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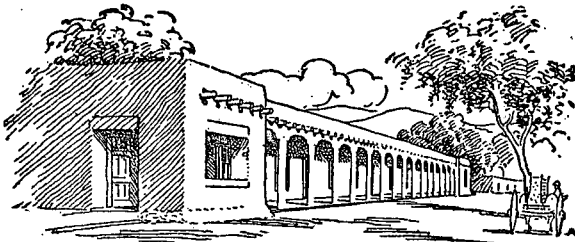
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Editors

FRANK D. REEVE

PAUL A. F. WALTER

Associates

PERCY M. BALDWIN

GEORGE P. HAMMOND

FRANCE V. SCHOLES

THEODOSIUS MEYER, O.F.M.

ARTHUR J. O. ANDERSON

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

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NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XXIV

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SPANISH-AMERICAN SLAVE TRADE IN THE GREAT BASIN, 1800-1853

By LELAND HARGRAVE CREER*

GOLD, glory, gospel—the three G's—these were the objectives that lured the Spanish conquistadors across the Atlantic Ocean to the New World beyond. They came at the close of the fifteenth century, more than a hundred years before their English, French and Dutch rivals. By 1600, more than 250,000 Spaniards were in possession of Central America, the West Indies, two-thirds of Mexico and a goodly portion of South America. Beyond Mexico stretched the fabulous Northern Mystery, whither went hundreds of Spanish explorers, chief among whom were De Soto, Cabeza de Vaca, Narvaez, Ponce de León, Coronado, Espejo, Férrelo, Cabrillo and Vizcaino, to mention only a few. They were looking for a pot of gold at the end of the rainbow which, according to Indian legend, was to be found at the Chicora Villages, home of the giant king Datha, or at the fabulous Gran Quivira. They were also searching for the mythical Strait of Anián, a legendary waterway, flowing from east to west, which was supposed to separate the North American Continent, thus affording a shorter and more expeditious route to India.

But the vast wastelands to the North yielded neither gold nor strait and the disappointed Spaniards turned their attention from this area and directed their interests thenceforth almost exclusively to the fabulous treasure houses of Mexico and Peru. And only when their foreign rivals threatened to

* Professor of History, University of Utah.

invade these regions and thus challenge the security of the Spanish claim, did Spain retaliate by occupying the Borderlands as defensive outposts. Thus when the French under Ribaut and Laudonierre attempted to found a Huguenot colony on St. John's River in northern Florida, the Spaniards under Menendez retaliated by founding St. Augustine (1565); when Robert de La Salle projected a Gulf colony at La Bahía, near Galveston, Texas, the excited Spanish officials sent Alonzo de León, Domingo Ramón and the Marquis de Aguayo into far eastern Texas to Los Adaes (1716-1722); when the Spaniard Marino falsely reported that Sir Francis Drake, the great English buccaneer, had discovered the Strait of Anián and had already returned to England by entering that waterway and sailing eastward, Oñate met what appeared to be a real English threat by leading a band of colonists into New Mexico (1598); finally, when the Russians dispatched a number of expeditions down the Pacific Coast in the interests of furs, José de Gálvez, Visitador-General of New Spain, with the king's consent, sent Portolá, governor of Baja California, northward to occupy Alta California, particularly that area about the long-sought-for Bay of Monterey (1769). Thus the sole purpose of Spanish occupancy within the present limits of the United States was defense and the sole result of the Spanish efforts, before the winning of American independence in 1776, was the successful founding and holding of five strategic provinces as defensive outposts—St. Augustine (Florida); Los Adaes and San Antonio (Texas); Santa Fe (New Mexico); Pimeria Alta, south of the Gila River (Arizona); and San Diego and Monterey (California).

Of all these frontiers, California proved to be the most difficult to occupy. It was the most isolated of all the provinces. Great distances separated it from the Mexican frontier. There was no adequate supply route. The direct water route from San Blas was altogether too precarious and the overland route from Baja California was unsatisfactory. To obviate this difficulty, Juan Baptista Anza had opened up a trail directly westward from Tubac on the Sonora border, but this proved even more unsatisfactory than the

other two, principally because of the Apache menace, and within a few years it was discontinued. In 1775, one of Anza's guides, Father Francisco Garcés, attempted to find a better route to Monterey by crossing the country to the south and west of Santa Fe. Going along the Mojave River and through Cajon Pass, he was the first white man to traverse the route through San Joaquin Valley now followed by the Santa Fe Railroad. But the Garcés route proved too long and difficult to compete in usefulness with the Baja California, or even the Anza route, and it was soon discarded.

In 1776, the government of New Spain projected a new expedition in an attempt to find a better route to Monterey. This time an effort was made to discover a route to the north and west of Santa Fe. The expedition was entrusted to two friars, Fathers Silvestre Velez de Escalante and Francisco Atanacio Dominguez. The party, ten in number, left Santa Fe July 29, and after following a circuitous route of approximately eighteen hundred miles through western Colorado, central Utah and northern Arizona, returned to the New Mexican capital on January 2, 1777, without having accomplished its major objective.

Moreover, Spanish officials did nothing to follow up the work of the Dominguez-Escalante Expedition with further efforts to open up a route from Santa Fe to Monterey. Nor did they attempt to establish missions among the Yutah Indians as Escalante had promised the natives he would do. Instead, the government's attention was diverted to complicated European problems, occasioned by the outbreak of the war of American Independence and soon thereafter by the costly French Revolution. It was necessary also, because of complications and involvements with Russia, England, France and the United States, to devote more attention to the important provinces of Texas, Louisiana, Florida and California, for upon the successful defense of these depended the very safety of the Spanish Empire in North America.

But while the government did nothing officially in the interests of the Great Basin after 1776, it was not so with the Spanish traders who knew nothing and were little concerned with international affairs. These unscrupulous

individuals were concerned not primarily with the fur trade but with the inhumane traffic in Indian children, for which they exchanged fire-arms, intoxicating liquors, and California horses. Such trade continued uninterruptedly, although very little documentary evidence until 1805 appears to confirm this assumption. An important letter dated September 1, 1805, written by Joaquín de Real Alencaster, Governor of New Mexico, to the Commandant-General, refers to the trading activities of Manuel Mestas among the Yutahs. It seems that Mestas, spoken of as an interpreter of fifty years experience, had set out for the purpose of recovering horses stolen from the Spaniards by the Comanches and retaken by the Yutahs. A second letter dated November 20, 1805, corroborates this fact and definitely mentions the Timpanogos region as the area visited. These communications suggest more or less continual intercourse between the Spaniards of New Mexico and the Yutahs of the Utah Lake region.¹

Further mention of Spanish traders enroute to Los Angeles, California, from Santa Fe, New Mexico, by way of the Great Basin, is made by David Coyner, western newspaper correspondent, in his book, *The Lost Trappers*. According to Coyner, two English trappers, James Workman and Samuel Spencer, with eighteen others, left St. Louis in the spring of 1807 under the leadership of Ezekiel Williams. They were attacked by the Indians on the Arkansas River: Williams escaped and subsequently reached St. Louis; Workman and Spencer descended the Colorado River in the summer of 1809; all others were killed. *Near Moab, the two lost trappers met with a Spanish caravan, enroute from Santa Fe to Los Angeles over the Old Spanish Trail.*² Says Coyner:

The caravan was going towards Pueblo de los Angeles, a town in Upper California, near the coast of the Pacific, in which region of country they expected to be engaged in trading until the following

1. See Hill, Joseph J., "Spanish and Mexican Exploration and Trade Northwest from New Mexico into the Great Basin, 1765-1853," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, III, No. 1, January, 1930, pp. 16-17. The original letters are found in Twitchell, *Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, II, 478, 487, Nos. 1881 and 1925; photostat copies are filed in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.

2. The Old Spanish Trail, according to Hill, before 1830, led to the Great Basin only. "It was developed as a result of the Spanish trade with the Yutahs. . . . It was not until the winter of 1830-31, when Wolfskill led a party to California by this north-

spring, when they expected to return to Santa Fe with horses and mules. Part of the company were men who lived in Upper California, but they had accompanied a caravan the last spring to Santa Fe, and were not returning home. Workman and Spencer determined to join the company and go to California, where they would spend the approaching winter, and in the spring return with them to New Mexico, whence they hoped some opportunity would present itself of getting back to the United States. They were therefore regularly taken into the service of the company, which was under the direction of a captain, and furnished with mules and articles as they needed.³

More significant is the account of an expedition to Utah Lake and southward in 1813. In this year seven men under the command of Mauricio Arze and Lagos García penetrated the very heart of the Great Basin. They were gone four months, leaving Abiquíu on March 16 and returning on July 12. The account gives no particulars as to the route followed. On September 1, the Governor of New Mexico, having received information regarding the affair, ordered the members of the party to appear before Manuel García, Alcalde of the *Villa de Santa Cruz de la Canada*, and file notarized accounts concerning details of the trip. "In the main," says Hill, who claims to have discovered this document filed with the Alcalde, and which is now in the Spanish Archives at Santa Fe,⁴ "these affidavits duplicate each other, with only here and there a unique detail." The company remained at the lake of the Timpanogos three days carrying on a little trade while waiting for the Indians of two rancherías to come together. When all were assembled a council was held, but, if we may rely upon the statement of the Spaniards in

ern trail, that the Old Spanish Trail was thought of as extending to California. But Wolfskill was an American and he led an American expedition. The misnomer, however, was of perfectly normal development. Parties going to California by this northern route set out from New Mexico along the Old Spanish Trail to the Great Basin, and so it was perfectly natural to speak of their having gone to California by way of the Old Spanish Trail. The term, therefore, soon became applied not only to the trail leading to the Great Basin but also to the branch of that trail leading to California." *Ibid.*, p. 3. The reference, however, to Workman and Spencer traversing the trail, all the way to California, seems to imply that Spanish caravans were regularly travelling this route by 1807. The Great Basin, of course, was a part of Alta California.

3. Coyner, David, *The Lost Trappers, passim*; extracts quoted by Alter, J. Cecil, *Utah: The Storied Domain*, I, 10-11.

4. Twitchell, *Spanish Archives* . . . II, 577, No. 2511; photostat copy in the Bancroft Library, University of California.

their affidavits *the Indians would trade nothing but Indian slaves, as "they had done on other occasions."* At this rebuff, the report says, the Indians began killing the horses of the Spaniards. After eight horses and a mule had been killed, the chief succeeded in quieting them. "Warned by this injury," continues Hill, "the Spaniards collected their remaining horses and, after standing guard over them all night, set out on the following day for Rio Sebero (Sevier River)." Here among the Bearded Indians whom Escalante earlier had encountered, they were greeted with the same hostile reception. One evening, "the Spaniards overheard the Indians discussing a plan by which they proposed to kill their visitors." Taking advantage of this information, the traders foiled the redskins by stealing away southward to the Colorado. Here again they met with the same kind of treatment.

This time, however, the commandant, having been informed of the extremity of the resentment of the Indians, called his men together and *gave them permission to purchase the slaves, "in order . . . not to receive another injury like the first one."* As a result of this decision, *twelve slaves were bought*, after which, the Spaniards continued their journey with no other incident worthy of note except the loss of a mule and a horse by drowning in crossing the Colorado. . . . Besides the slaves mentioned above, the Spaniards collected on their trip a total of one hundred and nine pelts. This, however, was stated to be "but a few." None of the statements tell what kind they were. And, concludes Hill: That the country over which the company had traveled was fairly well known seems to be implied from the fact that nothing to the contrary is stated and that no difficulties regarding the route are mentioned. The only place where they speak of having had a guide was from the Rio Sebero to the Bearded Indians. Two members of the party, however, understood the language of these Indians sufficiently well to be referred to as interpreters. These Indians, it was stated, were unknown to the traders, which seems to imply that the traders were at least somewhat acquainted with the others whom they visited.⁵

The Old Spanish Trail became the established route of the Spanish slave trader. Before 1830, the name was applied to the route which led from Santa Fe to the Great Basin only,

5. Hill, "Spanish and Mexican Exploration and Trade Northwest from New Mexico into the Great Basin, 1765-1853," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, III, No. 1, January, 1930, pp. 17-19; see also Snow, William J., "Utah Indians and the Spanish Slave Trade," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, II, No. 3, 68-69.

Some lines in quotations used in this paper are italicized by the author.

but after that date when the California trade became increasingly popular the Old Spanish Trail was thought of as the established route of trade between Santa Fe and Los Angeles by way of the Great Basin.⁶ The Trail entered Utah near Moab. After crossing the Green River near the modern town of Green River, it extended through Emery County and over the Wasatch Mountains through Salina Canyon to Sevier Valley. Thence it proceeded southward through Marysvale Canyon to the modern town of Spry, where it diverted westward, crossing over the mountains to Paragoonah by way of Bear Valley. From Paragoonah it proceeded southwestwardly by way of the modern towns of Parowan and Cedar City, through the Mountain Meadows to the Santa Clara River. From this point in extreme southwestern Utah the Trail continued southwestwardly to Las Vegas, Nevada, and thence to San Gabriel Mission and the Pueblo of Los Angeles.⁷ It is important to note that the trade was confined mainly to the Indians of the southern part of the state, and chiefly to those of Sevier Valley, a favorite rendezvous of the redskins and the point where the Old Spanish Trail emerged into the valley at Salina. Only occasionally did a caravan divert northward and visit the Indians of the Timpanogos or Utah Lake region. The Arze-Garcia Expedition, already noted above, is a case in point.

In 1830, an American by name of William Wolfskill led a band of trappers over the Old Spanish Trail to California. The party suffered many hardships in Castle and Sevier Valleys, but finally emerged into beautiful Utah Dixieland, which they, through their chroniclers George C. Yount and Orange Clark, enthusiastically describe. Since this is the earliest detailed description of the Indians of the southern part of the State, particularly those of the Pahvant and Sevier valleys,⁸ both traversed by the Old Spanish Trail, and

6. *Supra*, footnote 2.

7. Not all travellers California bound over the Old Spanish Trail crossed the mountains by way of Bear Valley west of Spry. No doubt some crossed through Clear Creek Canyon, the route followed by Jedediah S. Smith in 1826, others by a route still farther south. It is more accurate to say that the route west from Spry to Paragoonah by way of Bear Valley was the most travelled one.

8. The first description of any of the Indians who inhabited Utah of which we have any knowledge is that contained in the journal of Father Escalante. However,

since the aborigines of these areas constituted the tribes with whom the Spaniards plied their inhumane traffic in slaves, a portion of the illuminating report of the chroniclers is deemed important enough to insert in this narrative. After crossing the Green River, the trappers shaped their course in a southwest direction to a place then known as St. Joseph's Valley (perhaps the modern Castle Valley), which they found "to be the most desolate and forlorn dell in the world. Everything about it was repulsive and supremely awful. Unanimously they resolved to abandon so dreary a region and rather than sojourn there, forego the acquisition of any benefit in the world."⁹ Two days march, however, brought them to a place entirely the reverse of it, to which they gave the name of Pleasant Valley (Sevier).

Describing the Indians of Sevier Valley, Clark says:

These people are an anomaly—apparently the lowest species of humanity, approaching the monkey. Nothing but their straight form entitles them to the name of man. They had not a hatchet, or any instrument to cut or perforate the softest wood. One discovery they had made, or had learned it from the more intelligent savage,—they would get fire by rubbing together pieces of hard wood, but it was a long and tedious process. They have but few words and communicate chiefly by signs. They live in little clans scattered over a great extent of country. A traveller who has been among them within a few months informs us that they have now become the most adroit thieves in the world: Their food consists of occasionally a rabbit, with roots and mice, grasshoppers and insects such as flies, spiders and worms of every kind. Where nuts exist, they gather them for food. They also luxuriate and grow fat when they find a patch of clover. On many kinds of grass, they feed like cattle. They love to be covered with lice because they appropriate these for food.¹⁰

That the traffic in Indian slaves was no uncommon or isolated phenomenon along the Old Spanish Trail is attested by various authorities and accredited instances. Uncle Dick Wootton, an old frontiersman of the early nineteenth century, makes this comment: "It was no uncommon thing in

Escalante was more interested in the Indians of the Timpanogos Lake region, far off the route of the Old Spanish Trail.

9. Alter, *Utah: the Storied Domain*, I, 23-24.

10. *Idem*. Alter in turn cites the *California Historical Quarterly*, II, No. 1, April, 1923.

those days (decade of the 30's) to see a party of Mexicans in that country (Great Basin) buying children and while we were trapping there I sent a lot of peltries to Taos by a party of those same slave traders."

Thomas J. Farnum, noted western traveller who visited the territory of southern Utah in 1839, describes the Indians of this area and notes the trading activities of the Spaniards among them. The following citation appears in his illuminating book, published in London, 1843:

Between this river and the Great Salt Lake, there is a stream called Severe River, which rises in the high plateaux to the southeast of the lake, and running some considerable distance in a westerly course, terminates in its own lakes. On the banks of this river there is said to be some vegetation, as grasses, trees, and edible roots. Here live the "Piutes" and "Land Pitches," the most degraded and least intellectual Indians known to the trappers. They wear no clothing of any description—build no shelters. They eat roots, lizards, and snails. Their persons are more disgusting than those of the Hottentots. They provide nothing for future wants. . . . *These poor creatures are hunted in the spring of the year, when weak and helpless, by a certain class of men, and when taken, are fattened, carried to Santa Fé and sold as slaves during their minority.* "A likely girl" in her teens brings oftentimes £60 or £80. The males are valued less.¹²

Similar incidents are recorded by the noted Indian scout and interpreter, Daniel W. Jones. Writing in 1851, he says:

Thus we find that the people of New Mexico . . . were making annual trips, commencing with a few goods, trading on their way with either Navajoes or Utes (generally with the Navajoes) for horses, which they sold very cheap, always retaining their best ones. *These used-up horses were brought through and traded to the poorer Indians for children.* . . . This trading was continued into Lower California, where the children bought on the down trip would be traded to the Mexican-Californians for other horses, goods or cash. . . . All children bought on the return trip would be taken back to New Mexico and then sold, boys fetching on an average \$100, girls from \$150 to \$200. . . . This slave trade gave rise to the cruel wars between the native tribes of this country, from Salt Lake down to the tribes in southern Utah. Walker and his band raided on the weak tribes, taking their children

11. Conrad, Howard Lewis, *Uncle Dick Wootton, the Pioneer Frontiersman of the Rocky Mountains*, 75ff.

12. Farnum, Thomas Jefferson, "Travels in the Great Western Prairies, the Anahuac and Rocky Mountains, and in the Oregon Country," in Thwaites, Reuben Gold, *Early Western Travels, 1748-1846*, XXVIII, 248-249.

prisoners and selling them to the Mexicans. Many of the lower classes, inhabiting the southern deserts, would sell their own children for a horse and kill and eat the horse. The Mexicans were as fully established and systematic in this trade as ever were the slavers on the seas and to them it was a very lucrative business.¹³

William J. Snow cites the journal of James G. Bleak as further evidence regarding this shameful traffic conducted by Spaniards. Mr. Bleak, sent as a Mormon missionary to labor among the Indians of southern Utah in 1854, writes:

The first day they (the missionaries) camped on the present site of Toquerville, and had an interview with the Indian chief, Toquer, they found the band very friendly. The following day the missionaries continued their journey south and camped on the Rio Virgin, opposite the present site of Washington. Here they found another camp of Indians. They were very timid. The women and children secreted themselves in the brush while the men approached the newcomers in a very cautious, hesitating manner, trembling as they shook hands with the whites. The cause of their fear it was found arose from the fact that bands of Utes and Mexicans had repeatedly made raids upon them and had taken their children to California and Mexico and sold them for slaves.¹⁴

It is interesting to note from the above testimony, that this nefarious traffic in human beings was not confined solely to the Spaniards or Mexicans, but was conducted by the different tribes of Indians themselves, the stronger tribes preying on the weaker and, if we believe the testimony of Jones, that even the celebrated chief Walker was a leader in this sordid affair. Even an occasional American trapper was sometimes known to engage in this trade. This conclusion is verified by reference to a second quotation from Farnum, who quotes his friend Dr. Lyman of Buffalo, who travelled over the Old Spanish Trail in 1841 and who observed: "The New Mexicans capture the Piutes for slaves; the neighboring Indians do the same; and even the bold and usually high handed old beaver hunter sometimes descends from his legiti-

13. Jones, Daniel W., *Forty Years Among the Indians*, 49-50. A small party of slave traders were encountered at Parowan, notice of which appears in the *Deseret News*, December 13, 1851.

14. Bleak, *Journal History of Dixie*, 20. (typewritten MS. in the Brigham Young University Library); cited by Snow, William J., "Utah Indians and Spanish Slave Trade," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, II, July, 1929, No. 3, p. 70.

