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# NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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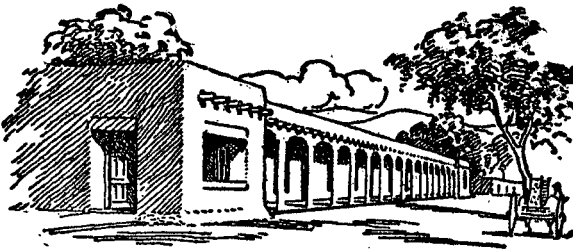
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PALACE OF THE GOVERNORS

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# NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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Address business communications to Mr. P. A. F. Walter, State Museum, Santa Fe, N. M.; manuscripts and editorial correspondence should be addressed to Mr. Bloom at the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

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# NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## NEW MEXICO AND THE SECTIONAL CONTROVERSY, 1846-1861

*By* LOOMIS MORTON GANAWAY

### CHAPTER V

#### NEW MEXICO—UNION OR CONFEDERACY?

**I**N ALL PARTS of the country the election of Abraham Lincoln foreshadowed a dissolution of the Union to men who had not forgotten warnings emanating from the South prior to the election. Thus, in the weeks which followed, strong pressure was placed upon members of congress to formulate a plan of compromise by which peaceful relations might be restored to the sections.

Perhaps the most important of these compromises was that proposed by Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky. He offered for consideration of the senate an "unamendable amendment" by which the Missouri Compromise line would have been extended to the Pacific, and congress would have been forbidden to interfere with slavery in states where it then existed.<sup>1</sup> Such act, of course, would have placed New Mexico within the zone of slavery extension.

In the house of representatives, where the senate debate was being followed intently, Representative Alexander Boteler of Virginia introduced a resolution calling for the formation of a committee of thirty-three members. Its purpose was to consider the Crittenden measures and to

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1. *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., 114.

offer any independent suggestions that might appear practicable.<sup>2</sup> For about five weeks this committee considered numerous proposals. Finally, on January 14, 1861, Thomas Corwin of Ohio, the chairman, reported to the house a plan adopted by a majority of its members, one feature of which was a recommendation that New Mexico be admitted into the Union "with or without slavery."<sup>3</sup>

The proposal of statehood for New Mexico was generally regarded as a concession to the South. Probably, the adoption of a slave code by New Mexico in 1859, was interpreted as proving its allegiance to southern economic and social institutions, despite local conditions that might preclude the rapid advancement of slavery into that region.<sup>4</sup>

In a private letter, of April 8, 1861, Charles Francis Adams, a member of the committee, gave an account of some of the proceedings. According to him, the southerners in the committee and in congress did not regard the New Mexico proposal as of any great advantage to the South. They were much more concerned with guarantees respecting all territories. With reference to the proposed statehood, Adams wrote:

The limit of my concession was then to give the slave-holders a chance to make New Mexico a slave State if they could. To that extent my offer was made in good faith. I did suppose they might make such politically for awhile. But the action of a new government in a different sense would ere long counteract that influence, and the result would in the end be to make one more free state.<sup>5</sup>

Acrimonious attacks upon the New Mexico measure were made by the free state congressmen, but southern members took little or no interest in replying. Otero, the New Mexico delegate, alone attempted to answer them and,

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2. James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States, from the Compromise of 1850* (8 vols., New York, 1895), III, 267-268.

3. *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., 373, 499.

4. Rhodes, *op. cit.*, III, 267-268, note.

5. *Idem.*

considering his youth and his lack of parliamentary experience, performed well. On January 18, 1861, John Sherman, a member of the house from Ohio, referred to New Mexico during debate on an army appropriation bill.<sup>6</sup> He questioned the actual understanding of the slavery question by the inhabitants. His doubts, he declared, were based upon the probable lack of information that peons, half-breeds, Mexicans, and the few Anglo-Saxons might have on that institution, geographically far removed from that region.

Sherman said that three proposals concerning New Mexico were being considered in congress: first, to retain it in its present territorial status, with its 106,000 inhabitants including twelve slaves; second, to admit it to statehood; third, to adopt the Crittenden proposal; thereby protecting slavery by constitutional amendment in that general region. He thought the first plan the best, said he would support the second, even though objection was being raised not so much to negro slavery as to the "white slavery" or peonage, but expressed determined opposition to the third, because it took authority from congress and from the people of the territory. On several occasions, during Sherman's remarks, Otero interrupted him. When finally given opportunity to reply to these strictures, he arraigned Sherman for what he regarded as slurring references to the people of the territory.<sup>7</sup>

Four days after Sherman's speech, Representative Cadwalader C. Washburn of Wisconsin resumed discussion of the New Mexico proposal, with which he combined a personal attack on Otero. In his opening remarks, Washburn declared that statehood for New Mexico was an unequivocal concession to the slave states, because "the same power and the same party which has adopted in that Territory a slave code . . . will adopt a slavery constitution."<sup>8</sup> He intimated that Otero's interest was prompted by an anticipated senator-

6. *Congressional Globe*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., 455.

7. *Idem*.

8. *Ibid.*, 514.

ship. Otero, he added, was believed to be "sound" on the slavery question, "for, if I mistake not, he had something to do with getting up the existing slave code in that territory."<sup>9</sup>

At this point in the debate, Otero interrupted Washburn to state that he was "sound" on all questions that were "just." To this, Washburn replied that although New Mexico could not sustain either a free or a slave population because of the natural conditions of the country, it would nevertheless lend its influence in favor of slavery. That, he said, was what he had in mind by asserting that it would be a slave state.<sup>10</sup>

During a further discussion of the issue in the lower house of congress, on January 29, Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania referred briefly to New Mexico. He remarked that the committee of thirty-three had indeed shown its estimate of the magnitude of southern grievances by offering to admit New Mexico into the federal union of states:

They offer to admit as a State about two hundred and fifty thousand square miles of volcanic desert, with less than a thousand white Anglo-Saxon inhabitants, some forty or fifty thousand Indians, Mustees and Mexicans, who do not ask for admission, and who have shown their capacity for self government by the infamous slave code which they have passed, which establishes the most cruel kind of black and white slavery.<sup>11</sup>

In reply to this attack and to others of like character, Otero refuted the imputation that the people were incapable of self-government. He further denied that New Mexico had come into the Union a free territory, later to be converted to slavery by "influences from this capital."<sup>12</sup> One explanation which Otero offered for the adoption of the slave code was that, until the compromise measures of 1850

9. *Ibid.*, 514-515.

10. *Ibid.*, 515.

11. *Idem.*

12. *Ibid.*, 761.

were adopted, the law of Texas, recognizing slavery, extended over the eastern part of what was now New Mexico.<sup>13</sup> The United States had acknowledged the Texan claim, he said, by paying to the state of Texas \$10,000,000. For a delegate, a native of New Mexico, to concede any Texan claim was an illuminating admission to those members of the house who had served in congress in 1850. Then, petitions from the territory and from hundreds of places throughout the North protested any concessions to Texas.

The proposal for statehood never gained much momentum in the house. On March 1, 1861, a bill for the admission of New Mexico was tabled by a vote of 115 to 71,<sup>14</sup> the Republicans opposing the measure. The relations between New Mexico and the nation were so unimportant that in the turbulent period through which the country was then passing, most of the congressmen probably gave this territory no further thought.

Shortly after Representative Corwin had let it be known that statehood was being proposed as one measure in the compromise between the sections, Horace Greeley wrote an editorial for the *New York Tribune* titled "New Mexico."<sup>15</sup> He declared that this in reality meant "the virtual surrender of New Mexico to slavery," and he expressed regret that such possibility was being "meditated by leading Republicans in Washington" as a means of pacifying the South. Greeley maintained that the natural conditions of New Mexico had not changed in the ten years since Webster had avowed that nature had already settled the slavery issue in that region. He cited an offer that he said had been made during the previous year by Washington Hunt, who reputedly had stated that he would be willing to pay a thousand dollars to any slaveholder who even wished to take his slaves to New Mexico.<sup>16</sup>

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13. *Idem.*

14. *Ibid.*, 1326.

15. *New York Tribune*, December 31, 1860.

16. *Idem.*



Greeley expressed the belief that had New Mexico been created a state in 1850, it would have been free; but, he added, "under the last two Democratic administrations, systematic efforts have been made to plant slavery in New Mexico."<sup>17</sup> As to the means employed by southern interests, he said:

Zealous Slavery Propagandists fill all the important Federal Offices. Pro-Slavery Army Officers have been sent there, taking slaves with them. The Border Ruffians who were finally beaten out of Kansas have migrated thither in platoons, and some of them have been appointed to important Federal posts. A Slave Code of signal atrocity and inhumanity has been put through the Territorial Legislature, and is now in full force.<sup>18</sup>

In addition to territorial officers, army men, and the so-called "Border Ruffians," Greeley said southern interests in New Mexico had been strengthened by the appearance of the "scum of southern rascaldom," who had been driven out of San Francisco and who had found refuge in southern New Mexico.

Like Thaddeus Stevens, Greeley reserved his most castigating criticism for the natives, of whom he wrote:

The mass of the people are Mexicans—a hybrid race of Spanish and Indian origin. They are ignorant and degraded, demoralized and priest-ridden. The debasing Mexican system of peonage—a modified slavery—is still maintained there. A few able and unscrupulous men control everything. The masses are their blind, facile tools. There is no Press of any account; no Public Opinion; of course, no Republican party. Slavery rules all.<sup>19</sup>

In concluding the editorial, Greeley expressed the opinion that Lincoln would recognize the evil forces operating in the territory and correct the conditions immediately.

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17. *Idem.*

18. *Idem.*

19. *Idem.*

In a public letter of January 6, 1861, Otero replied to the Greeley editorial, and a few weeks later, issued a pamphlet which included the Greeley charges and his reply.<sup>20</sup> In answering Greeley, Otero said that recent events had placed a party in power that was purely sectional "in its origin, in its principles, and its powers." The Republican party represented a minority of the American people, he continued, and had succeeded in gaining control of the federal government "—if any Government exists at all—" by concentrating its whole strength in one section of the country. By nurturing the prejudices, inflaming the passions, exciting the animosities, and bribing the interests of the free states, the Republican party had so strengthened itself that it could now attack the rights, the character, and the interests of the South. The result of this attack was a threat to the existence of the federal union of states.

Otero then replied to that part of the Greeley article that had characterized the Mexicans as lacking intelligence. He said that a test of their mentality would shortly follow, for with the induction of Lincoln into office, the region would doubtless be overrun with "a flood of emissaries, bent on ingratiating themselves among the people of the territory." These enemies of peace, he said, would not be satisfied with the repeal of laws for the protection of property in slaves, but would seek to destroy "your sanctified religion, your civil rights, your social ties, your customary rights so well adapted to your condition."<sup>21</sup>

In justifying the action of the territorial legislature at the adoption of a slave code, Otero said that the people of New Mexico had recognized "the right of the citizens of the different states to take with them into the common domain . . . every lawful species of property." The slave code, he added, was not one of "signal atrocity," but he admitted that Greeley might have found some basis for such an accusation

20. *An Abolition Attack upon New Mexico and a reply by Hon. M. A. Otero* (Santa Fé, 1861).

21. *Idem.*

in that section of the code, forbidding marriage of white persons and negroes. This would impose "a restraint upon the exercise of a taste which the ultra members of his party occasionally evince."<sup>22</sup> Otero categorically denied any conspiracy to "convert" New Mexico to slavery by sending civil and military officials into the territory. He declared that not once had the question of attitudes on sectional issues been considered by him when making recommendations for territorial appointments.

The imputation that "conspiracy in the very bosom of the national administration at Washington"<sup>23</sup> existed for the advancement of southern interests in New Mexico during the Pierce and Buchanan administrations was made so frequently that the available evidence necessitates investigation. Because the original indictment was lodged against Otero, Jefferson Davis, and others in Washington, it has been generally accepted by a school of writers who have failed, however, to indicate the basis for their allegations.<sup>24</sup> A search through the appointment papers of the state, justice, and interior department files from the date of the territorial enabling act of 1851 until 1861, and a study of much personal correspondence of the same period do not warrant full acceptance of the Greeley indictment.

As the fountain-head of the so-called southern conspiracy, one should note the responsible officials in Washington, who were in a position to place southern men in territorial positions during this period. Three southerners were present in the cabinet of President Pierce; the secretary of the navy, James C. Dobbin of North Carolina; the secretary of the treasury, James Guthrie of Kentucky; and the secretary of war, Jefferson Davis of Mississippi. Of

22. *Idem.*

23. Elijah R. Kennedy, *The Contest for California in 1861* (New York, 1912), 67.

24. Perhaps the first writer to accept the indictment was Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, 680; among others have been Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, II, 360-361; Rhodes, *History of the United States, from the Compromise of 1850*, III, 312-313. Kennedy, *The Contest for California in 1861*, 64-72, believed the "conspiracy" extended throughout the West.

this group only Davis by his position was directly able to send southern men to New Mexico. Investigation does not show, however, that a preponderant number of southerners served in the military forces there during his term of office. It is true that Colonel Thomas T. Fauntleroy, a Virginian, replaced Colonel Edwin V. Sumner, a native of Massachusetts, as commandant of the Ninth Military Department during Secretary Davis' tenure. However, evidence does not indicate any activity by Fauntleroy in advancing southern interests in New Mexico. He was far too much occupied with subjugating recalcitrant Indians to have given much thought to sectional matters.

In the Buchanan administration, four executive departments of the cabinet were directed by southerners at various times. Howell Cobb of Georgia and Philip F. Thomas of the border state of Maryland held the office of secretary of the treasury; Aaron V. Brown of Tennessee and Joseph Holt of Kentucky directed the post office department; Jacob Thompson of Mississippi was the secretary of the interior; and John B. Floyd of Virginia, and Holt were in the war department. Although other southerners in Washington may have been able indirectly to affect territorial appointments in New Mexico, the appointment papers, which ordinarily should reveal any great activity by such groups do not justify this conclusion.

Furthermore, if Presidents Pierce and Buchanan, as their critics charged, were under the domination of southerners, they would scarcely have been beguiled so thoughtlessly into a conspiracy which would have represented a violation of their trust. Because every major territorial appointment was made upon the recommendation of the president, subject to the approval of the senate, a "central cabal" of southerners probably could not have blinded both the executive and legislative officials.

The following table shows the position, the name of the appointee, the state from which appointed, and the date of the commission for all important officials from the establish-

ment of territorial government in New Mexico in 1851 through the first appointments of President Abraham Lincoln.<sup>25</sup>

*Governor*

James S. Calhoun	Georgia	January 9, 1851
William C. Lane	Missouri	July 15, 1852
	(native of Pennsylvania)	
David Meriwether <sup>26</sup>	Kentucky	May 6, 1853
	(native of Virginia)	
Abraham Rencher	North Carolina	August 17, 1857
Henry Connelly <sup>27</sup>	New Mexico	May 24, 1861
	(native of Virginia)	

*Territorial Secretary*

William S. Allen	Missouri	March 12, 1851
John Greiner	Indiana	June 28, 1852
Wm. S. Messervy	New Mexico	April 8, 1853
	(native of Massachusetts)	
W. W. H. Davis	Pennsylvania	May 22, 1854
Alexander M. Jackson	Mississippi	September 16, 1857
	(native of Ireland)	
Miguel A. Otero	New Mexico	May 24, 1861
	(not confirmed by senate)	
James H. Holmes	Vermont	July 26, 1861

*Territorial Judges*

Grafton Baker	Mississippi	February 19, 1851
Horace Mower	Michigan	March 6, 1851

25. Clarence Edward Carter, ed. and comp., *The Territorial Papers of the United States*. Preliminary printing of volume I. (Washington, 1934). The appointment papers in the State, Justice, and Interior Department Records, National Archives, have also been used in this table.

26. Variant spellings of this name were: Merriwether, Merriweather, and Meriweather.

27. Although most writers of New Mexico history state that Connelly was born in Kentucky, according to his own statement he was born in Virginia and removed with his family to Kentucky at the age of four. N. A., State Department Records, Appointment Papers, Henry Connelly Papers.

John S. Watts	----- Indiana -----	March 6, 1851
Kirby Benedict	----- Illinois -----	April 5, 1853
	(native of Connecticut)	
James S. Deavenport	__ Mississippi _____	April 5, 1853
Perry E. Brocchus	___ Maryland _____	February 8, 1854
Thomas B. Stephenson	Pennsylvania ___	February 10, 1858
	(native of Kentucky)	
William F. Boone	----- Pennsylvania -----	June 14, 1858
	(native of Connecticut)	
Zachariah L. Nabers	___ Alabama -----	June 14, 1858
William G. Blackwood	___ Missouri -----	February 16, 1859
	(native of South Carolina)	
William A. Davidson	___ New Mexico -----	January 24, 1860
	(native of ?)	
Perry E. Brocchus	___ Maryland -----	January 24, 1861
Sydney A. Hubbell	___ New Mexico -----	April 30, 1861
	(native of Connecticut)	

This list of officials shows that, with the exception of Lane, all the governors including Connelly, who was appointed by Lincoln, were natives of southern or border states. Lane, though born in Pennsylvania, had been a resident of the border state of Missouri for many years, prior to his appointment in New Mexico. Only one territorial secretary, Jackson, was from a southern state, although Allen was appointed from Missouri. Of the territorial judges, Baker, Deavenport, Nabers, and Blackwood were natives of southern states, and Brocchus and Stephenson were from border states. Nabers and Davidson, although appointed, apparently did not accept the positions.

The military records for this period likewise deserve consideration. From 1851 until 1863, New Mexico was the ninth military department of the United States. It was commanded in 1851-52 by Colonel Edwin V. Sumner of Massachusetts, but Sumner was replaced during Jefferson Davis' tenure in the war department by Colonel Thomas T. Fauntleroy of Virginia. From 1854 until 1858, General

John Garland of Virginia was in command. He was succeeded by Colonel B. L. E. Bonneville, of New York. In 1859, Fauntleroy returned to New Mexico, but early in 1860, Colonel W. W. Loring of North Carolina was given command of the department, a position which he held until he resigned in order to join the Confederate army. With respect to Loring's appointment, a writer of New Mexico history has said:

Early in 1860, the secretary of war, Floyd, sent Colonel W. W. Loring, of North Carolina, to command the department of New Mexico, while George B. Crittenden, who had been sent out for the same purpose as Colonel Loring, was placed by the latter in command of an expedition against the Apaches. . . . It was the business of these men to attempt the corruption of the patriotism of the officers under them and to induce them to lead their men into Texas and give them to the service of the rebellion.<sup>28</sup>

According to the *Santa Fé Gazette* of May 25, 1861, among the officers in New Mexico who had resigned their commissions in the United States Army in order to serve the Confederacy were Major H. H. Sibley, a brother-in-law of Colonel E. R. S. Canby, Captain Dabney Maury of Virginia, Captain Andrew Jackson Lindsay of Mississippi, Captain John Stevenson of Virginia, Colonel John Grayson of Kentucky, and Major James Longstreet of Alabama. The *Gazette* in noting these resignations added:

All of these officers rank high in the service and in their resignations the Department of New Mexico will suffer a serious loss, that will not be easily repaired. They will doubtless readily obtain positions in the army of the Confederate States to which their rank and efficiency entitle them.<sup>29</sup>

28. Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, II, 359-360. According to Loring's account, he arrived in New Mexico on March 22, 1861, W. W. Loring to Assistant Adjutant General L. Thomas, *Santa Fé*, March 23, 1861, N. A., War Department Records, Headquarters of the Army.

29. *Santa Fé Weekly Gazette*, May 25, 1861.

After Otero had answered Greeley's editorial, charging corruption in the appointment of territorial officers, he remained in Washington during the critical period following Lincoln's election. From there, he addressed a public letter to the people of New Mexico, in which he said that the election of Lincoln should not destroy the Union, because the president would not have control of congress. As to his own position, he added:

God knows I am far from being a Republican either in principle or feeling. I would fight that party to the bitter end. But I don't think it necessary to dissolve the Union merely because that party happens to elect a President, . . . If a dissolution of this country should take place, we of New Mexico will be expected to take sides with one of the two or three or four of the Republics into which it would be divided. What will be the determination of the people of New Mexico if such deplorable consequences should come to pass, I cannot say. My own opinion and my counsel to them would be, in that event, a union with the Pacific free states, west of the great prairies. If California and Oregon declare their independence of this Government I am for joining them.<sup>30</sup>

Otero's proposal that New Mexico join "with the Pacific free States" rather than with a confederacy of southern states was his first public statement suggesting anything but the most avowed pro-southern sympathy. It is difficult to comprehend this shift from his former position, and it apparently may be understood only by recalling that Otero, himself, felt no strong tie of affection for the South, his relations to that section coming largely through the influence of his wife.

This explanation was offered by William Need, a soldier stationed in New Mexico, who wrote frequently to

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30. *Santa Fé Weekly Gazette*, May 25, 1861.



officials in Washington.<sup>31</sup> In a letter to the secretary of war he said of Otero's attitude with respect to the sectional controversy, upon the delegate's return from the national capital:

Southerners here and elsewhere are generally believed to have relied too much on the support of Miguel Otero, an educated native, who has been representing the territory in Congress for several years; so far, he hasn't lived up to expectations. His wife is an open secessionist, but so far has been unable to influence her husband to the point of an open support of the rebel government. . . . Otero sees no advantage to Otero in lending a hand to the secessionists, but professes to be a Union man, but like Connelly, I think he is a *neutral* Union man; and can "jump on either side of the fence."<sup>32</sup>

In the fall of 1860, John S. Watts was elected delegate to congress. The exact date in 1861 of Otero's return to New Mexico from Washington is not certain. If he had chosen to remain in Washington, he would have found few friends. Most of the people with whom he had been closely associated had followed their states into the Confederacy. At Santa Fé, where he resided after his return, Otero did not speak in support of the Confederacy; neither did he become a strong Union man. His influence among the natives was great, and it is possible that he counselled them to await the developments of the war before actively engaging themselves on either side. If he had taken a strong position at any time during the summer or autumn of 1861, the local press and the official and private correspondence from New Mexico on some occasion probably would have noted it. Temporarily, he withdrew from all political

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31. Need particularly addressed communications to officials of the state and war departments. He was a printer by trade, and his letters would suggest a man of considerable education. His correspondence, of an extremely partisan nature, none the less offers one interpretation of events then transpiring in New Mexico.

32. William Need to Simon Cameron, Fort Fauntleroy, date [?]. N. A., War Department Records, Secretary of War Document File.

activity, although Mrs. Otero, with numerous family connections in the Confederate forces, made no secret of her sympathy for the South. Perhaps, consciously or otherwise, the course followed by Otero was influenced by his appointment as territorial secretary. This was received by him in Santa Fé in July 1861, and although it was not confirmed and James H. Holmes was appointed (July 26, 1861) in his stead, yet Otero did actually serve for several months.

Seemingly, the attitude of practically the entire population was one of indifference to events transpiring in other parts of the country. Some individuals, largely among the Anglo-American population, had assumed definite positions, but in their efforts to win support of the native population, all attempts failed.<sup>33</sup> In an editorial in the *Gazette* of July 13, 1861, John T. Russell, the editor, in noting the calmness of the inhabitants, said:

What is the position of New Mexico? The answer is a short one. She desires to be let alone. No interference from one side or the other of the sections that are now waging war. She neither wants abolitionists or secessionists from abroad to mix in her affairs at present; nor will she tolerate either. In her own good time she will say her say, and choose for herself the position she wishes to occupy in the new disposition of the now disrupted power of the United States.<sup>34</sup>

Russell's neutral position was challenged by Kirby Benedict, one of the most militant Union supporters in the territory. He declared that many of the exponents of Russell's ideas were advising neutrality only because of the pressure of federal troops in New Mexico. In what he termed "an entirely private letter" addressed to President

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33. Edward D. Tittman, "The Exploitation of Treason," *New Mexico Historical Review*, IV (1929), 128-145, gives interesting information on indictments, trials, confiscations, etc., that were carried on in New Mexico for several years after 1862.

34. N. A. Justice Department Records, Attorney General MSS., papers of Judge Kirby Benedict including editorial from the *Gazette*. This collection also includes copies of the *Arizonian* published at Tucson and the *Mesilla Times*, "Mesilla, Arizona." Mesilla is now a part of New Mexico, but was the capital of the Confederate Territory of Arizona during the occupation of that region by Confederate troops.

