men, women, children, dogs, ponies, donkeys, sheep, goats lambs and kids—until we came to a very bad declivity when they turned off to the West and we soon lost sight of them.

Going down this bad grade, I left the vehicle (a buckboard) and walked in advance; the road cutting through a red clay soil, with out-croppings of what, in my hurried examination, I took to be lime-stone. At the foot of the hill, we entered the head of the valley of Nutria (Beaver) a pretty little glen—at that point not over $\frac{1}{4}$ mile wide. On each side were high bluffs of sandstone, covered in places with a scattering growth of pine. At foot of the bluffs, was a stretch of green grass and other herbage affording pasturage to several thousands of sheep and goats, under care of three or four Zuni children. A curious wall of sandstone, 50 ft. high ran down the center of the valley for 30 or 40 rods, its crest occupied by tiny black & white kids, not over a month old, which gazed at us in a grave eyed wonderment. A thousand yards farther, at an abrupt turn of the road around a projecting lodge of rocks, the valley suddenly widened to 1500-2000 yds; down its center a little brook, 5 ft. w.

and 6" deep wound its way, affording water for irrigating the wheat fields which here commence.⁹

At suitable points, small houses had been built to afford necessary shelter to the laborers, and a great many scare-crows were in position to scare away birds and predatory animals.

We crossed the stream at a stone dam of pine logs, stone and clay and entered the little pueblo of Nutria, one of the outlying towns of the Zunis, but occupied only during the season for planting and harvesting.¹⁰

Its situation is at the foot of a low hill, having enough wood for all purposes, and about 1500 yds. south of a very high ledge of sandstone which commands it completely and would make it untenable were hostile riflemen to post themselves in the cliffs. The soil of the valley, I should say, seems to be fertile and perhaps as much as 300 A. are under cultivation at this point. The houses of Nutria are small and intended apparently, for single families.

I entered one, built of flat small pieces of sandstone laid in mud, plastered smooth with lime, inside and out. Stone steps led up to the room I was invited to enter. Its dimensions were 12' x 14' by 6½' in height, the floor of packed earth, the ceiling of round pine saplings 5" in d., covered with riven slabs of same tree. The door was made with nails and secured by a chain. Light and ventilation were obtained through (3) three apertures in the wall; one 6"x14", filled in with *pieces* of glass; one large kept constantly open and 2'x4'; and the third filled in with a movable glass shutter of six small panes. Besides these, there were an opening in the ceiling 8"x8", covered with a smooth flat stone and the chimney opening out from the hearth at middle point of the north wall. This chimney was constructed upon sound principles and had a good draught; free from smoke.

My hosts were small in stature; the man not over 5'7"; expression of face good-natured; hair dishevelled but kept back from face by a fillet of old red calico. Moccasins of reddish brown buck-skin, rising above ankle and fastening on outside of instep with one silver button. Sole of raw-hide and toe protected by a small upraise nothing like so large as the *shield* of the Apaches, who live in a *cactus* country. He wore both leggings and under leggings; the latter

9. Bourke was now on one of the headwaters of the Zuñi river.

10. Several years later, an attempt by General Logan and his relatives to pre-empt this land from the Zuñis aroused some very unsavory publicity.

of blue worsted, the former of buckskin, both reaching to the knee and there held in place by red worsted garters. Loose drawers, shirt and breech-clout, all of cotton cloth, once white; shirt worn outside of pants and drawers and open on outer side from knee down.

Two quite pretty but dirty children stood by me while writing; the younger dressed in a simple "slip" reaching to knees; the elder wearing, besides the slip, a jacket of American make. The smaller also had ear-ornaments, simple circlets of silver.

There were two squaws; one, gray-haired, old and wrinkled, whose life was nearly spent. Her dress was made much as that of the Navajo women—of blankets, fastened at right shoulder, but exposing left arm, shoulder and part of bust. A girdle of red worsted confined it at waist. In front, she wore an apron of coarse white manta, of which she also had a cloak, covering the shoulders. Around the neck was a collaret reaching to waist made of silver balls and quarter dollars and terminating in a pendant. Like the men, she wore woolen leggings, feet bare. The younger squaw was dressed entirely in "manta," but also wore moccasins, made as are all those seen here, perfectly plain. She had no jewels.

One side of the room was taken up with a scaffold, covered with fresh mutton, old clothing and a pile of sheepskins which they use as bedding.