*mate labor among the mountain streams to this mean traffic."*¹⁵

The Mormons became aware of this trade as soon as they entered the valley. Bancroft records:

During the winter of 1847-48, some Indian children were brought to the [old Salt Lake] fort to be sold. At first two were offered, but the settlers peremptorily refused to buy them. The Indian in charge said that the children were captured in war, and would be killed at sunset if the white men did not buy them. Thereupon they purchased one of them, and the one not sold was shot. Later, several Indians came in with two more children, using the same threat; they were bought and brought up at the expense of the settlers."¹⁶

Peter Gottfredson adds:

"Soon after the Mormons arrived in the valley, a number of Indians were encamped at Hot Springs, north of Salt Lake City. A little girl whom they had stolen from another tribe was offered for a rifle. The colonists at first refused to buy, whereupon the Indians began to torture her, declaring that they would kill her unless the rifle was forthcoming. In the face of this cruelty and threat, one of the men parted with his only gun."¹⁷

A few years later, about 1853, the noted Mormon scout and interpreter Daniel Jones was an eye-witness to the following incident which occurred near Provo, Utah:

They (Walker's band) were in the habit of raiding on the Pahutes and low tribes, taking their children prisoners and selling them. Next year when they came up and camped on the Provo bench, they had some Indian children for sale. They offered them to the Mormons who declined buying. Arapine, Walker's brother, became enraged saying that the Mormons had stopped the Mexicans from buying these children; that they had no right to do so, unless they bought them themselves. Several of us were present when he took one of these children by the

15. Farnum, Thomas Jefferson, *Life, Adventures, and Travels in California*, 312, 371, 390. On August 16, 1844, John Charles Fremont enroute to the east from California met a band of Utah Indians headed by Chief Walker. "They were journeying slowly towards the Spanish Trail to levy their annual tribute upon the Great California caravan. They were robbers of a higher order than those of the desert. They conducted their depredations with form, and under the color of trade and toll for passing through their country. Instead of attacking and killing, they affect to purchase, taking horses they like and giving something nominal in return." See Fremont, *Report of the Exploring Expeditions to the Rocky Mountains in the year 1842, and to Oregon and California in the Years 1843-44*, p. 272.

16. Bancroft, Hubert Howe, *History of Utah*, 278.

17. Gottfredson, Peter, *Indian Depredations in Utah*, *passim*; Gottfredson quotes from the *Journal of Solomon Kimball*, 15-16.

heels and dashed its brains out on the hard ground, after which he threw the body toward us, telling us we had no hearts, or we would have bought it and saved its life. This was a strange argument, but it was the argument of an enraged savage. I never heard of any successful attempts to buy children afterwards by the Mexicans. If done at all it was secretly.¹⁸

But the slave trade did continue to exist, at least until 1860, for in that year, Indian agent Garland H. Hurt officially reported:

“So vigorously is it prosecuted that scarcely one-half of the Py-eed children are permitted to grow up in the band; and a large majority of those being males, this and other practices are tending to depopulate their bands very rapidly.¹⁹

The people of Utah were profoundly shocked by the knowledge of these inhumane practices and Brigham Young at once determined to put an end to the whole sordid business. He therefore issued a proclamation, dated April 23, 1853, warning the people of the southern settlements and dispatching a detachment of thirty men “to apprehend all such strolling Mexicans and keep them in custody until further warned.”²⁰

Over a year before, on January 31, 1852, the Utah territorial legislature had attempted to solve the problem by passing a law prohibiting the slave trade entirely, but this the Mexicans with complete indifference had evidently ignored. The law legalized the enforced apprenticeship of Indian children, but “only for the purpose of inducing the brethren to purchase those who would otherwise have been sold or abandoned by their parents.”²¹

The immediate occasion for the above legislation was the arrival of a party under Pedro León in Manti, Sanpete Valley, attempting to trade horses for Indian children.²² León held a license signed by Governor James S. Calhoun and

18. Jones, *Forty Years Among the Indians*, 53.

19. Report of Garland H. Hurt in Simpson, Captain George, *Explorations Across the Great Basin of Utah*, Appendix O.

20. Snow, *op. cit.*, 71-72. See also Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 475-476; also Whitney, *History of Utah*, I, 512.

21. *Acts, Resolutions and Memorials* (Salt Lake City, 1855); also *Utah State Historical Quarterly*, II, July, 1929, No. 3, pp. 85-86.

22. *The Deseret News*, November 15, 1851, carried an announcement and editorial about this incident.

dated Santa Fe, August 14, 1851. The arrival of León and his party caused considerable concern and later eight of the group, including León, were arrested and tried before the Justice of the Peace at Manti. Subsequently they came before Judge Zerubbabel Snow in the First District Court at Salt Lake City.

"This was quite a noted case," says Jones. "I was employed as interpreter. George A. Smith defended the prisoners, and Colonel Blair prosecuted with great wisdom and tact, he knowing all about the Mexican character, having been in the Texan War. A good deal of prejudice and bitter feeling was manifested toward the Mexicans. Governor Young, seeing this used all his influence that they might have a fair trial and the law be vindicated in a spirit of justice and not in the spirit of prosecution. The defense made by the Mexicans was that the Indians had stolen a lot of horses from them and they had followed and overtaken them. On coming to camp, they found that the Indians had killed and eaten the horses. The only remuneration they could get was to take some children which the Indians offered in payment, saying they did not mean to break their promise. This defense had some weight, whether true or not."²³

The court decided against the Mexicans and a squaw and eight children were set free. The Mexicans were ordered to leave the territory. They did so but not without avenging themselves by stirring up the savages against the settlers. The resultant Walker War, 1853-1854, can be traced directly to this episode.

It appears perfectly evident from all the facts herewith presented that that part of the Great Basin south of the Sevier River traversed by the Old Spanish Trail was frequently visited during the first half of the nineteenth century by unscrupulous Spanish and Mexican traders who acquired Indian children whom they sold into slavery; that some of the Indians themselves and occasionally also a few avaricious American trappers engaged in this sordid business; and that the trade did not cease until the Mormon colonists passed legislation prohibiting it, and furthermore, the attempt to regulate the trade resulted only in further ingratiating both Spaniard and Indian and therefore served as a pretext for future wars.

23. Jones, *op. cit.*, 50; see also Whitney, *op. cit.*, I, 510-511.

NEW MEXICO IN TRANSITION

By ARNOLD L. RODRÍGUEZ, O.F.M.*

CHAPTER I

The Land and the People

ON December 4, 1852, the Secretary of War of the United States, Charles M. Conrad, in presenting to Congress a plan for administering the newly-acquired territory of New Mexico, said that the region was “. . . so remote and inaccessible, and holds out so little inducement to emigration, that the struggle between the two races [Indians and Whites] is destined, in all probability, to continue there long after it shall have ceased in every other portion of the continent.”¹ He revealed that the annual upkeep of the army in New Mexico alone amounted to one million dollars, and he felt that this was a waste of money, since Indian depredations continued, in spite of military protection. He stated that the total value of the real estate in that region was estimated at about \$2,700,000 and that to protect the small white population of 61,000

. . . we are compelled to maintain a large military force, at an annual expense nearly equal to half the value of the whole real estate of the Territory. Would it not be better to induce the inhabitants to abandon a country which seems hardly fit for the habitation of civilized man, by remunerating them for their property in money or in lands situated in more favored regions? Even if the Government paid for the property quintuple its value, it would still, merely on the score of economy, be largely the gainer by the transaction, and the troops now stationed in New Mexico would be available for the protection of other portions of our own and of the Mexican territory.²

Conrad was led to this expedient by correspondence he had maintained with Colonel Edwin V. Sumner, commander of the New Mexico military department. In a letter dated

* This work was originally done as a dissertation for the degree of Master of Arts in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences of the Catholic University of America.

1. *Congressional Globe*, 32 Cong., 2 Sess., Appendix, p. 6.

2. *Ibid.*

May 27, 1852, for instance, Sumner forwarded a report to Conrad containing a scathing criticism of the people of New Mexico and expressing the conviction that there was no hope of ever bettering their condition.³ The plan of Conrad to give New Mexico back to the Indians might have been well-intentioned, but it evoked protests and severe criticism from various parts of the country. Particularly bitter was the abolitionist newspaper, the *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, at the time the only newspaper in the Territory. After refuting the Secretary of War's assertions, one editorial stated: "Mr. Conrad . . . knows almost nothing of our Territory. His . . . policy would not be a bad one for our Territory, provided we did not have to sell out at *his estimate*."⁴ Three weeks later the same paper commented:

When the Secretary was advertising us for sale, generosity should have induced him to state the whole truth, in regard to our condition, bad as it may be. If we are worth but little, we have a personal pride in bringing our full value. He ought at least to have told the world that the census returns show the real and personal estate of this people to be \$5,174,471 in value, and that it would be neither just nor gracious, to take our land away and leave our personal property, supported from our lands, on our hands, to starve.⁵

The attitude of Conrad toward New Mexico was typical of the current feeling in the United States at the time. Contemporary American writers manifested a lack of understanding of the people of the newly-acquired Territory and almost a total ignorance of its topography, resources, and extent. Popular conception of that vast land ranged from a paradise where all sorts of plants grew, to a desert land, unfit for agricultural purposes. One reason for these false views was that for some years after the occupation of New Mexico the Washington government failed to undertake a systematic survey of the region. This neglect was bitterly resented by New Mexicans, as is evidenced by the repeated editorials on the subject which appeared in the *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*. One editorial said:

. . . One instance of neglect, to mention no more, consists in leaving

3. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, March 5, 1853.

4. *Ibid.*, January 29, 1853.

5. *Ibid.*, February 19, 1853.

our country unexplored. . . . The map of New Mexico is but little more than a map of the Rio Grande, for almost all other parts of the vast region are marked with the words, "unknown" or "unexplored." And whilst this gross neglect of our geographical and geological exploration of the very heart and center of our empire, on the part of the General Government, we find her laboriously and expensively engaged in exploring foreign countries and distant seas. Whilst vast regions of our country remain not only unsettled, but unexplored, we find the Government favoring with the public purse the exploration of the valley of the Amazon, in South America. . . .⁶

As late as 1874 the resources of New Mexico were unknown in the United States, and in a testimony before the Committee on Military Affairs of the House of Representatives, General William T. Sherman said that New Mexico was of no value to the Union. The best thing that could be done with it, he added, would be to "prevail on Mexico to take it back."⁷

Only the few Americans who had lived in New Mexico for some years and had attempted to understand the people, held any hopes for the region. They recognized the value of the Territory for its undeveloped resources of a pastoral and mineral character, and regarded the inhabitants as intelligent and capable of becoming loyal American citizens.⁸

In the period under consideration, namely from 1830 to 1860, New Mexico had an area of about 240,000 square miles and included what we now know as New Mexico, Arizona, and the southeastern part of Colorado. It was a land of contrasts, with a variety of climate, topography, and people. Semi-arid for the most part, the region had high mountains, fertile valleys, and vast deserts. Through it ran the Rio Grande which today serves for 1,250 miles as a boundary between Mexico and the United States, and makes agriculture possible in the lowlands.⁹ In certain regions agriculture failed to make progress, not only because of the antiquated methods employed, but also because some bottomlands con-

6. *Ibid.*, February 12, 1853. An account of these explorations may be found in William L. Herndon and Larner Gibbon, *Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon* (3 vols., Washington, D. C.: Robert Armstrong, 1854). This work forms part of *House Exec. Docs.*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 53.

7. *Congressional Record*, 44 Cong., 1 Sess., pp. 3825-3828.

8. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, February 12, 1853.

9. A. G. Harper, A. R. Córdoba, and K. Oberg, *Man and Resources in the*

tained alluvial deposits which retarded the growth of plants.¹⁰

The population also presented contrasts. There were the Pueblo Indians, who led a sedentary life in their well-organized villages and were devoted to agriculture, sheep-grazing, and weaving; the Spanish and mestizo population, which dwelt for the most part in towns, systematically laid out in the more fertile valleys. Beginning in the second decade of the nineteenth century another group started migrating to New Mexico, small in numbers, but with an important role to play in the development of the region, namely the Anglo-Americans from the United States. By the fourth decade of the century their influence began to be felt in social and economic life, and their dominating influence was to bring New Mexico into the current life in the United States, which was then in its formative period of natural development.

Although the peoples of New Mexico lived in peace among themselves, they were harassed until the second half of the nineteenth century by the plains Indians, nomadic and war-like in character, by whom they were practically surrounded. Prominent among them were the Utes, the Apaches, and the fearful Comanches. These plains tribes were the dread of the white population and the Pueblo Indians alike, upon whom they periodically descended, destroying their crops and stealing their women, children, and cattle.

Both nature and the nomadic marauders of the surrounding area conspired against the work of the white man and the Pueblo Indians. As if this were not enough, New Mexico had a third drawback, namely, distance. For over two centuries New Mexico was the northernmost outpost of New Spain, the capital of which was Mexico City. Between the capital and New Mexico lay a tremendous expanse of high mountains, treacherous arroyos, and arid desert, all of which made communication exceedingly difficult. That the

Middle Rio Grande Valley (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1943), pp. 2-7.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

region survived as a colony of New Spain at all in the midst of these disheartening obstacles is a tribute to the courage of the colonizers. That they had made a certain amount of economic and cultural progress, speaks well for the Spaniards' resourcefulness and their abiding faith in God.

Census-taking in nineteenth century New Mexico was a difficult task. The ruggedness of the country and the isolation of communities were but two of the obstacles. As a result, no one knew with any degree of certainty how many whites and Indians inhabited the country when the Americans arrived. In 1844 it was estimated that there were about 99,204 souls in the territory, of whom roughly a third were plains Indians and about 7,000 were Pueblo Indians;¹¹ the remainder constituted the white and mestizo population. Roughly speaking, then, there were about 60,000 inhabitants of European origin or culture in what we now know as New Mexico when General Stephen W. Kearny took over the region.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it had been the practice of the governors of this northern province of New Spain to make grants of land to individuals and communities for distinguished services to the Spanish Crown, particularly for military services in the campaigns against the plains Indians. Later, when Mexico declared its independence, this practice of land grants was continued with the idea of encouraging agriculture and stock raising.¹² Yet, the tendency of the people, as a protection against the frequent Indian depredations, was to settle in villages and towns.

As early as 1812 Don Pedro Pino, in his report to the Spanish Cortes at Cádiz, mentioned that there were in New Mexico 102 Spanish towns and 22 Indian pueblos.¹³ These

11. L. Bradford Prince, *Historical Sketches of New Mexico from the Earliest Records to the American Occupation* (New York: Leggat Brothers, 1883), p. 239; David Y. Thomas, *A History of Military Government in Newly Acquired Territory of the United States*, Vol. XX, *Studies in History, Economics and Public Law* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1904), p. 114.

12. W. F. M. Arny, *Interesting Items Regarding New Mexico: Its Agricultural, Pastoral and Mineral Resources, People, Climate, Soil, Scenery, etc.* (Santa Fe: Manderfield and Tucker, 1873), p. 35.

13. Pedro Bautista Pino, *Noticias históricas y estadísticas de la antigua provincia*

communities were located in the central and southern part of the region, in the fertile Rio Grande Valley. Irrigated by this river, the territory offered many opportunities for various types of agriculture, while at the same time the towns, with their military barracks, offered some security from hostile Indians.¹⁴ Gradually some of these settlements developed into important centers of trade, government, and culture, as, for example, Santa Fe, Taos, and Albuquerque. By the middle of the nineteenth century the white population was predominantly urban, although haciendas and small farms dotted the fertile valleys and mountain sides.

A typical New Mexican town, and the most important in the territory, was the old capital, Santa Fe. Situated near the Sangre de Cristo Mountains, it was built in the traditional Spanish way, over an extensive area of land, with a public square or plaza in the center. Facing the plaza were the principal buildings, such as the Palace of the Governors, the military chapel of Our Lady of Light, and the parish church which later became the cathedral. The rest of the square was taken up with stores and shops of various kinds. These business establishments, according to one writer, consisted of a printing office, twenty-five stores, two tailor shops, two shoemakers, two blacksmith shops, an apothecary, and a bakery.¹⁵ Writing in 1851, an American describes the downtown section of Santa Fe in the following words:

The houses are all built of mud brick, called adobe, and only the churches, the Governor's Palace, and one hotel styled the "Exchange" are higher than one story. The main plaza is the center of the city and is the great market place. Here are to be seen vendors of all kinds of marketable stuff. The sunny side of the streets is crowded with ragged men, women, and children, all asking in the most pitiful tones for alms.

del Nuevo-México presentada por su disputado en Cortes, D. Pedro Bautista Pino en Cádiz el año de 1812, adicionadas por el Lic. D. Antonio Barreiro en 1839; y últimamente anotadas por el Lic. Don José Agustín de Escudero para la Comisión de Estadística Militar de la República Mexicana (México: Imprenta de Lara, 1849), p. 6 (note).

14. Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies, or the Journal of a Santa Fe Trader* (2 vols., 4th ed., Philadelphia: J. W. Moore, 1850), I, 144-145.

15. William W. H. Davis, *El Gringo or New Mexico and Her People* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1857), p. 167.

I was surprised to see so many objects of distress of both sexes with scarcely their nakedness covered.¹⁶

Scattered around this central portion were the humble homes of the people, all one-story high, with but few exceptions, constructed of adobe or mud brick. Adjacent to the towns were the lands cultivated by the inhabitants.¹⁷ Besides the parish church and the military chapel, there were two other small churches where services were occasionally held, the old Church of San Miguel and the chapel of Our Lady of Guádalupe.¹⁸ The population of Santa Fe in 1846 was estimated at between two and four thousand and in 1866 the number was put at about 5,000.¹⁹

In 1866 the general aspect of the city was still dreary and unattractive. As one traveler wrote:

The houses are . . . flush with the street-naked walls with but one or two openings. Nothing can be more sordid, monotonous, and unarchitectural than the exterior of these buildings. . . . Seen at a distance, they present the general appearance of sliced brick-kilns. Pike's simile is also very good. He says when he first entered Santa Fe, it presented the appearance of a fleet of flat-boats, moored at the foot of the mountain.²⁰

He added: "A refreshing feature of Santa Fe is made by the acequias or streams of running water used for irrigation which pleasantly, and in unexpected places, ripple and babble at your feet as you wander through the town."²¹ But in the twenty years during which the Americans had been in Santa Fe a slight transformation had taken place in the plaza. Instead of the mud and dust which the American army of occupation found, the square was now enclosed with

16. Clinton E. Brooks and Frank D. Reeve, eds., "James A. Bennett: A Dragoon in New Mexico, 1850-1856," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XXII (January, 1947), 69. This work has also appeared in book form under the title of *Forts and Forays* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1948).

17. Prince, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-245.

18. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

19. W. H. Emory, *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego, in California, Including Part of the Arkansas, Del Norte, and Gila Rivers, Made in 1846-1847 with the Advanced Guard of the "Army of the West"*. (Washington, D. C.: Wendell and Van Benthuysen, 1848), p. 34; James F. Meline, *Two Thousand Miles on Horseback* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1867), p. 151.

20. Meline, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 154.

a railing, planted with grass, and shaded by large cottonwood trees.²²

As may be expected in a frontier society, New Mexico life was characterized by a certain crudeness and lack of refinement. The hundreds of miles that separated the province from Mexico City, the center of culture, had a depressing effect upon the cultural progress of the New Mexicans. Except among the wealthy, there were few comforts of life because hardly any cultural or commercial bonds existed with the rest of New Spain. Nevertheless, a definite moral and religious program was carried on by the Catholic Church and this was a redeeming point of society, for to the Church was due, in great measure, the stable character of the colony and what little culture it possessed.

Certain evils were inescapable in such an atmosphere. One of these was the vice of gambling. Protected by the laws of the country, this vice was widespread among all classes of people, so much so that even children of ten years of age were often seen playing cards for pennies.²³ A visitor in Santa Fe in 1854 observed that at least \$700,000 were lost and won in half an hour at a gambling place in Santa Fe.²⁴

Chuzza, a card game, was as common among the women as bridge probably is today.²⁵ J. W. Abert was shocked at the prevalence of gambling in 1846, but he was impressed with the temperance in food and drink of New Mexicans. He wrote that to call a man a "drunkard" there was considered one of the worst insults.²⁶ Drunkenness was severely punished by law. For example, the first time a person was found guilty of intoxication he was given two months at hard labor or, in other cases, he might be paroled for five months, during which time he was obliged to work for a private citizen, his wages being used to pay court expenses. If anything remained of his pay it was turned over to his family.²⁷

22. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

23. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

24. Brooks and Reeve, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

25. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, November 15, 1856.

26. *House Exec. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 41, p. 455.

27. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, February 12, 1853.

Little or nothing was done in the realm of social welfare. A penitentiary, for instance, was unknown until 1882.²⁸ And even then, if a murderer or robber was convicted and confined to jail, he often found some means of escape.²⁹

Orphans and wayward children were always a social problem, for there were no organized agencies to provide for them. Many children of unknown parentage roamed the streets of every town, subsisting on the scanty alms provided by the people. Their number grew to such an alarming proportion that Governor Henry Connelly pleaded with the people in 1863 to help him provide for them, since it was the duty of the entire community, he argued, to provide for the temporal welfare of orphans and other destitute children who lacked parental protection.³⁰

In consequence of this state of affairs, much stealing and robbing were perpetrated. Homes, stores, and individuals were victimized. Even American army camps did not escape, for quantities of food and clothing often disappeared from them.³¹ Apparently thieves were not respecters of persons, for Bishop John J. Lamy and other ecclesiastics were victimized, as appears from the following item in the *Weekly Gazette*:

Bishop Lamy was robbed of a considerable amount of money a few nights ago. It would seem that the light-fingered gentry are determined to bleed the Bishop pretty freely as this is the second or third time, we believe, that we have heard of his having been lanced since he first came to this Territory. These predatory excursions upon the domains of the Bishop, together with the robbery of the Methodist Chapel, last summer, seem to indicate that gentlemen of the profes-

28. Lansing B. Bloom, "New Mexico under Mexican administration," *Old Santa Fe*, II (January, 1915), 201-205.

29. Arie Poldervaart, "Black-robed Justice in New Mexico, 1846-1912," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XXII (April, 1947), 123-125.

This story has been reprinted in book form by the University of New Mexico Press, 1948.

30. Henry Connelly, *El segundo mensaje anual de S.E.D. Enrique Connelly a la Asamblea Legislativa del Territorio de Nuevo Méjico, pronunciado diciembre de 1863* (Santa Fe: Oficina del "Nuevo Mejicano," 1863), p. 5.