Lincoln, he expressed doubt concerning the loyalty of many residents in the territory. Then, he attempted to give the president a summary of the political events in New Mexico that had finally brought it to a "faltering faith in the Union."<sup>35</sup>

Although he expressed his belief that "rampant secessionists" were becoming less open in their abuse of "the Union and the North and her men,"<sup>36</sup> he attributed much of the present trouble to President Buchanan's failure "to give any of the free states much chance in the appointments for New Mexico."<sup>37</sup> According to Benedict, southern officials had been instrumental in bringing into the territory "southern extremists," who not only wanted to improve their economic position but were determined to impose their own customs on the inhabitants. At present, these southerners, he added, were actively engaged in spreading rumors "that the government was destroyed, that the confederacy was carrying everything before it, that Missouri was sure to secede, and that N. Mexico must do as that state does."<sup>38</sup>

At the time of Benedict's letter to Lincoln in June, 1861, people in the territory had not yet learned of Governor Rencher's removal. In his letter to the president, Benedict expressed grave doubts as to the wisdom of retaining a man in office who had remarked that if North Carolina, the native state of Rencher, "goes out, he must share her fate."<sup>39</sup>

Rumors questioning the loyalty of the governor were likewise being circulated. In a letter to Secretary of State Seward, Rencher complained that stories were being printed in eastern papers of his having led successfully a revolution in Santa Fé and of having captured Fort Marcy adjoining the town. He expressed the most profound resentment at

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35. Kirby Benedict to Abraham Lincoln, Santa Fé, June 2, 1861. N. A., Justice Department Records, Attorney General MSS.

36. *Idem.*

37. *Idem.*

38. *Idem.*

39. *Idem.*

this defamation; in at least one instance, he had demanded a retraction.<sup>40</sup>

In another communication to Edward Bates, the attorney general of the United States, Governor Rencher regretted the lack of accurate information that was reaching the territory. New Mexico, he said, depended mostly on rumors that circulated freely. To all reports concerning the war, the natives remained generally apathetic because they were too much consumed by the serious internal problems, particularly that of the Indians. For this reason he doubted the probability of any active participation by the people of New Mexico in the "bloody sectional conflict."<sup>41</sup>

The governor was well justified in his opinion. Since February, 1861, the Navahos and Apaches had been renewing hostile operations throughout the territory. The conditions of travel were reported as never more unsafe.<sup>42</sup>

This renewal of warfare resulted in part from the withdrawal of federal troops in the extreme limits, especially western New Mexico. The Indians laid waste the country, attacked villages, made captive numerous women and children, and sent the inhabitants scurrying to fortified places.<sup>43</sup> To add to this turmoil, the troublesome elements among the Mexicans seized the opportunity to show general disregard for law.<sup>44</sup>

Equally important with the removal of federal troops as a cause of the depredations was the realization among the discontented elements of weaknesses in the military. The Indians were apparently aware of the disruption in the army, occasioned by the resignations of officers who were hastening to the South.

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40. Rencher to Seward, Santa Fé, April 20, 1861, N. A., State Department Records, Territorial Papers, II.

41. Rencher to Bates, Santa Fé, June [?] 4, 1861, N. A., Justice Department Records, Attorney General MSS.

42. Benedict to Bates, Santa Fé, n.d., N. A., Justice Department Records, Attorney General MSS.

43. Rencher to Seward, Santa Fé, August 10, 1861, N. A., State Department Records, Territorial Papers, II.

44. Loring to Assistant Adjutant General L. Thomas, Santa Fé, March 23, 1861, N. A., War Department Records, Headquarters of the Army.

As a result of the chaotic conditions that prevailed throughout New Mexico during the summer of 1861, the peaceful inhabitants lost faith in the ability of the federal military forces to protect them. Colonel Edwin Canby, who succeeded Colonel Loring as commandant of the Ninth Military Department, endeavored to raise a volunteer force, but in this he was not entirely successful.<sup>45</sup> The natives were warned by southern sympathizers that if they joined such force, a Texan army then on the borders of New Mexico would supply the Indians with arms to attack them. Confederate agents were reported among the Navahos for the purpose of forming a military alliance, from which the Indians were to receive much booty.<sup>46</sup> Although these reports were circulated by southern sympathizers to weaken federal prestige, Colonel Canby and his associates used the same rumors with some effectiveness as incentives for the enlistment of Mexicans. "Kit" Carson worked diligently with Canby, and to him was attributed the success of having gained the support of prominent natives, who were rewarded with commissions in the Union army.<sup>47</sup>

If it was expected that Rencher as governor of New Mexico would support Colonel Canby in his program, he failed to respond to any solicitations. Instead, he exerted no effort to arouse the inhabitants either to the necessity of defending themselves against the Indians or against the threatened invasion of the Texans. The negative attitude of the governor was taken by his enemies as a further proof of his disloyalty.<sup>48</sup> Consequently, when the information finally reached Santa Fé in the summer of 1861 that Henry Connelly had been appointed to succeed Rencher, a positive pro-Union policy was anticipated by federal adherents. At the same time, Miguel Otero was notified that he had been

45. Rencher to Seward, Santa Fé, August 10, 1861, N. A., State Department Records, Territorial Papers, New Mexico, II.

46. Benedict to Bates, n.d., Santa Fé, N. A., Justice Department Records, Attorney General MSS.

47. Kit Carson MS., Bancroft Library.

48. William Need to Secretary Seward, Santa Fé, August 8, 1861, N. A., State Department Records, Miscellaneous Letters.

named territorial secretary, replacing Alexander Jackson, who was with the Confederate army in Texas.<sup>49</sup>

To some ardent Union men, these appointments may have appeared injudicious, in view of Connelly's tacit support of the slave code and Otero's professed admiration of southern institutions. Both appointments were made on the recommendation of Associate Justice John Watts, in whose integrity and judgment President Lincoln was said to have had the greatest confidence. Both men, Watts believed, exerted the widest influence in New Mexico, and, having been assured personally of their loyalty, he impressed upon the president the necessity of naming them.<sup>50</sup>

Although Connelly was a native of Virginia, and had lived in Kentucky and Missouri, he had been in New Mexico since 1828. In New Mexico's abortive effort for statehood in 1850, Connelly had been elected governor, and since that time, he had been a member of the National Democratic party of the territory. Despite his declared support of this party, Connelly, reports said, could not hear the name of Jackson or Buchanan without cursing.<sup>51</sup> The *Gazette* regarded the appointment as "good and a compliment to Connelly's long residence in the territory." His marriage to a member of a prominent native family and his wealth were regarded as important factors in his having been named. Not so favorably was it received by William Need, who wrote to Secretary Seward:

The appointment of Dr. Henry Connelly of Peralto [Peralta] is one that *should not have been made*. In the first place Dr. Connelly is a native of Kentucky; has resided in New Mexico some 20 or 25 years. Is a respected citizen, fond of making money and hoarding it up. He is intermarried

49. Frederic W. Seward, Assistant Secretary of State, to Miguel Otero, Washington, May 25, 1861, N. A., State Department Records, Domestic Letters.

50. John S. Watts to Abraham Lincoln, memorandum, N. A., State Department Records, Appointment Papers, Applications for Office; the Santa Fé *Gazette*, February 15, 1862, discussed the wisdom of the appointments.

51. Spruce M. Baird to Jacob Thompson, n.d., n.p., N. A., Interior Department Records, Secretary's Office, Appointment Division, Incoming Papers, 1857-1866.

with a native of this country and is reputed to be *rich*. He has always been a *Pro-Slavery* man—was in favor of the introduction of slavery into the Territory, and owned negroes *here* until within a comparatively short period. A year or two ago he took the last of his slaves from this Territory to the States and *sold them*. He is now a professed *neutral* Union man, provided the Union cause is the strongest. According to the oral statement of Col. John B. Grayson, late commissary in the U. S. Army, and a native of Kentucky, Dr. *Connelly agreed with him in opinion on the slavery question*, and Col. Grayson is a secessionist, *per se*.<sup>52</sup>

Need's account of Connelly's record although generally correct, was an attempt to depict the governor as secretly sympathetic with the Confederacy, if not actually in league with its agents. His assumptions were never in greater error. Connelly probably had expressed pro-slavery sentiments in the past. Need, in fact, might have alluded to Connelly's membership in the session of the territorial legislature that had so readily passed the slave code to which he had apparently lent his support. What Need and other critics failed to see was that although Connelly may have been at one time a pro-slavery man, he was at no time an advocate of secession.

Governor Connelly, whose years in New Mexico had given to him a thorough understanding of the Mexican temperament, recognized the futility of attempting to arouse the natives by an appeal to preserve the Union or to other pleas that were advanced by Union adherents in other sections of the country. He did believe, however, that hatred for Texas and Texans could be revived. Thus, in the weeks following his induction as governor, Connelly travelled through northern New Mexico, making addresses and writing many letters. He reminded the people of the Texan claim to all New Mexico east of the Rio Grande, of

52. William Need to Secretary Seward, Santa Fé, August 8, 1861, N. A., Miscellaneous Letters.

the ruthlessness of the Texans, and of the manner in which the fathers of the present generation of fighting men had once repulsed the Texan invaders.<sup>53</sup> The fact that a Confederate force, largely of Texans, had occupied the extreme southern limits of New Mexico since July made the governor's appeals for enlistments more realistic to the lethargic natives. In a proclamation issued at this time in Spanish and English, the governor said:

... This enemy is Texas and the Texans. . . . They threaten you with ruin and vengeance. They strive to cover the iniquity of their marauding inroad, under the pretense, that they are under the authority of a new arrangement they call a Confederacy, but in truth a rebel organization. . . . Their long smothered vengeance against our Territory and people, they now seek to gratify.<sup>54</sup>

In another proclamation dated September 9, 1861, he again counseled:

Citizens of New Mexico, your territory has been invaded, the integrity of your soil has been attacked, the property of peaceful and industrious citizens has been destroyed or converted to the use of the invaders, and the enemy is already at your doors. You cannot, you must not, hesitate to take up arms in defense of your homes, firesides and families. Your manhood calls upon you to be alert and to be vigilant in the protection of the soil of your birth, where repose the sacred remains of your ancestors and which was left by them as a rich heritage to you, if you have the valor to defend it.<sup>55</sup>

That the governor was experiencing the greatest difficulty in enlisting a volunteer force was revealed in a letter

53. John S. Watts who had gone to Washington to confer with officials in the summer of 1861, noted the activity of Governor Connelly in a letter to President Lincoln. Watts to Lincoln, n.d., Washington, N. A., Justice Department Records, Attorney General MSS.

54. Henry Connelly, *Address to the People of New Mexico*, broadside, Huntington Library Collections.

55. Henry Connelly, *Address*, September 9, 1861, N. A., State Department Records, Territorial Papers, II.



by Canby to an army official. He wrote that in his opinion the natives would take steps for the defense of the territory "with great tardiness, looking with greater concern to their private and petty interests." He also feared that their personal and political quarrels were of greater importance to them than defending the country against aggression. As to their fighting ability, he anticipated nothing, "unless strongly supported by regular troops."<sup>56</sup>

Under such circumstances, Governor Connelly, Colonel Canby, and their subordinates worked to save New Mexico to the Union. Strong means were employed in some instances to quiet what the governor called "the disaffected element." A number of men were placed under military guard and others merely cautioned. Spruce M. Baird, a friend of the governor's for a decade, was arrested and later suffered confiscation of his property.<sup>57</sup> The *Santa Fé Gazette* that had begun as an abolitionist newspaper and eventually had become the strongest pro-southern newspaper in New Mexico, now ceased its attacks on abolitionism, Abraham Lincoln, and what it had formerly termed "northern tyranny." According to William Need, the *Gazette* had been induced to change its editorial policy by being well paid for publishing official documents.<sup>58</sup>

In November, 1861, the governor announced his support of a measure to be introduced at the next session of the legislature for the repeal of the slave code. He described the code as "not congenital with our history, our feelings or interests."<sup>59</sup> When the legislature convened during the following month, among the first measures considered was a bill for the repeal of this act.<sup>60</sup> No opposition developed,

56. A. A. Hayes, "The New Mexico Campaign of 1862, a Stirring Chapter of our late Civil War," *Magazine of American History*, XXV (1886), 173.

57. William Need to Simon Cameron, Fort Fauntleroy, New Mexico, September 27, 1861, N. A., War Department Records, Secretary of War Document File.

58. *Idem*.

59. Henry Connelly, *Address to the People of New Mexico*, broadside, Huntington Library Collections.

60. *Laws of the Territory of New Mexico. Passed by the Legislative Assembly, Session of 1861-1862.*

and it was repealed immediately. The governor and the members of the legislature did not feel the necessity of taking action on Indian slavery or of withdrawing the more stringent clauses of the laws of peonage.

In a message to the legislature, Connelly made a statement of faith in the cause of the Union, and condemned the action of southern states that were unwilling to settle differences of opinion by peaceful methods. He stated that although New Mexico might have given cause for assertions that the territory was sympathetic to the South, the people had remained steadfast in their loyalty to the federal government. He noted that although New Mexico could not furnish troops for participation in the war beyond its limits, the people had the opportunity of showing their loyalty in other ways. By the purchase of government bonds, bearing 7.3% interest and tax exempt, the patriots in New Mexico could prove to the older sections that the people of the territory believed in the inviolability of the Union. Finally, the governor called attention to a levy of \$63,000 placed on New Mexico by the federal government for support of war measures. He expressed confidence, however, that this would be repealed, once the federal authorities realized the impossibility of raising so large a sum in a region that had been made desolate by recurring Indian depredations.<sup>61</sup>

In another address delivered shortly thereafter, Connelly assailed the Confederacy:

We have no interests to promote, by being drawn within the destinies of the rebels and rebellion. All in that direction is danger and ruin. Listen not to their agents or emissaries, whether sent for mischief, or shall be found as traitors, living among us. In the midst of our wrongs and dangers, neutrality is without excuse. He that is not with us, is for the rebels and rebellion, and his sympathies favor the invaders.—The Texans may circulate

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61. *The First Annual Message of Governor Connelly . . .*, December 4, 1861, pamphlet, Huntington Library Collections.

their seditious papers and proclamations, by traitors to us among our people. Be not deceived by these pretensions.<sup>62</sup>

So frequent were the rumors of an advancing Texan army that the people north of the Jornada, a desert in central New Mexico, would not have been greatly surprised at any military operations. An increase in the enlistments was evident, however, during the winter of 1861-1862.<sup>63</sup> In an effort to strengthen further the federal defense, Colonel Canby appealed to Governor William Gilpin of Colorado Territory for aid. The governor replied that secession sentiment was so rife in that direction that until conditions improved, it would not be expedient to despatch troops beyond the limits of that territory.<sup>64</sup> Actually, however, Governor Connelly and Colonel Canby had performed what at first had appeared to be an impossible task. Between five and six thousand volunteers had signed up, arms had been issued them, and some measure of fighting spirit aroused.<sup>65</sup>

Canby could anticipate no support to the Union south of the Jornada. Acting in close conjunction with the secession conventions of southern states, the inhabitants of southern New Mexico had been functioning under a Confederate government since the summer of 1861, and had renounced all allegiance to the Union even earlier than that time.

(to be concluded)

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62. Henry Connelly, *Address to the Legislative Assembly of New Mexico*, January 29, 1862, N. A., State Department Records, Territorial Papers, New Mexico, II.

63. John T. Russell, comp., *Official register N. M. volunteers called into service of the United States under the President's Proclamation of May 3, 1861* (Santa Fé, 1862).

64. William Gilpin to E.R.S. Canby, Denver, October 26, 1861, N. A., War Department Records, Ninth Military Department, Document Files.

65. Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, II, 374.

NEW MEXICO'S WARTIME FOOD PROBLEMS,  
1917-1918: A CASE STUDY IN EMERGENCY  
ADMINISTRATION

*By* GEORGE WINSTON SMITH

I. MOBILIZATION FOR THE FOOD CRISIS

NEW MEXICO'S people entered the First World War with sober awareness of the grave problems that faced them. Although physical separation from the scene of action tended to lessen the vivid imagery associated with large troop movements and other tangible manifestations of the war-spirit, a basic dislike for Prussian militarism was no less ingrained in the minds of New Mexican citizens than it was in the social thinking of any other part of the Union. What is more, New Mexico had at least two war problems that perhaps no other state had in as intense a degree. One of these problems was fear of attack from Mexico during the early months of the war. The other was the specter of a food shortage that might reduce the state's population to hunger before the hardships of a first war-winter could be overcome. Already, in April, 1917, both New Mexico and the nation as a whole were threatened with short crops at precisely the time when there was a vastly increased demand for all agricultural products. Overburdened railroads could no longer be expected as they had been before to bring into New Mexico fully sixty percent of its food supply. Yet there can be no doubt that in the crisis New Mexicans on the whole responded with vigor and courage. That the tasks of food production, conservation, and the like were performed reasonably well can be considered as a valid commentary upon the abilities of ordinary men and women living in a free democracy.

At the time the United States began its first war with Germany, weather reports from many parts of the country were discouraging hopes for a successful harvest. Crop estimates forecast a fifty million bushel slump in the Ameri-

can winter wheat crop; it was thought the potato crop would be 25 percent below normal.<sup>1</sup> In New Mexico the weather records told of one of the driest, coldest spring seasons in history.<sup>2</sup> Late frosts damaged peaches, pears, apricots, and alfalfa of the southern counties, while throughout March over one third of the state had no precipitation, and the stored depth of irrigation water fell perilously low.<sup>3</sup> Nor was there to be much rain later in the growing season. New Mexico was destined to have a drought year: yearly snow and rainfall in Santa Fé from 1878 to 1927 averaged 14.27 inches—in 1917 it was 5.03 inches.<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, the people of New Mexico resolved to increase agricultural production by enlarging the acreage of food crops.

Since many farmers had not yet planted their seed when war came, the backward season was at least in one respect an advantage. To be sure some of the farmers who already had put in their crops pleaded it would be difficult to increase their acreage for that reason, and because of the shortage of feed for their teams.<sup>5</sup> But that was not the usual response. Even before the declaration of war, the county agents of the Coöperative Extension Service of the State College and Department of Agriculture began to survey the prospects for increased production.<sup>6</sup> Their reports were encouraging. As an illustration, it was found that in Torrance county good dry land farms were then available which might increase the cultivated area there as much as 500 percent.<sup>7</sup> Similarly in Union county it was discovered that while 30,000 acres were planted to wheat, the total acreage could

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1. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, April 7, 20, 1917.
  2. *Ibid.*, April 17, 1917.
  3. Albuquerque *Morning Journal*, April 11, 15, 1917.
  4. *Climatic Summary for the United States, Weather Bulletin W*, (Washington, D. C., [1930]), Section 27, p. 14.
  5. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, May 4, 1917.
  6. A. C. Cooley, State College, to C. B. Smith, Washington, D. C., April 23, 1917, Department of Agriculture Archives, the National Archives, Acc. 174, Dr. 114. (Hereafter, unless otherwise designated, all Department of Agriculture Archives materials will have the classification number given above; it will not be repeated for each item.)
  7. Roland Harwell, Estancia, to *id.*, April 13, 1917, *ibid.*

be over three times that amount.<sup>8</sup> Well might an editor conclude:<sup>9</sup>

Thousands of acres of rich land lie idle, while the State buys its flour, vegetables, sugar, meats, and even grain for its livestock in other states. New Mexico has a remarkable advantage over older states. In these an increase in food supply may be had by stopping waste and increasing production per acre. In New Mexico there is a third way, of placing under cultivation new land . . . New Mexico never faced such a golden opportunity to make money and get in line to feed itself.

Granting that high prices tended to increase acreage,<sup>10</sup> it does not follow that New Mexicans acted solely on that motive. Rather, they accepted the challenge of a food shortage with many different manifestations of organizing zeal and patriotic coöperation. To give a few instances: citizens of the Estancia valley formed a "patriotic production league"; Pecos valley farmers who were members of the Berrendo Association pledged themselves to utilize every foot of ground; so too the Eddy County Farm and Livestock Improvement Association formulated plans for extended activities. As a stimulus, the State Land Office at the direction of Commissioner R. P. Ervien sent to every holder of leased state grazing lands a letter granting permission to use such lands for agricultural purposes without any increase in rent paid to the state. Consequently within a month no less than 15,740 acres of this grass land had been planted or broken to planting for food and forage crops. Also work was ordered to be stopped on all state highways until crops could be planted; tractors and men thus released were sent to plant fields on the state lands. Four hundred convicts were assigned to labor there.<sup>11</sup>

8. Orren Beaty, [n.p.] County agent of Union county, to [n.n., n.p.], April, [n.d.], 1917, *ibid.*

9. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, April 7, 1917.

10. J. W. Knorr, Carlsbad, to A. C. Cooley, State College, April 12, 1917, Department of Agriculture Archives.

11. Albuquerque *Morning Journal*, April 15, 24, 30, 1917; Santa Fé *New Mexican*, April 16, May 2, 14, 1917.

New Mexico's cities were equally aware of the food crisis. In Santa Fé, Levi A. Hughes, president of the First National Bank of Santa Fé, suggested that Santa Fé business men should organize to grow potatoes, beans, and corn on a large scale in the mountain valleys of Santa Fé National Forest. Business men would finance the venture and sell the crop to consumers at cost of production.<sup>12</sup> Both the Albuquerque and Santa Fé water companies offered low rates to city gardeners,<sup>13</sup> as wealthy citizens and civic organizations promised awards for bumper crops in "war gardens."<sup>14</sup> To supply the less fortunate residents of Santa Fé with vegetables, the Santa Fé Chamber of Commerce began to raise a community garden fund.<sup>15</sup> Local speakers advised Women's clubs to turn to chicken raising. Anticipating a labor shortage on the farms, the Rotary club of Albuquerque asked representative farmers to a luncheon where the club might get an estimate of the number of boys that could be put to work on the farms. The Rotarians proposed to negotiate with school boards to have this employment count as a part of the school course.<sup>16</sup> Already seventeen University of New Mexico students had been given permission to leave the university and receive full academic credit for organizing their local farming communities, impressing farmers with the need for planting maximum acreage, and tabulating all untilled land in their respective vicinities.<sup>17</sup> Later a proclamation by New Mexico's governor commissioned the superintendent of schools of each county in the state as an official organizer of the United States Boys Working Reserve. This was a nation-wide program then being set up under the Department of Labor.<sup>18</sup> Still another public official who was alert to the need of competent direction was Jonathan H. Wagner, the state superintendent

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12. *Ibid.*, April 19, 1917.

13. *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, April 17, 1917.

14. *Santa Fé New Mexican*, April 19, August 24, 1917.

15. *Ibid.*, May 2, 1917.

16. *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, April 19, 1917.

17. *Ibid.*, April 20, 1917.

18. *Santa Fé New Mexican*, May 4, 1917.

of public instruction. He suggested that local school boards should hire one or more able persons to guide the gardening activities of children and grown people in each community, and that teachers or demonstrators should be employed to take charge of neighborhood canning operations.<sup>19</sup>

Peculiarly troublesome were the ways and means of acquiring seed for the new crops. Many farmers were anxious to plant but couldn't do so because they lacked either seed, feed, equipment, or the financial means needed to secure them. In the emergency, local groups had to provide the farmers with essential credit. To serve Bernalillo county, four commercial institutions incorporated the Farm Extension Company. So too in San Miguel county fourteen men who had a working capital of \$9,000 formed the Inter-county Seed and Livestock Improvement Association. They furnished credit to 468 farmers. Raton business men borrowed from their county treasury \$15,000 with which to buy seed for resale to farmers, with the understanding that those who could not pay cash should be given the seed on the security of non-interest bearing crop mortgages. In Carlsbad a bank loaned without interest a considerable sum to the Farm Bureau of Eddy county.<sup>20</sup> In at least one instance a large corporation, the Chino Copper Company, extended \$5,000 credit to those who wanted seed in Grant and Luna counties.<sup>21</sup> Still, in spite of these instances of local financing, there was a growing conviction that there should be a special session of the state legislature to formulate a system of state-wide agricultural credit.

For other reasons as well it was felt that a more permanent form of organization was needed to continue the war-time food drive. Speaking at a loyalty meeting in Albuquerque, E. C. Crampton, a Raton political leader, declared: "We must organize. In our cities and towns and in the

19. *Ibid.*, April 25, 1917.

20. W. L. Elser, "Fourth Annual Report of County Agent Work in New Mexico . . . 1917" (New Mexico County Agent Leader's Report for 1917), p. 17, Department of Agriculture Archives.

21. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, May 8, 1917.



country and communities 'round them, there must be coöperation among all our people . . ."<sup>22</sup> Only by organization would it be possible to regulate and coordinate the enthusiastic response which the people already had made in the food crisis. Therefore, at the request of Governor W. E. Lindsey, a number of prominent citizens from all parts of the state met in Santa Fé on April 21, 1917 to organize a "Council of State Defense."<sup>23</sup> With Crampton as its chairman the council intended to keep the seriousness of the food shortage before the people, and to press forward all efforts for greater production.<sup>24</sup> Commonly known as the "New Mexico War Board," it was, of course, a volunteer organization appointed by the governor in advance of any legislative authority. However, at the very time it was created a call for an extra session of the New Mexico legislature was pending, and there were many who assumed that both legislative appropriations and guidance were essential to emergency food raising and other defense measures. In fact, Governor Lindsey's call for a special legislative session stressed the need for greater effort to provide for the production, conservation, distribution, and marketing of food.<sup>25</sup>

One of the disturbing questions that awaited the legislators' judgment concerned the role to be played by the New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts (commonly known as State College) in the food program. Because of political entanglements the college had been cut off by the previous legislature without an appropriation beyond its barest needs, but its partisans were hopeful that a grant of funds and authority would allow it to recover some influence by leading the campaign for a greater food supply.<sup>26</sup>

22. Albuquerque *Morning Journal*, April 11, 1917.

23. *Ibid.*, April 22, 1917.