There were also some coarse blankets of Navajo and Zuni make, and a rug, such as can be seen among the Moquis, made of strands of wool, with insertions of cayote¹¹ & rabbit fur. The cooking utensils were iron pots and crockery ware, the latter made by themselves. There were also two baskets, round & flat made of green willow twigs and coarse in construction. The table-ware, spoons, ladles, &c. were also of earthen ware, and in several cases pieces of old tin cans had been cleverly shaped to the same uses. Near the hearth were bundles of dried twigs for kindling. The food, besides the mutton above spoken of, consisted of two earthen platters of yellow and blue corn, parched with salt and a number of strings of mutton tallow and what I took to be dried sheep entrails. From a corner of this room, a little door, 15" w. by 4' high, led by a couple of steep steps down to a small store-room 8'x9' square, 6' in height, and 3½ ft. below the level of the one first entered. It contained a few

11. Bourke's spelling seems to represent the Anglo pronunciation, Kī'yōt.

farming implements, American shovels, hoes, forks, picks & axes and half a dozen large earthen jars and "ollas"; in a basin, on the floor was a *bunch* of tempered clay ready to be moulded into pottery. Three open slits in the walls, each 8"x10" gave light and air, besides what was afforded by the *two* chimneys in the corners of one wall. They were made thus: a platform ran from wall to wall and 2½ ft. above floor; upon this, the chimneys were built, of pine logs, mud and stone.

While I was writing, the younger squaw leaned over my shoulder, absorbed in interest at the rapid movement of the pencil over the paper. The old squaw kept on with her work grinding corn in a "metate." In the store-room, as I have called it, were also gourd spoons, hay brushes for cleaning, cooking utensils and an old Apache or Navajo basket.

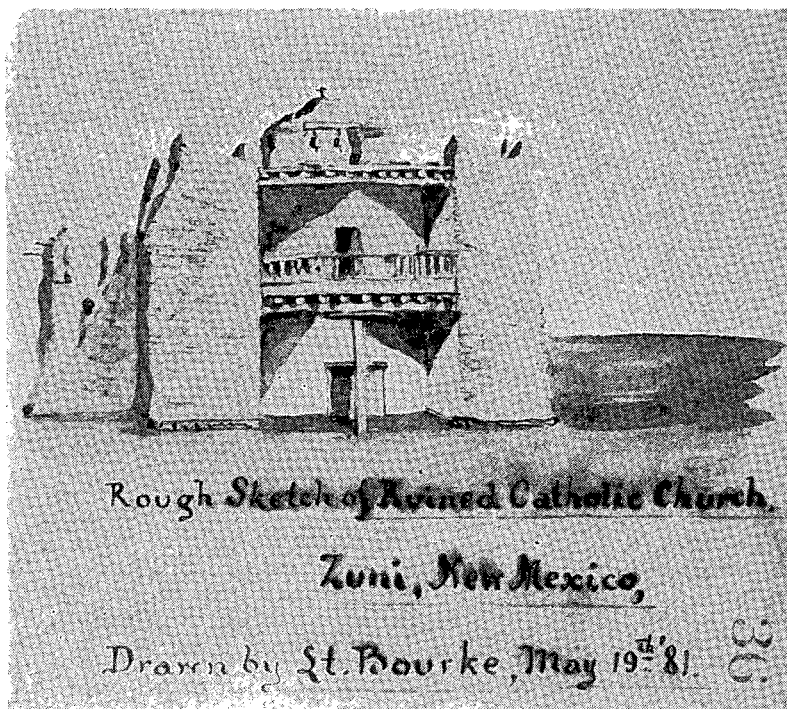
Descending a ladder, I reached a room of the same dimensions as the *first* and directly under it. The chimney was the same as that of the first room, opening up into it. The windows were four small affairs, each 6"x12", hermetically sealed with fragments of glass. Here was a large accumulation of stores, betokening thrift, foresight and comfort.

Boxes, bags and ollas, large and small, were filled with pumpkins dried in strips, with mutton tallow, corn meal, beans, blue corn in the ear, chile and pumpkin seeds, sheep bones (for marrow) corn husks (for kindling fires & smoking), any quantity of crockery, several large Apache baskets, and along the whole of one side ran a wooden bin, divided into four compartments with "metates" of varying fineness.

My host handed me food made, to judge from taste, of corn meal mixed with the juice of peaches. This food, I afterward learned to my great disgust was made by the young girls who first *chewed* the corn to a pulp & then set it out in the sun to ferment.

An old fragment of buffalo robe which my guide said was Ootay (Ute), a net raven hopping about and another coverlid of rabbit-skins, were the only other things I could see. I was offered "tortillas" which tasted sweet and palatable. Bought a wooden spoon.

This Nutria valley contains, I should say, about 4000 A. of arable land, 400 A. being irrigated by ditches laid out with wonderful skill. The town can accommodate 300 people but is unoccupied except during the season of planting and harvesting. The rest of the year not more than one or two



Rough Sketch of Ruined Catholic Church.

Zuni, New Mexico,

Drawn by J. G. Bourke, May 19th '81.

J.G.

(A SKETCH IN WATER-COLORS BY JOHN G. BOURKE, PASTED IN HIS NOTEBOOK
OF MAY-JUNE, 1881)

The only sign of life near the ruins was a gray burro who nodded his long ears at us as if to express a desire to open conversation.

Road became very sandy.

