NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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REVIEWS AND EXCHANGES
IN APPRECIATION

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

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

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

Donald C. Cutter  
Chairman, Editorial Board, NMHR

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The Historical Society of New Mexico

(INCORPORATED)

ORGANIZED DEC. 26, 1859; ADJOURNED SINE DIE SEPT. 23, 1863; RE-ESTABLISHED DEC. 27, 1880

PAST PRESIDENTS

Hon. Kirby Benedict  Hon. Frank W. Clancy
Col. Ralph Emerson Twitchell

OFFICERS, 1926-27

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F. T. Cheetham, vice-pres.  Mrs. Reed Holloman, rec. sec’y
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Espinosa, Aurelio M.  Read, Benjamin M.
Hackett, Charles K.  Walter, Paul A. F.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

(as amended - Dec. 15, 1925)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Article 6. — Dues. — Each Member, upon election, shall pay a fee of two dollars, which shall include the dues for the current calendar year and annually thereafter a fee of $1.00 payable in January of each calendar year. Members may be dropped from the rolls of the Society at the discretion of the Executive Council for non-payment of dues.

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

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

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

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

The Society meets in its rooms, Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe, on the third Tuesday evening each month.

Bulletins, as published, are mailed to members; at present, subscription to the REVIEW is additional.

Students and friends of Southwestern History are cordially invited to become members. Applications should be addressed to the corresponding secretary, Mr. Lansing B. Bloom, Santa Fe, New Mexico.
NEW MEXICO IN THE GREAT WAR

III The State Council of Defense

New Mexico responded quickly and willingly to the nation’s call for the mobilization and use of its resources to prepare for and maintain the public defense and to assist in the prosecution of the war against Germany. Immediately following the issuance of the declaration of war against Germany, Governor Washington E. Lindsey summoned a group of representative citizens to convene at the state capitol as a council, to discuss ways and means of preparing New Mexico to fully meet the emergencies and requirements of war. The council convened in Santa Fe on April 21st, 1917. Governor Lindsey, presiding, briefly reviewed the war situation and prophetically summarized the things that the citizens of the state would be called upon to do to provide for state and national security and to aid the entente allies. A state of war existed! New Mexico would perform its full duty. The conviction was expressed by members of the conference that sooner or later the United States would be obliged to tax its resources to the utmost and wage an offensive war in order effectively to protect our country and conquer Germany. There was no debate, no dissenting opinions. The council appointed a committee, with Edward C. Crampton, of Raton, as its chairman, to formulate plans and make recommendations for the designation and organization of a permanent war body. On the same day the committee, reporting back
to the council, recommended, among other things, that a permanent "War Committee" be formed, consisting of one member from each judicial district of the state and four members at-large, to be appointed by the governor, with the governor as ex-officio member of the committee; that the committee should take immediate steps to organize the agricultural resources of the state for a greater production of food stuffs and to provide for the economic and military defense of the state and nation; that the governor, in his discretion, should call a special session of the legislature to provide the means for carrying out the war program, and that the War Committee, as soon as appointed, should immediately organize and remain in session from day to day until every requirement had been met. These and other recommendations of the committee were unanimously adopted by the council. Immediately after the adjournment of the council, Governor Lindsely appointed the following war committee: Charles Springer, Cimarron; C. R. Brice, Roswell; E. C. Crampton, Raton; Ed. M Otero, Los Lunas; B. C. Hernandez, Tierra Amarilla; R. E. Putney, Albuquerque; Jose Gonzales, Las Cruces; W. A. Hawkins, Three Rivers; Secudino Romero, Las Vegas; Rafael Garcia, Albuquerque; J. M. Sully, Santa Rita; and Eufracio Gallegos of Gallegos.