24. "Agricultural Emergency Program Adopted by the State War Committee . . .", Council of National Defense Papers, War Department Archives, the National Archives, CND 1¼-A1,NA(jk-lm). (Hereafter, unless otherwise designated, all Council of National Defense Papers cited will have the classification number given above; it will not be repeated for each item.)

25. Albuquerque *Morning Journal*, April 27, 1917.

26. *Ibid.*, April 18, 20, 1917.

Opportunely enough, a new board of regents had just chosen an aggressive new president, A. D. Crile, to guide the college through dangerous political shoals. Crile was a former clergyman, but for a number of years before his appointment he had devoted his time to large-scale farming in the Pecos valley. Politically he had been active in the Republican party, and had seconded the nomination of the conservative Republican H. O. Bursum for governor at the Republican convention of August, 1916.<sup>27</sup> Indeed, it became clear that the sentiment favoring an extra session of the legislature also was proof that politics inevitably would have its place in New Mexico's food problems.

Perhaps it was unfortunate at such a time of crisis that New Mexican political alignments were blurred by venomous factional controversy. The "Progressivism" of an era that was soon to be ended by the war itself still tended in 1917 to act as a disruptive leaven in the ranks of the Republican and Democratic party organizations. Certainly no one had forgotten that many "Liberal" Republicans had bolted the State Republican ticket in the fall of 1916 to vote for Democratic candidates in protest against the conservative or "Old Guard" Republican leaders. It was in part due to this Republican "split" that the Democrats were able to send A. A. Jones to the United States senate, and to elect Ezequiel C. de Baca in the gubernatorial contest. On the other hand, the Republicans were strong enough with the aid of the gerrymander to put through their candidates for a considerable number of state offices, including the election of Washington E. Lindsey, to the lieutenant governorship.<sup>28</sup> Lindsey, to be sure, was known to look with favor upon some of the liberal ideas of the "progressives." He was not a strong leader of the "Old Guard," although at times he found it expedient to cooperate with it. After the death of Governor De Baca in February, 1917, he was projected into the center of the

27. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, April 12, 1917.

28. Ralph E. Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1911-1917), V, 410-420.

factional struggle, and ere the elections of 1918 he was destined to be thrown into discard by the Republican "organization."<sup>29</sup> In spite of Republican gains there in 1916, the state senate still had strong Democratic spokesmen at the outbreak of the war. "Old Guard" Republicans, however, largely controlled the New Mexico house of representatives. Under such circumstances, it was not remarkable that a deadlock between the two houses developed shortly after the legislature convened on May 1, 1917.

Before the extra-session was many days old, the house of representatives reported a bill which proposed a defense appropriation of \$1,500,000, and called for a "Council of Defense" of five members to replace Governor Lindsey's "War Board." Members of the senate then attacked the suggested grant as exorbitant, and stoutly maintained that \$500,000 would be more than sufficient for defense measures.<sup>30</sup> The *Santa Fé New Mexican*, an opponent of the "Old Guard," immediately charged that the Republican leaders were trying to use the war emergency to build up "a powerful machine chiefly among the native people by the use of the emergency appropriation, [and] to furnish henchmen unlimited food and seed and money for political purposes at the expense of the security and the comfort and the sustenance of the people."<sup>31</sup> Then too, the senate objected to investing the proposed Council of Defense with authority which would deprive the governor of his constitutional powers. Only after considerable haggling did they reach a compromise: the appropriation was set at \$750,000, and the Council of Defense was constituted as an "advisory board" composed of nine members.<sup>32</sup>

Heedless of Democratic pleas that the governor should make nonpartisan choices in his selection of the Council of Defense, or if political appointments were made that they

29. For a biographical sketch of Lindsey, see, Charles F. Coan, *A History of New Mexico* (Chicago and New York, 1925), II, 8-9.

30. *Santa Fé New Mexican*, November 13, 1916, May 5, 1917.

31. *Ibid.*, May 9, 1917.

32. *Ibid.*, May 7, 1917.

should balance one another, the council from the beginning had a predominant membership of "Old Guard" Republicans.<sup>33</sup> Its chairman, Secundino Romero, was a prominent ranchman and Republican chieftain from San Miguel county. More important as the real leader of the council was the chairman of its executive committee, Charles Springer of Santa Fé. Springer was a coal mine operator and a vital if unobtrusive cog in the "Old Guard" Republican state organization.<sup>34</sup> One of the few Democratic members, R. E. Putney of Albuquerque, resigned within two weeks, admittedly to give time to other affairs which included plans to secure the Democratic nomination for United States senator in 1918.<sup>35</sup>

It was only reasonable that the Council of Defense should affiliate at once with the Council of National Defense of the United States. Created by the national government in 1916 as a part of a preparedness program, the Council of National Defense by the early summer of 1917 had become one of the most inclusive and far-reaching of all the federal government's war-time agencies.<sup>36</sup> Under its direction the state council extended its organization downward to the counties. Within a relatively short time, county councils of defense had been organized in all the state's twenty-eight counties.<sup>37</sup> Some large counties were divided into districts, each with its own district council. After a time, community councils of defense were set up in school districts or other convenient divisions in various localities.<sup>38</sup>

33. For the Council's membership, see, *Final Report of the Council of Defense of the State of New Mexico* (Santa Fé, 1920), 3.

34. *Santa Fé New Mexican*, October 30, 1916; Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé to Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., September 8, 1917, United States Food Administration Papers, the National Archives, FA6HA1-3087. (Unless otherwise specified, all letters, telegrams, memoranda, etc. of food administration officials are in the United States Food Administration Papers. All classification numbers cited have reference to that collection.)

35. *Santa Fé New Mexican*, May 17, 1917.

36. "Preliminary Inventory of the Council of National Defense Records, 1916-1921" (Processed, Washington, D. C., 1942), vii-ix.

37. Walter M. Danburg, Santa Fé, to Elliott Dunlap Smith, Washington, D. C., November 3, 1917, Council of National Defense Papers.

38. *Final Report of the New Mexico Council of Defense*, 18.

There was also a woman's auxiliary of the state council, begun even before that body came into existence. Until it was reorganized and renamed the Women's Committee of National Defense in March, 1918, its presiding officer was Mrs. W. E. Lindsey. After the reorganization, Mrs. George W. Prichard of Santa Fé became its head.<sup>39</sup>

Working harmoniously with the defense councils was another war organization that had a vital part in mobilizing the state's food production and conservation efforts. This was the Coöperative Extension Service of the State College and the United States Department of Agriculture. Having been established before the war, its able director, A. C. Cooley, greatly expanded its work in 1917-1918. During 1917 twelve new counties were organized on a permanent basis with county agricultural agents. In addition, it created four farm bureau organizations, and began the formation of others. Yet this expansion was due in considerable measure to increased funds appropriated by the extra session of the legislature, and disbursed through the state council of defense. At one time, early in the summer of 1917, the council gave \$35,000 directly to the State College for use in this emergency work. As a result, the extension service's staff of permanent workers was increased, and thirteen temporary agents with nine assistants were sent out into the counties. After a while an appropriation from the federal government supplemented the state aid.<sup>40</sup> Ostensibly to "prevent" political considerations from influencing the choice of county agents, the legislative act providing state support stipulated that each agent should be appointed only after his selection by the extension service and committees appointed by the boards of county commissioners of the respective counties. Salaries of the agents were to be

39. "Woman's Committee of the Council of National Defense: Report of Organizations . . . March 4, 1918," Council of National Defense Papers. September 11, 1917; *ibid.*; A. C. Cooley, "Third Annual Report of the Coöperative Extension Work in Agriculture and Home Economics, State of New Mexico, December 14, 1917." pp. 17-18, Department of Agriculture Archives.

40. Phil H. Lenoir, Santa Fé, to William Browne Hale, Washington, D. C.;

paid in the following way: on the authority of the law passed by the extra session of the legislature, county commissioners could make a special tax levy to cover appropriations for agricultural work in the county, and the state should meet the county appropriation dollar for dollar up to \$2,000 per year in each county.<sup>41</sup>

Almost everywhere the people made a good response to the extension service's emergency program. In only one county was there opposition on the part of the board of county commissioners to making the appropriation for county agent work after the people of the county through a required petition had signified that they wanted the services of such an agent.<sup>42</sup> Including the new agents and emergency workers, the extension service's forces more than doubled in six weeks. Previous plans for peace-time work were put aside, and full attention was given to war food problems. Home demonstration agents, eleven of them, were sent out for the first time.<sup>43</sup> The State College itself became a clearing house for all kinds of food information. Hundreds of letters asking for help and advice were received each day, and President Crile spent long hours seeing to it that these inquiries were promptly answered.<sup>44</sup> If anything, the statement: "The greatest agricultural awakening in the history of New Mexico" was quite an understatement of the far-reaching activities that made up the great mobilization of New Mexico's efforts.

## II. THE FOOD ADMINISTRATION: ORGANIZATION AND POLITICS

From the earliest days of the war, New Mexicans looked with apprehension upon rising food prices. In April, 1917, one editor complained, ". . . We are now facing prices higher than those obtaining in many European nations after a year or so of real war and devastation."<sup>1</sup> His statement was an

1. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, April 18, 1917.

41. New Mexico county agent leader's report, 1917, p. 3.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

43. A. C. Cooley, Third Annual Report, p. 10.

44. Albuquerque *Morning Journal*, April 25, 1917.

exaggeration, but a tabulation made on May 1, 1917 did offer convincing proof of rising prices: wheat was then quoted at \$2.20 per bushel compared with \$.98 a year before, corn was sold for \$1.68 in contrast to \$.80, and other products were proportionately high.<sup>2</sup>

After spring had turned to summer, at least one irate New Mexican protested against rising prices by sending a letter to the United States Food Administration in Washington, where, probably without having made much of an impression, the lone complaint was perfunctorily answered, marked with blue pencil, and dutifully placed in the administration's growing files.<sup>3</sup> But that is not to say that the food administration was not preparing to remedy just such grievances. At the time, the agency was in its early stages, but even then with great vigor it was making plans for extensive operations in every state; it would establish forty-eight state administrations that every household in the land might learn for the first time in American history that civilian food control in wartime could be a reality. Herbert Hoover, recently returned from successful execution of Belgian war-relief, had been designated Federal Food Administrator.<sup>4</sup> With sober understanding based upon personal observation he well knew the implications of a food shortage when he stated the purposes of food regulation: ". . . to so guide the trade in the fundamental food commodities as to eliminate vicious speculation, extortion, and wasteful practices, and to stabilize prices in the essential staples."<sup>5</sup> It only remained for the passage of the Lever Act, August 10, 1917, to set in full motion the many parts of the food

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2. *Ibid.*, May 9, 1917.

3. United States Food Administration, Washington, D. C., to I. A. Willis, Pearl, New Mexico, August 14, 1917, (copy), FA6HA1-3087.

4. William C. Mullendore, *History of the United States Food Administration, 1917-1919* (Stanford, 1941), 51-55.

5. [Herbert Hoover], United States Food Administration, Washington, D. C., to Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, August 27, 1917, (copy), FA6HA3-3343.

administration machine.<sup>6</sup> Empowered by the act to carry out various controls, the federal administration lost no time in setting up its many state organizations. New Mexico, of course, received one of them.

A first step in organizing the New Mexico Administration was the choice of a state Food Administrator; search for him began late in May, and there is no doubt that they had to make a difficult selection. For although he had to serve without remuneration, the state administrator would be required to spend long hours in untangling complex problems which would tax his patience. Both honesty and tact were primary requisites. So following the usual policy in such appointments, Hoover relied upon suggestions from prominent citizens of the state before making a nomination. In that way various names came up for consideration,<sup>7</sup> and at first the one most persistently mentioned was that of Charles Springer, the effective leader of the state Council of Defense. One of his most valuable recommendations came from Edward Chambers, vice-president of the Santa Fé railroad and a resident of Chicago, who, when called in for his opinion on the matter, told food administration interviewers that Springer appealed to many New Mexicans because he was "a conservative, a good businessman."<sup>8</sup> President A. D. Crile of State College intimated that Springer would be willing to make the fifty-four workers of the extension service the basis of the state food administration's organization. Since the Council of Defense, the State College, and the extension service were cooperating well, they could effectively unify the state's war effort with respect to the food problem.<sup>9</sup>

6. "An Act to provide further for the national security and defense by stimulating agriculture and facilitating distribution of agricultural products." August 10, 1917. *The Statutes At Large of the United States . . .*, XL, part 1 (Washington, 1919, pp. 273-276.

7. W. E. Lindsey, Santa Fé, to Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., May 30, 1917, (telegram), FA6HA3-3343.

8. United States Food Administration memorandum, undated and unsigned, *ibid.*

9. James S. Phillips, Intercollegiate Bureau, Washington, D. C., to Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., June 19, 1917, *ibid.*



However, the prominent New Mexican publisher, Bronson M. Cutting, also figured largely in the negotiations. Too young himself to be seriously considered for the post, Cutting consulted in Washington with the head of the food administration's States Administration Division, John W. Hollowell. Possibly because he was serving as a colonel on the staff of Governor W. E. Lindsey (who favored Springer), the publisher's first choice seemed to be Springer, although Springer's "Old Guard" faction had been opposed by the Cutting-owned Santa Fé *New Mexican*.<sup>10</sup> Only after returning to New Mexico did Cutting think differently of it; he then inferentially abandoned Springer by a suggestion that Norman Bartlett, a Republican from Vermejo Park, was the most available candidate.<sup>11</sup> Ten days later, while the food administration was still pondering, Democratic senator A. A. Jones suddenly decided to take a part in the affair. He began by sending his secretary together with a *New Mexican*, Ralph C. Ely, to the food administration office. They carried a statement from the senator to the effect that he, a Democrat, highly recommended Ely, a Republican, for the position of state Food Administrator. After conferring with Hollowell and Hoover, Ely stated frankly that he would like the appointment, and that he would gladly volunteer his services for the duration of the war. That was the first the food administration knew of Mr. Ely; he hadn't been so much as mentioned before then. A hastily jotted memorandum noted that Ely's occupation was receiver of the New Mexico Central railroad. It added: ". . . He is a man of about fifty years and of an energetic type. He seemed to know the state—where he has lived for fifteen years—well."<sup>12</sup> Had the notation been more complete, it would have mentioned that the caller was large but well-built, with a broad, ruddy face—a man who smiled easily and spoke in full voice with dis-

10. J[ohn] W. H[allowell] memorandum, June 17, 1917, *ibid.*

11. Bronson M. Cutting, Santa Fé, to John W. Hollowell, Washington, D. C., July 3, 1917, (telegram), *ibid.*

12. "Memo to States Administration Department Regarding Ralph C. Ely of New Mexico," July 13, 1917, *ibid.*

arming candor. A genial, forceful personality must have been the first impression.<sup>13</sup>

Nearly a week after Ely's visit the food administration inquired of Cutting his opinion on Ely's candidacy, and whether or not the New Mexican governor would agree to such a choice. Cutting's reply pointed out that Ely had "some agricultural experience," that he was "energetic and resourceful," and that on the whole he was "well qualified for the position."<sup>14</sup> Two days later he followed his recommendation with another telegram which gave assurances that Governor Lindsey approved of Ely. This message also warned that Norman Bartlett was doubtful about acceptance, whereas Ely had assured Cutting in a personal conversation of his eagerness to have the office. In short, Cutting believed that Ely's appointment would be the best solution of the problem.<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately for everyone concerned, Cutting's opinion was not universal. On July 25, Santa Fé railroad's Edward Chambers confided to food administration officials that Ely was "a politician," and "pretty radical."<sup>16</sup> Then when, in spite of Chambers' warning, Hoover appointed Ely on August 14,<sup>17</sup> telegrams of protest began to arrive at food administration headquarters. H. W. Kelly of the prominent Gross-Kelly Company, wholesale grocers, wired from Las Vegas: "The business interests of New Mexico will be seriously menaced by the appointment of Ralph C. Ely as State Food Commissioner. He is not a businessman and it is to the best interests of the business of New Mexico to have

13. There is a biographical sketch of Ely in Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, V, 204n.

14. John W. Hallowell, Washington, D. C., to Bronson M. Cutting, Santa Fé, July 13, 1917, (telegram copy), FA6HA12-3447; Bronson M. Cutting, Santa Fé, to Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., July 18, 1917, (telegram), FA6HA3-3343.

15. *Id.* to John W. Hallowell, Washington, D. C., July 20, 1917, (telegram), *ibid.*

16. United States Food Administration memorandum: conference of Edward Chambers with F[rederic] C. W[alcott], J[ohn] W. H[allowell], and J[ohn] R. R[ichardson], July 25, 1917, *ibid.*

17. Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., to Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, August 14, 1917, (telegram copy), *ibid.*; *id.* to *id.*, August 15, 1917, (telegram copy), *ibid.*; Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, to Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., August 14, 1917, (telegram), *ibid.*

his appointment suspended or his powers limited."<sup>18</sup> Even more outspoken was a communication from the Wholesale Grocers Club of New Mexico, which had as its secretary, M. L. Fox, the hardhitting and factious editor of the Albuquerque *Morning Journal*.<sup>19</sup> For a number of years Fox and Ely had been waging a bitter feud, highlighted by Fox's opposition to Ely's political aspirations, and by Ely's endeavor to secure an option on the Albuquerque *Evening Herald*.<sup>20</sup>

Fox could charge with some truth that Ely as liberal chairman of the Republican State Committee and receiver of the New Mexico Central railroad had used every opportunity to advance his own candidacy for the gubernatorial nomination in 1916. It was common knowledge that, after a calamitous battle against the "Old Guard" in the Republican state convention, Ely together with some other members of the liberal group (including the editor of Bronson Cutting's *New Mexican*), had supported Democratic state candidates led by Senator Jones in the 1916 election.<sup>21</sup> Fox too, regardless of his aversion to Ely, had used his influence in favor of the Democrats in the fall of 1916. After that, however, his editorial policy had been remarkably friendly toward the Republican dominated State College and state Council of Defense.<sup>22</sup> In August, 1917, it was patent that any attempt by Jones to balance the Republican strength of the Council of Defense by appointment of the "heretical" Ely would meet with violent opposition both from the *Morning Journal* and from many conservative business men. As a

18. Undated United States Food Administration memorandum, *ibid.* This memorandum quotes from the following telegrams: H. W. Kelly, Las Vegas, to Edward Chambers, Washington, D. C., August 17, 1917; T. H. O'Brien, [n.p.], to Senator A. A. Jones, Washington, D. C., August 18, 1917; J. Cunningham, [Las Vegas?], to *id.*, August 17, 1917; See also, the Las Vegas *Optic*, cited in Santa Fé *New Mexican*, August 21, 1917.

19. M. L. Fox, Albuquerque, to Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., August 18, 1917, *ibid.*

20. *Id.* to *id.*, November 24, 1917, *ibid.*

21. Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, V, 414-420; Santa Fé *New Mexican*, October 31, November 11, 1916.

22. Albuquerque *Morning Journal*, September 8, 21, 1917.

liberal Ely had crossed swords with the mine operators of the state on matters of taxation and other economic issues.<sup>23</sup> In fact only four days after his appointment as state Food Administrator, Ely appeared before the New Mexico state Corporation Commission to protest in the public's interest against a 15 cent per ton increase on intra-state shipments of coal and coke.<sup>24</sup> Charles Springer, it should be remembered, was one of the largest coal mine operators in the state, as well as stalwart of the Republican faction that had "steam-rolled" Ely in 1916. Moreover, Ely might remind Herbert Hoover that Governor Lindsey had formerly been "one of my men," but he could not convince himself offhand that the governor was completely untrammelled by the powerful Council of Defense.<sup>25</sup>

Herbert Hoover presently found out enough about the factional squabbles to make him uneasy, so to allay his fears Ely held conferences with Governor Lindsey and Springer. The meetings, Ely eagerly reported, were "exceedingly pleasant."<sup>26</sup> But, at the other side of the conference table, Springer too acted in response to urgings from Washington. Walter S. Gifford, head of the Council of National Defense, was just as eager as Hoover that the state Council of Defense and the state Food Administration should cooperate in New Mexico.<sup>27</sup> They all knew that such an enforced truce was unstable and that at any moment open warfare might break out, and for it they did not have long to wait. A difference of opinion over the choice of a state Fuel Administrator brought the war-horses full tilt into the fray. Ely protested to Hoover that any prospective appointee receiving the endorsement of either the state Council of Defense or Governor

23. Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, to Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., August 29, September 8, 1917, FA6HA1-3087.

24. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, August 18, 1917.

25. Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, to Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., September 8, 1917, FA6HA1-3087.

26. *Id.*, to United States Food Administration, Washington, D. C., September 1, 1917, *ibid.*

27. Charles Springer, Santa Fé, to Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, August 17, 1917, (copy), Council of National Defense Papers, CND14-A11.

Lindsey's administration would be a dangerous choice for reason of the fact that selfish coal mining interests dominated the state government.<sup>28</sup> At the time Springer was straining every nerve trying to "sell" his candidate for the office (George H. Van Stone) to the Council of National Defense officials in Washington.<sup>29</sup> Great must have been Springer's chagrin when, thanks to Senator Jones' influence Democratic ex-governor MacDonald got the place.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, Ely's announcement of his food administration assistants was sufficient to verify Springer's worst fears about that organization.

For publicity director Ely chose E. Dana Johnson, editor of Bronson Cutting's Santa Fé *New Mexican* and its weekly supplement *El Nuevo Mexicano*.<sup>31</sup> J. H. Toulouse, field leader of the Boys and Girls Club Work in the extension service, but also a personal representative of Ely in the 1916 political campaign, became the Food Administration's field secretary or "contact man."<sup>32</sup> Second in command to Ely with the title of executive secretary was Melvin T. Dunlavy, a state senator from Santa Fé who enjoyed popularity among liberal Republicans and Democrats.<sup>33</sup> Perhaps it was Hoover's urgent request that the state administration's expenses should not exceed one thousand dollars per month that prevented Ely from making more appointments of the same kind.<sup>34</sup> No doubt the men chosen were capable enough, but their factional relationships allowed M. L. Fox to reiter-

28. Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, to Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., September 10, 1917, (telegram), FA6HA1-3087.

29. Charles Springer, Santa Fé, to George F. Porter, Washington, D. C., October 15, 1917, (telegram), Council of National Defense Papers, CND14-A13(1).

30. "W. G. Taussig: Memorandum for Mr. E. D. Smith," October 9, 1917, *ibid.*; George F. Porter, Washington, D. C., to Charles Springer, Santa Fé, October 20, 1917, (telegram copy), *ibid.*

31. Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, to Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., September 8, 1917, FA6HA1-3087; *id.* to John W. Hallowell, Washington, D. C., November 9, 1917, *ibid.*

32. Albuquerque *Evening Herald*, September 10, 1917.

33. Melvin T. Dunlavy, Santa Fé, to Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., November 19, 1917, FA6HA1-3087.

34. Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., to Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, September 7, 1917, *ibid.*

ate without fear of any libel suits that Ely was making "an attempt open and blatant . . . to use the war for personal advertisement."<sup>35</sup>

Opposition to Ely such as Fox encouraged received further incentive when a district judge removed Ely from his lucrative receivership of the New Mexico Central railroad.<sup>36</sup> Immediately, Ely's foes accepted this action as proof that he had connived to scrap the important rail line for profit that he might realize on such a deal.<sup>37</sup> Equally culpable in the eyes of Ely's enemies was the judge's ruling that the deposed receiver should repay \$6,327.58 drawn for excessive expenses from the railroad's funds over and above his authorized salary and expenditures. Anyhow, because the office of state Food Administrator carried no salary, Fox reasoned that the loss of the receivership would force Ely to resign from the food administration.<sup>38</sup>

Promptly upon hearing of Ely's predicament, two federal food administration officials in Washington betook themselves to Senator Jones' spacious office, and spent more than an hour with him contemplating the New Mexican muddle. Jones admitted his embarrassment over Fox's attacks upon Ely, especially since the self-styled "independent" *Albuquerque Morning Journal* with the largest circulation of any newspaper in the state had supported him for senator in 1916. But notwithstanding his unwillingness to alienate the *Journal* the senator counseled his interviewers not to consider Ely's removal from the receivership as more than a political maneuver. A "typical political judge," known as an "Old Guard standpatter" and manager of the Republican State Central Committee's speaker's bureau in 1916, had been appointed to the bench only about six weeks before he handed down the decision in Ely's case. The senator cagily refused to make a definite avowal, but gave the

35. *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, September 11, 1917.

36. *Ibid.*, September 16, 1917.

37. H. W. Kelly, East Las Vegas, to A. A. Jones, Washington, D. C., September 17, 1917, FA6HA3-3843.

38. *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, September 16, 1917.

impression he thought Ely should be given at least a reasonable time to show whether or not he could "make good" as Food Administrator.<sup>39</sup> Therefore, by the grace of Senator Jones, Ely, shorn though he was of his receivership salary, was able to hang on as Food Administrator; he still wasn't any closer to agreement with some New Mexico merchants whose concurrence was essential to a successful administration.