A mile W. of the old ruin, we passed between two very high sand stone mesas; that on left, 400' high, masked by a feeble growth of cedar: that on the R. 250' high, a solid mass of sandstone, with enough soil in the rock at intervals to afford life to a small number of stunted cedar bushes. In center of the pass is a "finger rock" of white sandstone at least 150' high. At this point there projects from the L. hand mesa a flying buttress pierced by a large elliptical orifice, through which the rays of the descending sun beamed with strange effect. At end of the pass we came upon another large herd of Zuni sheep, numbering 2,000 @ 3000.

Emerging from the pass, we entered a broad plain, dotted with high, isolated masses of sandstone, of enormous dimensions, some of them grand enough to be called peaks or mesas. The soil of the plain must be good as it supports a liberal growth of sagebrush, a sure indication. Here we came to another large flock of sheep and goats and in a moment or two more to the banks of a creek, dammed up to irrigate fields, protected by scare-crows and provided with the adobe shelters, seen up at Nutria. Three (3) miles farther we reached *Zuni*, a short time before dark. Put up at the Gov't forage Agency and store of Mr. Graham, where I met that gentleman, Dr. Ealy, Mr. Hathorn (the cook and assistant) and Mr. Cushing.¹²

Dr. Ealy is a missionary sent out with his wife by the Presbyterian Church. Mr. Cushing is the brother of Mr. Frank Cushing who, under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institute, has taken up a residence among the Zunis, been adopted into the tribe, learned the language & familiarized himself with the manners & traditions of this really strange people. Unfortunately, *he* was absent from the village, at the time of my visit, thus depriving me of a most invaluable guide. Hathorn, the cook, was formerly one of our packers during the Apache Campaign (1872-3) and being a great admirer of General Crook, extended me a reflection of the courtesy and attention he would have extended to my chief had he been present. First, my keen appetite did full justice

12. This was Mr. E. L. Cushing. See below.

to a plentiful supper of fried bacon, stewed dried apples, bread & tea.

Then I took an evening stroll about the town, more for the purpose of stretching my limbs than of attempting to describe it. This had been the day for plucking the sacred eagles, a dozen of which plundered monarchs of the air moped moodily in large wicker cages built upon the ground, in the corners of buildings in the street. Quantities of "green" pottery of every description were to be seen in every dwelling and other quantities of it burning in the gentle heat of blazing cow dung.

The clay used seems to have a proportion of talc and is mixed with *old* pottery, pounded to powder the fineness of sawdust. After the mass had been thoroughly kneaded with water, it is taken in lumps of suitable size into which the squaw inserts her thumb and by constantly but gradually enlarging this, keeping the mass wet all the time, it is made large enough to place upon a round stone of size convenient to serve as a table, held in left hand as a support. Upon this stone it is gently patted by a small piece of flat wood or gourd, and kept wet until it has attained the desired shape when it is carefully placed in the sun to dry. My description is obscure, but it is the best I can do.

Climbing up by ladders, I entered a number of the houses; many of the windows are of fragments of selenite (sulphate of lime) held in place by mud. Noticed dolls for children, made of wood, rudely cut out, but having backs of head decked with sheepskin & feather ornaments.

Mr. Hathorn and Dr. Ealy told met this evening that the Zunis have clans, one being the "parrot" clan (?) They say they came from the West and at one time lived on the Agua Fria in Arizona, where at Bowers Ranch, 15 m. from Prescott, may still be seen the walls of an old (so-called) Aztec residence. They still, at long intervals, make pilgrimages to the Ocean. Dr. Ealy says they have secret societies, much like those of the Sioux and Northern tribes.

May 19th, 1881. A cloudy morning. 3 of our mules last night jumped over the fence of the corral in which they were confined and made their way back on the road to Ft. Wingate. A promise of a reward of one dollar stimulated a couple of Zuni boys to go back after them and they were recaptured in less than no time.

The ruined church on the opposite page, I found to be 11 *paces* in width, 42 in length, and about 30 ft high in the

clear inside. The windows never had been provided with panes and were nothing but large apertures barred with wood. The carvings about the altar had at one time included at least half a dozen angels as caryatides, of which 2 still remained in position.¹³ The interior is in a ruined state, great masses of earth have fallen from the north wall; the choir is shaky and the fresco has long since dropped in great patches upon the floor. The presence of 5 or 6 different coats of this shows that the edifice must have been in use for a number of years. A small graveyard in front contained a few scarcely discernible graves and a squad of Zunis were digging a fresh one as I sketched, surrounded by a parcel of boys and girls and dogs.

Wandering about the town, I came upon numbers of cages, built upon the ground, each holding a grand looking eagle.

The Zunis, as I said yesterday, keep them for their feathers and one fierce bird still moped disconsolate for the loss of his splendid plumage stripped from him last evening.