31. Thomas Falconer, *Letters and Notes on the Texas Santa Fe Expedition, 1841-1842* (New York: Dauber and Pine, Inc., 1930), p. 117; Brooks and Reeve, *op. cit.*, pp. 174-175.

sion are not at all particular about the character of their victims. We advise the Bishop and all others to do as we do—keep no money.³²

Occasionally the tables were turned on the New Mexicans as the Americans emulated some of their thievish tendencies. In such cases it was not unusual for the New Mexicans to take the matter rather stoically and to make the best of it. On one occasion American soldiers despoiled a priest of considerable grain supplies and, instead of protesting, he offered them a drink as they left the house.³³ On another occasion the Americans made a raid on a farm and escaped with a fair supply of beans—a precious staple in that country. The owner caught up with the thieves but he took the matter graciously, for as one witness tells the story:

We had gone but a short distance until we camped and the boys put the beans on the boil. Pretty soon the Mexican came up and we looked for trouble. He sat around and said nothing. When the beans were cooked, we offered him a dish and he ate heartily. We were much delighted to see how he relished his beans.³⁴

The condition of women was characteristic of any frontier settlement. Some contemporary writers praise their virtues, while others write of the prevalence of immorality. The custom of keeping indoors and avoiding strangers was characteristic.³⁵

Women lived in constant fear of Indian raids, for on those occasions they were often made the prizes of war, being carried into captivity. To ransom them was extremely difficult and costly. These war captives were usually bartered or sold into slavery among the Indians or were retained as concubines. In 1851 one case particularly caused great indignation among the Americans in Santa Fe. The

32. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, January 8, 1853.

33. Frank S. Edwards, *A Campaign in New Mexico with Colonel Doniphan* (Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1848), pp. 72-73.

34. James A. Little, *What I Saw on the Santa Fe Trail* (Plainfield: Friends Press, 1904), pp. 50-51.

35. John T. Hughes, *Doniphan's Expedition; Containing an Account of the Conquest of New Mexico; General Kearney's Overland Expedition to California; Doniphan's Campaign against the Navajos; His Unparalleled March upon Chihuahua and Durango; and the Operations of General Price at Santa Fe; with a Sketch of the Life of Col. Doniphan* (Cincinnati: U. P. James, 1847), p. 41; Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 35; *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, June 17, 1854; Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Brooks and Reeve, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

nomad Indians murdered a trader by the name of White in that city, and abducted his wife, child and Negro maid. A group of American soldiers started after the raiders, and reached their camp after several days. Mrs. White was still with the Indians, bedraggled and bruised from the rough treatment she had received. But, just as the Americans reached her, the squaw, in whose custody she was, drew her bow and arrow and pierced Mrs. White through the heart. An eyewitness, describing the tragedy, concludes:

For this act the squaw paid dearly with her own life. Of the Negro girl or the child we found no trace. The Indians were all gone. We searched the scene of action, found 8 bodies lying dead on the ground and at least 3 more were shot in the water after they had sought refuge in the river. . . . Over her corpse we swore vengeance upon her persecutors.³⁶

Retaliation was also a standing policy among the Spanish-Americans. They would raid the settlements of the plains Indians and carry away their girls and women. In the marketplace at Santa Fe these captives brought anywhere from \$100 to \$300.³⁷ Well-to-do families would buy them and keep them as slaves for the rest of their lives. Indian children, captured by the Spanish Americans, were sold into domestic servitude.³⁸ About twenty-five years after the American occupation of the Territory, this practice was outlawed, and in the decade of the 1870's, as one author observes, "a great many Indians were ordered returned to their families in the Navajo Country. Those that had been reared from childhood and couldn't be identified by their Indian relatives remained with their Spanish-American parents [*sic*]."³⁹

As a general rule, New Mexican girls received no formal education during all of the Spanish and part of the Mexican periods. It was only in the second quarter of the nineteenth century that they began to attend school. Nevertheless, they were not ignorant for, prior to that time, they received their training at home. One traveler noted that the women of

36. Brooks and Reeve, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

37. Bloom, *op. cit.*, I (July, 1913), 32.

38. Poldervaart, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

39. B. C. Hernandez, "A Pioneer Story: The Death of Dr. J. M. Whitlock," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XVI (January, 1941), 106.

New Mexico, ". . . as in many parts of the world, appear to be much before the men in refinement, intelligence, and knowledge of the useful arts."⁴⁰

The styles of dress of the higher class were much like those in vogue in the United States, except that instead of a hat the women wore a shawl over the head, and this even in the home.⁴¹ That New Mexican women had a taste for fine clothes is attested by an old Santa Fe merchant who declared that more silk goods were sold in that territory than in any country population in the United States of equal number.⁴² Women of the lower classes wore simple clothes, with a *reboso* (large scarf) over their heads and shoulders, and generally they preferred gay colors. Bartlett remarks that much attention was paid to costume and that the *senoritas* fully appreciated the effect of particular colors on their complexion.⁴³ A century ago in New Mexico the women smoked cigarettes,⁴⁴ played cards, and, as a cosmetic, used a preparation made from the *alegría* plant. As one writer put it:

The women had their faces besmeared with the crimson juice of the *alegría* plant, and looked most frightful and disgusting. A thick coating covered the whole face, which gave them the appearance of wearing masks, with the eyes, nose, and mouth uncovered. . . . It is done for the purpose of protecting the skin from the sun, and they will remain in this repulsive condition two or three weeks upon the eve of a grand baile or feast at which they may desire to appear in all their freshness and beauty.⁴⁵

New Mexican women were generally good cooks, and impressed the American soldiers with their finely prepared meals and tasty bread and sponge cake.⁴⁶ Even in the poor homes the meals were well prepared.⁴⁷

40. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

41. *Ibid.*

42. Santa Fe *Weekly Gazette*, June 17, 1854.

43. John Russell Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora and Chihuahua During 1850-1853* (2 vols., London: George Routledge and Co., 1854), I, 147.

44. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

45. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

46. Emory, *op. cit.*, pp. 32, 33; *House Exec. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 41, p. 455.

47. Regarding table manners among the humble classes, Josiah Gregg writes as follows: "The *rancheros*, and all the humbler classes of people, very seldom use any table for their meals, an inconvenience which is very little felt as the dishes are

Up to the time of Mexican independence, Spanish creoles of Mexico monopolized commerce and held most positions of influence in the Church as well as in the civil government.⁴⁸ But by 1846 this condition had disappeared, leaving the native New Mexicans in posts of honor and trust.

One disagreeable feature of society which persisted throughout the entire period was the practice of peonage, a system of servitude in which debtors were bound to work for their creditors until they paid what they owed. In practice, the workers received from three to five dollars a month in wages and out of this they were obliged to purchase their food and clothing in the proprietor's commissary.⁴⁹ It was thus simple to keep the workers, and even their families, in virtual slavery all their lives. Some Americans, as well as New Mexicans, engaged in this practice.⁵⁰

Strictly speaking, the system of peonage was regulated by law during the period of Mexican rule, since a statute specified the conditions of the working contract to be signed by both the master and the peon. But for the most part the law was a dead letter, for the odds were against the peon.⁵¹ He sometimes tried to purchase his freedom, but his efforts were invariably thwarted by his master.⁵² An American

generally served out from the kitchen in courses of a single plate to each guest, who usually takes it upon his knees. Knives and forks are equally dispensed with, the viands being mostly hashed or boiled so very soft as to be eaten with a spoon. This is frequently supplied with the *tortilla*, a piece of which is ingeniously doubled between the fingers, so as to assist in the disposal of anything, be it ever so rare or liquid. Thus it may well be said, as in the story of the Oriental monarch, that these rancheros employ a new spoon for every mouthful; for each fold of the *tortilla* is devoured with the substance it conveys to the mouth. . . . The very singular custom of abstaining from all sorts of beverage during meals, has frequently afforded me a great deal of amusement. Although a large cup of water is set before each guest, it is not customary to drink it off till the repast is finished. Should any one take it up in his hand while in the act of eating, the host is apt to cry out, 'Hold, hold! there is yet more to come.'" (*Commerce of the Prairies*, *op. cit.*, I, 155).

48. John B. Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross, Notes on the Ecclesiastical History of New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado* (Banning: St. Boniface Industrial School, 1898), p. 110.

49. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

50. Little, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

51. Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 231-233.

52. George Wilkins Kendall, *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fe Expedition Comprising a Description of a Tour Through Texas, and also the Great Southwestern Prairies, the Comanche and Gaygua Hunting-Grounds, with an Account of the Sufferings from Want of Food, Losses from Hostile Indians, and Final Capture of*

officer, familiar with Negro slavery in the southern States, was of the opinion that in New Mexico "The major portion of the people live not one bit better than the negroes on a plantation in our southern states; and the rico of the village, like the planter, possesses everything; no one else owns a single sheep."⁵³

It was in view of these conditions that Hugh N. Smith, New Mexico's delegate to Congress, when asked by Daniel Webster about the practicability of introducing Negro slavery into the Territory, replied on April 9, 1850: "New Mexico . . . is entirely unsuited for slave labor. Labor is exceedingly abundant and cheap. It may be hired for three or four dollars a month, in quantity quite sufficient for carrying on all the agriculture of the territory."⁵⁴ Lt. Col. William H. Emory, an American officer in New Mexico in 1846, expressed his opinion on the introduction of Negro slavery in these terms:

The profits of labor are too inadequate for the existence of negro slavery. Slavery, as practiced by the Mexicans, under the form of peonage, which enables their master to get the service of the adult while in the prime of life, without the obligations of rearing him in infancy, supporting him in old age, or maintaining his family, affords no data for estimating the profits of slave labor, as it exists in the United States.⁵⁵

Peonage was abolished by an Act of Congress on March 2, 1867. This Act stated in part:

. . . The voluntary or involuntary service or labor of any persons as peons, in liquidating of any debt or obligation, or otherwise . . . is hereby declared null and void; and any person who shall hold, arrest, or return . . . to a condition of peonage, shall upon conviction, be punished by fine not less than one thousand nor more than five thousand dollars, or by imprisonment not less than one nor more than five years, or both, at the discretion of the court.⁵⁶

the Texans, and their March, as Prisoners, to the City of Mexico (New York: 2 vols., Harper and Brothers, 1844), II, 113; Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

53. *House Exec. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 41, p. 482.

54. Fletcher Webster, ed., *The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster* (18 vols., Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1903), XII, 223.

55. Emory, *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99.

56. George P. Sanger, ed., *Statutes at Large, Treaties and Proclamations of the U. S. A., from December, 1865 to March, 1867* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1868), p. 546.

Ever since the first known Anglo-Americans arrived in Santa Fe, about the year 1805, friendly relations existed between them and the people of New Mexico.⁵⁷ In due time a small number of Americans engaged in trade with the region, some of whom became prominent residents. To these newcomers the New Mexicans showed themselves hospitable and kind.⁵⁸ Some of these American merchants settled in New Mexico and married local women.⁵⁹ By the time the American army entered the country, many of these settlers had been there twenty or more years, living harmoniously with the native people. Some of them had become wealthy through land grants obtained from the Spanish government, as Ceran St. Vrain, who owned a track of land one hundred square miles.⁶⁰ By 1866 one of these Americans, Lucien B. Maxwell, had developed the largest farm in New Mexico, employing over 500 workers on his ten square miles of property near the Cimarron River.⁶¹ Other permanent settlers of note were the subsequent Governor of the Territory, Charles Bent, Thomas Bridger, and Kit Carson. By the second half of the nineteenth century Santa Fe alone counted about twenty-five American families.⁶²

But the arrival of the "Army of West" in 1846 injected a discordant note into the complacent life of New Mexico. Conquerors of a weak people, the soldiers and officers often assumed an air of superiority and disdain toward the New Mexicans, as they regarded themselves "citizens of a model Republic."⁶³ This attitude was naturally resented by the natives. Furthermore, being transients, many of the soldiers and American visitors made no attempt to understand

57. One of the first Americans in Santa Fe was James Pursley, a trapper from Kentucky. Having heard of the Spanish settlement to the south, he set out in search of it, reaching the capital of New Mexico in 1805. There he spent the remainder of his life. William G. Ritch, *Azlan, the History, Resources and Attractions of New Mexico* (6th ed., Boston: D. Lothrop and Co., 1885), p. 245.

58. Little, *op. cit.*, p. 51; Archer B. Hulbert, ed., *Southwest on the Turquoise Trail, Vol. II of Overland to the Pacific* (Denver: Stewart Commission of Colorado College and Denver Public Library, 1933), 85-86.

59. Thomas, *op. cit.*, pp. 115-116; Emory, *op. cit.*, pp. 25, 31; *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, March 5, 1853.

60. Meline, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-108.

61. *Ibid.*; p. 161.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 151.

63. Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

the New Mexicans, with the result that relations between the two nationalities became strained and antipathy soon manifested itself on both sides. Each was critical of the other and apparently with good reasons. Some Americans were not entirely innocent; an English observer described them as "the dirtiest, roughest [*sic*] crew I have ever seen collected together."⁶⁴ The political revolt of 1847 and other acts of violence only served to deepen the gulf between the two parties. On one occasion, for instance, the New Mexicans maliciously destroyed an American flag that belonged to the governor.⁶⁵ In view of these events, it is easy to understand why some Americans became alarmed and gave expression to their concern in letters to the editor of the *Weekly Gazette*. One of them was particularly pessimistic in tone. It read in part:

I have been for many years a close and careful observer of men and things around me; and I have watched the mental oscillations of my Mexican neighbors with the greatest anxiety, knowing as I did that many of them entertained a hostile feeling to the Americans.⁶⁶

Other Americans held more hope for better relations and hastened to assure the public that the previous "impenetrable barrier between the two races, is perceptibly crumbling into decay, and upon those ruins a more favorable edifice will ere long be raised."⁶⁷ How true these reassuring words proved to be may be gleaned from the statement of another American twenty years later. The people of New Mexico, he said, "both native and emigrants . . . are well disposed, patriotic and liberty-loving."⁶⁸

As to the relations of the Americans with the Catholic clergy, in general they seem to have been cordial from the very beginning. The priests were regarded as courteous and the most intelligent persons in the country. Whenever American officers entered a town, they made it a point to visit the priest first. Undoubtedly this was a diplomatic ges-

64. George F. Ruxton, *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains* (London: John Murray, 1847), p. 189.

65. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, February 19, 1853.

66. *Ibid.*, April 23, 1853.

67. *Ibid.*

68. Ritch, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

ture. The priests, on their part, welcomed them and made their visit enjoyable, often sharing with them a little of their treasured wines and liquor.⁶⁹ Some of the rectories were described as neat and often elegantly furnished. One writer said that the priests were "the best-to-do in the world, and when the good people wish to put their best foot foremost, the padre's wines, bed, and couches have to suffer."⁷⁰ Except in a few instances, resentment of the clergy at the presence of a foreign army of occupation seems to have been slight. Without protest they accepted the new form of government. The pastor at Santo Domingo, not without forethought, delighted in showing the Americans through his well-appointed rectory where the window drapes were stamped with the pictures of all the Presidents of the United States.⁷¹

Occasionally scathing criticism of the Catholic clergy appeared in contemporary writings. This was not altogether without foundation, for some of the clergy were not true to their religious calling. This was particularly true in the first years of the American occupation. A Catholic historian who spent many years in the region, following the American occupation, wrote that when Bishop Lamy entered the Territory there were but fifteen Catholic priests, of whom ". . . six are worn out by age and have no energy. The others have not a spark of zeal, and their lives are scandalous beyond description."⁷² Contemporary writers rarely failed to contrast the status and character of the clergy before and after the American occupation. One author, writing in 1866, after alluding to the laxity of some of the former Mexican priests, added that "with the advent of *los Americanos* came a changed state of things in the Church. . . . Irregularities have disappeared, and the New Mexicans now have a learned, pious, laborious and edifying priesthood."⁷³

Yankee impressions of Roman Catholic customs and

69. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 38; *House Exec. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 41, p. 465.

70. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

71. *Ibid.*

72. W. J. Howlett, *Life of the Right Reverend Joseph P. Machebeuf, D.D.* (Pueblo: Franklin Press, 1908), p. 164.

73. Meline, *op. cit.*, pp. 189-190.

religious services generally revealed the traditional Protestant view toward things Catholic. Most of the writers of that period attach the word "superstitious" to almost all religious ceremonies, and many revealed that they had never before been aware of what took place during Mass in Catholic churches in the States. For example, of the veneration of saints one author stated:

They have an abiding faith in saints and images, and with the mass of the inhabitants their worship appears no more than a blind adoration of these insensible objects. Some of the most intelligent of the better class look upon these bits of wood as all-powerful in every emergency; and upon the occasion of a fire in Santa Fe a few years ago, a prominent Mexican gentleman was anxious that one of the wooden saints should be brought from the church to quench the flames.⁷⁴

Of religious processions Lieutenant-Colonel Emory wrote in 1846:

A strange sight presented itself. In a sedan chair, borne by four men, was seated a wax figure nearly as large as life, extravagantly dressed; following immediately were three or four priests, with long tallow candles, a full yard in length. Some American officers followed, each holding a candle. Unfortunately I emerged just as this group was passing; there was no escape, and the moment I joined a grave Mexican (apparently a man in authority) thrust a candle into my hand. I thought of my only coat, the coat which was on my back, and which must take me to California, and back again into the interior of Mexico! Suddenly there was a halt without any word of command, and in the confusion we jostled against each other and distributed the tallow in great profusion.⁷⁵

After attending high Mass in the parish church of Santa Fe, this same writer observed that the priest did not preach from the pulpit, but

kept his back to the congregation the whole time, repeating prayers and incantations. The band, the identical one used at the fandango, and strumming the same tunes, played without intermission. . . . When a favorite air was struck up, the young women, whom we recognized as having figured at the fandango, counted their beads, tossed their heads, and crossed themselves to the time of the music.⁷⁶

74. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

75. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

76. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

Twenty years later, in 1866, referring to the above statement of Emory, Meline, after attending Mass in the same church, wrote as follows:

A sermon was so far from wanting that we had one an hour long, in which the preacher, in the best Castilian, talked to the people in what we called at home "plain English," and made them "walk Spanish" on the subject of temptation and sin. Fandango music was not there; none, in fact, but the severest plain chant, in whose intonations the Church Gallican was plainly perceptible. . . . I saw at church a very different style of female physiognomy. . . . The women sit, or kneel, to the right; the men, to the left. . . . A few pews in the upper part of the church had the appearance of a concession to American custom, and I remarked some three or four of the few American ladies in the places who appeared to be members of the congregation.⁷⁷

The arrival, in the summer of 1851, of the first resident bishop, John B. Lamy, Vicar Apostolic of New Mexico, marked the beginning of a new era in the moral and spiritual life of New Mexico. With a zeal and energy that were difficult to match, this pioneer bishop rallied all the forces at his command and succeeded, in a short time, to improve the lot of the people. His influence in the Territory forms part of a later chapter.

CHAPTER II

Economic Life

ONE of the most acute economic problems which confronted the first Americans in New Mexico was the sad state of agriculture. In the eighteenth century the Spaniards had utilized to good advantage the fertile lands of the country and engaged in agriculture and sheep grazing. They had even developed a small tobacco industry, but the officials put an end to it by forbidding the planting of tobacco in the province.¹ Not content with curtailing production, the Spanish government also discouraged trade with all provinces, except Sonora to the south. Trade with Louisiana and

⁷⁷. Meline, *op. cit.*, pp. 190-191.

¹. Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of Mexico* (3 vols., San Francisco: A. L. Bancroft and Co., 1883), III, 613.

Texas was not known until the year 1800.² Trading *ferias* took place with various Indian tribes and among the Spanish themselves, but this brought little prosperity to the colony.³ In general the personal initiative of the people had been stifled and it was difficult for the American government to arouse enthusiasm for farming. Twelve years before the American occupation a Spanish official in New Mexico expressed great concern for the state of agriculture in these words: "Agriculture is completely neglected. The inhabitants of this country do not engage in large-scale farming, from which they would doubtless derive much profit. They plant what they consider barely sufficient to support themselves part of the year, leaving themselves victims of the greatest misery the rest of the year."⁴

Some sections of the region were well adapted to agriculture and stock raising, but for various reasons full advantage was never taken of nature's liberality. First of all, the Spanish methods of agriculture were obsolete and crop rotation was hardly thought of.⁵ Farming implements were primitive and ill adapted to large-scale production. The principal tool was a clumsy hoe and the few ploughs in use were rudely constructed. One writer described such a plough as

. . . a monumental affair, with woodwork enough in it to furnish the rafters of a small house, and worthily and ponderously matches the Mexican cart. Before they pass away—there is no hurry though, you will have time enough, for your Mexican has not yet begun to move rapidly—a specimen of each should be preserved, and handed down to posterity, duly certified by credible witnesses. Their agricultural use and employment might otherwise be disputed by coming generations.⁶

Secondly, since the cultivated plots were not enclosed with fences, they were always subject to devastation by large

2. Hubert H. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico, 1590-1888*, Vol. XIII of *History of the Pacific States of North America* (San Francisco: The History Co., 1888), 277.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 302-303.

4. Antonio Barreiro, *Ojeada sobre Nuevo Méjico que da una idea de sus producciones naturales, y de algunas otras cosas que se consideran oportunas para mejorar su estado, e ir proporcionando su futura felicidad* (Puebla: Imprenta de José María Campos, 1832), pp. 22-23.

5. Army, *op. cit.*, p. 100.

6. Meline, *op. cit.*, pp. 122-123.

flocks of roaming sheep or goats. Adobe or rail fences were extremely rare.⁷ A final factor that discouraged agriculture was Indian raids. Oftentimes what the Spaniards sowed the Indians reaped. Tired of seeing their crops harvested by the Indians, the Spaniards often preferred to let their fertile lands lie idle.⁸ These obstacles were gradually overcome with American aid.