Ely's former identification with liberalism had won for him the endorsement of the United Mine Workers and other labor organizations; it had not helped him to appreciate the needs of conservative business men. After taking the food administration office his attitude toward the merchants at first seemed to be one of half-concealed distrust. On occasion he berated the "mosquito fleet of profiteers."<sup>40</sup> That he interpreted the objectives of the food administration somewhat differently than Herbert Hoover was certain when he wrote: "The whole effort of the Food Administration is bent to two ends: First, to secure to the producers as large a price as is possible and the fairest possible treatment. Second, to secure to the consumer his food supplies at a reasonable cost. To these ends the middle men are constantly squeezed."<sup>41</sup> Any "squeeze" upon the merchants could only serve to reinforce their dislike of his methods and motives. Under Secretary Fox's direction, the Wholesale Grocers Club decided to have as little to do with Ely as the law required of them; in time their lack of coöperation might cause his removal.<sup>42</sup> Nor were these merchants content with a negative attitude. Fox continued to publish editorials which harped upon his thesis that the people of the state had no confidence in the Food Administrator.<sup>43</sup>

39. "Memorandum, George H. Warrington," September 27, 1917, FA6HA3-3343; Santa Fé *New Mexican*, August 6, 1917.

40. Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, to United States Food Administration, Washington, D. C., October 25, 1917, FA6HA1-3087.

41. *Id.*, Albuquerque, to Pedro F. Salazar, Chamita, July 15, 1918, FA6HA3-3343.

42. "Memorandum, John W. Hallowell," October 25, 1917, *ibid.*

43. Melvin T. Dunlavy, Santa Fé, to Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., November 19, 1917, FA6HA1-3087.

In October, Fox attended a conference of retailers in Washington. While there he waited upon J. W. Hallowell in the food administration office so that he might repeat the charges against Ely that he had already made in letters to the food administration and to Senator Jones.<sup>44</sup> Although he received no definite encouragement, Fox then returned to New Mexico and began to support the *federal* food administration program while ignoring the food administration's state officials. Herbert Hoover began to receive inquiries, as, for example, the one from Charles Ilfeld and Company (Albuquerque wholesale grocers), asking for a statement of Ely's position and duties. Fox was quoted as saying that Ely had no authority to call a meeting of the grocers to explain food regulations, or to see that those regulations were carried out.<sup>45</sup> Yet, irritating though they might be, such obstructionist tactics were only preliminary to a decisive move which came late in November. For then, while Ely was at bean-marketing conferences in Washington and New York, Fox called a statewide meeting of all grocery wholesalers and retailers. This could be interpreted only as an attempt to form New Mexican grocers into a united front opposed to Ely.<sup>46</sup> It was done in defiance of a telegram from Theodore F. Whitmarsh of the federal food administration,<sup>47</sup> and it was accompanied by a threat to publish in the *Congressional Record* "facts" about Ely's supposed unfitness. Summarizing his accusations, Fox enumerated Ely's previous failures in business enterprises, his extravagance, lack of scruples in paying personal obligations, and the alleged attempt to run the state food organization as a

44. Hallowell memorandum, October 25, 1917, FA6HA3-3343.

45. M. L. Fox, Albuquerque, to Theodore F. Whitmarsh, Washington, D. C., November 26, 1917, *ibid.*; Charles Ilfeld and Co., Albuquerque, to "Hoover National Food Administration," Washington, D. C., November 21, 1917, (telegram), *ibid.*

46. Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, to John W. Hallowell, Washington, D. C., December 5, 1917, FA6HA2-3194; J. H. Toulouse, Santa Fé, to Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, November 29, 1917, (copy), *ibid.*

47. M. L. Fox, Albuquerque, to Theodore F. Whitmarsh, Washington, D. C., November 24, 1917, FA6HA3-3343.



political machine.<sup>48</sup> At that point the federal food administration did the expected: it frantically telegraphed to Senator Jones (who had been spending some weeks at his home in East Las Vegas), and besought him to avert disaster. The telegram came after Jones had left for Washington, but probably it would have made little difference to him. For, while refusing to become excited over the food administration wrangle, Jones had talked quietly with Fox and others during his stay in New Mexico. Once in Washington, he met the food administration officials and calmed their fears. He advised them that it was the general consensus of opinion among "leading men" of New Mexico (including the governor) that Ely was doing well as an administrator. The Wholesale Grocers Club, he pointed out, was a comparatively small group, and outside of its membership quite a few large retailers and wholesalers already had agreed to support the state food administration.<sup>49</sup> Events proved that the senator was at least partially correct.

With rather bewildering suddenness Ely received a gratifying response to invitations for a wholesale-retail grocers' conference to be held at Santa Fé on December 6. At least seventy-five of the most representative dealers were there, and not the least prominent were all the members of the Wholesale Grocers Club. A committee made up of R. E. Putney, Max Nordhaus, and Thomas A. Roth adopted a resolution endorsing the state food administration.<sup>50</sup> What is more, the merchants agreed to furnish the salary of a grocery division head for the state food administration. This appointee would be an expert in the field, but would have no financial interest in any grocery enterprise. Under his guidance the merchants would observe the food regula-

48. *Id.*, to Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., November 24, 1917, *ibid.*

49. "Memorandum of Interview with Senator Jones of New Mexico," December 11, 1917, *ibid.*

50. Melvin T. Dunlavy, Santa Fé, to Theodore F. Whitmarsh, Washington, D. C., December 6, 1917; *ibid.*; E. Dana Johnson, Santa Fé, to United States Food Administration: Allen, December 7, 1917, FA6HA2-3194.

tions.<sup>51</sup> Ely had reached a turning-point in his relations with the merchants. Soon afterwards he wrote: "It is my belief that there is not a single big retailer or wholesaler in the state today whose purpose is to avoid compliance with the regulations to the letter."<sup>52</sup> Fox himself agreed to chat with the victorious administrator, and gave assurances that he would support the food administration propaganda.<sup>53</sup> In the spring of 1918, Fox left his newspaper to become professor of economics in State College, and to travel about the state in the interests of the extension division. Thereafter, a reporter from the *Morning Journal* called at the food administration office each day in search of publicity items.<sup>54</sup> From his point of view Ely could claim a striking success; but it also became evident that after December, 1917, commercial interests wielded an influence in the administration that Ely was not willing to gainsay. More important was the realization that in spite of personal and political issues the people of New Mexico were undertaking to interpret the federal food administration's far-reaching plans.

### III. FOOD CONSERVATION PROPAGANDA

In New Mexico as elsewhere the food administration followed a policy laid down by Herbert Hoover, who seemingly had a boundless faith in education and voluntary cooperation. This explains the ardor with which the food administration waged a campaign to convince the average man and woman they should be extraordinarily careful to conserve food. While waste was pictured as a form of sabotage, "conservation" became a patriotic watchword for the times. Particularly urgent was the drive to save sugar, wheat, and fats—all scarce and of universal demand.

51. Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, to United States Food Administration, Washington, D. C., December 8, 1917, *ibid.*

52. *Id.* to *id.*, December 26, 1917, FA6HA2-3193.

53. *Id.* to *id.*, December 12, 1917, FA6HA2-3194.

54. E. Dana Johnson, Santa Fé, to John W. Hollowell, Washington, D. C., April 16, 1918; *ibid.*; Rolland K. Goddard, Denver, to W. H. Moran, Washington, D. C., August 28, 1918, United States Food Administration Papers, FA6HA3-3343. This document is a secret service report; hereafter it will be referred to as the Goddard report.

New Mexico was a most difficult state in which to carry on a propaganda drive. Its area was fourth largest in the union. Yet by the 1910 census it had an estimated population of only 383,551—forty-fourth among the states at the time of the first World War.<sup>1</sup> Within its borders varied languages were in use. About sixty-five percent of the people spoke English, and roughly the same number conversed in Spanish, but not nearly so many could read either language or talk easily in both.<sup>2</sup> The presence of other tongues was demonstrated when the food administration had to request lithographed posters with texts in Italian and Polish to be tacked upon the walls of company stores in mining camps.<sup>3</sup> Hence means had to be found to reach scattered and diverse citizens with the singular appeal that food would win the war.

Newspapers could at best influence only a minority, though within their limited range they were of some value in propaganda dissemination. Hostility of the Albuquerque *Morning Journal* and one or two other papers slowly had to be overcome, and it was not until the spring of 1918 that administrator Ely was able to report the New Mexican press was working with him in a satisfactory manner. Even then, there were obstacles difficult to overcome. There were only four daily newspapers in the state, and none of these had a statewide circulation. Sometimes when food conservation matter for newspapers was sent to the press from Washington it didn't "fit" New Mexican conditions.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the "plate" material given to those papers which wished ready-

1. Margaret L. Brooks, *Census of Manufacturers, 1914, New Mexico* (Washington, 1917), 3.

2. F. M. Harwood, Albuquerque, to United States Food Administration, States Administration Division, Washington, D. C., August 17, 1918, FA6HA5-3422; Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, to John W. Hallowell, Washington, D. C., December 1, 1917, FA6HA2-3194.

3. *Ibid.*

4. "Questionnaire For Report of Federal Food Administrators, New Mexico," March 23, 1918, FA6HC1-3609. New Mexican food administrators submitted a number of reports on similar questionnaire forms. All have the same classification number, which after this will be omitted. The reports will be cited simply as Questionnaire reports, together with the dates of their submission.

to-print fillers many times was not lively enough to be welcome.<sup>5</sup> Better received were the publicity accounts on mimeographed slips that were dispatched from state headquarters each day by Ely's able "educational director," E. Dana Johnson. But even they were not always printed, and Ely finally concluded that the administration could be successful in its approach only if less mimeographed copy were sent out broadcast to the printers and more publicity stories were especially prepared for each community. Near the end of the war a shortage of linotype operators made an additional problem. To compensate for their dwindling labor supply, newspapers increased their display advertising, patent insides, and the like, so that they might have to set less type. As a consequence, it became harder to insert news releases. Ely was allowed to do no paid advertising, but occasionally he helped a newspaper to secure a full-page advertisement of the food program at the expense of some local merchants.<sup>6</sup> Many retailers proved willing to promote the propaganda by including food conservation slogans in their display advertising. To illustrate, Ike Davis, a Las Vegas grocer, put the following advice in one advertisement: "Plenty of sugar and butter here, but very little 'Over There.' Let us use a little less here so they can have more 'Over There.'"<sup>7</sup>

That it might supplement its newspaper appeals, the food administration began in the fall of 1917 to issue a weekly four-page *Hoover Bulletin*. This had an extensive mailing list of about forty thousand copies until, after a short while, the federal food administration ordered it to be discontinued because of its heavy cost.<sup>8</sup> However, numerous pamphlets and circulars from Washington poured out in a steady stream, while lithographed posters continued to be

5. Ralph C. Ely, Albuquerque, to John W. Hollowell, Washington, D. C., April 12, 1918, FA6HA2-3194.

6. Questionnaire reports, June 20, 1918, September 1, 1918.

7. E. Dana Johnson, Santa Fé, to John W. Hollowell, Washington, D. C., December 13, 1917, FA6HA2-3194.

8. Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, to *id.*, October 25, 1917, FA6HA1-3087.

distributed through the state food administration office. One of the most interesting series of posters was the "Little American" set, which was used in the elementary schools. Colorful exhibits were prepared under the supervision of A. B. Stroup, and public libraries offered facilities for displays. Because there were only about twelve circulating libraries in the state, Mrs. Harry Wilson, in charge of that division, tried to establish others, chiefly in the Spanish-speaking communities. At about the time when his food administration had its largest personnel, Ely reported that about twenty volunteer speakers and three salaried food administration inspectors were making frequent talks to theater audiences. One of the employees, W. E. Collinge, seemed to be rather popular as a speaker. He had lost an arm in France while fighting with the Canadian army, and he invariably recounted his martial adventures along with an appeal for food-saving.<sup>9</sup>

Another device, the "Hoover Pledge Card," became a central theme around which was built a sustained propaganda effort. In July, 1917, even before the state food administration was set up, the woman's auxiliary of the state Council of Defense undertook to secure housewives' signatures on thousands of food conservation pledge cards.<sup>10</sup> By signing the card each woman agreed: ". . . to accept membership in the United States Food Administration, pledging myself to carry out the directions and advice of the Food Administration in the conduct of my household insofar as my circumstances permit."<sup>11</sup> In detail, those who enrolled in the food administration were asked to follow about ten conservation rules. Among the most important of these were the following: to eat plenty, but wisely and without waste; to buy less, cook no more than necessary, and serve smaller portions; whenever possible to use poultry, game, and sea-

9. Questionnaire reports, March 23, June 20, August 1, 1918; United States Food Administration, States Administration Division, Washington, D. C., to Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, February 13, 1918 (copy), FA6HA2-3194.

10. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, July 14, 1917.

11. *Ibid.*, September 26, 1917.

foods in place of beef, mutton, and pork; to use potatoes and other vegetables freely; to save wheat by substituting, in part, corn-meal and other cereal flours for wheat flour; to use vegetable oils for cooking; to enjoy smaller amounts of candy, few sweet drinks, and to use less sugar in tea and coffee.<sup>12</sup>

As soon as the state food administration began to function, it intensified the pledge card drive. At the end of October, it laid great stress upon a national "pledge week" campaign, and after three days of that week a Washington publicity release reported 9,863 new card signers in New Mexico with many other names not counted because of delays in submitting them.<sup>13</sup> After the special week had ended, Ely decided to continue the propaganda until there might be enrolled nearly all of New Mexico's sixty thousand families. For the work of canvassing he organized the Women of the American Army, composed of mothers, sisters, and wives of New Mexico's soldiers.<sup>14</sup> At length, Ely claimed that of the fifty-five thousand homes in New Mexico, forty thousand finally were affiliated with the food administration through the cards.<sup>15</sup> Still it cannot be said that the response to the pledge card campaign was entirely harmonious. On November 2, J. H. Toulouse, Ely's field representative, admitted that after covering fifteen or more counties in the interests of the campaign he did not believe that fifteen percent of the people were alive to their wartime responsibilities. In many of the communities he found great fear that the pledge cards would lead to the seizure for government use of the citizens' food supplies.<sup>16</sup>

After having been gathered together and sorted in the state food administration office, the signed pledge cards

12. *Ibid.*, October 23, 1917.

13. United States Food Administration, Washington, D. C., Press Release no. 400, October 31, 1917. Press Releases, vol. 4.

14. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, October 31, 1917.

15. Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, to Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., March 1, 1918, FA6HA2-3193.

16. J. H. Toulouse, Santa Fé, to Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, November 2, 1917 (copy), FA6HA1-3087.

constituted a file for use in sending out more printed propaganda, an extensive amount of which was mailed directly to New Mexican homes.<sup>17</sup> Ely, however, was not satisfied with this "mail-order" method. In the fall of 1917 he announced that a total of 1,300 New Mexican citizens had been made volunteer agents of the state food administration. These appointments were made with the school districts as primary units of organization. Each school district should have one responsible leader from whom the food administration might get information, and through whom it might distribute literature. School children could peddle circulars, pamphlets, etc.<sup>18</sup> But the experiment was something less than satisfactory, and, by the spring of 1918, Ely inclined toward a belief that churches would be more effective as disseminators of printed propaganda. A hindrance there, however, was the religious prejudice which he thought that the state had in abundance. While various "Hoover messages" were read in nearly all churches and fraternal lodges, Ely finally had to admit that he was unable to get proper coördination among them.<sup>19</sup> More useful than masses of literature in presenting the food conservation message were well-staged culinary demonstrations; being both tangible and novel they drew housewives by the hundreds into enthusiastic, crowded meetings.

"Patriotic Week," October 8-14, 1917, was the occasion of an enthusiastic food conservation conference in Albuquerque. At that time "Hoover Headquarters," complete with kitchen equipment, were established in the Occidental building. There the art of conservation and substitution was demonstrated by Mrs. Ruth C. Miller, state industrial education supervisor and the food administration's director

17. Questionnaire report, August 1, 1918.

18. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, October 6, 1917; Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, to Alexander GUSDORF, Taos, September 5, 1917 (copy), FA6HA1-3087; *id.* to United States Food Administration, Washington, D. C., December 26, 1917, FA6HA2-3193.

19. Questionnaire report, June 20, 1918; Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, to United States Food Administration, Coöperating Organizations Division, Washington, D. C., July 12, 1918, FA6HB9-3576; *id.* to K. S. Clow, Washington, D. C., May 7, 1918, FA6HA2-3193.

of home economics. She was assisted by a uniformed "Hoover Team" of volunteer workers.<sup>20</sup> Afterward similar teams of women were organized in many counties for demonstrations,<sup>21</sup> and sometimes they conducted prize contests for conservation recipes.<sup>22</sup> It also became the special province of the state food administration's home economics director to prepare new recipes and wartime diets adaptable to New Mexico's living conditions. She gave much time to techniques of drying fruits and vegetables, to cheese-making, and to pinto bean dishes. In July, 1918, it was decided to instruct five or ten housewives as "inspirational workers," and to dispatch them far and wide to meet "Hoover" demonstration teams for special conferences on the preservation of perishable foods.<sup>23</sup> Approximately the same intention was in mind at a Mother-Daughter Congress which convened in Albuquerque on June 22, 1918, for a week-long series of meetings. Delegates chosen from many parts of the state gathered there, and especially were these women from the remote, inaccessible regions. Each of them came upon official appointment of the United States food administration. All paid their own transportation expenses, but they were fed by the state food administration at a cost of less than fifteen cents per meal, and they received free lodging in University of New Mexico dormitories or in private school buildings. After completing the course of instruction, each participant received the title "Hoover Demonstrator" together with the injunction to teach others in her home community.<sup>24</sup>

The food administration was not alone in the food conservation work. A. C. Cooley, the active director of the ex-

20. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, October 10, 1917; Albuquerque *Morning Journal*, September 30, 1917.

21. Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, to John W. Hallowell, Washington, D. C., December 10, 1917, FA6HA2-3194.

22. Questionnaire report, October 1, 1918; Albuquerque *Morning Journal*, September 11, 1918.

23. Ralph C. Ely, Albuquerque, to Miss Frances Lathrop, Albuquerque, July 2, 1918 (copy), FA6HA3-3343.

24. J. H. Toulouse report [June, 1918], *ibid.*



tension service, placed resident demonstration agents for home economics in seven different counties. Other agents toured from place to place, and were assisted by the woman's auxiliary of the Council of Defense. By December, 1917, no less than 685 meetings attended by 17,056 women had been promoted by the agents.<sup>25</sup> Up to that date they distributed over ten thousand bulletins and circulars. These included titles like the following: "The Use of Left-Over Meat in Cookery," "Ways of Using Corn Meal," "The Use of Beans in the Diet," etc.<sup>26</sup> As early as May, 1917, the state Council of Defense appointed a publicity director, and two months later it began to issue a weekly bulletin, the *New Mexico War News*. With Guthrie Smith of Santa Fé as editor, it frequently reprinted conservation items gleaned from nation-wide exchanges. In fact it was criticized by national Council of Defense officials for its failure to specialize more upon happenings in New Mexico.<sup>27</sup> About a year after it first appeared, the *War News* began to come out also in a bi-monthly Spanish edition. The combined circulation then was around 3,500 copies.<sup>28</sup>

At times the wartime agencies tried to cooperate, and occasionally as at the Albuquerque mother-daughter congress, they were quite successful. More often, however, their joint efforts ended in stormy disputes. As an illustration, a speaker's bureau under the auspices of the food administration, the woman's auxiliary, and the Council of Defense, was appointed to arrange for orators at patriotic meetings.<sup>29</sup> But the bureau was never very active.<sup>30</sup> In April, 1918, a national Council of Defense administrator supervising that phase of the work complained that little had

25. Mrs. Lura Dewey Ross, "Report of Home Demonstration Work—1918," Department of Agriculture Archives; A. C. Cooley, Third Annual Report, pp. 12-13, 31.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 44.

27. Typewritten report, "Publicity Work in Western States," April, 1918, Council of National Defense Papers, CND14-D1A.

28. *Final Report New Mexico Council of Defense*, 27.

29. Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, to Franklin W. Fort, Washington, D. C., March 1, 1918. FA6HA2-3193.

30. Questionnaire report, March 23, 1918.

been heard from the bureau's chairman or executive secretary, and that many of his own letters to them had been unanswered.<sup>31</sup> When a proposal was made to consolidate the speaker's bureau with another Council of Defense group, the Four Minute Men, Ely violently objected, and began to make plans for a separate food administration bureau.<sup>32</sup> Conversely, Charles Springer of the Council of Defense recommended the licensing of all speakers to prevent certain volunteer and free-lance food administration orators from addressing audiences.<sup>33</sup>

Another unsuccessful attempt to act in harmony was made in connection with home economics personnel. Mrs. Ruth C. Miller was at one and the same time home economics director of the state food administration, state industrial education supervisor for the State College, economics director of the woman's auxiliary of the state Council of Defense, and head of the home economics division of the state department of education.<sup>34</sup> Although Ely staunchly attested to her efficiency, he complained that she was unable to carry on a consistent program for the food administration. In addition, he believed that she was "presenting calories and proteins and high-brow stuff," whereas the food administration should concentrate on practical demonstrations that would teach "urgent conservation lessons of the war and no more." In June, 1918, Ely proposed to the food administration in Washington that it should appoint a state leader of home demonstration in New Mexico who would instruct volunteer workers in courses to be given at the state normal college.<sup>35</sup> Possibly basic in this scheme was Ely's desire to separate the food administration's home economics work

31. Western states publicity work report, April, 1918.

32. *Final Report New Mexico Council of Defense*, 19-20; Charles Springer, Santa Fé, to Arthur H. Fleming, Washington, D. C., August 29, 1918, Council of National Defense Papers, CND14-A2 (70).

33. *Id. to id.*, July 17, 1918, *ibid.*

34. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, October 23, 1917.

35. Ralph C. Ely, Albuquerque, to John W. Hallowell, Washington, D. C., June 10, 1918 (telegram); *id.* to Frederick M. Stone, Washington, D. C., June 25, 1918, *ibid.*

from the extension division. At least he had a strong dislike for A. C. Cooley.<sup>36</sup> And by way of reciprocating Ely's hostile attitude, Cooley criticized the "Hoover Teams" home demonstrations, saying they were practically a duplication of the work done by the county home demonstration agents. One group, he grumbled, would no sooner finish its work in a community until another would come in and attempt to duplicate what had just been done.<sup>37</sup> Finally, the state food administration partially severed its relationship with the extension division when it appointed Miss Frances Lathrop of the University of New Mexico to succeed Mrs. Miller.<sup>38</sup>

Food conservation reached its climax in the propaganda for meatless and wheatless days. By the terms of the Lever or Food Control act of August 10, 1917 the American people were prepared for reduced consumption of fuel, meat, sugar, and wheat. In September, 1917, Food Administrator Hoover in a telegram to Ely disclosed that one wheatless and one meatless day each week in every American home would save between 80 and 90,000,000 bushels of wheat and 2,200,000,000 pounds of meat each year. Ely was greatly impressed by the figures, and made a brief talk on the subject at a Santa Fé theater,<sup>39</sup> but it was not until January, 1918, that the campaign began in earnest. It was then decreed that there should be no meat on Tuesday and no wheat on Wednesday in all public eating places, while it was most strongly urged that citizens should make identical sacrifices in their own homes.<sup>40</sup> In a short while the "foodless" calendar became more elaborate, and indeed the housewife had need to watch it very closely if she were to observe the régime. It read:<sup>41</sup>

36. *Id. to id.*, June 13, 17, 1918, *ibid.*

37. A. C. Cooley, State College, to C. B. Smith, Washington, D. C., April 20, 1918, FA6HA2-3193.

38. Ralph C. Ely, Albuquerque, to Frederick M. Stone, Washington, D. C., July 2, 1918, FA6HA3-3343.

39. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, September 25, 1917.

40. Albuquerque *Evening Herald*, January 7, 1918.

41. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, February 9, 1918.

Monday—wheatless day, one meatless meal  
 Tuesday—meatless, porkless day, one wheatless meal  
 Wednesday—wheatless day, one meatless meal  
 Thursday—one wheatless, one meatless meal  
 Friday—one wheatless, one meatless meal  
 Saturday—porkless day, one wheatless meal

Coincident with the meatless-wheatless demands there was intensified publicity to encourage the use of more substitute foods. One newspaper advertisement suggested, "In place of one slice of bread, eat one more potato a day." Again, an editorial ridiculed those who complained against wartime food sacrifices by asking: "What had the terrors of the French Revolution to compare with the awful fate of facing a stack of luscious steaming buckwheats at breakfast? . . ." <sup>42</sup> While goat raising and the wild rabbit industry occasionally received more than facetious consideration as alternatives in the meat crisis, <sup>43</sup> kaffir corn and feterita were publicized as substitutes for wheat. <sup>44</sup> And at the height of the propaganda effort the woman's auxiliary of the Council of Defense brought in R. L. Daly of New York to talk to Albuquerque women on the subject of corn products, corn molasses, corn syrups, and corn sugar. <sup>45</sup> A warning went out that sugar-hoarding was creating a dangerous shortage, and that soft-drinks would of necessity be affected by the wartime conditions. Confectioners were advised to shift to fruit juices and other conservation beverages. <sup>46</sup> Pleas by the food administration also sought to reclaim waste fats. For instance, J. O. Pritchard, manager of the Harvey house of Clovis, garnered praise because he put every scrap of meat and fat into a vat where it was rendered for soap-making. <sup>47</sup> In Albuquerque research began to find better ways of using waste products. <sup>48</sup> Ely recommended too that the towns and

42. *Ibid.*, January 22, 28, 1918.