The war committee, selecting E. C. Crampton as its permanent chairman and Miss Edith Wileman as its temporary secretary, was formally organized on April 25th. At this meeting, Neil B. Field, of Albuquerque, presented the following resolution adopted at a public meeting of the citizens of that city favoring the calling of a special session of the legislature:

"BE IT RESOLVED, that it is the sense of this meeting that the governor should be requested to call immediately an extra session of the legislature to pass all such laws as may be necessary to mobilize the resources of the state for the present emergency and the raising of such funds as may be required for that purpose."
The committee considering the resolution in connection with its own information declared that public necessity required early enactment of war measures and adopted and addressed the following resolution to Governor Lindsey:

"That it be the sense of this committee that the governor be requested to call a special session of the legislature immediately, and the work of the session be confined to the matter of economic agriculture and military offensive and defensive operations of the state and nation growing out of the present emergency."

On the following day, April 26th, Governor Lindsey issued his proclamation calling the Third State Legislature to meet in special session on Tuesday, May 1st, 1917, to enact such legislation as would enable New Mexico to "provide for its own defense and to assist the United States in the prosecution of the war."

The War Committee continued to meet daily until it was succeeded by the State Council of Defense. In addition to considering many important matters and taking appropriate action concerning them, the War Committee appointed auxiliary committees in each county, secured valuable information regarding the agricultural and industrial resources of the state, considered and recommended measures to the governor for the public defense and offered suggestions for emergency legislation. Upon the passage and approval of the Public Defense Act, May 8th, 1917, the War Committee was dissolved.

The Third Legislature met in extraordinary session on May 1st, 1917. Among other laws enacted was the Public Defense Act, passed and approved on May 8th, which created the Council of Defense of New Mexico consisting of nine members to be appointed by the governor, by and with the advice and consent of the senate, to serve during the period of the war, and for such further time thereafter as the governor deemed necessary. The act appropriated the sum of $750,000.00, or so much thereof as might be required, to be expended and disbursed by and under the direction of the governor in such manner and for such
purposes, and through such agencies, and under such regulations, as he might deem necessary or proper to provide for the increase of domestic production of articles and materials essential to the support of armies and to provide for the public defense. The act provided that the funds appropriated should be raised by the issuance and sale of war certificates from time to time in such amounts as the governor might determine.


These appointments were promptly confirmed by the senate on the same day. It will be noted that all of the members of the Council of Defense had served on the War Committee. On May 10th Secundino Romero was elected chairman of the Council and Phil. H. LeNoir its general secretary.

It will be seen that New Mexico had held a special session of its legislature and had organized an official war body, all within the space of thirty-five days and during that period had done many things to place the state upon a war footing.

Mr. Putney and Mr. Garcia, sheriff of Bernalillo County, both resigned shortly after the organization of the Council because of other public and private demands upon their time. Eduardo M. Otero succeeded Mr. Putney through appointment by the governor, but the vacancy caused by the resignation of Sheriff Garcia was never filled.

Mr. LeNoir, general secretary, compelled to give up his work on account of ill health, resigned the secretaryship in October, 1917. Mr. LeNoir rendered very efficient service, especially in organizing the Conference of War Workers held at Albuquerque during the week of October 7th, 1917. So far as known this was the first state-wide war
conference held in the United States. Following his resignation in October, the present writer, Walter M. Danburg, was elected general secretary of the Council.

With the exception of the changes noted the personnel of the Council remained the same throughout its existence.

Following its organization the Council adopted comprehensive plans for increasing production of food crops and acted upon many other matters, including the mobilization of the New Mexico National Guard.

It early became evident that all members of the council could not remain at Santa Fe. Upon request of the members the governor appointed an executive committee composed of Charles Springer, chairman, B. C. Hernandez and C. R. Brice. The executive committee was clothed with all of the powers of the Council and authorized to act and discharge the duties imposed during the interim between meetings of the Council.