Diminutive garden patches scattered in various parts of the pueblo, were filled with freshly sprouting onions, chile and other vegetables. Looking into a house as I passed by, I saw two dames close by the door, the elder of the two critically examining the head of her companion to clean it of parasites. When found, the poor, innocent little insects were remorselessly crushed between the teeth of the hunter. Not being a member of the society for the prevention of Cruelty to Animals, I did not attempt to interfere. I also saw men knitting blue yarn leggings just as among the Navajoes.

Mr. Graham had an idea that the negro or Moor (Estevanico) who had been a captive among these people (1530-1536),¹⁴ and who had returned to this country with the expedition of Coronado (1541-43) by whose soldiers he was put to death for treachery,¹⁵ had left the impress of his features upon some of the present generation and especially upon one whom he called my attention to. But, after a careful examination of the Zuni's features, I could not detect the

13. So far as known to the editor, this architectural feature has not been reported regarding any other of the early missions in New Mexico. Unfortunately, Bourke made no interior sketches of the old Zuñi church in his notebook.

14. During the time indicated, Estevanico was among the Texas Indians. He did not reach Zuñi until 1539, scouting ahead for Fray Marcos de Niza.

15. Bourke adds a note: "This was a slip of the pen; the natives of the country killed him." Also the Coronado years were 1540-1542.

slight resemblance to the negro. Mr. Graham says that this man's hair when short is curly; when I looked at it, it was long, wavy, finer than that of the other Zunis, but like theirs dishevelled.

Went with Mr. E. L. Cushing, brother of Frank, on a tour of the town. Saw several women drying their hair in the sun and several others having theirs cleaned by the process previously explained.

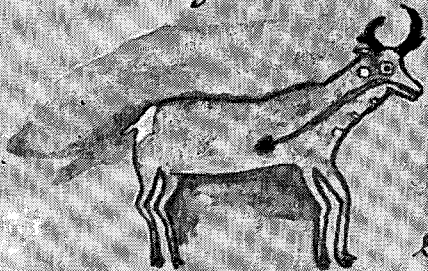
Saw 7 or 8 eagles. Entered a house where the women were weaving blankets on rude looms. Saw a young kid, stuffed with wool, to be used as a doll by babies. Saw many feathers attached to be placed in their fields with prayer, as a sort of sacrifice to propitiate the powers above.

Came upon a party of Albinos, of whom there are (9) nine among the Zunis. These Albinos have very red faces and necks, looking very much as if they were flushed by liquor or exposure to a warm sun. The hair is yellowish white and the iris of the eye is colorless, which undoubtedly renders it powerless to resist the rays of the sun, as an Albino when talking to you is constantly blinking. These Albinos are in every respect, physically or intellectually, the equals of their darker skinned comrades, with whom they intermarry unrestrainedly.

The streets are filled with mangy dogs, children of both sexes and all ages, the younger wearing no dress save a pair of malachite ear-rings. Most of the houses are entered by ladders, doors on the ground floor being a very recent innovation. It amazed me to see dogs climb up and down these ladders, something I should never have believed had I not seen it with my own eyes: their example was imitated every minute by naked little boys and girls, too young almost to be out of their mother's arms.

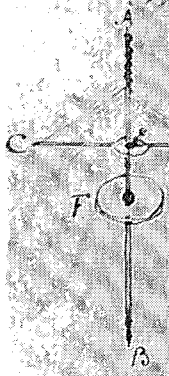
I will now note down seriatim what I saw after entering one of the houses. The women were busy weaving blankets or grinding corn; not knowing about weaving, I cannot employ technical terms, and must limit myself to saying that in this case the blanket was one of the kind worn across a woman's shoulder and woven in (5) five colors; scarlet, black, deep blue and light blue, with a triple-twisted yellow cord on the longitudinal edges; the four main colors being run in horizontal stripes and bands, with pleasing effect. The Zunis have no chairs, but make a substitute of flat blocks of wood. Very many of the floors are of flat stone, in whole or part. Around (3) sides of the living

No. 3. The lower wall of the room had painted upon it in quite good style an antelope. This length and breadth the same measurement to tips of horns.



See page 1367.

The figure explains the bow-draw.



A. B. is a stick $\frac{1}{2}$ " in D. 12" x 14" in length tipped at B with a flint, attached by D. D. is a flint horizontal piece $\frac{1}{2}$ in W. at widest point, tapering towards extremities, six inches long and perforated at C. to admit of being slipped over A. B. to which it is fastened by thin leather thong remaining from C. and D. to A. D. is a balance bob of feet wood or some stone 3" in diameter.

The operator twists C. D. so as to twist the leather string around A. B. He then places the flint point over the object to be pierced and then he

room extends a banquette 6" h. and 12" broad, serving as a seat and also as a shelf.

After lunch, was taken around the town by Jesús Iriarte, a Mexican, who when quite a boy was captured by Apaches, near San Francisco del Promontorio, in Sonora, Mexico, and by the Apaches traded off to the Zunis. The Zunis say that, in war, *they* take *no* captives.