43. *Ibid.*, January 10, February 11, 1918.

44. *Ibid.*, October 30, 1917.

45. Albuquerque *Morning Journal*, January 31, 1918.

46. Albuquerque *Evening Herald*, January 26, March 6, 1918.

47. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, January 17, 1918.

48. Questionnaire report, June 20, 1918.

cities of New Mexico should amend their ordinances if necessary to permit families who desired to do so to keep pigs for the disposal of table refuse.<sup>49</sup>

Some of the conservation appeals brought forth encouraging responses, but, as a policy of food control, days and meals of patriotic abstinence were more or less unfortunate. Especially was this true with respect to meatless days when it became known that the prevailing drought was sending more cattle than normally to slaughtering pens or to "feeding" pastures in the eastern states.<sup>50</sup> Disconcerting too was the statement of Joseph P. Cotton, head of the federal food administration's meat division, that more meat was being consumed on meatless days than usual.<sup>51</sup> Early in March, Herbert Hoover, making a concession to the strong resentment that was evident in many quarters, ordered the relaxation of some of the meatless day rulings; it was provided that although Tuesday should remain a meatless day for beef, pork, and their by-products, and porkless Saturdays should continue, lamb and mutton might be eaten on all days. In addition to the drought, two other causes were given for the action; first, an immense amount of "soft corn" raised in the middle west the previous year had to be fed to cattle if it were not to be lost, and consequently the slaughtered cattle weighed more; and second, domestic and oceanic shipping problems (including the submarine) caused meat to "dam up" until there was a temporary surplus.<sup>52</sup> Although the slackening in the "meatless" propaganda was looked upon by sheep-raisers with favor, they were not willing to remain passive. At its annual convention, held at Albuquerque, March 18-19, 1918, the New Mexico Wool Growers' Association passed a resolution requesting that the food administration should not impose any further

49. Ralph C. Ely, Santa Fé, to "Mayors and Town Boards of New Mexico," January 5, 1918, in *Santa Fé New Mexican*, January 5, 1918.

50. Questionnaire report, August 1, 1918.

51. *Santa Fé New Mexican*, March 20, 1918.

52. *Ibid.*, March 17, 1918; *Albuquerque Evening Herald*, March 5, 1918.

limitations upon the use of mutton or lamb.<sup>53</sup> It would be gratuitous to say this demand was effective, but on March 29 the food administration in Washington assured Ely, "There is no present indication of restoring restrictions on the consumption of mutton . . ."<sup>54</sup> Nor were they restored for the remainder of the war. Cattle raisers too, were vocal in their objections. At a cattlemen's meeting in Las Vegas strong words were used against the food administration's meatless days. Ely sputtered to no avail about the "insidious" nature of such abuse,<sup>55</sup> and on April 4 the stockmen had reason to feel gratified by the suspension of all "meatless" restrictions for an announced period of at least thirty days.<sup>56</sup>

At the end of the first week of May, Herbert Hoover again asked that consumers should eat "more milk products and fish and thus escape the reestablishment of meatless days." Apparently, however, the warning was simply a preparation for further action, and on May 26 an appeal from the federal food administrator was read in all the churches. It pleaded with the people to cut their individual weekly allotments of meat to two pounds. Public eating houses were asked to serve meat at only one meal each day.<sup>57</sup> There was no revival of the discarded "meatless days," but in their place "beefless days" were invoked. Every person was expected to limit himself or herself to four meals of beef a week: Monday—roast, Tuesday and Thursday—boiled, Saturday—beefsteak. Pork, bacon, ham, and sausage were urged as substitutes at other meals.<sup>58</sup> Ely, acting in

53. "Resolution Asking Suspension of Restriction Against Consumption of Mutton" [March 18 or 19, 1918], FA6HA2-3194; Ralph C. Ely, Albuquerque, to United States Food Administration, Washington, D. C., March 23, 1918, *ibid.*; Federal Food Administrator, Albuquerque, to Walter Connell, Albuquerque, March 23, 1918 (copy), *ibid.*; Walter Connell, Albuquerque, to Ralph C. Ely, Albuquerque, March 21, 1918 (copy), *ibid.*

54. United States Food Administration, Washington, D. C., to Ralph C. Ely, Albuquerque, March 29, 1918 (copy), *ibid.*

55. Ralph C. Ely, Albuquerque, to United States Food Administration, Washington, D. C., March 15, 1918 (telegram), *ibid.*

56. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, April 4, 1918.

57. *Ibid.*, May 6, 27, 1918.

58. *Ibid.*, June 18, 1918.

the interests of merchants who already had stocks of beef on hand, decided to delay the inauguration of the new campaign until June 27.<sup>59</sup> There was no outcry against the program; butchers and restaurant owners accepted it without complaint. But it was not destined to be successful. On August 1, Ely admitted: "Practically speaking . . . there is little conservation of beef. Prices are excessively high. Our policies have been frequently changed and it is more difficult to get other meats than beef. The influences of high prices are much greater than the influence of the Food Administration . . . The largest market in Albuquerque has had no pork for several days and meat eaters are forced to use beef."<sup>60</sup> By July, drought had removed, except in a few districts, all locally raised cattle from the markets; the beef supply was shipped in from Denver, Kansas City, and other packing centers. The packers prescribed both the quantity and price of the meat. Under such conditions propaganda for voluntary conservation was worthless; the consumer was practically helpless, and the state food administration refused to pretend otherwise.<sup>61</sup> It was, therefore, a great relief to all New Mexicans when, after a number of weeks, cattle runs were reported to be fifty percent higher than the preceding year, young beeves began to be put on the market, and demands for consumer restrictions upon meat consumption were cancelled on August 17.<sup>62</sup>

Wheatless days also were something of a disappointment. In April they were replaced by a voluntary conservation plan that limited each person to one and one-half pounds of flour per week.<sup>63</sup> By August, the state food administration rejoiced that in this way thirty-five million pounds of wheat had been saved, and that individual consumption had been cut by twenty pounds during the same

59. Questionnaire report, June 20, 1918.

60. *Ibid.*, August 1, 1918.

61. Ralph C. Ely, Albuquerque, to Herbert Hoover, Washington, D. C., June 29, 1918, FA6HA3-3345.

62. *Santa Fé New Mexican*, August 17, 23, 1918.

63. *Ibid.*, April 13, 25, 1918.

period.<sup>64</sup> It must be noted, however, that for at least a part of that time there were efforts being made to enforce rather stringent regulations of wheat consumption, milling, and flour sales; such compulsory regulations would hardly fall within the category of voluntary action.

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64. *Ibid.*, August 16, 1918.

*(To be concluded)*



## PUNCHE: TOBACCO IN NEW MEXICO HISTORY\*

By LESLIE A. WHITE

THE distinguished anthropologist and documentary historian, Adolph F. Bandelier, declared in his *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States*<sup>1</sup> that "tobacco was not known to the Pueblos until Spanish rule became established." Some species of *Nicotiana*, *attenuata* and *trigonophylla* particularly, are indigenous in the Pueblo country. We know from archaeological evidence<sup>2</sup> that pipes were used for smoking by the Pueblo Indians before 1540. But we do not know what was smoked in these pipes. We know from ethnographic sources that the Pueblo Indians have, in recent decades, smoked a number of wild plants, including tobacco, and it is reasonable to suppose that their ancestors in pre-Spanish times might have done likewise. Thus our evidence indicates that the Pueblo Indians smoked pipes in prehistoric times, and they *may* have smoked wild tobacco in them along with various other wild plants.<sup>3</sup> But no evidence whatever points to a prehistoric cultivation of tobacco. It is significant that the chronicles of the Coronado expedition make no mention either of tobacco or of smoking among the Pueblos. But let us turn now to the "other end" of the history of tobacco in the Southwest, i.e., to recent times.

In 1934, I collected a specimen of tobacco under cultivation at Ranchitos, the farming settlement of the Santa Ana

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\*I am greatly obliged to Professor Arthur S. Aiton and Professor Irving A. Leonard, both of the University of Michigan, for reading this paper in manuscript and for helpful suggestions.

1. Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America, p. 37 (Amer. Series III, 1890).

2. Mr. Volney H. Jones, of the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, summarizes the evidence of smoking in prehistoric times in the Southwest in "Was Tobacco Smoked in the Pueblo Region in Pre-Spanish Times?" which will appear shortly in *American Antiquity*.

3. Cf. Professor Edward F. Castetter's "Early Tobacco Utilization and Cultivation in the American Southwest," in *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 45, pp. 320-325, April-June, 1943.

Pueblo Indians, a few miles north of Bernalillo, New Mexico.<sup>4</sup> This, as far as I know, is the first scientific specimen of cultivated tobacco from a New Mexico Indian pueblo. It was identified by a competent botanist and deposited in the Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan (Cat. No. 14698).

But, when this specimen was identified, it turned out to be a species of *Nicotiana* that had not previously been reported for this region. It was *N. rustica*. According to Wm. A. Setchell,<sup>5</sup> the aboriginal distribution of *N. rustica* was confined to the eastern United States, its western boundary being only a short distance west of the Mississippi River. After publishing a brief report of this specimen,<sup>6</sup> I learned that between 1925 and 1931, at least two experiments in the cultivation of *N. rustica* had been conducted near Albuquerque.<sup>7</sup> Seeds were given freely to Indian and Mexican farmers, so that this species could have been introduced among the Pueblos in this way.

But tobacco was cultivated in the Pueblo region in New Mexico long before 1925. How long before? When was the cultivation of tobacco begun? And what species was, or were, cultivated prior to the twentieth century? In short, what is the history of tobacco culture in New Mexico?

The journals of the Coronado expedition do not, as previously noted, speak of smoking or of tobacco among the Pueblos. This is rather curious. If smoking was practiced by the Pueblo Indians at this time, as archeological evidence suggests, one wonders why the Spanish chroniclers did not mention it since they recorded such a wealth of observations of customs already familiar to them from tribes in Old

4. Cf. White, Leslie A., *The Pueblo of Santa Ana, New Mexico*, p. 40ff., Figs. 1, 3 (Memoir 60, Amer. Anthropol. Assn., 1942).

5. "Aboriginal Tobaccos," (Amer. Anthropologist, Vol. 23, pp. 397-414; 1921). See, also, Wooton, E. O. and Standley, P. C., *Flora of New Mexico* (Contributions from the U. S. National Herbarium, 1915).

6. "Nicotiana Rustica Cultivated by Pueblo Indians," (Science, Vol. 94, pp. 64-65, July 18, 1941).

7. E. G. Beinhart, "Nicotiana Rustica in New Mexico," (Science, Vol. 94, pp. 538-39, Dec. 5, 1941).

Mexico as well as new customs. The absence of a reference to smoking in these journals does not, of course, prove that the Pueblo Indians did not smoke in 1540.

But what of the men in Coronado's party: Had they acquired the habit of smoking before they came to New Mexico? One might infer from their journals that they had not, for, had they been addicted to tobacco, we would almost certainly find mention of it in the *Relaciones*. Thus the evidence would seem to indicate that the first party of white men to enter the Pueblo country did not introduce tobacco.

Before the first quarter of the seventeenth century had expired, however, the Spanish colonists in New Mexico were cultivating tobacco, according to the *Relación* of Fray Gerónimo de Zárate Salmerón:<sup>8</sup>

At all this the Spaniards who are there [i.e., in New Mexico] laugh; as they have a good crop of tobacco to smoke, they are very content, and wish no more riches.

Another early reference to the use of tobacco in the Southwest is found in the *Memorial* of Fray Alonso de Benavides,<sup>9</sup> (1630):

They [Spaniards] gave him [an Indian] the embassy of peace according to their usage. This was an arrow with a feather of colors in place of the flint and a reed full of tobacco (un *cañuto lleno de tobacco*) [already]<sup>10</sup> begun to be smoked.

Cane, or reed, cigarettes, so-called, are known to us from recent ethnographic accounts and also from excavations of prehistoric sites.<sup>11</sup> But they were not really cigarettes, nor were they "smoked," as a rule. In the first place, they were stuffed with such materials as feathers, wild plants of

8. In *The Land of Sunshine*, Vol. 12, p. 44, Dec., 1899; Los Angeles.

9. Pp. 46, 48; Spanish text, p. 140 (translated by Mrs. Edw. E. Ayer, Chicago, 1916).

10. Of the bracketed words in this quotation, "already" appears in the published translation; the others have been inserted by me.

11. Jones, *op. cit.*

different kinds, unspun cotton, etc., which is hardly a mixture suitable for smoking. And in the second place, the nodes of the cane were not pierced so one could draw smoke through them. Their use was a ritual one. One end of the "cigarette" would be burned a bit in a flame, and then it would be deposited somewhere as an offering to the spirits. This, no doubt, explains the phrase "had already begun to be smoked" in the passage of Benavides. But we have no assurance that the reed mentioned in that passage contained tobacco unless the Spaniards themselves provided it.

Our next reference to tobacco is dated 1767. In that year the governor of New Mexico

objected to the viceroy's proposition to enforce the tobacco *estanco*, as very little real tobacco was used in New Mexico, only *punche*, and by the Indians a leaf called *mata*; yet in '76 the *estanco* was ordered to be enforced and the planting of *punche* prohibited, (from a Ms. of the Pinart Col.)<sup>12</sup>

The significant thing here is the distinction between "real tobacco" and "*punche*." *Mata*—Sp. plant, sprig—appears to be a generic name for wild plants smoked by the Indians. *Punche*, we are told, was "an inferior species of tobacco."<sup>13</sup>

In 1803,

Tobacco [was] raised for home consumption [in New Mexico] even by the padres and but for the *estanco* on cigars, snuff, etc., the product might be vastly increased. (Fernando Chacón, *Informe del gobernador sobre Industrias del N. Mex.*, Arch. Sta. Fe.)<sup>14</sup>

12. Bancroft, H. H., *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 276, fn. 41 (1889).

13. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

14. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 302, fn. 38. In a letter to the present writer, Professor Bloom identifies this document as No. 1670a, in Twitchell, *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, Vol. II, p. 440. The only portion of this document dealing with tobacco reads as follows:

"El Tauaco se cultiva por todo el Vecindario en general con Superior contentimiento, y sin embargo de no Veneficiarse bien, lo fuman y toman en Polvo la mayor parte de los Religiosos."

According to Professor Bloom, there is no mention in this document of an *estanco*

Early in the nineteenth century, Pino protests against the government tobacco monopoly in New Mexico, but "this last [i.e., the monopoly] did not prevent the people of New Mexico from raising a poor grade of tobacco known as *punche*."<sup>15</sup> In the absence of money, rolls of *punche* were used occasionally, along with other commodities, as a medium of exchange in commercial transactions.<sup>16</sup> Captain John G. Bourke, who visited the Taos Indians in 1881, says:<sup>17</sup>

They smoked bunchi—called To-je, a plant gathered on top of the mountains. They are likewise very fond of tobacco.

Thus we find *punche* defined as "an inferior species of tobacco," distinguished from "real" tobacco, and also as a wild plant gathered in the mountains and used by the Indians for smoking. From the facts (1) that the government had a monopoly on the sale of tobacco, (2) that the planting of *punche* was prohibited, and (3) that *punche* was grown despite this governmental prohibition, we might conclude (a) that the "real tobacco" was imported to New Mexico for sale but was not grown there, and (b) that *punche* was a tobacco grown locally by the colonists.

Today, tobacco is grown in a number of Indian pueblos and Mexican villages in the Rio Grande valley north of Albuquerque, where it is called, by the Indians and Mexicans

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on tobacco, or of *puros*. Nor is there any reference to the cultivation of tobacco by the padres.

Professor Bloom has also called my attention to two further references to tobacco in Twitchell, *The Spanish Archives*: (1) No. 884, a letter from De Neve to Governor Anza, March 13, 1784, "ordering the extirpation of the herb known as *Oja de Mata* which was being used as a substitute for tobacco and in this manner reducing the revenues," (Vol. II, p. 294); and (2) No. 893, De Neve to the governor of New Mexico, April 27, 1784, "countermanning the order for the destruction of the native tobacco," (Vol. II, p. 295). Professor Bloom observes that "both these documents seem to have come up from Chihuahua by the same courier!"

15. Bloom, L. B., "New Mexico under Mexican Administration, 1821-46," p. 40, (*Old Santa Fé*, Vol. I; 1913).

16. Warner, Louis H., "Conveyance of Property, the Spanish and Mexican Way," p. 350 (*NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, Vol. VI; 1931). Warner states that "*punche* was the native tobacco."

17. Bloom, L. B., "Bourke on the Southwest," p. 49 (*NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*; Vol. XII; 1937).

alike, *punche*. In 1941 I obtained specimens from a number of these communities; they were identified as *N. rustica*.<sup>18</sup>

What is the history of *punche*? Was the plant called *punche* introduced by the Spaniards? Or was it some indigenous species of *Nicotiana* brought under cultivation by the early Spanish colonists to escape the government *estanco* on "real tobacco?" When did the Pueblo Indians begin the cultivation of *punche*?

It is highly improbable that we shall ever obtain specimens of *punche*, grown a century or more ago, for botanical identification. Consequently, we must rely chiefly upon other sources of information. One of the most promising clues at present is linguistic. What is the origin and history of the word *punche*?

José Agustín de Escudero, writing in 1849, speaks of "a kind of tobacco which the Indians call *punche*,"<sup>19</sup> indicating that he thought the word to be Indian. Dr. J. P. Harrington, linguist and anthropologist of the Bureau of American Ethnology, says that *punche* is "New Mexican Spanish."<sup>20</sup> I have not found *punche* in the *Catálogo Alfabético de Nombres Vulgares y Científicos de Plantas que existen en México*, published by the *Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento*, A. L. Herrera, Director; Maximino Martínez author of the Introduction (and perhaps the monograph also), in Mexico City in 1923.

It seems quite clear that *punche* is not an Indian word. Among the languages of the Pueblos, *hami* is the Keresan word for tobacco, *ana* the Zuni, *sa* the Tewa, *lane* or *le* the Tigua, and *piva* the Hopi. In Navajo and Apache, tobacco

18. White, Leslie A., "Further Data on the Cultivation of Tobacco among the Pueblo Indians," (*Science*, Vol. 96, pp. 59-60, July 17, 1942).

19. *Three New Mexico Chronicles*, p. 120 (H. Bailey Carroll and J. Villasana Haggard, eds., The Quivira Society Publications, Vol. XI; 1942).

20. Robbins, W. W., Harrington, J. P. and Freire-Marreco, B., *Ethnobotany of the Tewa Indians*, p. 103 (Bulletin 55, Bureau of American Ethnology; Washington 1916).

is *natoh*. In fact, no American Indian word for tobacco resembles *punche* so far as we know.<sup>21</sup>

Since the word *punche* appears not to be used in Old Mexico, we might assume that it is a local, New Mexico, term as Harrington states. But what is its origin?

Nowadays *punche* occurs colloquially in Mexico and Central America as the equivalent of the English *punch*, to strike, or poke. Dr. Walter W. Taylor, Jr., of the University of Texas, informs me that on the Texas-Mexico border pugilists are occasionally known as "keed [Kid] poonche." Professor Robert Redfield, of the University of Chicago, tells me that he has encountered "*punchi*" in Central America as the name of a drink made from bananas. We find "*ponche*, a drink, or liquor," in some Spanish dictionaries. But there is no reason to believe that either of these usages has any connection with *punche* as it is used in New Mexico.

We find "*punches*, m.pl., Honduras<sup>22</sup> *rosetas de maíz*," popcorn, in Heath's *Pequeño Larousse*<sup>22</sup> and in Augusto Malaret's *Diccionario de Americanismos*.<sup>23</sup> In *Novísimo Diccionario Enciclopédico de la Lengua Castellana*,<sup>24</sup> by D. Delfín Donadín y Buignan, we find *punche* defined as "m. Amer., especie de manjar blanco." Another dictionary defines *manjar blanco* as "a dish made of the breast of fowl mixed with sugar, milk, and rice flour." But none of these uses seems to have any bearing upon our problem in New Mexico.

Professor Aurelio M. Espinosa has suggested, in a personal communication, that *punche* has been derived from *pumila*:<sup>25</sup> *pumila* > *pumla*, > *pumbla* or *pumpla*; *pumpla* > *puncha* > *punche*.

21. See Roland B. Dixon's exhaustive article, "Words for Tobacco in American Indian Languages," (*American Anthropologist*, Vol. 23, pp. 19-49, Jan.-March, 1921).

22. Paris and New York, 1912.

23. Mayaguez, Puerto Rico; 1925.

24. Barcelona (n.d.).

25. In "Speech Mixture in New Mexico: the Influence of the English Language on New Mexico Spanish," p. 426 (*The Pacific Ocean in History*, H. Morse Stephens and H. E. Bolton, eds., New York, 1917), Professor Espinosa states that *ponchi*, in New Mexico Spanish, has been derived from the English "punch," as *bonchi* is derived from "bunch," and *lonchi* from "lunch." But, if I interpret Espinosa's *Estudios Sobre*

Our first question here would be, Is this derivation of *punche* merely a surmise, a reasonably valid hypothesis, or an established fact? If it could be shown that *punche* has indeed evolved from *pumila*, we would still have essentially the same problem on our hands: What is the history of *pumila* (L. "low, little") in New Mexico? When did it come to be applied to a plant used for smoking in New Mexico, and what were the circumstances of its introduction into colloquial use?

Professor T. H. Goodspeed, an authority on tobaccos, calls one of the varieties of *N. rustica* "*pumila*," which is the only other instance of the association of this term with tobacco that I know of.

To close with a summary of our problem: Were the Pueblo Indians smoking when Coronado visited them in 1540, and if so, what plant or plants were they using? What kind of tobacco was grown by the Spaniards in New Mexico prior to 1626 (Zárate Salmerón)? What kind of tobacco was called *punche* in the eighteenth century? Was it an indigenous plant or one introduced by the Spaniards? Did the Indians learn to grow *punche* from the Spanish colonists? What is the history of the word *punche* in New Mexico?

The history of tobacco cultivation in New Mexico is at present a riddle, one which the anthropologist would like very much to see solved. If documentary historians, linguists, and other scholars interested in the culture history of the Southwest could throw some light on this problem, they would render Pueblo ethnology a great service.

*Department of Anthropology*  
*University of Michigan*

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el Español de Nuevo México (Biblioteca de Dialectología Hispano-americana I, Instituto de Filología; Buenos Aires, 1930) correctly, he regards *punche* as an English word from which the New Mexico term *punshi* is derived (p. 95).



# HISTORICAL SOCIETY MINUTES, 1859-1863

(concluded)

Edited by LANSING B. BLOOM

## Fifth Regular Meeting

Santa Fé New Mexico  
May 28th, 1860

The Society was called to order by the Vice President.

The minutes of the last regular meeting were read and approved.

The application of J. Gold Esq.<sup>163</sup> was read and laid upon the table until the next regular meeting.

Messrs. J. G. Marsh, Wm. H. Moore, and B. L. Rees were elected members of this society.<sup>164</sup>

The Curator and Librarian submitted the following report, which was ordered to be filed, viz:

Santa Fé May 28th, 1860.

The donations to the Society during the past month are as follows:

Constitution and By Laws of the Academy of Science at St. Louis, and Transactions of the Academy for 1857, 1858, and 1859, 3 vols. from the Academy.

Nautical Monographs, No. 1 from Lieut. M. F. Maury U. S. A. Nat. Obs. Washington.<sup>165</sup>

Geology of North America by Jules Marcon, Zurich, Switzerland, from Capt. A. W. Whipple Top. Eng. U. S. A.<sup>166</sup>

Specimens of Chrystalized Quartz, Copper Ore, Sulphur and fossils from Jemez, from Mr. Robinson.<sup>167</sup>

A specimen of magnetic Iron from Lieut. O'Bannon.

A scalp of an Apache Chief from Mr. E. Brevoort, Hacienda del Reventon, N. M.<sup>168</sup>

Six very fine specimens of Silver ore from the Stephenson mine,

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163. John Gold, Esq., was elected at the June meeting (*infra*). For some possible family connections, see note 114 *ante*.

164. On these three men, see notes 155-157, *ante*.

165. For M. F. Maury, see note 74. "Two volumes of sailing directions" were listed at the August meeting (*infra*) as a donation from him.

166. See note 76, *ante*, on Whipple.

167. Mr. Robinson is not identified.

168. For O'Bannon and Brevoort, see notes 113, 112, *ante*.

Organo Mountains near Fort Fillmore, from Maj. J. T. Sprague, U. S. A. Fort Fillmore.<sup>169</sup>

A chest Table from R. F. Green Esq.