In one respect it may be said that the coming of the American made the lot of the New Mexican farmer more difficult, for the Americans began to acquire riparian rights in the principal streams and left many farmers without irrigation.⁹ In general, however, the Americans made a considerable contribution to agriculture. They introduced new methods and implements of farming, and thus improved the quantity and quality of such products as vegetables and fruits.¹⁰ In lectures and in the press they constantly fought against the prevalent notion that farming was a degrading profession, and they called the attention of the people to its nobility, its importance and its absolute necessity for the economic structure of New Mexico.¹¹ Newspaper editorials repeatedly emphasized the need of introducing new farm equipment as a means for greater production, and they even encouraged the formation of an agricultural society where the farmers could pool their knowledge and resources.¹² That much good came out of these efforts is apparent from the editorial comments of the *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*. It remarked, in part:

... Where formerly the New Mexican farmer used a rude stick to scratch his fields, we find that many of them now, since they have visited the States, have introduced, and now use the American plow, altho' they require a land transportation of a thousand miles. What better spirit, what more could be expected of a farmer of any nation?¹³

7. Gregg, *op. cit.*, I, 150.

8. Barreiro, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23.

9. Stephen B. Weeks, "The Spaniards in the South and Southwest," *Publications of the Southern Historical Association*, VI (May, 1902), 244.

10. Charles P. Clever, *New Mexico: Her Resources, Her Necessities for Railroad Communication with the Atlantic and Pacific states; Her Great Future* (Washington, D. C.: McGill and Witherow, 1868), pp. 6-7.

11. Army, *op. cit.*, p. 109; *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, March 17, 1855; *Ibid.*, November 3, 1855.

12. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, March 17, 1855; *Ibid.*, March 15, 1856.

13. *Ibid.*, March 12, 1853.

Nevertheless, agriculture, though improved, still left much to be desired. The Pueblo Indians, who continued to cultivate extensive fields of maize and to raise most of the fruit of the region, and who owned large herds of sheep, were affected very little by these developments.¹⁴ Governor William Carr Lane deplored this situation in his address to the territorial legislature in December, 1852. He said: "Agriculture and stock raising, the two great interests of the Territory, are depressed for want of a certain market for the produce of the soil and for the want of protection for flocks and herds."¹⁵

An interesting chapter in the history of agriculture of that epoch was the hope of developing a large-scale grape industry in New Mexico. In many parts of that land, we are told, soil and climate were suitable for grape vines. This was true especially of places like Socorro, Isleta, Albuquerque, and Bernalillo, where, as a result, extensive vineyards were cultivated.¹⁶ In some places the average annual yield of a healthy vine was from three to four bushels of grapes. Since an acre of land contained about 272 vines, the annual yield per acre of land was not inconsiderable.¹⁷ During the grape harvest countless burros would be seen along the narrow, dusty roads of the countryside, loaded high with crates of grapes, on their way to market.¹⁸ One contemporary writer stated that the wine produced in New Mexico compared favorably with French wines. He added: "The time is rapidly approaching when the wines of New Mexico will be recognized in the wine catalogues of the country. In no section of the United States does the vine attain a greater degree of perfection, California not excepted."¹⁹ So profuse were the vineyards, that another writer styled the Rio Grande Valley the "Rhine of America," predicting;

14. Falconer, *op. cit.*, p. 117; *House Exec. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 41, p. 460.

15. *Journal of the Honorable Council of the Territory of New Mexico*, 1 Legislative Assembly, 2 Sess., December 6, 1852, p. 79. This publication is often referred to as the *New Mexico Council Journal*.

16. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, November 19, 1853; Edwards, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

17. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, November 26, 1853.

18. *Ibid.*, November 19, 1853.

19. Ritch, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

though rashly, that some day the area would be an immense wine producing community.²⁰

Manufacturing in New Mexico was equally primitive and undeveloped. From the day the first colonists arrived in the sixteenth century, every settler had to be an artisan through sheer necessity. Forced by frontier life to make their own articles of household and farm use, the Spaniards developed an artisanship along certain lines that was, indeed, admirable. The majority of household goods manufactured were made out of wood. Carved doors, chests, and other furniture were the work of local artisans. Wood was indispensable even for such objects as hoes, spades and other tools. Their *carretas*, indispensable vehicles of transportation, were also entirely of wood, with wheels that were made out of one solid piece. Yet, all the lumber was sawed by hand. Sawmills, even the most primitive, were unknown up to the time of the American occupation.²¹ Other materials used in domestic manufacturing were hides, pelts, tin, copper, and wool. From wool came serapes (blankets) and a kind of rug called *gerga*. An American living in Santa Fe in the mid-nineteenth century remarked in regard to weaving:

The few articles that are made are of a coarse texture and are manufactured in families. The leading fabric is a coarse woolen blanket called *serape*, which is made to some extent for domestic use and sale. At times a considerable trade is carried on in it with the neighboring Mexican States and Indian tribes. It forms an important article of clothing among the peasantry, and many of the better classes use it instead of cloaks and overcoats. A few of finer texture, in imitation of the *serape saltillero*, are also manufactured, some of which sell for forty and fifty dollars each.²²

The *gerga* was a coarse woolen blanket of a checked pattern. It was cheaply made, sold at about twenty-five to forty cents a yard, and was generally used for carpets, although for some it constituted the only article of clothing, together with buckskin; until the trade with the United States brought fabrics within reach of the poor.²³ Some cotton goods were

20. Arny, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

21. Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 211-212.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 213.

23. Gregg, *op. cit.*, I, 210; Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

manufactured at home on a crude spinning apparatus commonly known as the *huso* or *malacate*. Gregg admired this spindle, and says that "the dexterity with which the female spins with this simple apparatus is truly astonishing."²⁴ However, it was difficult then for the New Mexicans to make their own clothing and still more difficult, in their poverty, to purchase imported goods at the exorbitant prices demanded by merchants from Chihuahua during the Mexican period and from the United States after 1846.²⁵ As late as 1857 Governor Abraham Rencher, referring to this problem, said that it was true that "we are too remote from commerce . . . but surely we should not continue to buy of them [the United States] at five times the price for which we could manufacture a better article at home."²⁶

As in the case of tobacco and other crops, domestic manufacturing had been discouraged by the Spanish government in many ways. One means was by imposing high custom duties on various articles. Custom-houses were located at the entrance to every province of Mexico to exact payment for all goods imported. Upon certain items higher duties were imposed in order to maintain their monopoly.²⁷ The natural consequence of this regimentation of industry was a rapid decline in home manufacturing, so that it practically died out in the first decades of the nineteenth century. In 1812, for instance, Pedro Pino, the first delegate of New Mexico to the Spanish Cortes, reported in Cádiz that industry had reached its lowest level. "There is no manufacturing in the province," he said, "other than that of wool and cotton. Necessity has compelled the people to weave baize, serge, blankets, quilts, zarapes . . . sackcloth, coarse frieze, cotton hose."²⁸ The situation reached such a perilous stage that it seems to have engaged the interest of the home government in Spain in sending an artisan to instruct the inhab-

24. Gregg, *op. cit.*, I, 210.

25. Bloom, *op. cit.*, I (July, 1913), 40.

26. Santa Fe *Weekly Gazette*, December 12, 1857.

27. Lawrence Kinnaird, "The Spanish Tobacco Monopoly in New Mexico, 1766-1767," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XXI (October, 1946), 328-331; Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, p. 302.

28. Pino, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

itants in the use of more modern methods. As Pino subsequently wrote:

Within recent years we have witnessed the introduction of fine looms for cotton by an expert sent there by the government. He has given instruction to many people in a remarkable short time. . . . But the production of these articles, together with wine, hardly furnishes a favorable balance for the province, barely exceeding sixty thousand duros annually.²⁹

James Ohio Pattie, who for four years (1824-1828) traveled within the area of the present State of New Mexico, wrote that in Santa Fe "the principal articles of commerce are sheep, blankets, buffalo hides and sometimes their meat and tallow, peltry, salt and the common productions of agriculture, as corn, wheat, beans, onions, etc."³⁰ In the census of 1827 it was found that the entire Province of New Mexico had a total of 1,237 artisans for a white population of about 43,439.³¹ A quarter of a century later another writer spoke of the condition of the trades in these words:

The state of mechanic arts among New Mexicans is very low and apparently without improvement since the earliest times. There are few carpenters, blacksmiths and jewelers among the natives, but if ever so well skilled it would be impossible for them to accomplish much with the rough tools they use. The gold and silver smiths excel all the other workmen and some of their specimens, in point of ingenuity and skill, would do credit to the craft in any part of the world.³²

In treating of manufacturing under American rule, it is enlightening to read the reports of various governors to the legislative assemblies. For example, Governor Henry Connelly, in a speech delivered in December, 1861, declared that

New Mexico depends entirely on foreign markets for the purchase of all manufactured goods, iron, nails, steel, leather, woolen fabrics, everything indeed, is brought away from home and transported over the Plains. . . . Thousands of hides are yearly thrown away as worthless because there is no market for them. Our people depend upon the States for leather. . . . The wool is almost inexhaustible in quantity

29. *Ibid.*

30. James O. Pattie, *The Personal Narrative*, ed. Timothy Flint (Cincinnati: E. H. Flint, 1833), p. 275.

31. Bloom, *op. cit.*, I (July, 1913), 36.

32. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

and could be bought for a nominal price. Tens of thousands of sheep are now left to get clear of their woolly coats as best they can because their owners can obtain no compensation for clipping it from their backs.³³

Three years later Governor Connelly, in an effort, no doubt, to encourage local industry, told the legislature that the day was not too distant when all the citizens of the Territory would be able to purchase products of domestic manufacture, such as clothing and household goods. "Even our horses," he promised, "will be shod with iron from our mines."³⁴

There was, however, one form of manufacturing of the period under consideration that is worthy of special notice. That was the *santos* industry. To supply the Catholic population that was deeply religious in spirit, with images, largely for private devotions, a class of artisans called *santeros* arose. To these craftsmen the making of religious pictures, statues, and tryptics was a profitable trade. As in the case of other forms of home-manufacturing in New Mexico, the craft of the *santero* was greatly determined by the environment. In a land where priests and physicians were few, if any, the *santos* gave the people a sense of security that was otherwise lacking. Often a *santo* was the only decoration that enhanced the adobe walls of a peasant's home.³⁵

The *santero* knew the kinds of *santos* his customers wanted and he made them. During the winter he would sit at home and make his statues and paintings. Early in the spring, as soon as the roads were clear, he would set out for the mountains and valleys with a large supply of his wares.³⁶ The materials he used included wood, such as pine and cottonwood, which abounded in the country; gypsum or *yeso* mixed with glue. The completed work was finally given a coat of paint made from vegetable dyes.³⁷ The artistic work

33. Henry Connelly, *The First Annual Message Delivered before the Legislative Assembly of the Territory of New Mexico, December 4, 1861* (Santa Fe: Gazette Office, 1861), pp. 9-10.

34. Henry Connelly, *El segundo mensaje anual, op. cit.*, p. 9.

35. James McMillan, *Fifteen New Mexico Santos* (Santa Fe: Rydal Press, 1941), introd., n. p.

36. *Ibid.*

37. Charles D. Carroll, "Miguel Aragón, a Great Santero," *El Palacio*, L (March, 1943), 55.

of the *santero* included large altar panels, called *reredos*, some of which still exist and may be seen in various parts of New Mexico, as at Chimayó; smaller paintings of saints on wood, called *retablos*; and individual or group statues styled *bultos*.

Undoubtedly the carving of religious statues and the painting of religious pictures goes back to the early days of Franciscan missionary activity in New Mexico. It was traditional in all Franciscan missions to teach religion to the natives by means of illustrations and pictures. Isolated as they were in New Mexico from the usual centers of trade and supply, the friars taught the people to produce their own religious art. Under the guidance of the Franciscans were produced the early religious paintings on hide which were used to decorate the remote mission churches.³⁸ Most of the early works of religious art produced in New Mexico are believed to have been destroyed in the Pueblo Indian Rebellion of 1680, but the tradition did not die out. In the period from 1700 to 1835 the work of at least thirty professional *santeros* can be identified.³⁹ The craft of the *santero* received an impetus in the latter part of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries. As peace between the Spanish and the Indians was consolidated, and New Mexicans sought means of livelihood in the country, they moved from the towns to the valleys where land was more abundant and more fertile. In moving away from centers of settlement they separated themselves from their parish churches and their few priests. Partly to make up for this loss, they set up their own chapels and shrines where Mass could be occasionally celebrated and where people could gather daily for prayers. It was the duty of the *santero* to decorate the rough adobe walls of these shrines and to supply the religious statues.

Unfortunately, the religious folk art of New Mexico did not survive the American occupation. By the middle of the nineteenth century the craft of the *santero* had all but disappeared. Of the many factors that contributed to its

38. *Ibid.*, p. 56.

39. McMillan, *op. cit.*, introd., n. p.

decline, one was commerce with the United States. When the first oxcarts arrived in Santa Fe from the East, the work of the *santero* was doomed. Another factor in the decline of this art was the arrival of French missionaries. These found little that appealed in the grim features of the locally-produced *santos*, and they gave little or no encouragement. The market was soon flooded with lithographed images which immediately appealed to the people. Among the first to sense this demand for religious prints, and to profit from it, were the enterprising Currier and Ives.⁴⁰

If New Mexico was not a manufacturing region, it was at least endowed by nature with fine lands for grazing and agriculture. Under the Spanish regime this frontier colony had been able to export its surplus cattle and wool. The annual caravans which brought supplies to Santa Fe would make the return trip to Mexico City loaded with pelts, furs, wool and blankets.⁴¹ New Mexicans also bartered with the plains Indians and held annual fairs for this purpose, especially in Santa Fe and Taos. But this trade was so strictly regulated by the Spanish government that it brought New Mexico little financial benefit. In 1788, for instance, the total exports of the province were estimated at \$30,000, and in 1804 at \$60,000, while in this same year the imports amounted to \$112,000.⁴² Referring to the limitations on trade as applied to the entire vice-royalty of New Spain, Herbert I. Priestley states:

Through exclusive control of the import and export trade at the southern ports, and through central regulation by the government, the vice-royalty was held firmly in the grip of the mother country; but the centralization of commerce caused extremely high rates for overland freight, to which were added regional sales taxes increasing in amount in direct ratio with the distance, so that trade was always backward.⁴³

Except for this trade with the provinces to the south, there was little or no trade with other regions, as Spanish policy

40. Mitchell A. Wilder, *Santos, the Religious Folk Art of New Mexico* (Colorado Springs: Taylor Museum of the Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center, 1943), pp. 23, 31.

41. Herbert I. Priestley, *The Coming of the White Man, 1492-1848*, Vol. I of *A History of American Life* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1930), 58.

42. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, pp. 277, 302.

43. Priestley, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36.

discouraged and even forbade business contacts with Louisiana, Texas, and the American colonies. In 1805, William Morrison, an enterprising merchant from Kaskaskia, Illinois, made an effort to establish trade with Santa Fe. He outfitted a Frenchman, Baptiste Lalande, with a stock of merchandise and sent him off by boat and pack train. Morrison lost out on the deal, for Lalande sold the goods and settled in Taos as a successful merchant, without ever reimbursing him. Thus this early American attempt to open the markets of New Mexico to American goods failed.⁴⁴

The declaration of Mexican independence in 1821 opened New Mexico to American trade, and from 1824, when Bartolomé Baca first engaged in prairie commerce, there was a steady increase in business with the Anglo-American frontier towns. At first this trade was mostly in the hands of American and French traders, but gradually New Mexicans entered the field and by 1843 they had all but monopolized it.⁴⁵

The importance of trade with New Mexico and the possibilities for its growth were first envisioned in 1824 by Senator Thomas Hart Benton, of Missouri. In the United States Senate he often prophesied the great future of the West, and he urged the President to appoint a commission to survey a road from Missouri to New Mexico.⁴⁶ That same year a group of Missourians, eight in number, set out for New Mexico with merchandise loaded on pack mules and on twenty-five wagons. This marked a new era in the commerce with the Southwest, for it was the first time that vehicles were used to transport goods across the plains. As the roads were improved, wagons proved a boon to the growing American-Mexican commerce.⁴⁷ At first clumsy carts were used, but in a short time lighter wagons were introduced. Soon even stage coaches followed the trail to Santa Fe. The trip from Independence, Missouri, to Santa

44. Ritch, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

45. Prince, *op. cit.*, pp. 277-278; Hiram Martin Chittenden, *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (3 vols., New York: Francis P. Harper, 1902), II, 509 ff.

46. Henry Inman, *The Old Santa Fe Trail, the Story of a Great Highway* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1897), p. 44.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 51

Fe was usually made in seventy days, and the return trip, with comparatively lighter loads (one thousand to two thousand pounds per wagon), took about forty days.⁴⁸

It must be noted that this early commerce with New Mexico was always a private enterprise. Usually a group of small businessmen formed a group, each providing his own wagons, horses, and equipment, the whole investment amounting to perhaps one thousand dollars a partner. One historian remarks that "frequently the traders took with them all that they possessed. Often they would secure credits by mortgages upon their property until their return in the fall."⁴⁹ It was customary to place the entire caravan of wagons under the supreme command of one man who knew the roads and was capable of handling men. The other members of the caravan were obliged to follow his orders and to observe strict discipline from the time they left their starting point (usually Independence, Missouri), until they reached their destination.⁵⁰

Excitement prevailed whenever a caravan arrived in Santa Fe. Merchandise booths were prepared on the plaza, and rented to traders; dance halls were readied for the fandangoes. That the caravans were important in the life of Santa Feans may be gathered from a description left by one of the merchants:

The arrival produced a great deal of bustle and excitement among the natives. "Los Americanos!—Los carros!—La entrada de la caravana," were to be heard in every direction; and crowds of women and

48. Prince, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

49. Bloom, *op. cit.*, II (October, 1914), 122. A letter from Ceran St. Vrain, one of the traders who later became prominent in New Mexico, reveals the plight of the merchants if unable to sell their goods at market price. The letter was written at San Fernando del Taos, September 14, 1830, and was addressed to B. Pratte and Co.:

"Gentlemen: It is with pleasure that I inform you of my last arrival at Santafe [sic] which was the 4th of August. we [sic] were met at Red river [sic] by General Biscusa [Viscarra] the custom house officer and a few soldiers. the [sic] object in coming out so far to meet us was to prevent smuggling and it had the desired effect [sic], there was a guard placed around our wagons until we entered Santafe [sic], we had to pay dutys [sic] which amounts to about 60% on cost. I was the first that put goods in the Custom house and I opened immediately, but goods sold very slow, so slow that it was discouraging. I found that it was impossible to meet my payments if I continued retailing. I therefore thought it best to hole Saile [sic] and I have done so" Bloom, *op. cit.*, II (January, 1914), 275-6.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 251; *Ibid.*, II (October, 1914), 122.

boys flocked around to see the newcomers; while crowds of *leperos* hung about as usual to see what they could pilfer. The wagoners were by no means free from excitement on this occasion. Informed of the 'ordeal' they had to pass, they had spent the previous morning in 'rubbing up'; and now they were prepared, with clean faces, sleek combed hair, and their choicest Sunday suit, to meet the 'fair eyes' of glistening clack that were sure to stare at them as they passed. There was yet another preparation to be made in order to 'show off' to advantage. Each wagoner must tie a brand new 'cracker' to the lack of his whip; for, on driving through the streets and the *plaza publica*, every one strived to outvie his comrades in the dexterity with which he flourished this favorite badge of his authority. . . . The arrival of a caravan at Santa Fe changes the aspect of the place at once. Instead of the idleness and stagnation which its streets exhibited before, one now sees everywhere the bustle, noise and activity of a lively market town.⁵¹

Another trader said that the people were very kind to the Americans and could not do enough for them:

When a train was expected, they would arrange to have a great fandango in token of respect to Americans. . . . Fandangos seemed to be free, no door fee. Waltzes seemed to be the popular style of dancing. There was a great mixture in the dancing-soldiers, Mexicans and negroes. The negroes were more popular with the Mexican and Spanish ladies than the Mexicans. Some of our boys took part, but it was a little tough on our Missourians to waltz with negroes, but they had to comply with the custom of the country."⁵²

The caravans transported articles of every description to New Mexico, including household goods, wearing apparel, and groceries. In the 1840's the net profit on these goods averaged about forty per cent.⁵³ Governor Rencher repeatedly reminded the people of this unnecessary drain upon the financial resources of the region.⁵⁴ Common calicoes and plain cotton goods sold at from two to three dollars a yard;⁵⁵ potatoes sold for five dollars a bushel, sugar for as much as seventy-five cents a pound.⁵⁶ Twenty years after the American occupation food was still high, with butter selling at a dollar a pound, milk at twenty-five cents a quart and eggs at

51. Gregg, *op. cit.*, I, 67-69.

52. Little, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

53. Chittenden, *op. cit.*, II, 519.

54. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, December 12, 1857.

55. Prince, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

56. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, December 26, 1857.

from seventy-five cents to a dollar a dozen.⁵⁷ Under Mexican rule, when it was customary to charge an import duty of \$500 on each wagon, regardless of its contents,⁵⁸ this high cost of commodities was understandable, but, as Colonel Emory suggested in 1846, "a great reduction must take place now in the price of dry goods and groceries, twenty per cent at least, for this was about the rate of duty charged by Armijo, which is now, of course, taken off."⁵⁹

While it is true that Yankee ingenuity occasionally circumvented this excessive custom duty by transferring, near the first port of entry, the freight of two or three wagons into one and burning the empty carriages,⁶⁰ the fact remains that, according to Gregg who was no friend of the Mexican officials, between fifty and eighty thousand dollars were collected as duty during the first year of the trade.⁶¹

The growth and profit of the caravan trade may be gauged from the following figures:

Year	Value of Merchandise Carried
1822 -----	\$15,000
1823 -----	12,000
1843 -----	450,000
1846 -----	1,750,000 ⁶²
1876 -----	2,108,000 ⁶³

Available data for the year 1844 show that New Mexico exports amounted to \$400,000 *in specie*, and that other exports, consisting mostly of buffalo robes, furs, etc., amounted to \$50,000. In that year the value of merchandise sent to Santa Fe was estimated at \$300,000.⁶⁴

As the caravans we have just described were wending their way across the prairies weighed down with valuable merchandise, another no less enterprising group of Americans were penetrating the remote mountains of New Mexico.