The Zunis today are arranging for a grand rabbit-hunt on horseback. They make use of a weapon, closely resembling the description given of the "boomerang." It is of hard, bent wood, . . .¹⁶ This weapon does *not* return to the feet of the owner.

The Indians in this house offered me refreshments of "tortillas," which tasted sweet and good.

The description given of the first room seen yesterday at Nutria applies to this one, except that this is 50' l. 20' w. and 10' high, plastered white on the inside, having a flat sandstone flagging for floor, kept very neat and well supplied with food. The lower wall of the room had painted upon it in quite good style an antelope, 6' in length and nearly the same measurement to tips of horns.

The Zunis employ the "bow drill."

A-B is a stick $\frac{1}{4}$ " in D. 12" @ 14" in length tipped at B with a flint, attached by sinew. C-D is a flat horizontal piece, $\frac{1}{2}$ in. w. at widest point, tapering towards extremities, six inches long and perforated at E. to admit of being slipped over A-B to which it is fastened by thin leather thongs running from C and D to A. F is a balance bob of flat wood or sandstone 3" in diameter. The operator twirls C-D so as to twist the leather strings around A-B. He then places the flint point over the object to be pierced which he holds in place with L. hand while he gently but continuously moves the horizontal bar C-D up and down, causing A-B to revolve with rapidity. In my presence a Zuni drilled a hole through a horn comb in two minutes. In making turquoise and malachite beads great patience is demanded; yet it is with this simple instrument that all perforations are made.

The Zuni moccasin is thus made: sole, of rawhide, following plant of foot and turned up while green to form a protection for the great toe, but not as a toe shield, such as the Apaches have to employ who live in a cactus and rock

16. Bourke's sketch looks like a hockey stick with a short haft. "Throw with the point to the front."

covered country. The legging attached to the moccasin of the women, is of buckskin & white in color, while those made for the men are generally colored or black and separated from the moccasin. The moccasin of the Zunis resembles that of the Navajoes in being fastened by silver buttons on the outside of the instep like our low quarter shoes. The buckskin leggings of the squaws are in two pieces; one, a narrow tongue piece 4" wide and the other an ankle protector, both reaching to the knee; the pattern is something of an exaggeration of our style of winter overshoe known as the "Arctic snow-excluder." The Zunis use woolen leggings under the buckskin and in winter, overshoes of sheepskin, with the wool inside.

While I was writing the above, my old classmate, Lieutenant Carl F. Palfrey,¹⁷ Corps of Engineers, whom I had not met since we graduated (1869) came up to me calling out "Hi, John Bourke, what the devil are *you* doing here?" Of course, we were delighted to see each other and passed the rest of the day in company examining the town.

The Zunis make three kinds of bread; the flat tortilla of the Mexicans; tissue bread such as the Moquis use, (both these are baked upon flat stones on the hearth) and the ordinary loaf bread baked in the hemispherical mud ovens already described. Their leaven is salt and water, yeast powder, and sour dough, the last made, when necessary with *saliva*.

A crier now roared through the street that the preparations for "jack-rabbit" hunt were complete and in a very few moments throngs of young bucks had saddled & bridled their ponies and started for the place of rendezvous, whither also groups of men on foot were wending their way.

I borrowed a pony and started with Mr. Cushing, followed by the brother of the "Gobernador" (Governor) a very dandified chap in pantaloons of black velvet, decked with silver buttons, a red shirt and a dark blue plush cap also girt with buttons of the precious metal. We jogged along over gentle hills and flat red-clay valleys, passing through stretches of corn fields, and a distance of something more than 2 leagues from Zuni, ascended a small timbered knoll, upon whose summit was burning a small fire, the rallying point for a concourse of not less than 450 young

17. Carl F. Palfrey, native of Massachusetts, entered West Point in October, 1865, and graduated fourth in his class. In June 1870 he was assigned to the 1st U. S. Artillery; transferred two years later to the engineers, and was promoted to 1st lieutenant in September 1874.

men & old, 2/3 of them mounted: no women or girls could be seen but an old man was haranguing the multitude giving instructions upon the manner of conducting the hunt and, as I surmised from what I soon afterward saw, interspersing his remarks with advice of a religious character.

When he had concluded, the Zunis in parties of 6 to 10, approached the fire and with head bowed down and in a manner sedate and reverent, recited in an audible tone prayers of considerable length, at same time holding towards the fire in the left hand a crust of bread and in the right one or two boomerangs, (I can call them by no other name.) The prayers finished, the crusts were placed in the fire and the boomerangs held in the smoke; the devotees then divided, one part moving off by the L., the other by the Right hand. The whole concourse went through this ceremony, those on horseback dismounting before approaching the sacred fire, and the crusts of bread making a pile 2 or 3 ft. high.

My presence near the fire was the source of much sarcastic comment and hilarity to the Zunis who had finished their devotions, but I stood my ground with the cheek of a lightning-rod agent.