Specimens of Metallic Iron Ore from the Warm Springs at Las Vegas, from Dr. Boyce, also a specimen of *Cyathophyllum Dentatum* from the same place.<sup>170</sup>

Great Seal of the Territory of New Mexico used upon the organization of the Territory in 1851 by D. V. Whiting.

A map of the Artesian Well of Belcher and Bros. at St. Louis, by Dr. Ferris.

Specimens of Petrifications and transparent stones collected near Fort Defiance from Frantz Tollenius Compy E. Mounted Rifles.

Signed A De Marle  
Curator and Librarian

The Section on History was requested to prepare a document to be read at the next regular meeting on a subject appertaining to that Section.

Communications were read from Col. J. B. Grayson, Mr. E. Brevoort, Rev. E. A. Dalrymple, Profs. S. F. Baird and Jos. Henry, Smithsonian Institute, E. T. Bucknam Esq., Maryland Historical Society, J. K. Curtis,<sup>171</sup> Abner Morse, Historical Society of Mississippi, J & W. R. Bernard & Co., Maj. J. T. Sprague, Lieut. A. W. Whipple and C. L. Sayles.<sup>172</sup>

Col. Grayson presented a copy of his address on the life and character of Brig. Genl. S. W. Kearney.

The communication of A. Morse on the subject of Hearth Stones was referred to the Section on Indian Races.

The resignations of Col. B. L. E. Bonneville and Lieut. R. V. Bonneau U. S. A. were accepted.

Col. B. L. E. Bonneville was elected an Honorary member of this Society.

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169. John Titcomb Sprague, native of Massachusetts, was commissioned a 2nd lieutenant of the marine corps October 17, 1834, but was in the infantry three years later. He saw service during both the Mexican and Civil wars, was brevetted major for meritorious conduct, May 30, 1848. In 1858 Major Sprague was commanding officer at Fort Marcy in Santa Fé (C. F. Coan, *Hist. of N. Mex.*, I, 360), but at this time evidently was stationed at Fort Fillmore. By the end of the Civil War he had attained the rank of colonel; he was retired in 1870 and died Sept. 6, 1878.

170. See note 54, *ante*.

171. J. K. Curtis, Esq., was a numismatist of New York City. At the July meeting (*infra*) a special resolution of thanks was voted for a generous donation of coins.

172. C. L. Sayles is not identified, but later in this same meeting he was elected a corresponding member.

Lieut. R. V. Bonneau and C. L. Sayles were elected Corresponding members.

After a recess<sup>173</sup> of Ten minutes the Society was called to order, when

On motion of Judge K. Benedict, The Corresponding Secretary was instructed to solicit from Col. B. L. E. Bonneville, his ambrotype to be placed in the Archives of the Society.

The Society then, on motion adjourned.

David V. Whiting  
Secretary

#### Sixth Regular Meeting

Santa Fé New Mexico  
June 25th, 1860

The Society was called to order at the hour specified by the By Laws, The President in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

Applications for membership were received from Dr. W. S. King U. S. A.<sup>174</sup> and Wm. Osterton Esq.<sup>175</sup>

John Gold Esq. was elected a member of this Society. Chrisham Kribben Esq.<sup>176</sup> of St. Louis and R. G. Campbell Esq.<sup>177</sup> of Fort Clark were elected corresponding members.

The Curator and Librarian submitted the following Report which was ordered to be filed, viz:

Donations to the Historical Society during the past month, viz:

2 Beautiful Pictures, one representing a part of the ruins of Gran Quivira, the other, a landscape on the Rio Grande, from Lieut. R. V. Bonneau.

A copper penny dated 1838 with a fine portrait of Queen Victoria of Great Britain from Master Harry Whiting.<sup>178</sup>

173. The procedure followed indicates that Bonneville was present in person.

174. William Shakespeare King, native of Pennsylvania, became an assistant surgeon in July 1837 and at this time was major surgeon. He served through the Civil War in which he was twice brevetted; was retired in 1882 and died Aug. 2, 1895.

175. William H. Osterton became a Mason at Santa Fé between 1857 and 1864. He was territorial treasurer for part of 1863. In December 1861, and again a year later, he was elected recording secretary of the Society.

176. Chrisham Kribben of St. Louis is not identified.

177. R. G. Campbell and his residence "Fort Clark" are not identified. A few lines below, we note his donation of a souvenir from Hadrian's villa outside Rome, on the way up to Tivoli. The editor was there five years ago and can vouch that tourists are still carrying away pieces of marble.

178. Master Harry was evidently a son of the recording secretary, D. V. Whiting. He made another donation in August,—when young Gorman went him one better by presenting a Chinese hat. He should not be confused with Maj. Harry Rees Whiting, who located in Albuquerque in 1868.

A piece of marble from the Villa of the Emperor Adrian, at Rome, from R. G. Campbell Esq.

9 Volumes 8<sup>mo</sup> Documents of the U. S. Senate 2d Session 35th Congress, also 9 vols 8<sup>mo</sup> Ex Documents from Hon. M. A. Otero.

5 Vols 4<sup>mo</sup> Ex Docs. and 2 Vols. 4<sup>mo</sup> Senate Documents from Hon. M. A. Otero.

Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society from W. A. Whitehead Esq. Corr. Secy.

Marcy's Santa Fé, and Simpson's Navajoe Expedition from Capt. J. N. Macomb, U. S. A.

Coast Survey for 1858 from Dr. W. J. Sloan U. S. A.

Three handsome engravings from Capt. R. A. Wainwright U. S. A.

Various specimens of gold from the newly discovered gold deposits near the Copper mines presented by Saturnino Barrientos Esq.<sup>179</sup>  
June 25th 1860

A. De Marle  
Librarian

Communications were read from Col. B. L. E. Bonneville, F. W. Jones, Dr. J. W. Nangle, Hon. W. W. H. Davis, Coast Survey Office, Dr. J. W. King, New Jersey Historical Society, E. Brevoort, R. G. Campbell, Dr. B. J. D. Irwin, Gov. Rencher, Capt. J. N. Macomb, and Mess. Knapp & Co.

Major J. L. Donaldson from the Section on History read a paper on the origin, and cause of the Florida War.

A translation of the address of the Mexican People to the President of the Republic asking for the expulsion from the country of all Spaniards within its borders was also read when

On motion the Society adjourned.

David V. Whiting  
*Rec. Sec.*

#### Seventh Regular Meeting

Santa Fé New Mexico  
July 30th, 1860

The Society was called to order at the hour appointed. The President in the Chair.

The minutes of the last regular meeting were read and approved.

179. Saturnino Barrientos is not identified. At Doña Ana in May 1861, Rafael Armijo brought an "action of debt" against Barrientos in the district court. He not appearing, judgment was given for \$182 with interest and court costs. The sheriff's return on Nov. 17, 1861, reported that the defendant was not a resident of the county. (N. M. Hist. Rev., VI, 265)

Applications for membership were received from Rev. A. Geraschowski,<sup>180</sup> L. W. Ashley,<sup>181</sup> Capt. D. H. Maury,<sup>182</sup> C. E. Whilden,<sup>183</sup> Solomon Beuthner and Samson Beuthner.<sup>184</sup>

Dr. W. S. King, U. S. A. and Mr. W. Osterton, were elected members of this Society.

The Curator and Librarian submitted the following Report which was ordered to be filed, viz:

The donations to the Society are as follows, viz:

An Arapahoe Indian Fife, bought from one of the Chiefs at Denver City K. T.<sup>185</sup> and presented through Judge Houghton, by C. Weinheim, Esq.<sup>186</sup>

Instrucciones para coleccionar y preparar objetos de Historia Natural Formadas por orden del gobierno supremo Méjico 1830.

Testimonio de la actuado en razon de haber salido el Teniente Don Manuel Sanz de Garbizú<sup>187</sup> con soldados vecinos é indios en seguimiento de los Indios gentiles Cumanches porque invadieron el pueblo de Pecos ejecutando en él algunas muertes de Indios Cristianos como dentro se verá. 1746. Both presented by D. V. Whiting.

Visita general de todos los pueblos de Indios y villas de

180. The Rev. Alex Geraschowski was probably one of four young men, recently come to Santa Fé, who were studying for the priesthood, three of whom did not complete their training. (Salpointe, *op. cit.*, 211; 282, no. 34.) In the 1860's "Gerselachovsky" was a general merchant in Las Vegas (*History of New Mexico* (Pacific States Publ. Co., 1907), II, 584); in 1882 "Gzrlachowski" was in similar business at Puerto de Luna, and was also postmaster and justice of the peace in that precinct. (*A Complete Business Directory of New México and Gazetteer of the Territory for 1882*, 118)

186. C. Weinheim, Esq., is not identified.

182. Dabney Herndon Maury was a native of Virginia and graduated at West Point in 1842. In the Mexican War he served as a lieutenant with the 3rd Artillery and the Mounted Rifles; from 1858 to 1860 he was regimental adjutant and at this time was brevet captain and ass't adjutant general. He was dismissed from service June 25, 1861, having joined the Confederacy. He was advanced in that service to major general; and died January 11, 1900. He was a nephew of M. F. Maury. (see note 74 *ante*).

183. Charles E. Whilden was a Mason at Santa Fé before 1864, but otherwise is not known. For some reason, at the August meeting he was allowed to withdraw this application for membership without a vote.

184. See note 62, *ante*.

185. "Kansas Territory." Colorado was not made a territory until 1861.

186. C. Weinheim, Esq., is not identified.

187. Lieut. Manuel Sanz de Garvizú who led this punitive expedition against the Comanches in 1746 doubtless belonged to the presidial company in Santa Fé. In July 1748 he was being sent as a prisoner to the viceroy in Mexico City, for reason unknown. Evidently he was cleared of any charges, for he was back in Santa Fé in November 1749. (Twitchell, *Span. Archs.*, II, 226, 228, nos. 490, 491, 508)

Españoles de este reyno de la Nueva Mejico. Hecha por el General Juan Paez Hurtado, Alcalde Ordinario de primer voz de la Villa de Santa Fé, á quien la cometi6 el General Don Juan Ignacio Flores Mogollon, Gobernador y Captain General de dicho reyno. A. D. 1715.<sup>188</sup> by D. V. Whiting.

Ein vollwicht Ducaten gewicht 1768. from G. H. Estes, Esq.<sup>189</sup>.

A United States Dollar 1860 from Col. J. B. Grayson.

An incrustation of sulphurate of lime from Col. J. B. Grayson.

Proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History for 1859 and to March 20, 1860. From the Society.

Authographs of the Japanese Embassy from O. P. Hovey Esq.

Twelve chairs from the firm of Johnson and Wethered<sup>190</sup> of Santa Fé.

One petrification from Mr. Jean Bouquet.

From J. K. Curtis Esq. Numismatist at New York the following coins etc.:

1 Dix centimes, 1855 Emp. L. Napoleon France.

1 Copper Coin Louis XVI France, 1789.

1 Copper Quarter Anna East India Co. 1835.

1 Copper Quarter Anna East India Co. 1833.

1 Half Penny, Province of Lower Canada 1832.

1 Copper Medallion 1837.

2 Lancaster Half Pennies "John of Gaunt" "Liege of Lancaster" 1707.

1 Copper Half Penny, Wellington Token 1814.

1 Copper Medal, "Executive Experiment" 1837.

1 Copper Mint Drop, Bentonian Currency, 1837.

1 Cinq Centimes France, Emp. L. Napoleon 1855.

1 Copper Coin, Isabella Queen of Spain 1842.

1 Copper Coin, George 2d 1745.

188. This was most certainly the most important of these three documents. Whiting was employed as translator from 1854 to 1860 in the office of the U. S. surveyor general, to which had been allocated all those archives which might help in establishing land titles. If this document had no such value, it should of course have been returned,—not carried off by an employee.

189. George H. Estes was one of eleven to whom Gov. Manuel Armijo made a grant of land (Mar. 29, 1843) on the Mora river, later known as the Scolly Grant. (R. P. Bieber, ed., *Webb, Adventures in the Santa Fé Trade, 1844-47*, 74, note) Estes became a Mason at Santa Fé between 1857 and 1864.

190. This is believed to be Samuel Wethered, a resident of Baltimore, Md., who "was engaged in the Santa Fé trade at least as early as 1839." (Bieber, *op. cit.*, 45, note) His partner Johnson is not identified.

- 2 Copper pennies Province of Lower Canada, 1837.  
 1 Copper Half Penny Province of Lower Canada, 1842.  
 1 Copper Penny Province of Nova Scotia, 1832.  
 1 Copper Penny Victoria, English, 1854.  
 1 Bank Token, Lower Canada, 1852.  
 2 Copper Cents, Canada, 1859.  
 4 Copper Kreuzers 1816.  
 1 Copper Bank Token Upper Canada 1852.  
 1 Copper Half Penny, Bank of Montreal 1844.  
 1 Copper Centime Rep. Francaise  
 2 Copper Pennies George 2d English  
 2 Cinq Centimes Repub. Francaise  
 1 Copper Half Penny New Brunswick 1854.  
 1 Cinq Centimes, Charles X, French, 1823.  
 1 Penny George IV 1825.  
 1 Wellington Waterloo Medal 1815.  
 2 Chinese Brass Coins  
 2 Centimes French, 1821  
 1 Copper Coin, Austrian, 1813.  
 1 Copper Coin, 1828, Brazil  
 ½ Centime, French  
 1 Centime, French  
 1 Copper Coin, Louis XVI.  
 1 Copper Coin, German  
 1 Half Dollar, paper money, issued by Assembly of Maryland  
 1774  
 Six Dollars Continental Money 1776  
 Thirty Dollars Continental Money 1776  
 Twenty Shillings Penna. Currency under Geo. 3d 1773.

1 First Reader in Spanish, Printed by O. P. Hovey in Santa Fé, 1848. Presented by J. M. Kingsbury.<sup>191</sup>

An Original ordre of Joseph Peloux Ecuyer conseiller du roi, commissaire ordonnateur des querres a l armee du Rhin sous Monseigneur le Prince de Contes. Issued on the 1st day of May, A. D. 1745, from C. P. Clever.

A specimen of Copper ore from Ocaté, by the Rev. A. Geralaschowski. Santa Fé, July 30, 1860.

A. De Marle  
Curator and Librarian

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191. John M. Kingsbury was a native of Boston and "had been the faithful clerk and bookkeeper of the firm of Messervy and Webb." He became Webb's partner in February 1854 and so continued to May 1861. (Bieber, *op. cit.*, 34-35) See note 118, *ante*.

The following Resolution was unanimously adopted, viz:

Resolved: That the thanks of the Society be tendered to the firm of Johnson and Wethered, for the liberal donation of twelve chairs, and to Mr. J. K. Curtis, New York, for his large contribution of coins, etc.

It was on motion unanimously

Resolved: That the circular of Mr. Lewis H. Morgan<sup>192</sup> of Rochester, N. Y. in reference to the degrees of relationship among different nations be referred to the Section on Indian Races, for general investigation with regard to all the tribes of Indians in the Territory of New Mexico; that one copy be referred to Dr. M. Steck for an examination, particularly with reference to the Apache Indians, and a third copy to Dr. J. H. Bill, U. S. A.,<sup>193</sup> at Fort Defiance in reference to the Navajoes.

Communications were read from S. A. Lathrop of the Sonora Exploring and Mining Co., W. Barry Rec. Sec. His. Soc. of Illinois, Pf. G. C. Swallow, Hon. J. Thompson Secy. of the Interior and L. H. Morgan Esq.

A Portion of the Journal of Dr. Ten Broeck<sup>194</sup> to the Moqui and Navajoe country was read.

The President was instructed to call a special meeting of the Society and cause the public to be invited to attend whenever he should be notified by the Rev. S. Gorman of his readiness to deliver an address on the origin of the Pueblo Indians.

On motion adjourned.

David V. Whiting

Rec. Secy.

#### Special Meeting

Santa Fé New Mexico

August 20th, 1860

In pursuance of an order made at the last regular session of the Society, a special meeting was held this evening.

192. Lewis Henry Morgan (1818-1881), well known ethnologist, was born near Aurora, N. Y., but established his own home in Rochester. With a view to enlarging his field of observation, "he prepared a series of questions which, as *Circular in reference to the degrees of relationship among different nations*, was widely distributed by the Smithsonian Institution in 1860." (biog. sketch by F. W. Hodge in *Dict. of Am. Biography*) The next paragraph suggests that the Society was in direct correspondence with Morgan.

193. Joseph Howland Bill, native of Pennsylvania, was appointed an assistant surgeon on April 13, 1860—which would imply that only recently had he been stationed at Fort Defiance. He was brevetted major and lieutenant-colonel during the Civil War, and died July 21, 1885. For Steck, see note 43, *ante*.

194. On Ten Broeck, see note 161, *ante*.



The Society having been called to order by the President,  
 The Rev. Mr. Gorman proceeded to deliver an address on the  
 Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, after which,  
 The Society on motion adjourned.

David V. Whiting  
 Rec. Secy.

Santa Fé New Mexico  
 August 21st, 1860

Application having been made by a constitutional number of  
 members for a special meeting to afford the Society an opportunity of  
 expressing its sentiments in regard to certain remarks contained in  
 the address delivered before the Society on the evening previous,

The Society was called to order by the President.

The address was ordered to be referred to a committee consisting  
 of Messrs. Whiting, Wagner, Clever, De Marle and Abreu, with in-  
 structions to report thereupon at the next regular meeting.

On motion the Society adjourned.

David V. Whiting  
 Rec. Secy.

#### Eighth Regular Meeting

Santa Fé New Mexico  
 August 27th, 1860

The Society was called to order at the hour appointed. The Presi-  
 dent in the Chair.

The minutes of the last stated and two intervening meetings were  
 read and approved.

C. E. Weshe Esq.<sup>195</sup> of Santa Fé made application for membership.

Rev. A. Geralaschowski, L. W. Ashley Esq., Capt. D. H. Maury  
 and Mess. Solomon Beuthner and Samson Beuthner were elected  
 members of the Society.

The application of C. E. Whilden Esq. for membership was with-  
 drawn by the consent of the Society.

195. Charles Emil Wesche seems to have come to Santa Fé about 1857 and engaged  
 in general merchandise; and shortly thereafter became a member of the Masonic  
 lodge. Perhaps the Texan invasion of 1862 drove him to Las Vegas—at least, he was  
 there engaged in the same line of business from the late 1860's and on into the 1880's.

He was unanimously elected to membership at the next meeting of the Society; at  
 the December meeting he served as interpreter, and also was one of the three named  
 as "committee of arrangements" for the ensuing year, besides being elected to the  
 office of librarian and curator. He continued to be one of the most active members  
 up to the final adjournment in 1863.

Col. J. D. Graham U. S. A.<sup>196</sup> was elected an Honorary member of this Society.

E. F. Beale Esq.<sup>197</sup> and Lieut. W. H. Bell U. S. A.<sup>198</sup> were elected Corresponding members.

The Curator and Librarian submitted the following report which was ordered to be filed, viz:

#### Donations

One specimen of Copper Ore from Abiquiu from Mr. C. E. Whilden.

Two arrows taken from the body of a man shot by the Navajoe Indians, on the mesa, 11 miles from Santa Fé, in July 1860, by Genl. Wm. Pelham.<sup>199</sup>

Annual Report of Officers of Retreat for the Insane, Hartford, Conn., from the His. Society of Connecticut.

Specimens of Copper, Silver and iron ore from the Placer Mountains. From Don Serafin Ramirez.

A Chinese Hat from Master James Gorman.<sup>200</sup>

Two volumes of sailing directions from Lieut. M. F. Maury, Corr. Member, Nat. Observatory, Washington, D. C.

1 Japanese Pipe

1 Japanese Tobacco Pouch with Japanese Tobacco.

196. James Duncan Graham, native of Virginia, graduated at West Point (fifth in his class) in 1813. He served in the artillery branch until 1829, when he was transferred to the topographical engineers. He was brevetted lieutenant-colonel, Jan. 1, 1847, "for valuable and highly distinguished service particularly on the boundary line between the U. S. and the provinces of Canada and New Brunswick." He served on the Union side during the Civil war; and died Dec. 28, 1865.

197. Edward Fitzgerald Beale had begun his career as a midshipman in the U. S. navy. He played an interesting part in Kearny's march to California (1846) and later as superintendent of Indian affairs in California (1850-53). He took part in the picturesque experiment of our government with camels, and he himself rode one of the "ships of the desert" from Texas to Los Angeles. Under the government's "Pacific Wagon Road program" (1856-57), Beale was entrusted with the survey and construction of the road from Fort Defiance to the Colorado river. Beale's caravan utilizing 25 camels, left Antonio in June 1857 and traveled via El Paso, Albuquerque and Zuñi, to Fort Defiance and thence westward.

Probably our Society became acquainted with Beale's activities through the government publications which they were receiving from Washington.

198. Lieutenant Bell had evidently offered his resignation by letter, and his election here as a corresponding member was consequent upon that fact. See the later minutes of this meeting; also note 42, *ante*.

199. William Pelham of Texas arrived at Santa Fé in December 1854 as the first U. S. surveyor general. This is the only mention of him in these minutes.

200. When W. W. H. Davis visited Laguna in the summer of 1855, this Master James Gorman served him as interpreter and guide. He was then about twelve years of age and spoke the Indian language with almost the same fluency as English. See note 18, *ante*; also Davis, *El Gringo*, 394-395.

1 Package Japanese Rice in original package.

2 Japanese Silver Coins.

4 Japanese Copper Coins.

Herndoñs Exploration of the Amazon Vol. 1.

Obituary addresses on the death of Hon. W. R. King,  
vice President of the U. S.

Historical memoir of the Colony of New Plymouth, Vol. 1.

2 Maps of Stanbury's Expedition.

Laws passed by the General Assembly of the Territory  
of New Mexico at its Session of December 1847, Santa Fé,  
printed by Hovey and Davies, 1848. Presented by O. P.  
Hovey, Esq.

Three specimens of Bituminous Coal by Harry Whiting.

One specimen of Pumice Stone by W. Zeckendorf.

One Wooden chain, 2 Baskets, and 1 Danish Shilling and  
2 other smaller coins, presented by Wilhelm Zeckendorf.

1 Italian Lire, 1812 by Bernard Seligman.

3 Chihuahua clacós by T. F. Bowler Esq.<sup>201</sup>

2 British 1-4 Guilders and 1 German Heller from Solomon  
Beuthner.

2 Specimens of U. S. paper currency, 1 Ten Dollar bill  
Bank of the United States, signed by N. Biddle and 1 Ten  
Dollar bill of the Farmer and Mechanics Bank of Memphis  
(counterfeit).

1 Skin of a New Mexican Badger by W. Zeckendorf.

Santa Fé August 27th, 1860

A. De Marle

Curator and Librarian

The committee to whom was referred the address of the Rev. S.  
Gorman delivered before this Society on the evening of August 20th  
ult, submitted the following report which was adopted and ordered to  
be spread upon the minutes, viz:

"Santa Fé August 23d, 1860

Mr. President and Gentlemen  
of the His. Soc. of N. Mex.

In pursuance of its appointment your Committee met at  
the Society's rooms, and after due consideration, submit the  
following Preamble and Resolutions:

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201. Thomas F. Bowler became a Mason at Santa Fé between 1857 and 1864. He  
is not otherwise identified.

Whereas In an address delivered at a Public meeting of this Society on the evening of Monday Aug. 20, 1860 the professed object of which was to elucidate "The origin and Early history of the Pueblo Indians" an effort was made to institute a comparison between certain forms of christianity, to the disparagement of one of these forms.

Be it Resolved That this society cannot but regard such an effort as offensive to good taste and judgement.

That it regrets its inability to have protected the tenderest feelings of a large and valuable portion of its members.

That although it is warmly enlisted in favor of the rights of free speech, it declines to have its Hall made the battleground of religious sectarianism.

That for the future such discussions shall be regarded as "out of order" and the President of the Society is hereby empowered to interfere for the preservation of the harmony of the society.

In conclusion the Committee would state that the most objectionable parts of the remarks seem to have been extemporaneous, since they are not contained in the written address submitted to the examination of your Committee.

Respectfully submitted

Committee

{ D. V. Whiting  
O. G. Wagner  
C. P. Clever  
A. De Marle  
F. P. Abreu

Communications were read from Drs. J. Letterman and B. J. D. Irwin, U. S. A., Hon. J. Thompson, Sec. of the Int., Lieut. W. H. Bell and Messrs. J. Lennox and J. K. Curtis.

The resignation of Lieut. W. H. Bell as a member of this Society, was accepted.

Lieut. O. G. Wagner was added to the Committee on Mineralogy.

On motion Dr. Sloan was requested to deliver an address before this Society on any subject which he may be pleased to select.

On motion the Society adjourned.

David V. Whiting  
Rec. Sec.

Ninth Regular Meeting

Santa Fé New Mexico  
September 24th, 1860

The Society was called to order at the hour appointed. The Corresponding Secretary in the Chair.