57. Meline, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-156.

58. Inman, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

59. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

60. Inman, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

61. Gregg, *op. cit.*, II, 165.

62. Bloom, *op. cit.*, II (October, 1914), 121.

63. Ritch, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

64. Bloom, *op. cit.*, II (October, 1914), 124; Freeman Hunt, *Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review*, XI (November, 1844), 475.

These men were the fur traders, and they also influenced the economy of the region. Concerned particularly with beaver hunting, early in the nineteenth century they penetrated as far as the Gila and Colorado Rivers, and even beyond to California.⁶⁵ While the caravan trade to Santa Fe was financed for the most part by individuals with limited capital, the fur trade was in the hands of wealthy companies.⁶⁶ The profits accruing to these companies were tremendous, for the hunters themselves received a mere pittance for their hard labor and the exporting of furs was not taxed by the Mexican government. Barreiro, writing his *Ojeada* in 1832, stated that

Since exports of beaver are not taxed by the national government, American merchants try to take back on their return trip, instead of money, beaver skins. Thus they gain two advantages: that of not having to pay duty on the export of money, and that of taking back to their country an article which is of great value there, and on which there is no duty in Mexico.⁶⁷

On April 14, 1831, a complaint was sent in to the secretary of state in Mexico City with the hope of limiting the number of hunting licenses being issued in Santa Fe. The letter said, in part:

The Anglo-Americans, well provided with arms and hunting apparatus, especially that for beaver-trapping, buy from citizens of Santa Fe the license which they take out from the *Gefe* of that Capital, allowing them to hunt for a certain time in certain places designated by the *Gefe*, many leagues distant in the mountains and plains bathed by the Rio Bravo. With the subterfuge of such license, the Anglo-Americans attack the species without limit or consideration, and secure enormous quantities of skins, many times without paying even an eighth of the duties to the treasury.⁶⁸

In a few years the fur-bearing animals were virtually exterminated. Although the fur traders added little to the finances of the Territory, their penetration into Mexican

65. Eleanor Lawrence, "Mexican Trade Between Santa Fe and Los Angeles, 1830-1848," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, X (March, 1931), 27; James J. Hill, "Old Spanish Trails," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, IV (August, 1921), 464.

66. Inman, *op. cit.*, pp. 44-45.

67. Barreiro, *op. cit.*, p. 25.

68. Bloom, *op. cit.*, I (January, 1914), 260.

domain constitutes an important chapter in the economic and political history of the Southwest.

Another phase of economic life in New Mexico was the trade with California. The medium of exchange in this case was sheep. In the first decades of the nineteenth century there was such an abundance of sheep in the land that it was not unusual to export as many as a half-million head a year, principally to markets south of New Mexico.⁶⁹ Encouraged by Governor José Antonio Chávez, New Mexicans first engaged in trade with California in 1829. "On November 8, 1829," as Chávez informed the Minister of the Interior in Mexico City, "sixteen men left for California to trade the products of New Mexico for mules. Indians are no obstacle. The traders use no maps or compasses. The Supreme Government should promote this commerce."⁷⁰ For a time this trade proved very profitable for the New Mexicans. In exchange for their sheep and woolen products they received horses and mules, valuable in eastern markets for the caravan trade. But, unrestrained as some of the traders were, they began to perpetrate crimes and robberies and to lead the California mission Indians astray, especially by selling them liquor. In 1832 the friars of the missions complained to the Mexican authorities against this lawlessness, and two years later Fray Ramón Abella asked that a law be passed permitting these traders to remain but three days in California, except in case of illness. After this law was passed New Mexicans were carefully watched in California and they were virtually regarded as foreigners. To discourage their trade an attempt was made in 1834 to collect duty on all goods which they sold in California. They were also required to have a passport and a testimonial of good conduct before they were permitted to enter the province. Despite these barriers, however, the trade proved highly profitable for New Mexicans.⁷¹

The gold rush to California increased the demand for New Mexico cattle and sheep, and prices were raised tre-

69. Gregg, *op. cit.*, I, 189.

70. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

71. *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30, 39.

mendously. In 1853, for example, sheep were sold in California for \$8 to \$16 a head, bringing the ranchers a profit of from 400 to 800 per cent.⁷² This trade proved so lucrative that New Mexico was almost depleted of its flocks. The *Weekly Gazette* said that "the enormous demand for sheep in California has drained New Mexico already very greatly, without, however, meeting the demand to any appreciable extent."⁷³

The trails of the packmules from the United States to Santa Fe and from Santa Fe to California gradually gave way to wagon roads, over which Americans began to travel, heading for Santa Fe and the west coast. American trade with New Mexico affected the fortunes of the region in another and more subtle way. Through trade the winning of the West was being accomplished by the Anglo-Americans. Naturally, the shifting of the balance of trade from Mexico to the United States was viewed with alarm by the home government in Mexico. But little did it realize that in the not too distant future the pendulum of political power would also swing from the south to the north and that commerce was inevitably paving the way for this change.

For the greater part of the nineteenth century poor communications constituted one of the perplexing problems of New Mexico, and it was one of the contributing factors toward isolation and illiteracy. Barreiro, writing in 1832, observed that for the most part the few roads in New Mexico were adequate.⁷⁴ But however good the roads might have been, communication with the Mexican capital and with the United States left much to be desired. Mail service was particularly slow, even during the period of American occupation. It usually took at least thirty-five days for a letter to reach Santa Fe from Mexico City by the fastest means, which was twice the speed of ordinary travel.⁷⁵ In 1852 Governor Lane, in his message to the legislative assembly in Santa Fe, expressed the hope that the monthly mail to Missouri would soon be bi-monthly and that mail service to

72. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, March 26, 1853.

73. *Ibid.*

74. Barreiro, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11, 29.

75. Bloom, *op. cit.*, I (July, 1914), 15-16; Gregg, *op. cit.*, II, 67.

Texas and Utah would also be established.⁷⁶ Three years later, Acting Governor William W. H. Davis bitterly complained that in the most pressing emergency three months were required before a reply could be received from Washington.⁷⁷ In view of these conditions, it is not surprising that Governor Lane advocated so strongly the introduction of the railroad into New Mexico. In his mind, it was the only way in which the Territory could advance culturally and economically. In a message to the legislative assembly in 1852 he said: "From public and private necessity, the continent must soon be crossed, from east to west, by railroads and telegraphic lines, and in all probability, one or more of these railroads and telegraphic lines will traverse New Mexico. And when they do, what a mighty change will be the result!"⁷⁸

As may be surmised, the development of new avenues of trade and commerce did little to improve the financial status of the common people. In 1860 there still existed, as in 1830, a society composed for the most part of two classes only, the wealthy and the poor; a middle class still undeveloped. The lot of the poor was hard, for while prices rose, wages remained extremely low. In 1846 common laborers received three *reales* (about thirty-seven cents) for a day's work, a sum hardly sufficient to sustain a family, even on the poorest fare. In 1853 the wages of miners were fifty cents a day and more skilled workers, such as smelters and refiners, received \$1.50.⁷⁹ It was little wonder that in the first year of the occupation an American officer should write that "the major portion of the people live not one bit better than the negroes on a plantation in our southern States and the rico of the village, like the planter, possesses everything; no one else owns a single sheep."⁸⁰

Contemporary writings indicate that a program of relief to aid the New Mexicans was started in the early years

76. *Journal of the Hon. Council of the Territory of New Mexico, op. cit.*, p. 84.

77. W. W. H. Davis, *Message to the Legislative Assembly, December 3, 1855* (Santa Fe: Santa Fe Weekly Gazette, 1855), p. 7.

78. *Journal of the Hon. Council of the Territory of New Mexico, 1852*, p. 81.

79. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, July 16, 1853.

80. *House Exec. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 41, p. 482.

of the occupation. Colonel Edwin V. Sumner, the commanding officer in New Mexico, insinuated this, in his customary caustic way, in a report to Secretary of War Charles Conrad. "Before we took the country," he wrote, "a considerable part of the population earned a scanty livelihood at the mines; but this work was abandoned directly when the Government money was scattered broadcast among them."⁸¹ In the same report he added that "as a conquered people, they feel a natural dislike toward us; but so long as we kept them supplied with money, and they had nothing to do but revel in their vices, they were content to stifle their patriotism."⁸²

The Territory's treasury seems to have been virtually bankrupt most of the time. For example, during the fiscal year 1854-1855 the net income amounted to \$8,735.34 while the expenditures were \$11,668.75.⁸³ In his message to the legislature in 1854, Acting Governor Davis revealed the plight of the treasury in these terms:

The treasury is without funds and the credit of the Territory is nearly bankrupt. The officers of the Government are many months in arrears, in their salaries, and no present prospect of their being paid. New warrants are issued from time to time, which the holders hawk about for sale, and many are willing to sell them at almost any price, rather than wait the uncertainty of their being paid from the territorial treasury. It is often the case, for a considerable length of time, that there is not a dollar in the treasury, and the officers are obliged to ask credit for the necessary office expenses.⁸⁴

Bad as were the finances of New Mexico in the late 1850's, they did not compare unfavorably with those of the United States, then in the grips of a depression. While the panic of 1857 brought untold misery to the rest of the country, New Mexico, having neither banks nor great investments, suffered little in consequence of the panic. The *Weekly Gazette* commented on this editorially:

We have no other currency than gold and silver. A bank note is never seen in this part of the country. The good old democratic doc-

81. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, March 5, 1853.

82. *Ibid.*

83. Davis, *Message*, p. 11.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

trine of specie currency is practiced by this people, and hence we are beyond the reach of the panics created by the suspension and failure of insolvent and irresponsible manufactories of shiplaster and wild cat money. Let the states and Territories of the Union follow the example of New Mexico in this respect and we will hear no more of pecuniary panics.⁸⁵

Willy-nilly, New Mexico was undergoing economic changes that would leave a lasting imprint on its character. In a gradual way this transformation had begun with the declaration of Mexican independence, when the people were given more freedom to participate in industry and trade. But more important were the changes that took place under the American form of government. The Americans introduced a broader concept of social democracy into New Mexico, which was accompanied by untold economic advantages. New roads were opened over which rolled not only trade caravans from Missouri, bringing needed supplies and new comforts of life, but also stage coaches with tourists from the East, who admired the natural beauty of the Southwest, now open to them for the first time.⁸⁶ Monthly mail to and from the States gradually gave way to bi-monthly and later weekly service.⁸⁷ The new postal law of September 30, 1851, reduced the postage on newspapers threefold to one cent an ounce up to 3,000 miles. This obviously expedited the exchange of ideas and the transaction of business with the States.⁸⁸

New Mexico was clearly passing through a period of transition. Great changes had taken place, and still more were to come with the introduction of the railroad. Reflecting the happy mood of the people who looked forward with eager anticipation to the day when a train would pull into New Mexico from the East, a local enthusiast penned the following lines:

We're a peculiar people; we
Don't change with every wind;

85. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, November 5, 1857.

86. The fare from St. Louis, Missouri, to Santa Fe was \$125 in the summer and \$150 in the winter, with forty pounds of personal baggage. *Ibid.*, November 6, 1852.

87. *Journal of the Hon. Council of the Territory of New Mexico*, 1852, p. 84.

88. *Santa Fe Weekly Gazette*, November 20, 1852.

We don't run after Kossuth; we
Don't worship Jenny Lind.
We don't "blow up" in steamboats; we
Don't *fillibustering* go;
The Railroad cars are coming humming
Through New Mexico.

Then go it Progress, go it boots,
And Young America,
And rush the cars of destiny
To Cal-i-for-ni-a.
We'll sacrifice our hat, we will—
Four dollar hat, bran new—
The Railroad cars are coming humming
Through New Mexico.⁸⁹

89. *Ibid.*, April 30, 1853.

(*To be continued*)

CHECKLIST OF NEW MEXICO PUBLICATIONS

By WILMA LOY SHELTON

(Continued)

Bureau of Revenue.

Created in 1935; given power and duty to administer laws with respect to automobiles and licensing, collection and disposition of taxes on gasoline, motor vehicles, alcoholic liquors, taxation of incomes, collection of school tax.

Report

- Feb. 16, 1942 unpub. (J. O. Gallegos)
- July 1, 1944-June 30, 1946 38p. (R. L. Ormsbee)
- New Mexico oleomargarine excise tax effective June 11, 1937. Santa Fe, (1937) (4) p. (Session laws of 1937, chap. 160)
- New Mexico revenue and tax code annotated; 1937 compilation. . . comp. and ed. by Henry C. Allen. Denver, Colo., W. H. Courtright pub. co., 1937. 285p.
- New Mexico severance tax act. Santa Fe (1937) 10p.
- Rules and regulations; N. M. School tax laws; N. M. Compensating tax act; comments on Sec. 201, chap. 73, Laws 1935 amended; excerpts from Severance, Luxury, Oil conservation and Oleomargarine tax laws. Santa Fe, 1945. 53p.
- Succession tax law. Santa Fe (1937) 13p.

Bureau of revenue. Compensating tax division.

Act was passed in 1939 imposing tax against tangible personal property purchased from a retailer; created for the purpose of protecting merchants, dealers and manufacturers of the state.

- Compensating tax act, 1939; petroleum industry special rules and regulations. Pub. July 1, 1939. 12p. mimeo.
- General rules and regulations covering the administration of the New Mexico compensation tax law; issued by J. O. Gallegos, commissioner on New Mexico Bureau of revenue, G. S. Carter, Director compensating tax division, July 1, 1939. (Santa Fe, 1939) 11p.
- New Mexico compensating tax act of 1939, chapter 95, Session laws 1939. Santa Fe (1941) 16p.
- An outline of New Mexico compensating tax law; general rules and

regulations covering administration; issued May, 1947. (Santa Fe, 1947) 12p.

Bureau of revenue. Division of liquor control.

Established in 1935; formerly State board of liquor control; chief of division appointed by Commissioner of revenue; prescribes and establishes forms of applications, licenses, permits and regulations.

Biennial report.

July 1, 1934-June 30, 1936. 25p. v. 1 (Wm. G. Johnson) 23-24 fis. yr.

July 1, 1936-June 30, 1938. 23p. v. 2 (W. R. Meador) 25-26 fis. yr.

July 1, 1938-June 30, 1940. 20p. v. 3 (S. J. Jernigan) 27-28 fis. yr.

July 1, 1940-June 30, 1942. 15p. v. 4 (S. T. Jernigan) 29-30 fis. yr.

July 1, 1942-June 30, 1944. 14p. v. 5 (Victor Salazar) 31-32 fis. yr.

Report for 1934/36 reproduced from type-written copy.

Chap. 159, 1933 Laws of New Mexico and Rules and regulations thereunder. Santa Fe (1933) 32p.

Chap. 30 Laws of New Mexico, 1934; Special session and Rules and regulations under chap. 159, 1933 Laws and chap. 30, 1934 Laws; issued by State Board of Liquor control and the state treasurer. (Santa Fe, 1934) 22p.

Circular letter to all non-resident and wholesale liquor licenses (dated Jan. 9, 1946) 1 leaf. (mimeo)

Contents of a case of alcoholic liquors effective Feb. 15, 1946. (Santa Fe, 1946) 1 leaf. (Amendment to Regulation no. 24) mimeo.

Defining minimum standards for contents of whisky blends and requiring proper labeling of such blends and unaged whiskies. (Santa Fe, 1945) 1 leaf (Regulation no. 37 amended, Dec. 17, 1945) mimeo.

Liquor control act; chap. 112, 1935 Laws of New Mexico effective May 26, 1935. Santa Fe (1935) 24p.

Liquor control act; chap. 112, 1935. Laws of New Mexico; and rules and regulations effective May 27, 1935. (Santa Fe, Quality press, 1935) 27p.

New Mexico Division of Liquor control act; chap. 130, Session laws of 1937; effective March 15, 1937. Santa Fe, 1937. 29p.

New Mexico Division of Liquor control act; chap. 236, Session laws of 1939; effective June 10, 1939. Santa Fe, 1939. 47p.

New Mexico liquor laws; a combination of chap. 236, Session laws of 1939 and chap. 4, 80 and 193 of the Session laws of 1941 as amended by Laws of 1945 (with subject index) Santa Fe, 1945. 55p.

New Mexico liquor laws and regulations as amended through 1947 (with subject index) Santa Fe, 1948. 94p.

- New Mexico liquor laws . . . as amended by laws of 1945 (with subject index) Santa Fe (1945) 55p.
- Official list of licensed liquor dealers and registered common carriers . . . Santa Fe, 1939- monthly.
- Regulations no. 1, 1945. mimeo.
- Rules and regulations for the enforcement of the New Mexico liquor law . . . effective June 10, 1939. Santa Fe (1939) 26p.
- Semi annual statement of receipts and expenditures for State board of liquor control and Liquor stamp tax department of Bureau of revenue for the period July 1, 1936 to Dec. 31, 1936. Santa Fe, 1936. 2p. (mimeo)
- Statistical memorandum. no. 1- ; Nov. 1943- monthly.
- [Text of] New Mexico division of liquor control act. Santa Fe (1941) 41p.

Bureau of revenue. Driver's license division.

Created in 1937; provides for the examining and licensing of operators and chauffeurs of motor vehicles; for the revocation and suspension of licenses, for the collection and disposition of fees and for a penalty for the violation of the provisions.

Summary of Motor vehicle traffic accidents. Santa Fe, 1941-monthly.

Suspensions and revocations. Santa Fe, 1946- mimeo. quarterly.

Bureau of revenue. Gasoline tax division.

Gasoline tax levied since July 1919; the division has charge of motor fuel taxes, correct measurement of all dispensing equipment, sale of petroleum products and enforcement of tax refund laws.

Annual report

July 1, 1930-June 30, 1931. (5) p. (A. H. Hill)

Gasoline excise tax laws as comp. from 1929 compilation; also chap. 31, Laws of 1931 as passed by the tenth legislature; comp. under supervision of Adolph P. Hill. 20p.

New Mexico gasoline and/or motor fuel excise tax acts; effective March 1, 1935. Santa Fe (1935) 35p.

New Mexico gasoline and/or motor fuel excise tax acts. Santa Fe (1937) 36p.

New Mexico gasoline and/or motor fuel excise tax acts, including additions and amendments passed by the 14th legislature, 1939. Santa Fe (1939) 42p.

New Mexico gasoline and/or motor fuel excise tax acts, including additions and amendments passed by the fifteenth legislature, 1941. Santa Fe (1941) 37p.

Specifications, tolerances and regulations for dispensing devices of refined petroleum products. Santa Fe (1937) 38p.

Bureau of revenue. Income tax division.

Created in 1933; transferred from State tax commission in 1935 to Bureau of Revenue.

An analytical and chronological record of the financial operations of the Income tax division.

Mar. 14, 1933-June 30, 1942. 30th fiscal yr. (Earle Kerr) 7p.

Annual analytical report

Mar. 14, 1934-June 30, 1943 (13) p. 22-31st fis. yr. (Earle Kerr)

Mar. 14, 1934-June 30, 1944 (11) p. 22-32 " " (J. L. Miller)

Mar. 14, 1934-June 30, 1945 (11) p. 22-33 " " "

Mar. 14, 1934-June 30, 1946 (11) p. 22-34 " " "

Mar. 14, 1934-June 30, 1947 16p. 22-35 " " "

Mar. 14, 1934-June 30, 1948 (14) p. 22-36 " " "

Income tax act amended; the provisions and penalties of this act are effective on and after March 14th, 1933. Santa Fe (1933) 32p.

Regulation no. 1 (Santa Fe, 1934)

Regulation no. 2 relating to the Income tax act of 1933 of the state of New Mexico. (Santa Fe) 1939. 115p.

Regulation no. 3 relating to the Income tax act; Victor Salazar, Commissioner of revenue, J. Leon Miller, Director, Income tax division, Ray M. Hall, chief auditor; pub. Jan. 1, 1948. (Santa Fe) 1948. 109p.

Bureau of revenue. Motor vehicle division.

Created in 1913 as a branch of the office of the Secretary of state, transferred in 1923 to Office of State comptroller and in 1933 to the Bureau of Revenue. The department now consists of four divisions: Registration, Title, Inspection and Liens.

Annual report: Auto license receipts and distributions for the year. 1929. (Santa Fe, 1930) (3)p.

Automobile laws of New Mexico; in effect March 11, 1913. (Santa Fe, 1913) 12p.

Motor vehicle law passed by fourth state legislature, 1919 session; effective, Jan. 1, 1920. Santa Fe (1920) 14p.