Although the members of the Council were often consulted by the executive committee and the writer concerning various phases of the war work, they never met in regular session after the appointment of the Executive Committee. The Executive Committee, however, was in session almost continuously during the war emergency, and thereafter as often as the business of the Council required until its voluntary dissolution in the fall of 1920. Judge C. R. Brice was appointed disbursing agent for the disbursement of the "War Fund" under the direction of the Council of Defense and its Executive Committee. The Council of Defense and the Executive Committee were designated by the governor as the chief agencies for carrying out the provisions of chapters III and V of the acts passed by the legislature at its special session.

At one stroke of the pen Governor Lindsey made it possible to coordinate and systematize the state's war activities.

By an act of congress the State Council of Defense and the county and community councils of defense became official auxiliaries to the National Council of Defense for
carrying out its instructions and suggestions and the orders of the president in all matters pertaining to the efficient prosecution of the war.

For its own complex tasks, and in order to co-operate effectively with the government through the National Council of Defense and all other accredited agencies engaged in war and relief work, the State Council developed auxiliary organizations and appointed committees and agents throughout the state. County councils of defense were organized at an early date. Financial agents were appointed throughout the state to handle the Council's agricultural activities in the sale and distribution of seed at cost on both a cash and credit plan. Later by the National Council of Defense county councils of defense were asked to organize community councils in every school district or other proper district within their respective counties. Previous to that time the New Mexico Council had caused war committees to be organized in many of the school districts of various counties. In such cases the personnel and business of war committees was practically the same as prescribed by the National Council for the Community Councils. Merely changing the name of these subsidiary units gave our state an early lead in the organization of Community Councils.

The work of the county councils, community councils, local committees and agents, was carried on in every county of the state by volunteers who served without pay. In addition to the specific work laid upon them by the Council, these volunteers were in most instances the local representatives, organizers and workers for Liberty Loans, War Savings, Food and Fuel Conservation and Production, the Red Cross and other war relief undertakings. The splendid record credited to New Mexico in respect to all matters pertaining to the war speaks more eloquently for the many men and women who gave of their time without stint than any words I might set down speaking of their sacrifices and accomplishments. The records show that the people of New Mexico over-subscribed every Liberty
Loan quota and that the quotas for Red Cross, Salvation Army, Knights of Columbus, Y. M. C. A. and other accredited war relief organizations also received large over subscriptions. In the record in other directions especially in the matter of the state's contribution to the military and naval forces of the United States, a still greater testimonial to the loyalty of the people of New Mexico will be found. For over sixty years the people of New Mexico sought to gain admission to the Union for their territory, but it was not until 1912 that New Mexico was admitted to statehood, just a scant five years prior to war being declared against Germany by the United States.

As the council’s war activities increased it was found necessary to appoint certain committees and create certain departments and bureaus with state-wide jurisdiction. With one or two exceptions the various chairmen and directors served without pay. It is impossible to cover all of the activities of the Council of Defense and its various departments and auxiliary and subsidiary committees within the pages of this short review or to mention the names of all of the many persons who contributed to the success of the many undertakings. Brief reference, however, to these committees, bureaus and departments in the order of their creation will give some idea as to the scope and magnitude of the emergency activities.

The Woman’s Committee

The Woman’s Auxiliary of the Council of Defense, as it was known in the first instance, was organized May 5th, 1917, when women delegates appointed by the War Committees from the various counties met at Santa Fe during the special session of the legislature. Mrs. W. E. Lindsey was named chairman of the Auxiliary. The women quickly effected a state-wide organization with precinct and county chairmen. The Auxiliary was organized and functioning before the complete organization of the Woman’s Committee of the National Council of Defense. Early in 1918 the Auxiliary was reorganized under the name of the “Wo-
man's Committee" and otherwise made to conform more closely to the scheme of organization and work finally prescribed by the Woman's Committee of the National Council of Defense. Matters of organization, including the personnel of the committee, its activities and accomplishments are reviewed in a separate chapter and such matter will not be detailed here. It should be said, however, that the Woman's Committee and the women of the state under its leadership contributed in service and accomplishment in a very large way to New Mexico's splendid war record. In a number of instances the committee and its auxiliary organizations achieved notable results and surpassed the records made by similar organizations in some of the older and more densely populated states. Did space permit mention would be made of the exceptional services rendered by many women throughout the state and credit would be given to many of the women of the Woman's Committee who worked continuously and faithfully throughout the emergency without monetary remuneration and who performed extraordinary services. A large share of the credit for the accomplishments of the auxiliary and the committee should go to the late Mrs. W. E. Lindsey, wife of our war governor. Under her leadership New Mexico was probably the first state to perfect a woman's state-wide organization. Despite her duties as First Lady of the State and despite the handicap of ill health, which caused her to relinquish the chairmanship of the committee at the time of its reorganization, she kept in constant touch with the work of the committee and assisted in directing its affairs. During the three strenuous months or more preceding the signing of the Armistice, Mrs. Lindsey was in active charge of the work and affairs of the Woman's Committee owing to the absence of the chairman from the state.