The minutes of the last stated meeting were read and approved.

Charles E. Wesche Esq. was unanimously elected a member of the Society.

The Librarian submitted the following report of contributions for the month, viz:

The proceedings of the Boston Society of Natural History.  
From the Society.

A specimen of polished variegated marble from near Santa Fé, from Mr. Jean Bouquet.

The following books presented by Dr. Sloan:

7 Vols. Pacific Railroad Report.  
2 Vols. Gilliss Astronomical Expedition to Chile.  
Perry's Japan Expedition.  
Emory's U. S. and Mexican boundary Report  
McClellan's Military Commission to Europe.  
Smithsonian Reports 1857, 1858.  
Ures Arts and Manufactures.

Downings Horticultural and Landscape Gardening.

Minutes of the General Association of Illinois—from the Association.

A Collection of political Lithographs from Lieut. J. D. Wilkins, Newport Barracks, Ky.

The New York Municipal Gazette from E. Merriam, Brooklyn.

Design of the Washington National Monument and a view of Zurich, Switzerland from L. Spiegelberg, Esq.

The Court of Death and a jar of Reptiles in alcohol from A. Elsberg, Esq.

A document dated 1711 signed by the Duke of Albuquerque by D. V. Whiting.

Santa Fe September 24, 1860  
Signed    A De Marle

The Recording Secretary was authorized to give a copy of the report adopted at the last meeting on the address on Pueblo Indians to Rev. Saml Gorman.

Communications were read from Dr. J. Letterman, U. S. A., C. J. Hoadley, Esq., Rochester His. Society, H. E. J. Buchanan, Lieut. A. W. Whipple T. E., Lieut. J. D. Wilkins, Mr. E. Merriam, Lieut. R. V. Bonneau, Mr. A. Elsberg, and Col. B. L. E. Bonneville.

Dr. W. J. Sloan tendered his resignation as Corresponding Secretary of this Society, which was accepted.

Capt. D. H. Maury and Dr. W. S. King were nominated to fill the vacancy.

The ballot being spread

Capt. Maury received twelve votes

Dr. King four votes.

Whereupon Capt. D. H. Maury was declared to be elected Corresponding Secretary of this Society.<sup>202</sup>

The communication of Col. Bonneville was ordered to be delivered to the Section on Geography and the communication of E. Merriam Esq. to the Section of Meteorology.

On motion the Society adjourned.

David V. Whiting  
Rec. Sec.

Tenth Regular Meeting  
Santa Fé New Mexico  
October 29, 1860

The Society met at the hour appointed and was called to order by the Vice President.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and adopted.

John R. Bartlett of Rhode Island was elected an Honorary Member.<sup>203</sup> E. G. Squiers Esq. was elected a Corresponding member.<sup>204</sup>

The resignation of Capt. D. H. Maury as Corresponding Secy. was read and accepted.

The election of a Corresponding Secretary was postponed until the next meeting.

On motion of C. P. Clever Esq. a committee consisting of Rev. Bishop Lamy, C. P. Clever and Jesus M<sup>a</sup> Sena was appointed to corre-

202. Captain Maury resigned this office at the next meeting. See below; also note 182, *ante*.

203. John R. Bartlett was distinguished as the first U. S. boundary commissioner under the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo.

204. E. G. Squiers has not been identified.

spond with the Bishop of Durango with a view of obtaining a copy of the "Teatro Mejicano" which contains matters of interest in regard to the history of New Mexico.<sup>205</sup>

Communications were read from Col. J. D. Graham, L. R. Bartlett Esq., and R. G. Campbell and Spencer F. Baird.<sup>206</sup>

The Society then adjourned.

David V. Whiting  
Rec. Secy.

Special Meeting

Santa Fé New Mexico  
December 10th, 1860

A quorum of the Society met at the appointed hour, when

On account of the absence of Officers, constitutionally qualified to preside, Judge Joab Houghton was called to the chair, and C. P. Clever was appointed Recording Secretary pro tem.

On Motion

Mjr. J. L. Donaldson  
Hon. K. Benedict  
C. P. Clever  
Capt. R. A. Wainwright<sup>207</sup>  
J. Houghton

were appointed a committee to make arrangements for a proper celebration of the anniversary of the Society.

On Motion Resolved, that the committee aforementioned is requested to report to the Society at a special meeting to be called for that purpose.

Whereupon

The Society adjourned.

C. P. Clever  
Rec. Sec. pro tem

Special Meeting

Santa Fe N. M.  
December 19th, 1860

The Society met, no officer, constitutionally qualified to preside being present, the Rev. S. Gorman was called to the chair, and C. P. Clever was appointed Recording Secty. pro tem.

205. The work sought was evidently that of José A. Villaseñor y Sánchez, *Theatro Mexicano* (Mexico, 1746, 2 vols.)

206. For Campbell, see note 135, *ante* "Spencer F. Baird" is probably an error for Spruce M. Baird,—as was L. R. Bartlett for J. R. Bartlett.

207. In preparing note 9, *ante*, this mention of Captain Wainwright was overlooked.

Mjr. J. L. Donaldson, Chairman of Committee of Arrangements, made the following report:

To the President of the Historical Society of New Mexico,

Sir: The Committee appointed to make arrangements for a proper celebration of the Anniversary of the institution, having performed the duties assigned to them, beg leave to report, that they have solicited the Hon. Kirby Benedict, Chief Justice, and Chairman of the Section on History, to deliver an address on that occasion, to which solicitation, that gentleman has kindly assented.

The Committee recommend the invitation of the Ladies in this city, His Excellency the Governor, both branches of the Legislature, the Commanding Officer of this Department and officers and citizens generally, to attend the meeting of the Society on that occasion.

They also propose the meeting on that day to commence at 6 o'clock P. M.

The Committee therefore recommend the adoption of the following resolutions:

Resolved, that His Excellency the Governor, both Houses of the Legislative Assembly, and Col. Thos. T. Fauntleroy,<sup>208</sup> Commanding Military Department of New Mexico, be especially invited to attend the meeting of this Society at the celebration of its anniversary, on Monday, the 31st of December next, at 6 o'clock P. M.

Resolved, that a public invitation be extended to the Ladies, civil and Military Officers and citizens generally, to attend said Meeting.

Resolved, that the Recording Secretary of the Society be instructed to have these resolutions published and carried into effect.

Respectfully submitted.

J. L. Donaldson  
Chairman

Which said report was received and unanimously adopted, together with the resolutions.

On motion resolved, that the present Recording Secretary pro tem be continued during the vacation, and that he be appointed to collect the amounts due to the Society.

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208. Thomas Turner Fauntleroy, native of Virginia, was colonel of the 1st Dragoons from July 1850 and succeeded Colonel Sumner as commandant at Santa Fé in 1852-54. He was again appointed to the same post in 1859, succeeding Bonneville. He resigned his commission May 13, 1861 and became brigadier general of Virginia Volunteers, C. S. A. He died Sept. 12, 1883.



Judge Houghton offered the following

Whereas, the time designated by the Constitution of this Society for the nomination of officers for the next ensuing year, being the regular monthly meeting next preceeding the annual meeting, having passed and in consequence of the absence of all the Officers constitutionally qualified to preside, and there not being a quorum of members present to organize a meeting, and thus no nominations having been made,

Therefor Resolved, that it be held lawful for this special meeting now assembled, to proceed "nunc pro tunc" to make such nomination of officers to be elected at the next annual meeting, on the 31st of December proximo.

Which preamble and resolution were adopted. Nominations for Officers being declared to be in order by the Chair

Mr. De Marle proposed

Col John B. Grayson to be selected President.

Mr. Clever proposed

Major James L. Donaldson Vice President.

Mjr. Donaldson proposed

Judge J. Houghton corresponding secretary.

Judge Houghton proposed

Mr. D. Hood " "

Judge Houghton proposed

C. P. Clever Recording Secretary

Mr. De Marle proposed

Mr. C. E. Wesche Librarian and Curator

Mr. Wesche proposed

Mr. B. Koch " "

and Mr. Zeckendorf proposed

Mr. A. De Marle " "

Whereupon the Society adjourned.

C. P. Clever

Rec. Sec. pro tem

Eleventh Regular Meeting

Santa Fe N. M.

December 31st, 1860

The anniversary Meeting was called to order by Col. John B. Grayson, President, C. P. Clever, acting Recording Secretary pro tem.

In conformity with former arrangements, the Hon. Kirby Benedict proceeded to deliver an address to the Society, and in the presence of a large audience, which address was read in Spanish by C. E. Wesche Esqr.

The President then read his annual report, which was read in Spanish by Mr. Wesche.

Mjr. James L. Donaldson, chairman of the Committee of finance submitted his report, which was read and ordered to be filed.

Mr. Clever, acting Recording Secretary submitted a report which was read and ordered to be filed.

The regular meeting of the Society having been called to Order

The Minutes of the last Regular and intervening meetings were read and adopted as read.

The Society then proceeded to the Election of officers for the next ensuing term, which resulted in the unanimous election of the following gentlemen:

- Col. John B. Grayson, President, reelected.
- Major James L. Donaldson, Vice President
- Judge Joab Houghton, Corresponding Secretary
- C. P. Clever, Esqr., Recording Secty and Treasurer
- Charles Emil Wesche, Librarian and Curator

The Officers elect entered upon the discharge of their respective duties.

The President appointed the following standing Committees to serve during the ensuing term, viz:

- |                                |   |                           |
|--------------------------------|---|---------------------------|
| Mjr. J. L. Donaldson, U. S. A. | } | Committee on finance      |
| David Hood, Esqr. and          |   |                           |
| Col. J. L. Collins             |   |                           |
| C. P. Clever, Esqr.            | } | Committee of arrangements |
| C. E. Wesche, Esqr. and        |   |                           |
| General A. P. Wilbar           |   |                           |

Mjr. J. L. Donaldson offered the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted

“Resolved that the Hon. Kirby Benedict be requested to furnish the Recording Secretary with a copy of his address, that it may be preserved and published with the proceedings of the Society.”

Mr. Clever introduced the following:

Resolved that a Committee of five be appointed whose duty it shall be to examine all papers, documents etc. filed in the Archives of the

Society as also the addresses delivered, and prepare them for publication. The said Committee to report at the next meeting.

Which resolution was adopted and

C. P. Clever Esqr.  
 Mjr. J. L. Donaldson  
 Rev. S. Gorman  
 Hon. K. Benedict and  
 Hon. J. Houghton,  
 were appointed said Committee

Rev. S. Gorman introduced the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved that Col. J. L. Collins be requested to deliver an address on some one of the wild tribes of Indians, within the Territory, as early as he may find it convenient.

Col. W. A. Street offered the following amendment to the By Laws of the Society:

“Amendment to Art. 8, By Laws

To read “fifty Cents” instead of “One Dollar,” which, under the rule, was laid over until the next meeting.

The resignation of Capt. D. H. Maury was read and accepted.

The Curator and Librarian submitted the following report:

Donations since the last meeting

A Bow and quiver taken from a Navajo Indian, killed in the action of Oct. 3, at palo negro, presented by O. G. Wagner, Lieut. U. S. A.

Three spurs, used by the first explorers of the San Juan Mines, presented by Mr. Henry Mercure.

An English penny of the year 1831, presented by Mr. Thomas An Armijo.<sup>209</sup>

Arriban mas un tarrantule, ciento pies, which was sent by mail—donor unknown.

A De Marle Curator and Librarian

Whereupon the Society adjourned.

C. P. Clever  
 Rec. Secty.

209. The writing here is scrawled and illegible. If the name is Thomas Ant<sup>o</sup> Armijo, he is unidentified. The Spanish which follows is pretty bad, but De Marle seems to be acknowledging receipt from some unknown donor of a tarrantula and a centipede.

## Twelvth Regular Meeting

Santa Fe N. M.  
January 28th, 1861

The Society was called to Order by Mjr. James L. Donaldson, Vice President.

The Minutes of the last regular meeting were read and adopted.

The Amendment to Art. 8 By Laws, to insert "fifty cents," instead of "One Dollar" monthly dues, was on motion, adopted and ordered to be placed on Record.

The Committee on printing requested further time to present their report, which was granted.

The Corresponding Secretary read communications from the following gentlemen:

1. The President of the Humboldt Natural [History ?] Society of New Orleans, La.
2. H. R. Schoolcraft L.L.D. of Washington.
3. Morrison,<sup>210</sup> Brooklyn Height, New York, which last communication was referred to the Section on Antiquity and Collections.

Whereupon, on Motion  
The Society adjourned

C. P. Clever  
Rec. Secty.

## Thirteenth Regular Meeting

Santa Fe, New Mexico  
February 25th, 1861

The Society was called to order by Col. John B. Grayson, President.

The Minutes of the last Regular Meeting were read and adopted.

Application of A. Hunt Esqr.<sup>211</sup> of Las Vegas, was read, and laid over until the next regular meeting.

The Committee on printing made the following Report:

To the President etc.

210. Mr. Morrison is not identified. Clever failed to record the full name before letting the communication get out of his hands.

211. Augustine M. Hunt became a Mason at Santa Fé between 1857 and 1864; otherwise we have no information on him outside of these minutes. He is spoken of as "of Las Vegas." In December he was elected curator and librarian for 1862, and was reelected a year later. When the Society disbanded in September 1863, he was made permanent custodian of such property and collections as were not then disposed of.

The undersigned Committee on printing beg leave to report that they have taken the duties assigned to them under consideration, and have appointed Mjr. J. L. Donaldson and Hon. K. Benedict to make the necessary selection of the documents proper for publication. Your Committee recommends that a reasonable time be allowed them to make a final report, as the duties imposed upon them are such as require considerable time for their completion.

Respectfully submitted

Which report was adopted.

The Committee.

The Curator and Librarian made the following Report:

Donations to the Society during the two last months:

One Silver Coin, Un Real, 1777 from Gl. A. P. Wilbar

Report of the Smithsonian Institute for the year 1859, from the Hon. M. A. Otero.

Santa Fe, N. M. Febry 28, 1861

C. E. Weshe C. & L.

Mr. Gorman offered the following resolution:

Resolved that a Committee of three be appointed by the chair to take into consideration the propriety of Building a room for the use of this Society to report at next meeting, and if thought favorable, to report a plan of Building, and the probable costs thereof.

Which Resolution was adopted and the President appointed the Rev. Mr. Gorman, J. Houghton and Mjr. Donaldson members of said Committee.

Mr. Clever offered the following:

Resolved that the Cor. Secretary be requested to address communications to such gentlemen as have been selected by this Society to write essays on subjects embraced within the objects of this Organization, and to request of them to inform this Society whether or not they intend to comply with the desire of the Society.

Which Resolution was adopted.

On Motion of Judge Houghton, Messrs. Houghton, De Marle and Hodges were appointed a Committee to draft rules and regulations for the government of the library of the Society.

Whereupon On Motion

The Society adjourned.

C. P. Clever

Rec. Secty.

## Fourteenth Regular Meeting

Santa Fe, N. M.

March 25, 1861

The Society was called to order by Mjr. James L. Donaldson, Vice President.

The minutes of the last regular meeting were read and adopted.

Mr. August Hunt of Las Vegas was elected to become a member of the Society.

The Curator and Librarian made the following Report of Donations to the Society during the month of March:

from Hon. M. A. Otero

3 vol. Public Documents 1859-60

1 vol. Public Documents Rep. finances 1858-59 and

1 vol. Public Documents Rep. Com. and Nav.

from Mr. Wm Zeckendorf

A Spanish Copper Coin 1686 or 1786

from the U. S. Patent office

27 Copies of the Agricultural portion of the Report of the Com. of Patents and

A variety of garden seeds

from C. E. Wesche

Una Carta fechada Mex. Nov. 24, 1849, de Don Mariano Otero a General Don Manuel Armijo, cuando éste se hallaba preso en Chihuahua, and

Una Copia del Decreto de 19 Agosto 1848 del General Don Joaquin de Herrera

from D. V. Whiting Esqr.

22 volumes of I. F. Laharps "Abridgé de l'histoire générale des voyages"

1 volume Indigenous Races of the Earth

1 volume Types of Mankind

1 volume Noticias Secretas de America

3 volumes Quarterly Journal of Agriculture

Charles Cullen's Translation of the History of Mexico by Abbé Clavigero in three volumes

Wm. Heine's Graphic scenes of the Japan Expedition

Morrison's view of the Public Buildings and Statues of Washington City

The Committee on Building reported a plan for Building which on Motion was laid over until the next regular meeting.

On motion it was resolved that Lieut. Wagner U. S. A. be requested to deliver an address on the late War with the Navajoe Indians.<sup>212</sup>

Communications from J. K. Curtis New York and from the Patent Office were read and filed.

Lieut. Wagner offered the following:

That the Communications from the Agricultural Department of the Patent Office and accompanying seeds be placed in charge of the Agricultural Section of this Society, with instructions to distribute these seeds, giving preference to such gentlemen as are members of this Society, and further that this Section be requested to report specially in regard to the results of the cultivation of such seeds.

Which resolution was adopted.

Mr. Joseph Wilson of Washington City, on Motion was elected a Corresponding Member of the Society.<sup>213</sup>

A vote of thanks was tendered to Mr. Whiting for his liberal Donation of Books to this Society.

On Motion ordered, that the Expenses had by Mr. Whiting in bringing those books per mail across the plains be refunded to him.

The Cor. Secty was instructed to write to the Hon. Secty. of Interior at Washington in regard to the Books lately sent to this Society by the Interior Department.

The Librarian was instructed to subscribe for the Historical Magazine.

Whereupon the Society adjourned.

C. P. Clever  
Rec. Secty.

#### Fifteenth Regular Meeting

Santa Fé, N. M.  
April 29th, 1861.

The Society was called to order by the Hon. J. Houghton.

The members present being less than the necessary number to constitute a quorum for the transaction of business, they adjourned to the next regular meeting.

Chs. Emil Wesche  
Rec. Sec. pro tem

212. On Wagner, see note 23, *ante*. Reference here is to a punitive campaign which had been waged the previous fall. Apparently this address was not prepared and this was the last meeting which Wagner attended.

213. Joseph Wilson has not been identified.

## Sixteenth Regular Meeting

Santa Fé, N. M.

May 27th, 1861

The Society was called to order at 8½ o'cl P. M., President Col. John B. Grayson in the Chair.

By a vote of the Society the regular order of business was dispensed with and Col. Grayson delivered his able and eloquent valedictory address, after which he resigned the presidency and the Chair was filled by the Hon. J. Houghton.

On A. De Marle Esq. Motion Col. John B. Grayson was elected a honorary member of the Society by the unanimous vote of the members present.

On motion of the Rev. S. Gorman a special meeting of the Society was ordered to be held this day week for the purpose of hearing resolutions to be drafted by a committee of three, expressing the feelings of the Society with regard to the separation of the late President. The Chair appointed a committee:

Rev. S. Gorman

Col. W. A. Street

Chs. Emil Wesche Esq.

The Society then on motion adjourned.

Chs. Emil Wesche

Rec. Sec. pro tem

## Special Meeting

Santafe June 3, 1861

The meeting was called to Order by Joab Houghton, Esqr. Corr. Secretary.

Rev. Gorman, Chairman of the Committee appointed for the purpose, reported the following Resolutions:

[blank]

Remarks were made by the Rev. S. Gorman, the Hon. K. Benedict and Col. John B. Grayson after which the Resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Ordered that the said Resolutions be published in the Santafe Gazette and the Historical Magazine, and that the Rec. Secty. furnish a Copy thereof to Col. John B. Grayson.

The Society then adjourned.

C. P. Clever

Rec. Secty.



## Seventeenth Regular Meeting

Santafe, N. M.

June 24, 1861

The Society was called to order by Mjr. Donaldson, Vice President. The reading of the Minutes of the previous meeting was postponed.

The Curator and Librarian made the following Report:

Donations to the Hist. Soc. of N. M. received during the last Quarter:

A chamois leather jacket made by Zuñi Indians presented by Capt. E. J. Bucknam.<sup>214</sup>

A Stalactite

W. Zeckendorf

A View of Charleston S. C. pres. by D. V. Whiting, Esqr.

A letteh of President Paredes to General Armijo dated Mexico, April 22 1846, presented by Chas. E. Wesche Esqr.

Offerings of Pueblo Indians to their Idol Gods presented by Rev. S. Gorman.

An antique Mexican seal, presented by Mr. Jacob Krummeck.<sup>215</sup>

An antique Spanish Dragoon pistol, presented by Louis Felsenthal Esqr.

A lot of seeds from the U. S. Patent Office.

Rev. S. Gorman offered resolutions in regard to the finances of the Society, which after some discussion were withdrawn.

The President appointed Mr. Ch. Blumner member of the finance committee.

The Resignation of Lieut. Wagner was read and received, and on Motion he was elected a corresponding member of the Society.

Mr. Wesche was appointed by the Chair a member of the Section on Mineralogy and Geology.

The Society then adjourned.

C. P. Clever  
Rec. Secty.

214. See note 106, *ante*.

215. Jacob Krummeck became a Mason at Santa Fé between 1857 and 1864; otherwise, he is not identified.

## Eighteenth Regular Meeting

Santa fe, N. M.

July 29, 1861

The Society was called to Order by Mjor. James L. Donaldson, Vice President.

The Minutes of the previous meetings were read and adopted.

The report of the Rec. Secretary with accompanying documents relative to the financial condition of the Society eas read and ordered to be filed.

The Curator and librarian made the following Report:

Donations to the Historical Society of New Mexico, received during the month of July 1861.

From Wm. Zeckendorff Esqr. a lot of Quartz cristals.

From L. Felsenthal, Esqr. Epaulettes of the late Col. Muñoz, Mexican Army.

From O. P. Hovey Esqr. a Common Salamander, (slamandra terrestris) alive, and a couple of yellow striped corn leaves:

Santa Fe N. M. July 29, 1861

C. E. Wesche  
Cur & Lib.

Mr. W. Zeckendorf offered the following resolution:

Resolved that a Committee of three be appointed to assist the Treasurer in collecting the dues from members of the Society.

Which was rejected.

Mr. Clever offered the following:

Resolved that the Hon. Kirby Benedict be requested to deliver a lecture or lectures on any historical subject connected with the history of this Territory at such time or times as he may consider proper and that the President be authorized to call special meetings of the Society for that purpose, if such should be desired.

Which Resolution was unanimously adopted.

Whereupon the Society adjourned.

C. P. Clever  
Rec. Secty.

## Nineteenth Regular Meeting

Santa Fé, N. M. November 25th, 1861

The Society was called to order by J. Houghton, Corresponding Secretary.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and adopted.

On motion, his Excellency Wm. Gilpin<sup>216</sup> Governor of the Territory of Colorado was unanimously elected an honorary member of this Society.

A communication from his Excellency A. Rencher transmitting his Daguerreotype was received, read, and ordered to be filed.

The resignation of Rev. Sam. Gorman, member of the Society was read and accepted.

Mr. Chs. E. Wesche Librarian and Curator of the Society submitted the following report:

Donations received since last Regular Meeting:

A Daguerreotype of his Excellency, A. Rencher, late Governor of this Territory, presented by the same.

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216. William Gilpin (1822-94) was a native of Pennsylvania, attended school in England, graduated at the University of Pennsylvania, and was a cadet at West Point for about eight months. He was commissioned a 2nd lieutenant in the 2nd dragoons, and after some recruiting duty in Missouri he saw service in the Seminole War. When his request to make an exploring expedition to the headwaters of the Columbia River was refused, he resigned his commission (Apr. 1838) and became an editor in St. Louis, and also clerk of the house of representatives (1840). The next year he established his home in Independence, Mo., and 1843 saw him starting on his long-dreamed-of expedition to the Columbia; but on the plains he joined up with Frémont and went to California instead. His report to Washington (March 1846) became a senate document. In spite of the personal antagonism of Kearny, Gilpin managed to get into the Army of Occupation and was elected major in Doniphan's regiment. Later (1847-48) he did valuable service with "Gilpin's Battalion, Mo. Mounted Volunteers" in keeping-open the Santa Fé Trail against hostile Indians.

In the presidential election of 1860, "it is said that William Gilpin was the only man living in Jackson county, Missouri, who voted for Abraham Lincoln." He was one of those who personally attended Lincoln on the journey to Washington for the inauguration, and was one of those who helped guard the White House in that critical time. One of President Buchanan's last acts was to sign the bill making Colorado a territory; and an early act of President Lincoln was to appoint Gilpin the first governor. He arrived in Denver by stage late in May 1861.

In recruiting and equipping the First Colorado Regiment—which was to play a decisive part in March 1862 in saving New Mexico for the Union—Gilpin issued drafts on the national treasury which were not honored. In time, the matter was adjusted; but it had an aftermath in the removal of Gilpin from office in May 1862.

With this background, it is interesting to note here his election as an honorary member of our Historical Society in November 1861; also that he was in Santo Fé a year later. Someone has called him "the John the Baptist of the West." It would be gratifying to locate a copy of the address on "physical geography" which he delivered before the Society at the special meeting of January 20, 1863.

Misc. Copies of the agricultural Report of the Commissioner of Patents received from the U. S. Patent Office.