The Indians rapidly scattered over the face of the country, here covered with stunted cedar and sage brush and well suited as a hiding place for jack-rabbits. The dismounted battalion acted as beaters, the horsemen pursuing the frightened animals the moment they broke cover. The dust scattered and the amount of exertion made should have sufficed to catch and kill a hundred buffaloes, but up to the moment of my departure, not a single jack-rabbit was caught and the result of all this vast expenditure of labor was, as I learned at night, only *four rabbits!* This fact, connected with the religious features I had witnessed impressed me with the conviction that this hunt is a religious ceremony and that it may be a survival of some mode of catching game in use at a time when their manner of life was much different from what it is today. The rabbits caught were not eaten by the Zunis but fed to the sacred cha-ka-li, or eagles.

Tired out with waiting, we started on the homeward track and ran in upon a half dozen boys playing the game of "kicking the sticks." They were arranged in (2) two sides, each having a stick and the object, apparently, was for either side to kick his own stick to the goal first; without in

any way interfering with the movements of its opponents. I couldn't study the game very closely, because the youngsters broke up their play and ran like deer the moment they perceived us close upon them.

A little closer to Zuni, we came to another party of much younger children, engaged in digging for field mice; they had (6) six, but, in answer to my sign, said they did not intend to eat them. Like the Mokis, the Zunis feed them to the eagles.

Having reached the village, I went around again with Palfrey, this time buying several silver rings &c.

Palfrey and I had a rather better dinner than usual, he contributing to the bill of fare at Mr. Graham's a bottle of Cal. Sherry and one of Cal. Claret from his mess-chest.

Mr. Chas. Franklin, of Arizona, came to Zuni this evening; he had formerly lived with the tribe for 3 yrs. and was formally adopted as a member. I had not seen him for 9 years and was glad to be thus thrown with him, as in the absence of Mr. Frank Cushing, he can elucidate many points of interest now involved in obscurity.

About ten o'clock, I accompanied Palfrey to his wagons and returning I was beset by a horde of snapping mangy Zuni dogs, whose number I freely estimated at half a million more or less.

May 20th, 1881. Breakfast over, Mr. Graham took me to one of the corrals to see the Zunis shearing their sheep. The corral was a simple affair of small poles fastened with rawhide and contained as many as 250 sheep and goats, whose bleating and baa-aa-ing made the place a pandemonium. A man would seize a sheep by the hind leg, and as soon as the animal had become exhausted with kicking a squaw would seize the front leg on the same side and thus easily throw the sheep down, when all four feet were promptly tied together and the shearing began; the instruments employed being butcher knives, sharpened pieces of sheet iron and, occasionally, shearing scissors. In their herds, I noticed hybrids,—half sheep—half goats: the skin of one of these serves as a rug in Mr. Graham's.

Bought a pair of Zuni ear-rings, of same style as those of the Navajoes—paid for them \$1.50.

I have now been enough among the Zunis to observe that not a half-breed can be seen among them; this remark does not apply to the children of men, like Jesús, adopted into the tribe.

A woman passed us crying bitterly for the loss of her mother who died yesterday. The funeral came along in a few moments and we had every opportunity for observing it. The corpse wrapped in a couple of coarse black & white striped blankets, was borne along in a hurried manner, by two men, one holding the head, the other the feet. They took the nearest line to the church: no procession followed, but as they passed the house of relatives of the deceased, the women seated themselves at the doors or windows and wept aloud, keeping up their lamentations until the corpse had been placed underground. The grave was not over 3 ft. in depth and had already served as a place of sepulture for not less than half a dozen of the tribe, that number of skulls having been thrown out during the work of excavation. It was on the L. hand side of the cemetery, facing the church: all the women are buried on this side, the males on the other. The corpse was placed on its back, feet toward the church—the church faced East, the two carriers then raked in the loose earth and human bones and the ceremony was over.

The Zunis have primitive agricultural implements; one of wood is shaped like a stilt and by placing the foot upon the cross piece a hole can readily be made in ground into which to drop seed.

Their yellow dye is a tuber, closely resembling a rotten sweet potato; bitter to taste, disagreeable to smell and perhaps poisonous. Their red is unravelled scarlet cloth or flannel. Blue is indigo purchased from traders & set with urine. Black and white are the natural wool.

Bought from Mr. Graham and the Zunis, 35 pieces of pottery, which I carefully packed in saw dust for transportation to Wingate.