Publicity Department

The publicity department of the Council was created May 22, 1917, with Guthrie Smith as director. Through this department, with Mr. Smith as editor, was published
the *New Mexico War News*, issued weekly for the purpose of keeping the war-workers and the public informed as to all war activities including the work of the State and National Councils of Defense. In addition to the publicity work of the council, the publicity department conducted the publicity campaigns in New Mexico for the Council of National Defense, the United States Shipping Board, the Provost Marshal General’s office, the United States Public Service Reserve and the United States Boy’s Working Reserve. On July 15, 1918, the department commenced the publication of a Spanish edition of the *War News*, with Senator A. V. Lucero as its editor. The Spanish edition was sent to those who did not read English readily and reached a large number of persons who did not regularly read any newspaper. The publicity department rendered a distinctive service and was highly complimented by the officials in charge of the various departments at Washington for its effective support and work. The *War News* came into national prominence by reason of the council’s campaign against the Hearst publications. The council had been instructed to watch carefully all newspapers which had been disloyal or pro-German before the United States entered the war and those suspected of exerting a bad influence over our citizens in connection with the prosecution of the war. Articles that had appeared in some of the Hearst papers were republished in the *War News* in connection with some of the facts relating to the asserted disloyalty of the Hearst papers and the news dealers and people were asked not to purchase, sell or read such papers. News dealers in many sections of the state discontinued the sale of the Hearst papers and publications. In some way the phrase “Hearst Publications” crept into the publicity and as a result the International Magazine Company, a purported Hearst publishing concern sought to enjoin the members of the council of defense, the governor, the attorney general, Guthrie Smith, the writer and others from doing anything further in pursuance of an alleged “unlawful scheme and purpose” to injure the business of the Magazine Company
in the sale of the magazines published by it. None of the
Hearst newspaper concerns were parties to the court ac-
tion or made any attempt to justify their policy pursued in
relation to the war or to prevent the council's activities,
other than might be inferred from the action of the Mag-
azine Company. The Magazine Company probably had
good reason to complain and secured a temporary injunction
against the defendants in the United States Court. The
council members and other defendants appealed from the
decision granting the temporary writ to the Circuit Court
of Appeals. Before the matter came up for hearing the
war ended and neither the company nor the council took
any further notice of the matter.

The publication of the War News was discontinued
immediately after the signing of the armistice.

Agricultural Operations

The most serious problem confronting the state was
that of increasing the production of the more important
food crops. New Mexico farmers were producing only about
fifty per cent of the staple food products, other than
meat, required for home consumption. After a careful
survey of the state the conclusion was reached that certain
crops, notably wheat, pinto beans and corn could be raised
successfully in many sections upon lands used almost wholly
for grazing purposes. In some localities it was felt that
dry farming operations had failed principally through the
lack of proper soil treatment and cultivation and the plant-
ing of crops unsuited to the soil and climatic conditions.
The council lost no time in perfecting plans to stimulate
and increase the production of food crops. Working in
co-operation with the Extension (farm) Service of the New
Mexico College of Agriculture, the council soon had many
agencies at work in the agricultural field. Eleven coun-
ties had agricultural agents or farm experts. Governor
Lindsey authorized the expenditure of $35,000 for the em-
ployment of agricultural agents in the other seventeen
counties and such agents were quickly employed. This step was more than justified for within a year increased production, improved farming methods and greater interest in agricultural pursuits were plainly visible.