- Motor vehicle laws of New Mexico 1931-32, rev. and pub. by J. M. Lujan, state comptroller, under direction of M. A. Gallegos, Motor vehicle commissioner. (Santa Fe, n. d.) 81, 10p.
- Motor vehicle laws of New Mexico 1933-34, rev. and pub. by J. N. Vigil, state comptroller, under direction of Diego Salazar, Motor vehicle commissioner, n. p. n. d. 87, 10p.
- Motor vehicle laws of New Mexico 1935-36, rev. and pub. by J. D. Bingaman, commissioner of revenue, under direction of Diego Salazar, Motor vehicle commissioner. (Santa Fe, n. d.) 121, 11p.
- Motor vehicle laws of New Mexico 1939-40, rev. and pub. by J. O. Gallegos, commissioner of revenue, under direction of J. O. Garcia, Motor vehicle commissioner. (Santa Fe, n. d.) 90p.
- Suggestions for Motor vehicle registration procedure; comp. and issued by Mike Gallegos, Motor vehicle commissioner. (Santa Fe) 1947. 55p.
- The Zia Book; New Mexico Automobile license directory . . . furnished by Juan N. Vigil, state comptroller, comp. by Diego Salazar, Motor vehicle commissioner. Santa Fe, 1934. 3v.
- The Zia Book; New Mexico Automobile license directory . . . pub. by Juan N. Vigil, state comptroller, comp. by Diego Salazar, Motor vehicle commissioner. Santa Fe, 1934. 3v.
- The Zia Book, New Mexico Automobile license directory . . . pub. by J. J. Connelley, Commissioner of revenue, comp. by Diego Salazar, Motor vehicle commissioner. Santa Fe, 1935. 3v. and supp.
- The Zia book; New Mexico automobile license directory . . . furnished by John D. Bingaman . . . comp. by Diego Salazar, Motor vehicle commissioner. Santa Fe, 1936. 4v.
- The Zia book; New Mexico automobile license directory . . . furnished by John D. Bingaman, commissioner of revenue, comp. by Diego Salazar, Motor vehicle commissioner. Santa Fe, 1937. 3v.
- The Zia book; New Mexico automobile license directory . . . furnished by John D. Bingaman . . . comp. by Diego Salazar, Motor vehicle commissioner. Santa Fe, 1938. 3v.
- The Zia Book; New Mexico automobile license directory . . . furnished by John D. Bingaman . . . comp. by Diego Salazar, Motor vehicle commissioner, Santa Fe, 1939. 3v.
- The Zia book; New Mexico automobile license directory . . . furnished by John D. Bingaman, commissioner of revenue, comp. by Diego Salazar, Motor vehicle commissioner. Santa Fe, 1940. 3v.
- The Zia. book; New Mexico automobile license directory . . . furnished by J. O. Gallegos, commissioner of revenue, comp. by J. O. Garcia, Motor vehicle commissioner. Santa Fe, 1941. 4v.
- The Zia book; New Mexico automobile license directory . . . furnished by J. O. Gallegos, commissioner of revenue, comp. by J. O. Garcia, Motor vehicle commissioner. Santa Fe, 1942. 4v.
- The Zia book; New Mexico automobile license directory . . . furnished

- by J. O. Gallegos, commissioner of revenue, comp. by M. A. Romero, Motor vehicle commissioner. Santa Fe, 1943. 3v.
- The Zia book; New Mexico automobile license directory . . . furnished by J. O. Gallegos, commissioner of revenue, comp. by M. A. Romero, Motor vehicle commissioner. Santa Fe, 1944. 4v.
- The Zia book; New Mexico automobile license directory . . . furnished by J. O. Gallegos, commissioner of revenue, comp. by M. A. Romero, Motor vehicle commissioner. Santa Fe, 1945. 3v.
no more published

Bureau of revenue. Port of entry division.

Created in 1935; aids in regulation of use of public highways, in collection of taxes and enforcement of police and health laws.

New Mexico port of entry laws. chap. 136; Session laws of 1935. (Santa Fe, 1935) 14p.

Bureau of revenue. School tax division.

Passed in 1935; superceded the 1934 act; tax is levied against persons exercising business privileges in the state; all proceeds in excess of administrative cost are distributed to the State school equalization fund and apportioned to the various counties for elementary and high school purposes.

New Mexico emergency school tax act effective July 1, 1935 . . . (Santa Fe, 1935) 24p. (Session laws of 1935 chap. 73)

New Mexico emergency school tax laws, chap. 73 Session laws of 1935 as amended by chap. 192 Session laws of 1937; chap. 73 Laws of 1935 superceded chap. 7 special session act 1934 on July 1, 1935. Santa Fe (1937) 28p.

New Mexico school tax laws; chap. 73 Laws 1935 as amended by chap. 192 Laws 1937; chap. 94 Laws 1939; chap. 144 Laws 1939. (Santa Fe, 1939) 28p.

New Mexico school tax laws; chap. 73 Laws 1935 as amended by chap. 192 Laws 1937; chap. 94 Laws 1939; chap. 144 Laws 1939; chap. 33 Laws 1941; chap. 77 Laws 1941; chap. 133 Laws 1941. (Santa Fe, 1941) 22p.

Official rules and regulations; New Mexico school tax law; chap. 73 Laws 1935 amended; Field auditor's handbook, July 1947; Victor Salazar commissioner, Joe Callaway, Director School tax division. (Santa Fe, 1947) 44p.

Capitol custodian committee.

Established 1899; abolished in 1935; all duties formerly exercised by the committee were vested in the Governor, Secretary of state and Capitol custodian.

Report

May, 1899-Dec. 1, 1900. (Sol Speigelberg) in Message of M. A. Otero to the 34th Legislative assembly Jan. 21, 1901. p. 357-362. Exhibit "S"

Dec. 1, 1900-Nov. 30, 1902. (A. A. Keen) in message of M. A. Otero to the 35th Legislative assembly. Jan. 19, 1903. Exhibit "AI" 14p.

Dec. 1, 1902-Nov. 30, 1904. (A. A. Keen) in Message of M. A. Otero to the 36th Legislative assembly. Jan. 16, 1905. Exhibit "AI" 18p.

Dec. 1, 1904-Nov. 30, 1906. (A. A. Keen) in Message of H. J. Hagerman to the 37th Legislative assembly. Jan. 21, 1907. Exhibit 24. 16p.

Report of the Capital committee of the House of Representatives of the 30th Legislative assembly. Santa Fe, 1893. 39p.

Capitol rebuilding board.

Established Feb. 1895; discontinued 1901.

(The capitol was completed in 1886; on May 12, 1892 the capitol building burned and many public documents were completely destroyed; new capitol was completed and dedicated on June 4, 1900.)

Report

March 2, 1895-Jan. 1, 1899 (F. M. Manzanares, pres. W. H. Pope, sec.) in Message of M. A. Otero to the 33d Legislative assembly Jan. 16, 1899. "Exhibit P" p. 291-305) in Council and House journal, 1899. "Exhibit P" p. 291-305.

March 1, 1900-Jan. 21, 1901. (W. H. Pope, sec.) in Message of M. A. Otero to the 34th Legislative assembly Jan. 21, 1901. Exhibit "R" p. 345-356.

Informe del cuerpo de redeficar el capitolio del territorio de Nuevo Mejico finalizado Diciembre 31, 1898. Santa Fe, 1899. 18p.

Carey act land board.

Established 1909, had jurisdiction over reclamation, settlements and occupation of certain lands.

- Dec. 1, 1917-Nov. 30, 1918 31st fis. yr. (T. D. Allen) ”
- Dec. 1, 1918-Nov. 30, 1919 32nd fis. yr. (W. J. Linwood) ”
- Dec. 1, 1919-Nov. 30, 1920 33rd fis. yr. (W. J. Linwood) ”
- Dec. 1, 1920-Nov. 30, 1921 34th fis. yr. (M. G. Keenan) ”
- Dec. 1, 1921-Nov. 30, 1922 35th fis. yr. (M. G. Keenan) ”
- Dec. 1, 1922-Nov. 30, 1923 36th fis. yr. (M. G. Keenan) ”
- Dec. 1, 1923-Nov. 30, 1924 37th fis. yr. (M. G. Keenan) ”
- Dec. 1, 1924-Nov. 30, 1925 38th fis. yr. (M. G. Keenan) ”
- July 1, 1925-Jne. 30, 1926 14th fis. yr. (M. G. Keenan) ”
- July 1, 1926-Jne. 30, 1927 15th fis. yr. (M. G. Keenan) ”
- July 1, 1927-June 30, 1928 16th fis. yr. (M. G. Keenan) ”
- July 1, 1928-June 30, 1929 17th fis. yr. (M. G. Keenan) ”
- July 1, 1929-June 30, 1930 18th fis. yr. (M. G. Keenan) ”
- July 1, 1930-June 30, 1931 19th fis. yr. (W. A. Naylor) ”
- July 1, 1931-June 30, 1932 20th fis. yr. (W. A. Naylor) ”
- July 1, 1932-June 30, 1933 21 fis. yr. (W. A. Naylor) ”
- July 1, 1933-June 30, 1934 22 fis. yr. (W. A. Naylor) ”
- July 1, 1934-June 30, 1935 (25) p. 23 fis. yr. (W. A. Naylor) ”
- July 1, 1935-June 30, 1936 24 fis. yr. (W. A. Naylor) ”
- July 1, 1936-June 30, 1937 25 fis. yr. (Sam McCue) ”
- July 1, 1937-June 30, 1938 (15) p. 26 fis. yr. (Sam McCue) ”
- July 1, 1938-June 30, 1939 (12) p. 27 fis. yr. (Sam McCue) ”
- July 1, 1939-June 30, 1940 (14) p 28 fis. yr. (Sam McCue) ”
- July 1, 1940-June 30, 1941 (13) p. 29 fis. yr. (Sam McCue) ”
- July 1, 1941-June 30, 1942 (13) p. 30 fis. yr. (Sam McCue) ”
- July 1, 1942-June 30, 1943 (14) p. 31 fis. yr. (Sam McCue) ”
- July 1, 1943-June 30, 1944 (14) p. 32 fis. yr. (Sam McCue) ”
- July 1, 1944-June 30, 1945 (14) p. 33 fis. yr. (Sam McCue) ”
- July 1, 1945-June 30, 1946 (15) p. 34 fis. yr. (Sam McCue) ”
- July 1, 1946-June 30, 1947 (14) p. 35 fis. yr. (Charline Irvan) ”
- July 1, 1947-June 30, 1948 (17) p. 36 fis. yr. (Charline Irvan) ”
- Brand book of the territory of New Mexico, showing all the brands on cattle, horses, mules and asses, re-recorded under the provisions of the Act, approved Feb. 16th, 1899 and other brands recorded since May 1st, 1899. Santa Fe, New Mexican printing co., 1900. 358p. and supps. no. 1-3.
- Supplement no. 1 to the Brand book of the territory of New Mexico, showing all the brands on cattle, horses, mules and asses recorded and re-recorded since July 1st 1900, to Jan. 1st 1902. Santa Fe, New Mexican printing co., 1902. 133p.
- Supplement no. 2 to the Brand book of the territory of New Mexico, showing all the brands on cattle, horses, mules and asses, recorded and re-recorded since Jan. 1st 1902 to Jan. 1st 1903. Santa Fe, New Mexican printing co., 1903. 91p.
- Supplement no. 3 to the Brand book of the territory of New Mexico, showing all the brands on cattle, horses, mules, and asses, re-

- corded and re-recorded since Jan. 1st 1903 to Jan. 1st 1904. Santa Fe, New Mexican printing co., 1904. 91p.
- Brand book of the territory of New Mexico, showing all the brands on cattle, horses, mules and asses, recorded under the provisions of the Act, approved February 16th, 1889, and other brands recorded since May 1st, 1899, up to December 31st, 1906. Las Vegas? 1907? 536, 109p.
- Supplement to Brand book of the territory of New Mexico, showing all the brands on cattle, horses, mules and asses recorded since January 1st 1907, up to Dec. 31st, 1908 . . . Las Vegas, n. d. v. p.
- Brand book of the state of New Mexico, showing all the brands on cattle, horses, mules and asses, re-recorded under the provisions of the act approved February 16, 1889, and other brands recorded up to December 31, 1914. (Albuquerque, 1915) 508, 115, 32p.
- Contains Live stock laws of the state of New Mexico relating to cattle, horses, mules and asses. Albuquerque, 1915. 32p.
- Supplement no. 1 to 1915 Brand book of the state of New Mexico, showing all the brands of cattle, horses, mules and asses, from close of 1915 Brand book Dec. 31, 1914 to July 1, 1917 . . . Albuquerque (1917) 107, 55p.
- Brand book of the state of New Mexico, showing all the brands on cattle, horses, mules and asses, registered at close of books July 1 1934 . . . Albuquerque (1935) 223, 139p.
- includes Supplement no. 1 to the 1934 Brand book. (9)p.
- 1936 supplement no. 2 to the 1934 Brand book of the state of New Mexico, showing all the brands on cattle, horses, mules and asses registered at close of books July 28, 1936. Albuquerque (1936) 52, 38, 5p.
- Brand book of the state of New Mexico, showing all the brands registered for cattle, horses, mules and asses, at close of books June 1, 1941 . . . Albuquerque, (1941) 478, 130p.
- 1942 supplement to 1941 Brand book, showing all the brands registered for cattle, horses, mules and asses, from June 1, 1941 to the close of books June 30, 1942. Albuquerque (1942) 66, 18p.
- 1943 supplement to 1941 Brand book of the state of New Mexico, showing all the brands registered for cattle, horses, mules and asses, from June 1, 1942 to the close of books June 30, 1943 . . . Albuquerque, (1943) 65, 18p.
- 1945 supplement to 1941 Brand book, showing all the brands registered for cattle, horses, mules and asses from July 1, 1943 to the close of books June 1, 1945. Albuquerque (1945) 98, 27p.
- An act making it unlawful to transport stolen or unlawfully possessed livestock or game animals or game birds illegally captured, killed or taken, prescribing penalties therefor and providing for the forfeiture and sale of any property used in such unlawful transportation. (Albuquerque, 1935) (3)p.

- Excerpts from live stock laws of the state of New Mexico relating to cattle, horses, mules and asses . . . instructions to inspectors in their performance of their duties. Albuquerque, (1941) 52p.
- Live stock laws of the territory of New Mexico; quarantine regulations, instructions to inspectors; compiled and issued by the Cattle sanitary board August 1, 1905. Las Vegas (1905) 127p.
- Livestock laws of the state of New Mexico relating to cattle, horses, mules and asses . . . Albuquerque, 1915. 32p.
- Livestock stock laws of the state of New Mexico relating to cattle, horses, mules and asses; also containing list of members of Board, Brand and health inspectors, their postoffice address and districts, with list of recognized state veterinarians and instructions to inspectors in the performance of their duties. Albuquerque, 1922. 87p.
- Live stock laws, 1933. (Albuquerque, 1933) (10)p.
- Livestock regulations of the Cattle sanitary board of New Mexico, 1935. (Albuquerque, 1935) 16p.
- New Mexico cattle sanitary laws issued by the Cattle sanitary board March 15, 1891. Las Vegas, 1891. 23p.
- Order no. 3 Cancels previous regulations, quarantine and general regulations, governing admission, transportation and inspection of cattle, horses, mules, asses, hogs and hides . . . effective July 1st, 1917. n. p. n. d. 8p.
- Proclamation Aug. 12, 1887. Prohibiting the importation of bovine cattle (E. G. Ross)
- Quarantine proclamation Aug. 16, 1887 (E. G. Ross)
- Quarantine proclamation March 16, 1888.
- Quarantine proclamation Dec. 30, 1889. (L. B. Prince)
- Regulations of the Cattle Sanitary Board adopted 7th April, 1887.
- Regulations of the Cattle Sanitary Board adopted April 17, 1888.
- Resolutions adopted . . . June 11, 1902.
- Rules and regulations . . . adopted Mar. 2, 1889. (3)p.

Coal oil inspector.

Established 1895; abolished Feb. 1903; reestablished March 1905; repealed, 1939.

Report

- April 6-Dec. 31, 1898 (J. S. Clark)
in Message of M. A. Otero to the 33d Legislative assembly. Jan. 16, 1899. "Exhibit N" p. 268-270.
In Council and House journal, 1899. "Exhibit N" p. 268-270.
- Jan. 1, 1900-Dec. 31, 1900 (J. S. Clark)
in Message of M. A. Otero to the 34th Legislative assembly.
Jan. 21, 1901. Exhibit "O" p. 319-338.

- Jan. 1, 1902-Dec. 31, 1902 (J. S. Clark)
 in Message of M. A. Otero to the 35th Legislative assembly.
 Jan. 19, 1903. Exhibit "N" 31p.
- Jan. 1, 1906-Dec. 31, 1906 (Eugenio Romero)
 in Message of H. J. Hagerman to the 37th Legislative assembly.
 Jan. 21, 1907. Exhibit II 18p.
- Informe del inspector de aceite de carbon desde April 6, 1898 hasta
 Diciembre 31, 1898. Santa Fe, Compania Impresora del Nuevo
 Mexicano, 1899. (5) p. (J. S. Clark)
- Rules and regulations for the guidance of Deputy Coal oil inspectors;
 prepared under the supervision of Coal oil inspector Eugenio
 Romero and with the approval of the governor, by Deputy Coal
 oil inspector Harold Hurd. May 1906. n. p. (1906) 9p.

Commissioner of public lands.

Established 1899; administers the State institutional and
 common school lands granted to the state or territory by the
 Federal government.

Report

- March 27, 1899-Dec., 1900. 44p. v. 1 (A. A. Keen)
 also in Message of M. A. Otero to the 34th Legislative assembly,
 Jan. 21, 1901. Exhibit "D" p. 123-139.
 includes Act of Congress, June 21, 1898; Rules and regulations
 of the Interior department; Act of the Legislative assembly
 establishing a Board of public lands. Also included in vols. 2-9.
- April 1, 1902-Dec. 15, 1902. v. 3 (A. A. Keen)
 also in Message of M. A. Otero to the 35th Legislative assembly.
 Jan. 19, 1903. Exhibit "E" 11p.
- Jan. 1, 1903-Dec. 31, 1903; Jan. 1, 1904-Dec. 31, 1904. 14, 37, 38p.
 v. 4-5 (A. A. Keen)
 also in Message of M. A. Otero to the 36th Legislative assembly,
 Jan. 16, 1905. Exhibit "E" 14, 37, 38p.
- Jan. 1, 1905-Dec. 31, 1905; Jan. 1, 1906. 69p. v. 6-7 (A. A. Keen)
 also in Message of H. J. Hagerman to the 37th Legislative
 assembly. Jan. 21, 1907. Exhibit 7 69p.
- Jan. 1, 1907-Dec. 31, 1908. 36p. v. 8-9 (R. P. Ervien)
- Jan. 1, 1909-Dec. 31, 1909. 8p. v. 10 (R. P. Ervien)
- Jan. 1, 1910-Dec. 31, 1910. 8p. v. 11 (R. P. Ervien)
- Jan. 1, 1911-Dec. 31, 1911. 17p. v. 12 (R. P. Ervien)
- Jan. 1, 1912-Nov. 30, 1912. 12p. v. 13 (R. P. Ervien)
- Dec. 1, 1912-Nov. 30, 1914. 30p. v. 13-14 (R. P. Ervien)
 *volume number incorrect; should be v. 14-15.
- Dec. 1, 1914-Nov. 30, 1916. 36p. v. 16-17 (R. P. Ervien)
- Dec. 1, 1916-Nov. 30, 1916. 58p. v. 18 (R. P. Ervien) 5th fis. yr.

- Dec. 1, 1917-Nov. 30, 1918. 38p. v. 19 (Fred Muller) 6th fis. yr.
 Dec. 1, 1918-Nov. 30, 1920. 16p. (N. A. Field) 7th-8th fis. yrs.
 Dec. 1, 1920-Nov. 30, 1922. 22p. (N. A. Field) 9-10th fis. yrs.
 Dec. 1, 1922-Nov. 30, 1923. 7p. (Justiniano Baca) 11th fis. yr.
 Dec. 1, 1922-Nov. 30, 1924. 30p. (Justiniano Baca) 11-12th fis. yrs.
 Dec. 1, 1924-June 30, 1926. 24p. (E. B. Swope) 13-14th fis. yrs.
 July 1, 1926-June 30, 1928. 29p. (B. F. Pankey) 15-16th fis. yrs.
 July 1, 1928-June 30, 1930. 24p. (A. D. Crile) 17-18th fis. yrs.
 July 1, 1930-June 30, 1932. 26p. (J. F. Hinkle) 19-20th fis. yrs.
 July 1, 1932-June 30, 1934. 30p. (Frank Vesely) 21-22th fis. yrs.
 Jan. 1, 1932-Dec. 31, 1934. 4p. (Frank Vesely) 23rd fis. yr.
 July 1, 1934-June 30, 1935. 6p. (Frank Vesely) 23rd fis. yr.
 Jan. 1, 1935-Dec. 31, 1935. 4p. (Frank Vesely) 24th fis. yr.
 July 1, 1935-June 30, 1936, 5p.
 July 1, 1936-June 30, 1937. 7p. (Frank Worden) 25th fis. yr.
 Jan. 1, 1937-Dec. 31, 1937. 6 p. (Frank Worden) 26th fis. yr.
 July 1, 1937-June 30, 1938. 7p. (Frank Worden) 26th fis. yr.
 Jan. 1, 1938-Dec. 31, 1938. 6p. (Frank Worden) 26th fis. yr.
 July 1, 1938-June 30, 1939. 7p. (Frank Worden) 27th fis. yr.
 July 1, 1939-June 30, 1940. 7p. (H. R. Rodgers) 28th fis. yr.
 July 1, 1940-June 30, 1941. 7p. (H. R. Rodgers) 29th fis. yr.
 Jan. 1, 1941-Dec. 31, 1941. 7p. (H. R. Rodgers) 30th fis. yr.
 Jan. 1, 1942-Dec. 31, 1942. 11p. (H. R. Rodgers)
 July 1, 1942-June 30, 1943. (9) p. (H. R. Rodgers) 31st fis. yr.
 Jan. 1, 1943-Dec. 31, 1943. 15p. (H. R. Rodgers) 31st fis. yr.
 Jan. 1, 1944-Dec. 31, 1944. 15p. (J. E. Miles) 32nd fis. yr.
 July 1, 1944-June 30, 1945. 21p. (J. E. Miles) 33rd fis. yr.
 Jan. 1, 1945-Dec. 31, 1945. 16p. (J. E. Miles) mimeo
 July 1, 1946-June 30, 1946 not published
 July 1, 1946-June 30, 1947. 16p. (J. E. Miles) 35th fis. yr.
 Annual, 1900-1917/18, 1934/35- biennial, 1918/20-1932/34.
 Report year irregular

(To be continued)

* Fourth-Fifth; Eighth-Ninth; Fourteenth-Fifteenth, Sixteenth-Seventeenth reports issued in combined form.