Palfrey and I entered an old Zuni dwelling, where I purchased a boomerang for 10c. The room was 15' W. 50' long 10'6" high. Floor of packed earth. On 3 sides, a small banquette, in which was a break of 3 ft. on E. side. 2 small windows 1'x2', at height of eye as man stands on floor: here the panes were of glass, but very frequently they are pieces of selenite, held in place by a white lime cement. The windows were deep in wall, top & sides square, sole of sill sloping toward floor for 2 ft. *Vigas*, round, peeled of bark, 6"-12" in D. Cross pieces 3" in D. 18" apart—these covered with twigs and the twigs with hays, upon which came the mud & stone flooring of the upper story. In ceiling of every room is an air-hole, one ft. square, covered with a flat stone,

when ventilation is not needed. Walls all whitewashed. House itself of adobe, with some pieces of rough rubble masonry of friable sandstone, breaking squarely in all thicknesses & from 2 to 6" in length and width up to 2'. In one corner a *rack* for ollas, and along one side a trough or bin divided into from 4 @ 8 compartments, each with a metate of graded fineness from the rough lava to very fine sandstone. (Each house keeps on hand surplus metates and crushers.) The vigas in this house looked as if they had been cut with stone axes but this is something I cannot aver with certainty. Blankets are kept upon poles suspended from rafters. Upon the walls hang gourd rattles and a peculiar drum stick.¹⁸

Also boxes filled with feathers of the sparrow hawk, blue jay, turkey, eagle, wrapped in paper; in these boxes, were also preserved their little store of face paints.

The floor contained skins of sheep and goats and square blocks of hard wood—all used as seats. The chimneys have already been described. Ladders are still used for entering houses, but within the past ten years the innovation of doors opening upon the level of the ground floor has very generally obtained. Niches are to be seen in nearly every wall; a closer examination reveals the fact that at these points the walls are merely slabs of stone easy to be removed and, in case one part of the town should be captured, enabling the inhabitants to escape through these apertures to portions not yet in possession of the enemy. At one time, no doubt, the people of Zuni were in constant apprehension of attacks from hostile neighbors.

The smell in Zuni is outrageous. Decayed meat, sheep and goats' pelts, excrement human and animal, unwashed dogs and Indians, fleas, lice and bed-bugs (the houses in Zuni are full of these last), garbage of every kind—it must be regarded as a standing certificate of the salubrity of this climate that a single Zuni is in existence today.

(To be continued)

18. Shown in a small sketch like a figure "6".

BOOK REVIEWS

Death In The Desert. By Paul I. Wellman. (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1935; xiv+294 pp; bibliog., map, illustrations, index; \$3.00.)

Death In The Desert is the second of two books by Paul I. Wellman, a newspaper man of Wichita, dealing with the tempestuous, bloody beginnings of the present day Indian problem.

His first book, *Death On The Prairie*, published in 1934, covered the struggle to subdue the Indians of the Great Plains from the beginning of the Sioux warfare in Minnesota in 1862 to the final, last-hope rally of the Plains tribes around the Indian Messiah in 1891.

Death In The Desert deals with what the author calls the "Fifty Years War For the Great Southwest." He covers fifty years and more in point of time, from 1822 to 1886, but he has also managed, by some geographical stretch of the imagination, to include in the war for the great southwest an account of the struggles with the Modocs in Oregon!

Neither of these books contributes anything new in material on the years of Indian warfare, but the digging out of new evidence was not the author's purpose. He had done what anyone might do, and what very few have done—gathered together reliable personal narratives, state documents, military records, historical society records, and then, after making this material his own, he has produced a vivid dramatic portrayal of what happened when Redman and Whiteman behaved alike as savages or supermen. Too many books in the past have whitewashed the white man; too many in recent years have attempted the same treatment for the red man. Mr. Wellman is sternly just to both sides or equally condemnatory as the case may warrant.

The criticism may be made that these books are journalistic in style, but if a well thought out plan of presentation, a sympathetic interpretation of character, and an

ability to recreate a scene in the vivid details of sound and smell and sight represent journalism, then it is good journalism.

These are books that are primarily for laymen—they may move some laymen to want to delve more deeply into the lengthy material of the bibliography—but they are also books for historians. They might teach some historians that history is drama and can be written in an entertaining as well as an accurate manner.

Death On The Prairie seems to be the better of the two books in style and technic and presentation of material. Both are well documented, and maintain a consistent point of view. The illustrations in each, obtained from various historical collections, are adequate; and *Death In The Desert* contains a map of sorts that must be, even for the most casually reading layman, a great improvement over the mapless *Death On The Prairie*.

The foreword in *Death In The Desert* with its vague reference to Indian migrations and its attempt to build up character for the Apaches adds nothing. It is not consistent in tone nor style nor accuracy with the rest of the book.

The Apaches were not the only people whose name for themselves meant the People. It was a characteristic of most of the tribes of Athapascan stock. Neither did the fact that the word Apache was derived from the Zuñi word for enemy mean that this tribe were more than ordinarily ferocious. To one tribe all other tribes not their allies, were enemies, and the early white men, hearing them so referred to, accepted that name. The word Sioux, for instance comes from the Chippewa name for enemy.

The Apache does not need the build-up that the author attempted to give him in the foreword; his character speaks for itself in the pages that follow. Furthermore, to thus emphasize this tribe in the beginning spoils the unity of the book since Mr. Wellman logically includes in his story of the southwest the uprising in Taos in 1846 and illogically drags in the Modoc disgrace of 1871.