It was determined that the money available for farming operations could best be used for purchasing selected seed and selling it to farmers at cost for cash, or on credit in those cases where the farmer could not otherwise secure seed. In this connection the council secured from the U. S. Department of Agriculture, services of an expert seed man, Mr. Roland Harwell, who selected practically all of the seed purchased and distributed by the agents of the council. Many car loads of seed wheat, oats, rye, barley, beans, kafir corn, cane and potatoes were purchased and distributed. A total of $131,208.40 was paid out of the War fund for this purpose. No money was loaned to any person for any purpose. $80,000 or more had been repaid to the state when the council turned its affairs over to the state when the council turned its affairs over to the state auditor in 1920. Notes and mortgages were turned over to the auditor to cover the greater portion of the balance remaining unpaid.

That the effort to increase production was successful is best evidenced by the figures of the U. S. Bureau of Crop Estimates. In 1916 the production of wheat totaled 2,104,000 bushels on 113,000 acres. In 1919 the state produced 6,100,000 bushels of wheat on 283,000 acres. The production of corn was also increased, the state being credited with a 7,000,000 bushel production in 1919.

The increase in wheat and bean production was largely due to the planting of winter wheat, and beans, in the dry farm sections. Over 60% of the 1919 wheat crop was produced on the so called dry farms, and 77% of the total bean crop was produced on similar lands. The total crop value in New Mexico in 1918 was given as $37,644,000. The 1919 total value came to $58,362,000, or an increase of over $20,000,000.

It is noteworthy in this connection that 85% or more
of the total production of wheat and beans during 1919 is credited by the Bureau of Crop Estimates to those counties that received 85% of the seed sold and distributed by the council on the credit-sales plan.

As a part of its agricultural program the Council, in co-operation with the U. S. Department of Agriculture, conducted an extensive campaign for the extermination of noxious rodents and predatory wild animals. The co-operative campaign against predatory animals was commenced in February, 1918, and the campaign against the noxious rodents in April, 1918. The expenses for this work were shared equally by the council and the federal government. The results obtained were so satisfactory upon completion, December 31, 1919, of the work called for under the co-operative agreement, that the Fourth Legislature made provision for the continuance of the co-operative work, and authorized the expenditure of $50,000. by the council for such purpose, the work to be continued and carried on by the State College and the U. S. Biological Survey. The detailed reports concerning these activities cover a number of pages in the council's final report. Mr. S. E. Piper, of the U. S. Biological Survey, was in charge of predatory animal control operations, and Mr. Charles F. Bliss, biological assistant, was in charge of rodent pest repression. Their work was efficient and highly commendable.

Military Operations

When war was declared, April 6th, 1917, the state faced an unusual situation. The New Mexico National Guard had just been mustered out, upon its return from the Mexican border where it had been in active service for some eighteen months. National Guard appropriations had been exhausted and funds were lacking for reorganization and recruiting purposes, and camp facilities and equipment were lacking. When the Guard was called into federal service again, on April 21, 1917, the actual strength of the Guard, including Battery "A," was 49 officers and 39 enlisted men. Recruiting the Guard up to war strength was
first undertaken by the War Department. The recruiting work progressed so slowly, however, that the regular army officers seriously considered abandonment of the attempt and the mustering out of those already recruited. In this emergency Governor Lindsey, upon the recommendation of the Council of Defense, ordered Adjutant General James Baca to undertake the recruiting work. The council was authorized to pay the expenses of recruiting and mobilization. The recruiting progressed rapidly under the direction of Adjutant General Baca and the First Infantry Regiment and Battery “A” were quickly brought up to war strength.