On motion that the surplus number of copies of Patent Office Report on agriculture be distributed among gentlemen in this Territory following agricultural pursuits.

Nominations for officers of the Society to serve during the ensuing year being in order the following nominations were made:

For President

Wm. Zeckendorf Esqr. nominated Hon. Kirby Benedict

Chs. E. Wesche Esqr. nominated Major James L. Donaldson

For Vice President

Hon. J. Houghton nominated Wm. A. Street Esqr.

Wm. Zeckendorf Esqr. nominated Major James L. Donaldson

For recording Secretary

Hon. K. Benedict nominated Chs. P. Clever Esq.

Ch. E. Wesche Esqr. nominated Chs. Blumner Esqr.

For Curator and Librarian

Chs. E. Wesche Esq. nominated A. Hunt, Esqr.

Hon. J. Houghton nominated Chs. E. Wesche Esq.

On motion of the Hon. K. Benedict, it was resolved, that a Commission and other documents, issued by the Republic of Mexico to Capt. Antonio Sena, and on a former occasion presented to this Society be returned to the same by our Librarian.<sup>217</sup>

Application for membership of John Greiner Esqr.<sup>218</sup> was read and under the rule of the Society laid over until next meeting.

217. Antonio Sena belongs to the Mexican period of New Mexico history. His name appears in a conveyance of property at Santa Fé in 1831. In 1837-38 he was a sergeant of the presidential troop and also was teacher of one of two little schools in Santa Fé that next spring. He first appears as a captain in 1843, and from the fall elections of that year he was a deputy in the departmental assembly—at first as a *suplente* (alternate) and in 1846 as a *vocal*. He does not appear in public affairs after the American Occupation, but this reference indicates that he was still living. (see *Old Santa Fé*, I-II, indexes)

218. John Greiner, resident of Columbus, Ohio, was appointed in the spring of 1851 an Indian agent for New Mexico. He arrived in Santa Fé in July and at first was located at Taos, in charge of Utes and Apaches in the Cimarrón country. When Gov. J. S. Calhoun was leaving for the east, he appointed Greiner (as senior agent) acting superintendent of Indian affairs, effective Apr. 1, 1852. His appointment as territorial secretary arrived Aug. 28 and he was sworn in two days later; but the new governor, Wm. Carr Lane, reached Santa Fé Sept. 9 and was inaugurated September 13. Greiner continued as secretary to May 1853, when Messervy took that office. Possibly Greiner returned to Ohio for several years, but sometime between 1857 and 1864 he became a Mason at Santa Fé; and here in Nov.-Dec. 1861 he is joining the Historical Society. A "Theodore" Greiner of Ohio was appointed in 1862 Pueblo Indian agent at Santa Fé; and from 1864 to 1866 John Greiner was both receiver of the U. S. land office at Santa Fé and U. S. depository and disbursing officer there. At this time he had the title "Major," and there is mention of his family with him in Santa Fé. (Twitchell, *Old Santa Fé*, 353)

On motion, resolved that the Hon. J. Houghton and Chs. E. Wesche Esqr. be requested, each to deliver an address at the next anniversary meeting of the Society, the first named Gentleman, one in English, and the last named Gentleman one in the Spanish language.

Resolved that the committee of arrangements be instructed to make all arrangements necessary for the proper celebration of said anniversary whereupon on motion the Society adjourned.

C. P. Clever  
Rec. Secty.

### Twentieth Regular Meeting

Santa Fé N. M. December 30th, 1861

### Annual Meeting

The Society was called to order by Major J. L. Donaldson Vice President.

On motion of the Hon. Kirby Benedict the rules were suspended for the purpose of hearing the address of Mr. Chas. E. Wesche.

Whereupon Mr. Wesche delivered an address in the Spanish language.

On motion of the Hon. K. Benedict Mr. Wesche was unanimously requested to furnish the Society Copies of his address in the English and Spanish language.

The minutes were then read and adopted as read. The petition of Mr. Jas. H. Holmes,<sup>219</sup> applying for membership to this Society, was read and ordered to be laid over until next meeting as provided under the rules.

J. Greiner Esqr. was duly elected to become a member of this Society.

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219. James H. Holmes and his wife, on the Santa Fé Trail in June 1858, joined "the Lawrence party," gold-seekers who had left Lawrence, Kans., in May for Colorado. One of the party in a letter said of Mrs. Holmes: "She is a regular woman's righter, wears the bloomer, and was quite indignant when informed that she was not allowed to stand on guard. She is young, handsome, and intelligent." She climbed Pike's Peak in August—the first white woman to accomplish it. For two weeks the party was prospecting on "Placer creek, fifteen miles from Fort Garland in New Mexico"; and apparently from there "Mr. and Mrs. Holmes and some others moved southward to Taos, New Mexico"—where Mrs. Holmes was said to have gotten a position as teacher. (Hafen, ed., *Pike's Peak Guide Books*, 62-4, 70, 332)

If this was the Holmes who joined the Historical Society in December 1861, we have only one additional glimpse of him. In July 1861, James H. Holmes of Vermont was made territorial secretary, instead of M. A. Otero whose appointment had not been confirmed.

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The Recording Secretary and ex officio Treasurer of the Society then submitted his annual report, which was read, approved of by the Society and ordered to be filed among the archives.

The Election of Officers for the ensuing year being in order the following Gentlemen were elected:

Major Jas. L. Donaldson, President  
Hon. Kirby Benedict, Vice President  
Wm. Osterton Esq., Recording Secretary  
A. Hunt Esq., Curator and Librarian

Two communications of the Hon. Caleb Smith, Secretary of the Interior were read and ordered to be referred to the Corresponding Secretary.

Whereupon the Society adjourned.

C. P. Clever  
Recg Secty.

As most of the Officers and members of this Society had left Santa Fé on account of the Texan invasion and owing to the disturbed state of affairs in our Territory, the rooms of the Historical Society of New Mexico were not opened until the 2nd day of June 1862, when the

Twenty first Meeting was held.<sup>220</sup>

The Society was called to order by Judge Houghton in the chair, the minutes of the last regular meeting were read and adopted.

Jas. H. Holmes Esq. was elected a member of this society.

Chas. P. Clever Esq. offered the following

### Preamble and Resolutions:

Whereas this Society has learned with profound regret, that Lieutenant Orlando G. Wagner, Corps of Topographical Engineers, U. S. A., a member of this Society, has been one of those, chosen by an Allwise Providence, to sacrifice his life upon the altar of his country for the maintenance of our Constitution and Union:<sup>221</sup>

Therefore, Be it resolved by the Historical Society of New Mexico, that in the death of Lieut. Orlando G. Wagner our Country and Government have lost a gallant, faithful and efficient public Officer, Science an ardent co-laborer, and Society a highly intelligent and amiable member.

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220. The Texan invasion entered the Mesilla valley in July 1861. It reached Santa Fé in March, but was driven back in April-May.

221. On Wagner, see note 23, *ante*; also note 212.

That we deeply sympathise with his family in their bereavement, and that as a token of respect to our deceased member, the usual badge of mourning will be worn for 30 days.

Resolved further, that the Secretary shall cause this resolution to be published and a copy thereof, under the seal of the Society be transmitted to the family of the deceased.

which Preamble and Resolutions were unanimously adopted.

Hon. J. Houghton then delivered a biographical sketch of Capt. Joseph R. Walker, the pioneer explorer of the Rocky Mountain regions, and a copy of this address was filed in the archives of the Society.<sup>222</sup>

Whereupon the Society adjourned.

Wm. Osterton  
Rec. Secr.

Twenty second Regular Meeting

Santa Fé New Mexico  
June 30th, 1862

The Society met at the hour appointed and was called to order by Col. Jas L. Donaldson President.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and adopted.

A communication was received by the Committee of Invitation for the Celebration of the fourth of July, which was read and adopted and the Curator ordered, to have the rooms of the Society opened on the morning of the 4th of July for the purpose of members assembling to form a procession to the place of Celebration.<sup>223</sup>

On motion of Chas. P. Clever Esqr., holding forth the difficulty of collecting the subscriptions due the Society it was resolved, to

222. Joseph R. Walker (1798-1876), trapper-explorer and guide, first journeyed from Independence, Mo., to Santa Fé in 1820 in a party of trappers—who were expelled. For twelve years he operated out of Independence. In 1832, he was in a party, 110 strong, led by Bonneville to Green River. In July 1833, Bonneville sent him with fifty men to explore westward. They went via Great Salt Lake to Humboldt River and "Walker Lake"; and are said to have been the first whites to cross the Sierra Nevada from the east and the first to see the Yosemite Valley. From Monterey, they returned next spring via "Walker's Pass" to the Great Basin. For the next nine years Walker remained in the Rockies; in 1845-46, he guided Frémont's third expedition to California. For most of his remaining years he was identified with California and Arizona. (W. H. Ghent in the *Dict. of Am. Biog.*)

223. Probably this is the only time that the Historical Society ever marched in this way. It is unfortunate that the secretary did not make a record of those who participated on this memorable Fourth of July.

authorize the Treasurer, to employ and pay a collector, the collection fees not to exceed five per cent.

The Curator and Librarian submitted the following report:

Santa Fé N. M. June 30th, 1862

I received from the Hon. Joab Houghton a fine photograph of himself to be presented to the Society.

(signed) Aug. M. Hunt  
Curator and Librarian

On motion the Society adjourned.

Wm. Osterton  
Rec. Secretary

P. S.

On motion of C. P. Clever Esq. the Corresponding Secretary was requested, to take steps, to obtain some relics of the late battles with the Texans in our Territory.

Wm. Osterton  
Rec. Secr.

Twenty Third Regular Meeting

Santa Fé N. M. December 29th, 1862

The anniversary meeting was called to order by Hon. Kirby Benedict, President pro tem:—

Mr. Wm. Osterton, ex officio Treasurer, read his annual report, which was submitted to the Committee on Finance.

The Society then proceeded to the election of officers for the ensuing year, which resulted in the unanimous election of the following gentlemen:

Hon. Kirby Benedict, President  
Chas. P. Clever Esq., Vice President  
Wm. Osterton Esq., Recording Secretary  
A. M. Hunt Esq., Curator and Librarian

On motion of Chas. P. Clever Esq. it was Resolved that Governor W. Gilpin be requested to deliver a discourse before this Society, at such time and on such subject as may meet his convenience, and that a Committee of three be appointed, to extend the invitation.

The Chair appointed:

Chas. P. Clever Esq.	}	Committee
Hon. Joab Houghton		
Don Pedro Valdez		



On motion of Hon. Joab Houghton it was Resolved that the Hon. Kirby Benedict, President elect of this Society is hereby requested to deliver an address at its next regular meeting upon the occasion of the installation of officers.

The Corresponding Secretary read a communication from our late President, Col. Jas. L. Donaldson, who presented the society with his photograph, which, on motion of Mr. C. P. Clever, it was resolved to have framed.

The standing Committee on Arrangements was charged to make preparations for the invitation of citizens, to attend at the delivery of the lectures.

Whereupon on motion the Society adjourned.

Wm. Osterton  
Recording Secretary

Special Meeting

Santa Fé, N. M. January 20th, 1863

The President called the Society to order and introduced Governor W. Gilpin, who proceeded to deliver a lecture on physical geography.

On motion of Chas. P. Clever Esq. it was

Resolved that the thanks of the Society be presented to Governor W. Gilpin for his highly interesting discourse delivered this evening and that a copy thereof be requested for the archives of the society and for publication.

The following gentlemen were appointed Committee to wait upon Governor Gilpin and express the thanks of the society:

Hon. Joab Houghton  
Chas. P. Clever Esq.  
Right Rev. J. B. Lamy

The Society then on motion adjourned.

Wm. Osterton  
Recordg Secretary

Regular Meeting

Santa Fe, N. M. Janry 25th 1863

The meeting was called to order by C. P. Clever Esq. Vice President.

A Communication from Hon. Kirby Benedict was read, stating that sickness prevented him, to deliver his address before the Society this evening.

Hon. Joab Houghton moved, that a Committee be appointed to wait upon Hon. K. Benedict and request him, to furnish the Society with a copy of his address, delivered at the anniversary meeting 1861, for publication.<sup>224</sup>

The Chair appointed:

Hon. Joab Houghton	}	Committee
Chas. Blumner Esq.		
D. B. Koch		

On motion of Mr. W. Osterton Hon. Chas. Bulling<sup>225</sup> of Baltimore was elected an honorary member.

On motion of Hon. J. Houghton it was resolved that copies of Gov. Gilpin's address were printed.

Whereupon the Society adjourned.

Wm. Osterton  
Rec. Secty.

Regular Meeting

Santa Fé N. M.  
September 28th, 1863

The meeting was called to order by the President. The proceedings of the last meeting were read and adopted. Mr. Osterton offered the following:

Resolved that the room of this Society be surrendered and the furniture and such other (property) articles, as may be designated by a committee of three, to be appointed by the chair for that purpose, be sold and the proceeds be applied to discharge the debts of the Society.

To which Mr. Blumner offered the following amendment:

That the Curator of the Society is hereby instructed to procure and take care of such property, things and donations, as shall be retained until further disposition shall be made by the Society.<sup>226</sup>

The above resolution and amendment was unanimously carried. Hon. Joab Houghton offered the following:

Resolved that Mr. A. M. Hunt, the Curator of the Society on Saturday next, 3rd of October, make public sale of all such property and things, pertaining to this Society, designated by the committee

224. See the minutes of Dec. 30, 1860. We do not even know what his subject was.

225. Charles Bulling has not been identified.

226. See note 211, *ante*. No record seems to have been made of such retained properties.

for sale, receive the proceeds of sale and after paying the expenses thereof, to pay the balance over to the Treasurer,—which was also carried.

The following gentlemen were then appointed by the President as committee to select the property to be retained:

Hon. Joab Houghton }  
Chas. E. Wesche Esq. }  
A. M. Hunt, Esq. }

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned *sine die*.

Wm. Osterton  
Rec. Secretary

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

THE FORGOTTEN CRISTÓBAL DE OÑATE—It is very generally known that the colonizer and first governor of New Mexico, Don Juan de Oñate, was son of one Cristóbal de Oñate, brother of another, and father of still a third. If the reader should come upon some account of the so-called conspiracy of the Marqués del Valle, otherwise the "Ávila-Cortés conspiracy," of 1565-67, and should notice that one of the chief victims in the ruthless handling of that affair was a Cristóbal de Oñate, it will be very natural to ask whether he was one of the above three or a fourth man of the same name.

Because of the date of that conspiracy, our governor's son is ruled out, because he was not born before 1588. His brother also is eliminated by an *Información de méritos* to which we have previously called attention.<sup>1</sup> In 1578, this Cristóbal, twin-brother of our governor, was still alive! Also he testified that he was then twenty-six years of age; so that in 1565 he would have been only thirteen years old. As far as age goes, the Cristóbal de Oñate who was involved in the conspiracy could have been our governor's father; and such identity has been made by at least one historian.<sup>2</sup> But this is definitely contradicted by Mexican authorities who state that the Cristóbal who suffered torture and a shameful death under the visitor Muñoz was "a relative" of our governor's father (of the same name), from whom he was distinguished by being called "el joven."<sup>3</sup> Who then was this fourth Cristóbal?

A possible explanation of the enigma is offered by the Coronado *residencia* which the writer photographed in Sevilla, Spain, early in 1939, and which is now in our Coronado Library, University of New Mexico.<sup>4</sup> To call this great expediente the "Coronado residencia" is somewhat misleading, because it was not primarily an investigation of Coronado as leader of the expedition to the new land of Cibola, nor solely of him as the outgoing governor of New Galicia. Rather, Judge Lorenzo Tejada who had been delegated by the Audiencia of Mexico to conduct the investiga-

1. NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, XIV, 118. The *información* is in A. G. I., Aud. de Guadalajara, 47, LBB title 124.

2. H. I. Priestley, *The Mexican Nation*, 94.

3. *México á través de los siglos*, II, 394, note.

4. The facsimile is from A. G. I., Justicia, 339, in four *piezas*. Excerpts of this have already been used in Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition* (Albuquerque, 1940).

tion was instructed to look into the doings of Coronado, and of his lieutenant-governor Cristóbal de Oñate, and of any others (as he might deem best) who had been serving as officials in New Galicia. Accordingly, Tejada seems (from the dates) to have initiated and carried along a number of investigations simultaneously.

Our immediate interest is in *Pieza 3* where inquiry is being made regarding various Indian pueblos formerly held by Nuño de Guzmán, the recovery of which was now sought by the king. The evidence as recorded centers down to two such pueblos, one held in encomienda by Juan de Villalva and the other by Cristóbal de Oñate "el mozo." Besides being thus designated repeatedly, the latter is also several times spoken of by the lieutenant-governor Don Cristóbal as "mi hijo."

Were Cristóbal "el mozo" of 1544 and Cristóbal "el joven" of 1565-67 one and the same man? Unfortunately our knowledge about the father is inadequate, but the facts which are known definitely favor such an identification. We are told<sup>5</sup> that the father arrived in New Spain in the fall of 1524 but our first record of actual service is as a captain of Nuño de Guzmán—from whom he received the gift of various pueblos, in the years 1528-29, and with whom he went to the conquest of New Galicia in 1530.

Now, for Cristóbal "el mozo" to have been old enough in 1544 (the time of the *residencia*) to be *encomendero* of a pueblo, he must have been born when, or very soon after, the father arrived in Mexico City. He may have been an illegitimate son, but we are inclined to think that there was an earlier marriage, a first wife of whom we know nothing and who perhaps died at the birth of this son. The numerous sources quoted by Mrs. Cornish know only of the wife who was later mother of our governor, Don Juan. This was Doña Cathalina de Salazar who, previously married and left a widow in Spain, came to Mexico City and married Don Cristóbal—but here, unfortunately, year dates are not indicated. It will be apparent, however, that Doña Cathalina could not have been the mother of "el mozo" (say before 1528) and also mother of the twins Juan and Cristóbal (1552) and still later of their brother Alonso. More probably her marriage was in the late 1530's.

Whether legitimate or not, "el mozo" would be a half-brother of the later sons, and it may be objected that

5. Beatrice Q. Cornish, "The ancestry and family of Juan de Oñate," in *The Pacific Ocean in History*, 452-464.

from 1552 to 1568 (when "el joven" was executed) there would be two sons named Cristóbal. But this was not unusual in the case of sons of different mothers,—and this is an added reason for the above explanation.<sup>6</sup>

In the years 1565-68 while México was perturbed by the Ávila-Cortés conspiracy and its aftermath, Don Cristóbal the father seems to have been still living, held in high esteem for the enviable record which he had made and as one of the four "discoverers of Zacatecas." Possibly out of regard for him, Cristóbal "el joven" is spoken of as his "relative" rather than as his son. During the investigation of the conspiracy, the mere threat of torture had caused this Cristóbal to break, and the information which he gave was disastrous to relatives and associates.<sup>7</sup> So it would not be strange if they tried to forget him, to blot out all name and remembrance of him. But fortunately the Coronado *residencia* of 1544 has preserved the above references to him which enable us to clear the good name of his father, who was also the father of our first governor.—L.B.B.

THE HEWETT FOUNDATION.—Deeds and documents filed in the office of the clerk of Santa Fé county on Tuesday, September 6, 1943, conveyed to the School of American Research at Santa Fé, the real estate and personal holdings, scientific and art collections as well as library of Dr. and Mrs. Edgar L. Hewett. This endowment, conservatively appraised at One Hundred Thousand Dollars, creates the Hewett Foundation, the income from which is to be devoted to research, publication and stipends for research fellows and associates of the School. It is the intention of Dr. and Mrs. Hewett to add further to the Foundation by testamentary disposition of assets retained by them for the present. The gift was accepted with profound expressions of gratitude at the annual meeting of the Board of Managers of the School, a meeting which is always held at Santa Fé Fiesta time, in which annual convocation the Board of Regents of the Museum of New Mexico joins.

6. As a single illustration, Hernán Cortés had two sons, each named Martín.

7. For a summarized account of the investigation, the tortures inflicted, and the sentences executed on those condemned, see H. H. Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, II, 605-621; *México á través de los siglos*, II, 391-398; Cavo, *Los tres siglos de Méjico*, 55-58. Cortés was something of a 16th century play-boy, but under torture by cord, by rack, and by water, his fortitude was unshaken—he showed himself a worthy son of his father. Young Oñate, on the other hand, proved utterly pliable—yet failed to save himself from either torture or shameful death.

The first session this year was held in the Woman's Museum Board room of the Art Museum with Dr. Hewett presiding. Out-of-town members of the Board of Managers in attendance were: Dr. Rufus B. Von KleinSmid, president of the University of Southern California; Dr. J. F. Zimmerman, president of the University of New Mexico; Prof. W. W. Postlewaite of Colorado College, Colorado Springs; Dr. H. C. Gossard of Eastern New Mexico College at Portales; Judge C. M. Botts of Albuquerque, and Willard V. King of New York City. Amendments to the by-laws of the School as well as a resolution for the extension of the charter of the School under the law enacted by the last legislature were adopted assuring the corporation practical perpetuity. The treasurer's report showed receipts of \$51,939 during the past fiscal year and a balance on hand of \$2,967.65. Never in the more than thirty years existence of the institution has it incurred a deficit or spent beyond its budgetary provisions. After reports of associates and curators, Member Henry Dendahl presented formally to the School for its permanent exhibit, the fine painting of the Bishop's Chapel by Artist Van Soelen. The painting represents the chapel as it appeared in the days of Archbishop Lamy. A vote of thanks was extended to Mr. Dendahl, who has upon previous occasions presented much-prized native handicraft to the School and Museum.

The second session of the annual meeting was held in the Hall of Ethnology. There were shown and examined recent publications by the School and the University of New Mexico. Plans were made for future publication of manuscripts in hand, including reproductions in color of murals from the walls of an underground kiva at the Coronado monument near Bernalillo, as well as paintings by the Indian artists who under the tutelage of the School, inaugurated the present Indian arts movement. Ready to be distributed is a folio of silk screen reproductions in color of the santo paintings on elk and deer skins of the collection of the New Mexico Historical Society. The edition is limited to a hundred portfolios. The School possesses the only photographic copy of the great Florentine codex of Sahagún, a monumental report on early Mexico in the Nahuatl and Spanish languages. The codex was photographed in Florence, Italy, by Lansing Bloom, secretary of the New Mexico Historical Society. Distribution of limited copies to three universities and several scientific institutions in Europe was authorized by the Board.

The third and final session of the Board was held in the Coronado room of La Fonda where luncheon was served. There features of the proposed Hewett Foundation was discussed giving rise to eloquent testimonials to Dr. and Mrs. Hewett. The notable achievements of Dr. Hewett in the fields of archaeology, education and sociology, not only in New Mexico but throughout the world, were recalled by the speakers. It was Dr. Hewett's inspiration, endeavors and gifts that created the fine group of buildings, which, added to the reconstructed Palace of the Governors, houses the Museum of New Mexico and School of American Research.

The election of officers concluded the annual meeting and resulted in the re-election of Dr. Edgar L. Hewett as president; Paul A. F. Walter as vice-president and treasurer, and Charles B. Barker as secretary of the managing board, these to constitute the executive committee with A. O. Bowden, Leonora S. Curtin, Frederick W. Hodge, J. O. Seth, Daniel T. Kelly, Willard V. King, Rufus B. von KleinSmid, Henry Dendahl, James F. Zimmerman and Lyman Bryson. The following were re-elected members of the Board for four years: Herbert C. Clark of San Francisco; Henry Dendahl, C. T. Currelly of the Royal Ontario Museum of Toronto, Canada; Frederick W. Hodge of the Southwest Museum, Los Angeles; Judge C. M. Botts of Albuquerque; James G. McNary of McNary, Arizona, and Cyrus McCormick.

After the meeting, a color film, showing in detail every step in Pueblo pottery making, was shown on the screen. The film was taken at San Ildefonso after the most careful preparation, the sequence taking days, by John L. Wallace, a noted scenarist and art photographer. It is now the possession of the School and copies are to be made and distributed for educational purposes. Those who were privileged to view the film pronounce it the finest that has come to their notice. Films of other Indian and Mexican handicrafts are to be produced together with sound records describing the various steps in the handicrafts pictured.—P.A.F.W.

BELEN SESQUI-CENTENNIAL—This summer the parish of Our Lady of Belen (N. Mex.) celebrated the 150th anniversary of its founding. As an enduring memento of the occasion, Bro. Andrew Hayes, O.S.M., prepared a twenty-



eight page brochure, quarto size, well written and beautifully illustrated.

Very fittingly the publication is dedicated to those of the parish who are in the armed forces of our country—and the parish honor-roll fills two pages with the names of four who have made the supreme sacrifice and 288 who are now serving.

Near the close is another honor-roll, showing the complete list (except for the years 1806-9 where the records are missing) of all missionaries and pastors from 1793 to 1943. It is very evident that this little parish history was a labor of love.—L.B.B.

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*Associates*

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GEORGE P. HAMMOND  
THEODOSIUS MEYER, O. F. M.

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