In spite of minor criticisms, Mr. Wellman has done an interesting study of Indian warfare as a whole. His two books are a welcome contribution to the background of the Indian problem of today.

MILDRED S. ADLER.

Albuquerque.

The Texas Rangers. By Walter Prescott Webb. (Houghton Mifflin Company, The Riverside Press, Boston, 1935. 584 pp., ill. by Lonnie Rees. \$5.00.)

Dovetailing into the history of New Mexico at a number of points, the story of the Texas Rangers as presented by Professor Webb of the University of Texas, is not only well written and thoroughly documented but it is as thrilling a tale, or series of tales, as is to be found in western literature. Hollywood could find between its covers plots for a score of films more exciting than any movie portraying modern gangsters and their pursuit by G-men. As a contribution to southwestern history of the past hundred years it merits high rating. To a large extent biographical, it recounts vividly the incidents of border warfare along the Rio Grande from Brownsville to El Paso. It records in detail the story of Indian raids along the New Mexico and Oklahoma boundaries, of train robberies, bank lootings, stage hold-ups, livestock thieving and banditry in general during the century from 1835, when the Rangers were first organized, to 1935, when they were reorganized into highway patrols. Like the Canadian mountain police, the Texas Rangers got their man even if they had to disregard international law and the niceties of court procedure. Though small in number the Rangers found it necessary to kill more than five thousand outlaws in establishing order in a domain larger than the German Empire. It was said of the Rangers that "they could ride like Mexicans; trail like Indians; shoot like Tennesseans and fight like the devil," and it took all that and more to create a record of daring and achieve-

ment such as stands to their credit. They protected society from its enemies with a vigor which has given them immortal fame. The careers of the dominant figures typify the traits of the force as a whole. The author has done well in making this evident as he takes up the lives of the commanding officers chronologically.

However, there are also picturesque chapters descriptive of phases of history more far-reaching than the warfare with bandits, or the biographies of individuals. The account of the battle of Monterey might well take its place among the classics which should be found in every advanced school reader. "The El Paso Salt War" and "The Las Cuevas War" are chapters in which clashes between Mexican and Texan reached high points in the continuous strife of these elements along the Rio Grande. Across the pages of this well-written book march outlaws who served as prototypes for Billy the Kid, and also others as popular and romantic as Robin Hood who stole and killed so that they might give to the poor. Altogether fascinating these true stories have an appeal which should bring to the book many readers outside of the boundaries of the Lone Star State.

The volume is well illustrated with fine drawings by Lonnie Reeves and many interesting photographs. The typography is attractive and the press work on the heavy, glossy paper is excellent. The large format and wide margins together with the artistic arrangement of citations and quotations on an introductory page to each chapter give distinctiveness to the book. A detailed index and a bibliography add to its value for the student of southwestern history.—P. A. F. W.

Arte en America y Filipinas, cuaderno I. Director, Diego Angulo fñiguez. (Spain, Universidad de Sevilla, 1935. 8 pesetas.)

Unusual interest will be found by many of our readers and exchange libraries in this brochure of 94 pages. It is the initial issue of a series which is to appear "without fixed

date, in cuadernos of some eighty pages, at the price of eight pesetas each. Every four cuadernos will constitute a volume."

It bears the imprint of the University of Seville, in which Professor Iñiguez directs the teaching of the colonial arts of Hispano-America; but it is sent out from the "Center of Studies in the History of America" on the Triana side of the Guadalquivir which was opened in 1929 and has been doing such excellent work, under the auspices of the University and directed by Prof. José Maria Ots Capdequi.

Inspired by a recent visit to the Museum of Mexico and by archival material which he has found in Madrid and Seville, Professor Iñiguez himself contributes the principal study of this number (pp. 1-75), "La Academia de Bellas Artes de Mejico y sus pinturas españolas," accompanied by twenty-six beautiful illustrations. It is an intriguing, fascinating account, one which opens up a phase of Spanish colonial history of which we know far too little.

A shorter but also important paper (pp. 76-88) is by Sr. Antonio Muro Orejón: "Alonso Rodríguez, primer arquitecto de las Indias," the celebrated architect of Seville with whom the House of Trade made a contract in 1510 for the building of certain parochial churches in the Island of Hispaniola,—but who (the records show) never went to the Island. But he seems to have supplied the plans which were later used. Three other short articles or notes conclude the issue.

The Universities of Seville and Buenos Aires¹ are opening up a line of research and study which has great possibilities. What universities in the United States will follow the lead?—L. B. B.

1. See N. MEX. HIST. REV., X, 169.

ERRATA

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(additional to those on p. 348)

- p. 273, line 31, *read* seized.
- p. 302, note, *for* West Point *read* Annapolis.
- p. 307, line 31, *for* three *read* there.
- p. 329, note, *for* Doway *read* Douay.
- p. vi, line 28, *for* Father *read* Brother.



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