It was then found that the mobilization and training camps to be provided by the national government would not be ready for several months. Again the council acted. Governor Lindsey authorized it to proceed to construct and equip a complete training camp at Albuquerque. The cantonments and other buildings were rapidly constructed and the New Mexico National Guard was mobilized at Albuquerque about June 1, 1917, and was given intensive training for four and one-half months. Battery “A” went to Camp Greene, North Carolina, and soon left for France where it figured prominently in the allied offensive known as the second battle of the Marne. It was one of the batteries that fired the opening guns at Chateau-Thierry and was cited for exceptional and effective service. The Infantry Regiment, under Col. E. C. Abbott, was sent from Albuquerque to Camp Kearny, California, where it became a part of the 40th Division and finally saw service in France.

The New Mexico State College, the Roswell Military Institute and the State University were called upon by the War Department to provide training for enlisted men in technical and mechanical branches and to provide facilities for training recruits in the Student Army. Governor Lindsey was determined that New Mexico should make good in very branch of war work and he authorized the Council of Defense to construct necessary quarters at the State Col-
lege for the housing of 210 soldiers and to purchase required equipment. Appropriations were also made to the Military Institute and to the University to provide proper facilities for their work.

New Mexico took the lead in other work of a military character and was the first state to undertake medical and hospital treatment for discharged soldiers, until such time as the federal government might provide for their care. Another operation of the council was the selection of legal advisory boards, working through the county cons-cils to aid in the enforcement of the selective service law. A legal committee, composed of Ira L. Grimshaw, Levi A. Hughes, Benjamin M. Read, J. O. Seth and Charles Springer was appointed, and in turn local county legal committees were selected, to give advice and assistance to persons called for military service and dependents and relatives of soldiers and sailors. A legal booklet prepared by Mr. Grimshaw for the use of the committees was issued. These committees under direction of the state legal committee gave free advice to registrants as to their affairs and legal rights, and to soldiers' and sailors' dependents regarding insurance, allotments, allowances and compensation matters. Many cases were referred to the Council of Defense and satisfactorily disposed of.

The council also created a medical department, with Dr. J. A. Massie of Santa Fe as director. This department under the direction of Dr. Massie and with the assistance of Dr. J. W. Elder, capt. Med. Corps and medical aide to the governor, rendered most valuable service. The results obtained by the department caused the legislature to create a permanent State Health and Welfare Department.

Historical Service Department

A Board of Historical Service, consisting of Edgar L. Hewett, Benjamin M. Read and Col R. E. Twitchell, with Lansing B. Bloom as executive secretary, was appointed at an early date, to arrange and preserve all facts and records relating to the services and activities of our citizens in con-
connection with the war, including a complete record of the services of every New Mexico soldier. The results of its work are shown in part in a separate chapter.

Speakers’ Bureau

The speakers’ bureau of the Council consisted of fourteen members, with Col. R. E. Twitchell as its chairman and director. The first work undertaken by the bureau was in connection with the recruiting of the New Mexico National Guard, and in this work Colonel Twitchell, speaking throughout the state and otherwise assisting the council, Adjutant General Baca, Captain Edward L. Safford, and others, rendered exceptional service. In 1918 the Bureau was consolidated with the Four Minute Men’s organization and Mr Laurence F. Lee, chairman of that body, succeeded Colonel Twitchell as chairman of the bureau. The effective work of the Speakers’ Bureau, which includes the Four Minute Men, is reflected in the results obtained in all drives for funds and the increasing ease with which all work was being accomplished as the war progressed.

Department of Education and Labor

Jonathan H. Wagner, state superintendent of public instruction, directed the affairs of this department. He was also federal state director of the Public Service Reserve and of the Boys’ Working Reserve. New Mexico was one of the first states in the union to register and exceed its quota of workmen for the shipyards. This department organized the community war labor boards. Through it the National Council’s educational program was carried out in New Mexico. The state legislature took cognizance of the effective work done by Mr. Wagner and his co-workers and continued some of the department’s activities for an indefinite period.