First-Twelfth annual report, 1900-1911, by the commissioner of public lands of the territory of New Mexico.

History of the State land grants in v. 18 p. 37-41

Carey act land board. Annual report for fiscal year ending Nov. 30, 1918 in v. 19 p. 35-38.

Report of the Capitol custodian commission for the Sixth fiscal year in v. 19, p. 83.

Notes and Documents

The practice of having governors and viceroys leave an account of the affairs of their jurisdictions and instructions for the benefit of their successors was a fortunate one from the standpoint of modern historians. Much valuable information was recorded in these memorials: appraisals of economic and political conditions; military affairs; and matters of a religious or social nature.

Colonel Don Fernando de la Concha became governor of the province of New Mexico in 1789, and held the office for five years. His predecessor, Juan Bautista de Anza, famed for his expeditions to northern California, added to his reputation by his astuteness in the management of Indian affairs in New Mexico.¹ Concha's successor, to whom his *Instrucción* was directed, governed during the remaining years of the eighteenth century.

In his instructions to Chacón, Concha recommended that his successor's attention be concentrated upon three branches of provincial administration. First was the matter of relations with the warlike heathen Indian tribes. The second concerned internal administration, and the third was in reference to the management of presidial troops. He covered the basic matters of administration, regarding which the new governor needed to formulate a policy, as well as those which contained the greatest pitfalls.

ADVICE ON GOVERNING NEW MEXICO, 1794*

Instructions drawn up by Colonel Don Fernando de la Concha, former governor of the Province of New Mexico, so that his successor, the Lieutenant Colonel Don Fernando Chacón, may adapt what part of it that may seem to him suitable for the advantage, tranquility, and development of the aforesaid province.

1. Rarely or never can measures be taken with certainty when one is ignorant of the conditions of the territory occupied by the peoples of the country which he intends to govern. In order to obtain this neces-

1. See Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Outpost of Empire* (New York, 1931), and Alfred Barnaby Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers* (Norman, Okla., 1932).

*Translated and edited by Donald E. Worcester, Department of History, University of Florida. The original ms. is in the archives of New Mexico.

sary knowledge of the Province of New Mexico, it appears to me very conducent that the present Governor, from the time that he enters the first town of it, named Savinal, endeavors to conduct his journey slowly and carefully, inspecting and examining the settlements which there are on both banks of the Río Grande del Norte until he reaches the capital city [Santa Fé].

Once arrived in it, and after having rested the necessary time, he should begin a like process in the same regions and with similar examinations until he reaches the town of Taos, which is the last one to the north of it.

In order that the new aide to the Governor also acquires this information, it will be advisable for him to accompany the Governor, and to acquire an understanding of the terrain in order to enable him to discharge completely any duty which may be put under his authority.

The Governor, having returned to his place of residence, it will be very easy for him to comprehend the places from which the communications from the justices are sent, which he will frequently receive. He will be able to prescribe his decisions without confusion, according to what the cases demand, and the nature of the affairs they deal with, dispatching his orders through the cordilleras where they are located, or varying these if it may appear possible to improve them.

2. Being possessed of this knowledge he should apply all of his attention to the three critical aspects of the province; 1) understanding the character, customs, dispositions, and interests of the barbarous tribes which surround it; 2) the discipline with which the inhabitants ought to be treated; 3) and finally, the management of the presidial company: for his benefit I will transcribe the knowledge that the practice of seven years of administration has provided me.

First Part

3. There are five tribes adjoining the province, situated in different directions about it. The first four are looked upon and treated as friends and allies, and the last ordinarily is, and has been on many occasions, in the same condition as the others, but at present, according to unofficial information, I understand it has suffered some change in its friendship. Let us consider them in detail.

The Comanche Tribe

4. This tribe inhabits the frontier lands from the northeast to the southeast. It is the most powerful, and consequently the most to be feared because of its proximity and numbers. It is composed of four divisions known by the names of Cuchanticas, Jupes, Yamparicas, and Orientales. All are governed by a head chief and a lieutenant named by the majority among their compatriots and approved by

himself. The first is named Encaguané, and is a Cuchantica; and the second, Paruaranimuco, who is a Jupe. All the other chiefs, and all of the members of this tribe, recognize them as such and obey them in their fashion, (that is to say, expressing myself as they do), they listen to their counsel and follow it in good faith.

In this tribe one finds faith in the treaties that it acknowledges, true constancy, good hospitality, and modest customs. In warfare it is intrepid, and exceedingly dashing in its undertakings. It has no treaties with any nation other than the Spanish, and maintains an incessant war with all the others which approach it. They agree among themselves perfectly, and the internal quarrels never exceed the limits of the petty disputes which arise between individuals. All four of the divisions live in a close union, and it frequently happens that those of one go to live among the others, so that their interests are common, and they share a common destiny. At the present the first three are almost united for the purpose of aiding one another reciprocally in the active warfare which they sustain with the Pawnees.

This union, far from being harmful to the province, should be looked upon as advantageous. The need for which we make them liberal grants of arms and ammunition makes them recognize a certain dependence upon us.

The Ute Tribe

5. This is also composed of various divisions which are distinguished by name only, for in everything else they live in a perfect union like the Comanches. Those nearest to the province, and those who many times occupy lands within it, are called Moachis, Payuchis, Tabiachis, and Sogupp. Formerly all four were numerous, but today their number is considerably diminished.

Behind them, and at a distance of almost two hundred leagues from the villa of Santa Fé live other Utes called Sahuahuanas, whose number is very considerable. These, like the first, have for many years followed the destiny of the Province, and are the oldest allies of it.

The dealing or commerce that they maintain with the neighboring people is in furs, which, by repeated edicts issued by virtue of orders of higher officials, is prohibited to the latter to go to carry it out in the land of the former, in order to prevent the deceit and bad faith with which they have performed it, and of which this tribe has given various complaints; for that which they are accustomed to, and which is commanded, is for them to come to make their ransoms² on the banks of the Río del Norte, and near to the town of Santa Clara, where the alcalde mayor of the district presides in order to preserve justice, equity, and good order.

2. "Ransoming" Indian captives by the nomadic tribes in New Mexico provided the chief source of slaves for the Spaniards and Pueblo Indians.

The Sahuahuanes usually come once a year in the month of October to the same place and for the same purpose as the other Utes, and they remain in the province until the following May, when the melting of the snows in the mountains allows their return.

The Navajo Tribe

6. This tribe lives in the southwest part of the province. Their settlements have a rather regular form, and most of them are very near to our Indian towns located in this direction. They possess much cattle and sheep, and a proportionate number of horses. In general they occupy rough mesas of difficult access, and pasture their livestock on the borders of the Río Puerco and in the Canyon de Chelly. They cultivate their lands with careful attention. They always sow seasonally because of the scarcity of water which occurs in their lands, but despite this inconvenience, they reap generally abundant harvests, and enjoy some commodities which are not known to the other barbarous Indians.

Their origin is Apache, and as such they have always been allied and united with the bands of this group which inhabit the Sierras of Gila and Mimbres, destroying and assaulting the provinces of New Mexico, Vizcaya, and Sonora,³ until the year 1788, when I attained their separation and also set them against their former allies in such a manner that in the present time they wage incessant war against them.

This tribe is not unaware of the fact that in order to enjoy tranquility and the advantages of its industry, our friendship and alliance with us, are very suitable. For which reason I do not find a great obstacle to its continued existence on the same footing as it is today, which is equally advantageous to all of our settlements.

The Apache Tribe

Jicarillas

7. After this tribe was driven by the Comanches from Jicarilla mountain, which is thirty leagues distant from the Pueblo of Taos, it has always lived between this mountain and that of the Pecuriés, planting in the ravines of the mountain which divides the two, and seeking the shelter of our towns, where they leave their families when the men go to hunt buffalo.

These Apaches differ very little from all the others known by the same name, being superior to them only in the industry of cultivating the land and curing hides.

The people of the Province usually attribute to them some unfaithfulness, but this must be very rare, or imagined, with respect to my time, none of them having been justified, and the sources of these complaints always having been doubtful.

3. See Thomas, *op. cit.*, for an account of the Navajo-Gileño raids.

Tribe Known Simply as Apache

8. The frontiers of the Province from the Pecos river to the land occupied by the Navajos are known under the names of different bands, as the Natagés, Faraones, Mimbrenos, and Gileños, but their conduct is inconsistent and their customs are perverse. Despite these bad qualities, I managed to reduce and place in a peaceful condition in the vicinity of Sabinal a large portion of this tribe. In the month of last December there were located at that place almost three hundred persons of all of the above-mentioned bands, who were aided with a short weekly ration of maize and meat at the King's expense. Today, I believe, according to unofficial information, that there has been some change and that if any families remain they must be few in number.

General Remarks

9. In order to understand and deal with the Comanches the King has and pays four interpreters. Of these two must reside in the Pueblo of Taos, which is in communication with the tribe, the nearest to the lands which they occupy to the northeast of the Province, and consequently suitable for transmitting to them by means of the interpreters whatever information or news that concerns them. The other two should live in the capital city in order to treat with and speak to the Comanches who come to it; and at the same time to be assigned to the Pueblo of Pecos when they assemble there, which is also nearest to the Comanches who inhabit the eastern part. It is well understood that one of them must always live among the tribe in order to observe them and to give an account of their movements. He should be relieved as soon as his tour of duty is concluded, but his relief cannot take place until he shall have returned and given account of the stopping place in which the bands were residing at the time of his departure; and what place they are going to occupy next, since they are wanderers and never have a fixed residence.

For the same purpose the King supports two other interpreters with the duty of keeping the Navajos peaceful, who must also have their residence in the villa, alternating between them, so that there will always be one with the tribe.

The Utes do not have an interpreter paid by the King like the others, but the *genizaro*,⁴ Manuel Mestas, resident of Cuchilla, performs this duty and serves as such. He is known to all of them, and has sufficient influence over them. For this he is rewarded with fifty pesos annually from the funds assigned to the extraordinary expenses of the Province; having imposed upon him the exact duty of

4. *Genizaro* (Janissary) was a term used in New Mexico to designate Indians who had been captured while young and who consequently lacked a feeling for their tribes.

always meeting with them in the capital city, and also that of going to their camps (which regularly are located near the post of his residence) when circumstances demand it.

The Jicarillas also do not have an interpreter assigned to them, but as it is very unusual to find among them anyone who cannot speak some Castilian, it is not difficult for one to understand them and to clear up anything which may occur, without the necessity of that kind of assistance. Neither do the other Apaches, Natagés, Gileños, and Mimbrenos who have been and are able to be peaceful have a paid interpreter assigned; but the resident of Sabinal, Lereto Tores, has been considered as such, and also the *genizaro* of Belén named Matías. The latter has always been recompensed in the same manner as the interpreter of the Utes; but the former never has been officially appointed nor given anything despite his having worked incessantly and fruitfully, for which reason I deem that you should reward him to the best of your ability.

10. Among the above tribes distinct interests prevail. The Utes and Jicarillas are on friendly terms, and both hate the Comanches because of their present friendship with us. This prohibits them from making their thefts, as they were accustomed to doing under the cloak of our alliance when the latter were at war with the government of the Province. Notwithstanding this situation they are accustomed to work together in making their hostilities against them. As the location of the former provides them with immediate shelter and with access into the Province for stolen goods, it is necessary to manage this matter in such a way that the Comanches never suspect that we aid this design. In order to attain this end I announced to the one as well as to the other that always when any of them go through the Province with stolen animals bound for their camps I would have the transgressors caught up and delivered to the offended party. In fact I have done this on various occasions which have occurred; but in order to succeed in it in the future much vigor and activity is necessary, because the neighboring people on the frontiers, for the immediate advantage of buying a horse cheaply, or to avoid being punished for some complicity in the robbery, habitually disregard these edicts and refuse to invoke the law, which repeated times has prevented detaining the transgressors, depriving them of the animals, and giving an account to the government so that it could carry out the prescribed measures which are found just conforming to that which had been stipulated to the same tribes. By this method one succeeds, a sort of superior authority is achieved, and at the same time an abuse which may be very prejudicial to the Province is checked.

The Navajo tribe also has a close friendship with the Utes. From this no harm results to our settlements nor jealousy toward the Comanches. The location of any of them would oblige them unavoidably in case of committing hostilities, to travel across the

Province, which would not be permitted to them under any circumstance. Besides which the Navajos would never be disposed to leave their families and possessions to the discretion and fury of the Gileño Apaches.

These, and the other bands of their kind, do not have friendship nor alliance with any of the four related tribes, and they are always experiencing persecution and castigation on the part of the Comanches and Navajos. In order that the latter never return to their former alliance with them it is necessary not to spare any means. This is the only way in which not only to protect the district called Río Abajo against their invasions, but that lacking such that they fail to commit them in Sonora and Vizcaya. In order to attain so important an aim and to preserve in them the same good order which they have preserved in my time, there are various Navajo chiefs, such as Carlos and Vicente, who are able to facilitate the management of the others. The names and qualities of others who can be employed for the same purpose the Alcalde Mayor, Don Antonio Joseph Ortiz, will impart in full to the new Governor.

In case some of the bands of the said Apaches present themselves in peace, he will be able, in the same way, to throw sufficient light on managing and controlling them, since he accompanied me on various occasions when I have gone to pacify them and admit them to peace in the post of Sabinal. It will be appropriate to indicate the methods I have used. But in this event it is absolutely necessary to work at first hand, according to events and circumstances, and in accordance with superior orders.

As the five tribes referred to frequently meet in the capital city, and as there are various occasions in which they customarily are assembled, it is necessary to apply the greatest attention to their entertainment and gratification on their return.

One should have some person entrusted with their maintenance and meals, to whom should be credited two *reales* for each day during the time of their residence there. Equal care should be taken that they are not lodged together, and that they are distributed about according to and in the manner which has been prescribed.

As soon as they are disposed to return to their camps, it is customary to regale them with some clothing, hats, mirrors, orange paint, indigo, knives, cigars, sugarloaves, and so forth. In these gifts the Comanches must be preferred provided they are not in attendance with the other tribes, for in this case the distribution must be equal in order that no preference may be noticed and result in jealousies among them.

The outlay should be made by the hand of the governor himself, in order that they may be more pleased. It must be effected with discretion and knowledge of the merits and qualities of the individual who is being rewarded. In a word, it must be with so much

prudence that, without losing sight of economy, it will succeed in passing as magnanimous. Bearing in mind that the good treatment and generosity in these expressions is the principal axis upon which must revolve and has revolved in my time the good harmony which has been preserved and must be preserved with them.

As these expenses are to be charged to the King's account, it is necessary to issue at the appropriate time the corresponding orders for payment in favor of the individual in charge of such matters, so that by means of them, one can draw up the report which must be rendered annually to the authorities, and so that the proper payment may be authorized.

At the time of remitting it funds will be requested for the future, preceded by an estimate or calculation with figures of the expenses which may occur.

Second Point

11. Nothing is so difficult as knowing man, and only the practice of observing his conduct closely provided on occasions helps form some idea of his character. The knowledge which experience has given me in general of the inhabitants of the Province of New Mexico (excepting the Indians of the towns) is of little value. Under a simulated appearance of ignorance or rusticity they conceal the most refined malice. He is a rare one in whom the vices of robbing and lying do not occur together. Because of the dispersion of their settlements, the bad upbringing resulting from this, the proximity and trade of the barbarous tribes in which they are involved, the removal of more than two thousand laborers to another area would be very useful to society and the state. It is the environment that remains and every day propagates similar vices. These cannot be checked except under a new set of regulations and by means of a complete change in the actual system of control. This important task is not in the Governor's hands, and therefore it is necessary that he take pains in minimizing the damages wherever it may be possible: for which purpose I will expound to him the means prescribed to me by prudence, reason, justice, and the practice of about seven years during which time I have governed the Province.

12. Vigilance regarding the conduct of the *alcaldes mayores*, their lieutenants, and the commissaries of the troops nearly always assures the administration of justice and good order. Upholding these employees in all that they do that is just and maintaining them always in their offices when their management corresponds to the indicated purposes must be the first attention of the Governor. Almost all of them in office today were occupying these positions when I entered the Province. The people have made repeated unfounded accusations against them. All of these I have examined with the greatest care, and they have never been able to prove those which have been made. Seeking the source of these I have discovered easily that they do not

spring from anything but the lack of obedience, wilfulness, and desire to live without subjection and in a complete liberty, in imitation of the wild tribes which they see nearby.

13. With the desire of making distinctions and promoting some mode of emulation among these people, who, with very little difference are each other's equals in fortune and birth, my predecessor, Colonel Don Juan Bautista de Anza, organized three companies of militia, naming the officers, sergeants, and corporals from among this same group. For the same purpose and desire, not only have I continued it, but increased the number of individuals by adding a fourth company. Far from achieving the advantages which we had proposed, this organization resulted in enabling certain men, by using their official positions, to arouse everyone and to form parties, always disturbing the Province whenever it suited them in the purpose of gaining their own ends. Adding to this evil that of withdrawing themselves from participating in the various tasks which the police must necessarily practice, and to which people respond who are not adorned with official character.

I am in favor of abolishing this order of militia, and of placing the citizens on the same footing in which they were found previously. That is, the companies to be governed, commanded, and conducted by the *alcaldes mayores* and their lieutenants, who must enjoy a distinction under the names of captains and lieutenants, without there being any pretext of amplifying similar titles to other citizens.

As the high command approved the establishment of this militia, it is necessary to solicit the approval of the Commanding General in order to abolish it.

14. In whatever fashion the above-mentioned matter is arranged, the selection of the residents and Indians who are to participate in the campaigns must be accomplished with complete justice; the former should be indicated by name and surname, and the latter by number. In order to achieve this without confusion, and not to leave these nominations to the judgment of the *alcaldes* of the districts, the new Governor must immediately arrange to have begun the taking of a general census of all the men who are in the jurisdictions, with statement of age and fitness for warfare, by which means it will be possible to form the lists of those who are to be taken, and to pass them along to the respective *alcaldes*, in order that these advise those who are chosen of the day, place, and circumstances where they must assemble. It is supposed that for this operation a general list is needed on which the *sorties* of each one may be noted in order that this type of service may be made with fairness. The practice of naming substitutes must be abolished, that is, of some serving in place of others. This condescension is absolutely prejudicial because the well-to-do make a small gift to the worst vagabonds in order that they serve in their places. The equipment and provisions of the lat-

ter corresponds in every way to their conduct, and far from our being able to take any advantage of that kind of men, their presence is harmful, for from the first day they begin to fail in the performance of their duty, to delay the marches, and to cause the failure of the campaigns. All of these difficulties, along with some other serious ones, occurred on the first campaign which went out immediately after I took charge of the government, and the only means of preventing them is to limit the substitution to sons for fathers and brothers for one another.

15. Those chosen to attend the campaign must not be furnished with anything but munitions, which the commander of the party should receive in order to make a distribution in the necessary cases. The Indians of the towns never solicit anything else except the things which please them, but the lazy settlers, and those of bad conduct, make many importunities, asking for horses or supplies.

Neither the former nor the latter contribute anything to the King, who has spent from his exchequer since the time of the reconquest, with the idea of sustaining them, more than five and a half million pesos, without now or at any other time having any hope of being reimbursed. The sorties which are prepared never have any other object than that of protecting and preserving their own property, and each considers the concurrence of all an obligation, as a matter of their own interest.

The six Queres pueblos nor the residents of Vallecito and Cañada de Cochiti must not be depended upon for this service. These are employed in maintaining the detachment at the foot of the Sierra de San Pedro, which covers the entrance of the Apaches in their territory into that of the adjacent villa and ranches. No caution nor vigilance has sufficed to free themselves from the dangers that these enemies occasion in the places mentioned, even to the precaution of assigning the said detachment, which is composed of fifteen Indians, a resident of Vallecito or of la Cañada according to whose turn it is, and a carbineer of the presidial company, who commands the whole group.

According to the scale and arrangement which is formed with the total force of Indians and citizenry, each of the former receives fifteen days of fatigue every two years, and the latter an equal number of days every six years. In this way, being exempt from the monthly campaigns, they remain, with very little difference, on the same footing as the other inhabitants.

In the hands of the carbineer commander of the detachment shall be orders which were arranged effectively for the service that must be performed on this station, taking into account the lands assigned in the same document, describing the trails and others matters which are noted, and so forth.

16. The supply of horses which has always been held in the Province at the King's expense should not be used for any other purpose than

to aid the allied wild tribes who voluntarily present themselves in order to cooperate with our forces ordered on campaigns. In order to fulfil this object the number never should exceed one hundred horses and ten mules, for if it is greater all that will result will be constant losses, without achieving anything at all.

17. Whenever the Comanches and Utes announce that within so many days the former will arrive in the towns of Taos and Pecos, and the latter in the vicinity of Santa Clara in order to carry on their exchanges, the Governor will send the information to all the districts in order that the desired individuals may respond, and also so that the respective alcalde mayor may attend this species of fair. In it the alcalde mayor must see that the greatest harmony is preserved exactly; without permitting any injuries or prejudice to these allies who constantly proceed with the greatest trust. He should not part company from them up to the time he is certain of their departure, and always must be extremely vigilant that they are not robbed nor that a single animal is seized. If, despite this caution, it proves (as has happened many times) that some irresponsible residents steal some animals, an account must be given to the government immediately so that a search for them may be made, and the thieves punished according to the circumstances.