The council had other committees, including the Highways Transport committee, with five district chairmen and a director, George S. Singleton of Clovis; and the Motor
Minute Men's organization whose members volunteered the use of their cars and their services for any and all war work.

On account of the disturbed conditions along the Mexican border during 1918, and in order to give proper protection to life and property, it was found necessary to re-establish the New Mexico Mounted Police. Under rules and regulations prescribed by the committee on State Police, composed of Charles Springer, Victor Culberson and Charles Ballard, the Mounted Police consisted of Captain Herbert McGrath of Silver City, two sergeants and fourteen paid privates, its operations being directed from the council headquarters. The police were paid from the war fund and served from May 1, 1918, to December 31, 1918, when the force was disbanded. On January 2nd, 1919, the force was re-established by Governor Larrazolo and the Council of Defense was directed to continue to pay the salaries and expenses of the organization. The 1919 legislature made the force permanent and provided funds for its maintenance, but the force was abolished in 1921. During 1918 the police performed very valuable service to the state and nation.

Of the $750,000 war certificates authorized to be issued, only $370,000 thereof were issued and sold. The total war debt of the state therefore amounted to $370,000. Under the policy followed by the council and the governor short term certificates only were issued, and on May 1st, 1921, all of the certificates so issued had been redeemed and cancelled, thus wiping out New Mexico's war debt.

Under the provisions of the Public Defense Act, and amendments thereof, the Council of Defense was to continue its work until peace should be formally declared by the United States. At the time of the signing of the Armistice and thereafter, the council by reason of legislative action was engaged in winding up certain of its activities and at the same time continuing certain activities delegated to it. Provision had been made to transfer any and all unfinished business to the state auditor at such time as the
council's term expired. Early in May, 1920, it appeared that it might be some time before peace would be formally declared and it was thought advisable to discontinue the Council. In order to do this the Executive Committee authorized its secretary to ask the members of the council to resign. Acceptance of the resignations by the governor would naturally accomplished the desired result. The final reports of the council and of its disbursing agent were prepared and filed with the governor as of May 31, 1920. The members of the council submitted their resignations, and upon their acceptance, the council turned over its business and records to the state auditor.

No one ever need apologize for New Mexico's war record. Measured by the standards of wealth, population and responsiveness, its record equalled that of any state in the union and in instances its contribution to the cause exceeded that of many of the other states. In the matter of voluntary enlistments in the army and navy, New Mexico stood fifth among the states. Over 17,000 of her sons served in the various branches of the military service. Twenty-one per centum of the state's physicians were in active service. Every quota, whether for men or money, was exceeded. Every call was answered quickly. There was not a single disturbance or strike of the slightest importance during the emergency. If trouble seemed to be brewing, the situation was promptly and effectively handled by the officers of the council or its agents acting under specific instructions.

Governor W. E. Lindsey cooperated with the Council of Defense in every possible way. His absolute honesty and devotion to the duties of his office and the fidelity with which he served the people reflected great credit upon his administration.

During every emergency some strong man is found to direct the important undertakings. New Mexico had its strong man, a man of unusual patience and wisdom; one whose courage never faltered in any situation. He could pour oil upon troubled waters with greater facility and ef-
ffectiveness than any man I ever met. He was tolerant to a fault of other men's deficiencies. The aggressive side of his character is tempered with an unusual gentleness. His sincerity and unquestionable integrity, his accomplishments and services rendered to the state without financial reward, easily stamp him as New Mexico's most useful citizen. I refer to Charles Springer of Cimarron who was chairman of the council's executive committee and to whom the credit belongs for the work and accomplishments of the state draft board, chairman of the state highway commission, and the directing head of other activities. He discharged all of his various duties with fidelity and with marked success. Always interested in everything that affects the welfare of the people of the state, Mr. Springer finds time somehow to help in a practical and effective way, and I know of no man in the state who has rendered more unselfish service than he.