It will be very suitable for the Governor to attend in person the first time that the trading occurs in his administration. This way he will facilitate his recognizing personally the greater number of the chiefs of the said tribes, and also the method and rule with which the fair can be improved if by chance it should be unfair.

18. In consequence of the various supreme orders, the government has issued various edicts prohibiting the inhabitants of the Province from going to the land of the Utes to trade. Despite these reasonable measures that have been taken with the object of depriving the former of the facility with which they cheat the latter in their dealings, it has not been possible to eradicate entirely that kind of vice. In order to prevent this abuse in the future, it is necessary to repeat the same edicts, and to sustain vigorously and firmly that which is prescribed in them, without listening in these cases to the clamors and importunities which the infractors make and declare.

19. Immediately after peace with the Comanches was achieved, I permitted the residents and Indians who solicited their commerce to go to their lands. I granted this liberty with the idea of acquiring a complete knowledge of the waterholes and lands in which they are situated, in order to wage war with this advantage in case they suffer some alteration in the established peace. This liberty lasted for two years, at the end of which it was necessary to modify it, as much as to prevent the inconveniences which have occurred with the Utes as well as the incidents that resulted which were always contrary to the desired good harmony.

For these reasons it was decided formerly that few of these visits should be made; and most of them were solicited by the Comanches themselves. But licenses were always granted, with the precaution that one of the interpreters or another trusted person must be responsible for the conduct and intercourse of the individuals who go to the camps, who must take charge of governing them, and who must give me an account of what happened upon their return. It appears to me that this is the method which must be followed in order to preserve with genuineness so valuable a peace.

20. An inveterate custom of the people of this Province is, upon the arrival of a new Governor, to renew disputes and petitions begun in very remote times. For knowledge today in this business it is necessary for him to take note of the fact that all the matters of that nature have been determined in writing and verbally in the *visita general* which his predecessors have executed, in which act the parties generally have been advised that if they are not satisfied, and consider themselves wronged, they may present themselves to the *Audiencia* of the district to produce the statements that they have in their power: consequently, he does not have to understand anything nor to take part in these affairs, except to facilitate them and to advise them of the procedure which they must follow in their appeals.

21. It is no less common for the residents of the districts remote from the villa to resort directly to the Governor, declaring injuries, damages, and so forth. These presentations are all made in unison, in spite of the edicts issued against this practice. They never make them before the territorial judicial authorities who are the ones who should enforce the edict according to their own judgment, without which requisite it is impossible for the Governor to prescribe his decision with certainty. Nothing has sufficed to attain this obvious improvement, and the only method which I found for checking such disorder is not admitting it, nor changing a decision for any petition which lacks the required formalities.

22. In order to determine the problems and cases which arise, after being preceded by the necessary statements, there is no other way for the Governor to evaluate them except by prudence, wise judgment, and good reason. This is what has been favored by all your predecessors for lack of a lawyer with whom to consult: but at the present he must understand that never, or rarely, is the first person who makes demands right, and that from anyone whomsoever he receives with the greatest ease and without any gratification the false testimonies which he needs.

23. This does not follow with the Indians of the towns, whose procedure in this matter is diametrically opposed to that of the residents. In them one always finds the truth, they are easily persuaded by good advice, and they never are involved in nor contribute to any thieving. Despite these fine qualities, they constantly promote various requests

that their doctrinary ministers be removed, or the judicial authorities who govern them. They do not usually have any other object for this claim except that of accommodating the priests who solicit that result, joining with the neighboring citizens and with the administrative authorities of the same towns, for which reason some make suppositions and allegations against them, which generally prove false, that they are responsible for a number of wrongdoings. For this reason great care is necessary in order to take action in the matter. It is necessary to make a minute examination and to take separate account of the interests which motivate the religious and the citizenry in this kind of conduct. A frank confession always results from this step, if managed with prudence, which will bring out the truth and uncover the ideas which promote the recommendation. Neither these circumstances nor their reticence is sufficient to check this, nor intimidating the promoters, who, the first proceedings over, after a short calm repeat the same requests.

24. In no country is it more difficult than in New Mexico to remove the *alcaldes mayores*, because of the impossibility of replacing them. There are few inhabitants who know how to write and to inform, and even less to discharge a duty of such consideration, that few or none are useful; to which must be added that the equality of fortunes which is the rule in the Province disposes the spirits of the people to obey with violence and repugnancy an individual who a short time before was not their superior in anything. The continuation in office, and the invariable custom of obedience at all times to the same individual, eventually reaches a certain point of giving him some ascendancy over the others, and provides his actions with respect and consideration in their eyes.

Despite these difficulties no one should be kept on whose conduct is not in keeping with the object to which he is dedicated. Those whom I left in the districts at the time of my departure have fulfilled their obligations. The only one of the earlier group who had bad intentions, and who finally began to abuse his powers, is the one in the district of Alameda, for which I judged it very suitable to remove him from the office, putting in his place another person of ability and honorable method of procedure. I do not remember at the present who may be fit for it, but the *alcalde mayor* of the capital, Don Antonio Joseph Ortiz, in whom resides the necessary knowledge of the inhabitants, will be able to indicate to the new Governor a person suitable for this trust.

The same Ortiz has formerly given me notice of having deposed the contingent commandant, the *alcalde mayor* of Laguna, Don Juan Cristoval Sanchez, as a result of some complaints given by the Navajos. It is very difficult to understand what the *alcalde* may have supposed to be untrue acts on our part against that tribe which he has so near him, and that only his friendship and reciprocal good harmony is able to afford them any advantages and assistance. This matter requires

a new examination to clarify the things which to my understanding were invented by the interpreters with the Navajos. Whatever may be the result, it is never wise that the person who has been removed from office should go on living in the same place. His assistant having served in the grade of lieutenant in that district, and being of bad conduct and disorderly, I prohibited either of these two from ever going to the said towns.

25. No affair in that place entails so many difficulties as checking the bad habits which govern the priests of the *custodia*. The greater part of them live in concubinage. Interest directs their maxims. They have many ways of insinuating malice to upset or destroy the good measures prescribed by the Governor, always directed toward checking their excesses. They have an absolute sway over the inhabitants. It is impossible to realize how far their effrontery and boldness goes with which they control every kind of affair, nor yet the facility with which they upset the same inhabitants, always meditating upon their own particular ends. In a word, their influence upon every one is such that the general expression used in the country is "If the padre says it is so, there can be no doubt."

That the injuries may be less (supposing it impossible to eradicate the vices) I am of the opinion the methods which during my administration have produced good results must be followed. These have been to ignore and to take no part in the disputes and strife which originate among them. Never yield to their annoying petitions to improve their offices. Oppose with firmness the actions which they constantly take to destroy good order, and keep on harmonious relations with their prelate, if this person is less vigilant. Add to these means that of intimidating them by means of threats that they may be removed from the Province as prejudicial persons provided they do not improve their behavior. In order to effect this measure if the circumstances require it, it is necessary to go along in accord with the prelate, as the law provides, and above all that the superior government may sustain the measure to the end that the Governor does not find himself exposed nor his honor questioned.

It is extremely difficult to indicate in detail the incidents which can occur with the religious, through the variety of affairs which animate and govern them, but watching them under the aspect which I have indicated, managing them with tact, firmness, understanding, and prudence, and resorting to opportunities to check them in your just duty, you will attain without doubt the appreciable object of quietude and tranquility within the interior of the Province.

26. The new Governor must apply his entire attention to effecting the complete consolidation of the capital city. In the year 1789 an executive order from the higher authorities was passed to me in order that I should put it into effect without delay or without listening to petitions. Knowing the difficulties which attended it in that time, I stated

the methods which to me appeared opportune for accomplishing it without serious damage on the part of the inhabitants, which was adopting the prudent means of not permitting rebuilding, repairing, or mending of the establishments which are widely dispersed. The chief officers approved, and in consequence I issued an edict which expounded this prohibition, under pain of the infractors incurring the penalty noted in it. From these measures already it has been given a regular form, but the work will never be completed if the least negligence is permitted, and if you are not vigilant and do not sustain the measure which is the dominant factor. The inhabitants are indolent. They love distance which makes them independent; and if they recognize the advantages of union, they pretend not to understand them, in order to adapt the liberty and slovenliness which they see and note in their neighbors the wild Indians.

As fast as the establishments are deteriorating and becoming useless, the aforesaid proprietors will find themselves in the situation of soliciting new land in the place which is indicated, in order to construct with regularity new habitations. This has happened to various ones ever since the measure was put into effect. But I repeat that without complete vigilance and sternness, the object never will be achieved.

27. The preservation of the newly built bridges across the Río Grande del Norte, as well as the roads which have just been completed and opened, is no less important. There is no fund nor any municipal fees which can be applied to these two projects, so useful, so necessary. In order that they may always be kept in good condition, there is no other means than personal labor. At these the citizens and Indians must concur without distinction, according to and in the district which will be the least inconvenient for them; and as it is desirable for all to enjoy the fruits of the benefit, no one must be excused from the work, in conformance with the judicial notice made by the government.

Provided that these same repairs do not require many persons, it can be practiced by means of assignment to them. By use of the prisoners, of whom there generally are some in the jail, who, conducted by a corporal or carbineer of the company, and maintained with the aid of some small fines against other delinquents, this public utility can be improved.

In order to attend immediately to similar projects, if they should be necessary, there are at present eighty-odd pesos in the hands of the official paymaster held for the purposes of this branch of policy; its distribution must be in virtue of orders which the Governor will issue.

Third and Final Matter

28. The strength of the presidial company amounts to one hundred and twenty men. Three officers also pass on review with them, and a retired sergeant with corresponding pay; and also eighteen soldiers

on the sick list. Some few must be enlisted for the necessary quota of corporals, and all must be liable, even those living under the penal laws, in virtue of Royal orders.

The condition of debts and credits which have just been turned over to the new Governor, and which were put in final form at the end of December, 1793, show the legal balance credited to the company at that time.

In order that it may always subsist on the same footing, the Governor should not permit the providing for any individual of any quantity not in accordance with his warrant. In order to carry out this in the cases which require it, he must always have at hand the referred conditions, to the end that he will be able to execute it without confusion, and with knowledge of the condition of the balance in which the applicant is found.

29. Every first of the month all of the individuals indicated pass in review, and corresponding lists are drawn up, completing at the same time the journal of events which occurred in the company, and the condition of the mounted force, and everything accordingly, and in the manner in keeping with the original records that are located in the archives.

These documents are to be sent on the first opportunity with security to the Commanding General.

In addition to the said review, others may be held when necessary; if another general comes through, such as the Sub-Inspector, who is of that command, in order to inform himself thoroughly as to the condition in which the individuals are found, to check on the abuses which may have been introduced, and to establish rules of economy which will appear to him suitable.

30. The second lieutenant Don Pablo Sandoval is charged with furnishing remounts within the Province, according to needs, and without assigning special time for it. If the few things required of this officer are not completely satisfactory in that kind of duty, you can give the commission to some sergeant or corporal who will perform it promptly.

The only way to acquire horses of good quality cheaply is that of charging the paymaster to provide the things which the Pueblo Indians use, and that with them they visit all the districts. In them there are many horses; and in that of Taos and Pecos there is a considerable number, which the natives barter from the Comanches. In addition there is no difficulty in the agent passing to the camps of this tribe in company with an interpreter, and exchanging similar goods, buying them also personally.

Since the year 1791 the remount has been made within the Province, and accordingly entered in the record books of the soldiers, the cost of each horse having been eight pesos, more or less. This information will be useful as a guide in the future.

In spite of the published edicts, in virtue of higher orders, that prohibit it to them and impose punishment on the soldiers who trade or sell horses, and that subject equal penalties upon the buyers; it has not been possible to check this abuse. The connivance of the sergeants and corporals, the lack of discipline—difficult to establish completely in this country—and the liaisons which individuals have with the rest of the citizens, prevent the chief officer from acquiring the necessary information in order to proceed vigorously in this matter. Despite these difficulties, no means should be overlooked in order to correct this disorder. Nothing will be so effective, provided that the fraud be proven, as punishing the purchaser in the manner provided in the edicts, and dismissing from the service the delinquent or seller.

Nothing is so desirable in that Province as obtaining a place in the company, and nothing is so mortifying to those who possess one, as to see himself expelled from it. Under this concept, that removal can be accomplished, not only in this case but in any of that kind which occur, it is not difficult to achieve obedience and subordination.

31. The troops of the company are generally of good quality. The officers who have been left in charge do not correspond to it, but the material merit that some have acquired, and the age of others, makes them deserving despite the fact that they have some trifling shortcomings; but under no circumstances should certain vices be tolerated, for which they are prosecuted.

32. The present paymaster does not have the best inclination for his office. He suffers frequent negligence, the greater part of it proceeding from some disorderliness. In order to prevent his malversion of the interests which are carried in his accounts, I assigned Don Joseph Griego, under my direction, so that they should be distributed, carrying a formal account of the receipts at opportune times; and keeping current all the operations attached to that commission. This lad is of good character, was reared in the house of Don Francisco Manuel Elguea, and is of unblemished conduct; these qualities give some suggestion of the said paymaster, who, in order to work arbitrarily naturally tries to keep him from his side, putting in his place even such as Don Antonio Ruiz, his companion in the excesses, and who is more stupid and ignorant than the paymaster himself. In no way is any change desirable because of the unfortunate consequences which can result from it; and thus it is necessary that these matters be kept upon the same footing which they are established.

You must effect a balance sheet which will verify the condition in which the office of the paymaster was found at the time of the arrival of the new Governor. If this operation results in shortages, through faulty method or malversion, the paymaster must be suspended from the army, treating him as is prescribed in a former general order which can be found in the archive.

None of the other officers is fit for being paymaster; and thus the

only recourse which remains (in case the accounts which are presented are not in order) is that of naming one of the three sergeants as aide, and, managed by the said Garcia, with a little attention to this branch on the part of the Governor, it is not possible for any shortage to take place.

In order to obviate unfounded complaints which the soldiers constantly make, about the weight of their rations, their orders for payment, and so forth, I established separate pay orders corresponding to each branch. In these are recorded the drafts and the time they were given. They are always in the possession of the interested person; and by means of them it is easy to remove whatever doubt that occurs at the time of settling the account.

33. The service in which the company is employed is confined to the horse guard, composed of thirty men, whose command is confided to one of the three sergeants alternatively. If by chance this number should become diminished, it is necessary that it be again reconstituted, as much as is required for the security of the horse herd, for its increased number constantly exceeds two thousand animals, because without it the soldiers will live in enervating idleness.

The officers do not have other duties than making war against the Apaches; and, because of the climate, this cannot be carried on except during four months of the year, so they live in complete comfort and almost total inaction.

I am of the opinion that provided the said Apaches return to seek peace in Sabinal an officer and a detachment of twenty men should be put at that post, to preserve order, to administer, to dispense rations, and for other occurrences which take place among them: all in conformance with the instructions which the Governor gives it. This detachment may be relieved each month or every two months, as seems suitable to the senior officer's knowledge of extra duties of a similar nature, never depriving the troops of the pleasure of time for rest in the capital, where a guard of [word missing] is maintained, composed of a corporal and five men.

34. With the desire that the field forces should be in the best condition to operate effectively, it was arranged to leave the horse guard with a sergeant and four soldiers, to which were added forty or fifty of the poorest equipped citizens, who were ordered to cooperate with them. This method I consider advantageous in order not to duplicate work, and to fulfil perfectly the two objectives.

35. In order to maintain the neatness and attractiveness of the company barracks, it is necessary not to excuse the slightest fault. Each officer has a copy of the instructions which I drew up relative to this matter. In them is detailed an account of the conduct which each individual is to observe in his home and on his respective post; and the same vigilance with which he must proceed in order that the officers, sergeants, and corporals achieve it. Nothing is sufficient to achieve

this effect if the senior officer does not inspect and examine it frequently in person.

36. In the month of November the annual expedition leaves this city, composed of many and various individuals of the Province. With it goes the paymaster in order to put in the corresponding memorial of the presidio. This officer takes general command over all the persons who compose it. He is accompanied by fifteen soldiers and a sergeant in order to safeguard the said report. The services which they and the civilians must perform during the marches going and returning, is explained in the orders which I gave to the present paymaster, so that by its use it will be easy to enact similar instructions in the years to come.

Chihuahua, June 28, 1794. Fernando dela Concha.

A copy of the instructions which Colonel Don Fernando dela Concha gave to his successor as Governor of the Province of New Mexico, and of which a copy was submitted to the Secretary of the Commandancy General of my command. Chihuahua, June 22, 1797.

MANUEL MERINO
[Rúbrica]

[This copy is in the Mexican archives, and is listed in Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Guide to Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico* (Washington, D. C., 1913), p. 34.]

Book Reviews

The Valley Below. Alice Marriott. Norman, Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949. Pp. 243. \$3.00.

In *Maria: The Potter of San Ildefonso*, Alice Marriott wrote sensitively and often beautifully of the life of a people alien to her. In order to be near her work at the pueblo, she set up housekeeping with Margaret Lefranc, artist and creator of fine illustrations for *Maria* and this present book, in a Spanish-American valley community nearby. *The Valley Below* is an account of their life in that community, the humorous approach dominant, the serious present too, to make an interesting blend. To say all this so solemnly is a little foolish and foolhardy, for Miss Marriott, in having a thoroughly witty time, has thrust now and then at the solemnities, even those of her profession, ethnography.

In the first part of the book she takes us humorously, even hilariously at times, through the discomforts and mischances of refurbishing an old 'dobe house, dealing with an earnest but inept handyman, controlling a houseful of irrational Siamese cats, getting water out of a perverse well and equally perverse well experts, battling the eccentricities of a coal and wood stove, negotiating the intricacies and doubts of house-buying, getting peace and sleep during the nocturnal debates of rights to irrigation water, the purse-emptying, house-crowding mania for pottery, the trials of building an addition to the house. There has been some method in this approach. Chapter XIII begins: "Now I seem to have reached the point, according to ethnological custom, where I must go beyond the household and its dwelling, and define and describe the surrounding community in relation to the specific unit." So the latter half of the book, maintaining the humorous approach, though with less dominance, deals with the social life of Indians and Spanish-Americans, ending in a series of well-told little stories of the neighboring Maclovio Salazars, and a sensitively felt story of the Penitentes. Thus the book that began "with the idea of an orderly description of a society" became one "about a house and its being lived

in, and about some of the people who came and went there." It traced also a change in the two women. "The impersonality of being moderately successful, urban, professional women was gone from us. We were women, and our neighbors came to us for help because they knew we would understand and would give it."

There are some things one regrets about this book, regrets them because Alice Marriott writes so well. Despite her own denials of success in portraying a society, a good deal of understanding does come through, but it has to make its way through the convention that controls the book. The convention goes something like this. An urbanite, feeling decay in the city, indeed in his own culture in general, turns to "the simple life." He does not do it with the whole-hearted romanticism of, say, a St. John de Crèvecoeur. He sees some of the lighter ironies and laughs at his own discomfiture. The *Atlantic* used to run sketches of this sort for its urban readers, and still does occasionally. And *slick* humor uses the idea. The convention has many extensions. Sometimes the adventurer not only finds the natives inept, costly, but lovable, but is himself a competent, self-reliant person who may with ingenuity control the situation. As long as this happens, we get more of the narrator than of the native. Miss Marriott's first chapter starts off so thoughtfully, in such finely-woven prose, that one expects more objectivity than he gets. The humor, as I said, is lively, and understanding comes through. But the enigmas of alien ways, that we would like to solve rather carefully, remain incompletely penetrated. One would like to see Miss Marriott try a serious approach in fiction, something like that of Katherine Anne Porter.

University of New Mexico

E. W. TEDLOCK, JR.

Apron Full of Gold. Edited by Rupert Glass Cleland. The Huntington Library, San Marino, California, 1949. Pp. IX, 99. \$3.50.

The book consists of a series of letters, between 1849 and 1856 during the gold rush period, written mostly by Mrs.

Mary Jane Megquier to her children back in Maine. Her husband was a physician wishing to improve his financial position. Mrs. Megquier decided to accompany him, having heard that in California there were opportunities for women also to acquire large incomes. Her husband and two others invested \$10,000 in galvanized iron sheets for a building 26 x 40 together with drugs and other goods, all to be shipped around Cape Horn.

The Doctor and his wife took the shorter route by way of Panama. The details of the trip, as related in the letters, are most interesting. They left New York by boat March 1, 1849, and reached Chagres by March 13. In a few hours after their arrival they started up the Chagres river in a small steamboat with thirty canoes attached. After a few miles by steamboat, they were to make the rest of the water trip in these native boats. Three of the tourists with a native crew got in one boat twenty feet long and two feet wide to go to Gorgona. From here they went on horses to Panama, where they arrived March 24.

By May 20, 1849, they were still in Panama together with about 2,000 others waiting for transportation to California. The doctor practiced medicine here, making almost enough to pay their expenses. They arrived at San Francisco June 16.

By September of the same year they had accumulated as much as they would have made in Maine in two years. The doctor practiced medicine and ran his store, while his wife kept from sixteen to twenty roomers and boarders.

For a period of eight years after their arrival, these letters describe the life in San Francisco as seen by a couple not interested in the adventure of gold mining. The conditions, such as the types of people, cost of living, nature of amusements, and the social life are presented by a hard working and intelligent woman. The reader gets a presentation of the reaction of a new arrival in a wild frontier mining town; at first there was a feeling of loneliness and homesickness, later a sense of satisfaction and enjoyment. While she missed her children back in New England, there

were frequent statements that the locality was no place for children.

The book is another snapshot picture of a most interesting period, and a work valuable to the historian as a bit of source material for a larger view of an important national event. The general reader will certainly enjoy the letters, so real, so vivid, and so unpretentious.

University of Arizona

H. A. HUBBARD