WALTER M. DANBURG

IV Civilian Activities

By civilian war activities are meant the activities of individuals, institutions, and agencies outside of the military organization. In a sense the "Great War" was a civilians' war in that practically all New Mexicans who did military service were in civilian pursuits previously. The greatest civilian activity of the war was the bearing of arms by civilians. But apart from those under arms, civilians performed exploits of almost incredible multiplicity and magnitude. From the national organization down to the most remotely isolated cabin there developed a close bond of understanding and cooperation in the mighty undertaking of "winning the war" for the freedom of the world. This was brought about through the Councils of Defense, national, state, county, and community, representing a splendid achievement of civilian enterprise, an achievement which requires a separate chapter for adequate treatment. Let it be noted here, however, that the State Council of Defense
for New Mexico has stood in the van of similar state organizations in supervising and stimulating with such signal success the numberless activities which it initiated.

It is not our purpose in this chapter to speak of the efforts of the splendid women of the state, although their work comes under the general head of civilian activities under whatever form it was carried on. The remarkable assistance rendered by newspapers, industrial and other concerns, and by institutions, public and private, can be merely mentioned as part of the sum total of civilian effort. While these agencies are treated in other chapters of this volume, it is difficult not to remark upon the evidence, found everywhere, of the spirit of Kipling's lines:

"It aint the guns nor armament, for funds that they can pay,
But the close cooperation that makes them win the day,
It aint the individual, nor the army as a whole
But the everlasting teamwork of every blooming soul."

The story can in fact, be told only in outline. Here and there a name may be mentioned, but the list of patriotic men and women who contributed to the success of our great adventure, must be elsewhere permanently recorded. The story begins with the organization of the Red Cross work in the spring of 1915, and this was the only form of activity carried on until the stage was set for the entrance of the United States in the final scene. Then representative men of the state visited the East and brought back those urgent messages that set the people of New Mexico to their heroic task.

During the war, New Mexico selected more than fifteen thousand of its best young men for active military service. The remarkable feature of this selection is that the machinery was almost entirely civilian. In charge of the selective draft was Captain R. C. Reid acting at first for Adjutant General James E. Baca and later as draft executive, with a medical advisor also holding a captain's commission. The state was organized into two districts, the
northern and the southern, each under an exemption board. In each county at first, the county sheriff, the county clerk, and three other civilians had supervision over the selection with powers of exemption. Later the number of members on the local board was reduced to three. Under the regulations issued by the provost marshal-general, medical, dental, and legal advisory boards usually of three members each were organized to aid the county draft boards in their work. In each county a lawyer was appointed to act for those appealing for exemption. Every doctor, dentist, and lawyer in the community, however, was asked to assist in the work of selecting our soldiers from those registering on June 5, 1917, and June 5, August 24, and September 12, of 1918. The entire cost of the selective draft in New Mexico was about $80,000. or approximately one dollar per registrant. This low cost was brought about by the fact that, in most of the counties, the members of the various boards made no claims, or very moderate claims, for reimbursement. With infinite patience and strict honesty, as well as incalculable sacrifice of time and effort, these men have served their state and nation beyond our power to fully appreciate.

The Y. M. C. A. campaign for $30,000. was in charge of Ralph E. Twitchell and was initiated at Santa Fe with a banquet attended by one hundred and fifty representative men. On that occasion alone $2,500 was pledged. The campaign was carried on vigorously throughout the various counties with the result that the state's quota of $30,000, was exceeded by $30,603, making the total $60,603, double the quota. In this connection mention should be made of the Y. W. C. A. campaign in 1917, when there was subscribed approximately $5,000. The subscriptions were practically all secured from women, the "drive" being in charge of local Y. W. C. A. organizations and the State Federation of Women's Clubs.

In August 1918, the Knights of Columbus initiated a campaign for war funds. A remarkable banquet was held in the historic De Vargas Hotel in the city of the Holy Faith
at which men were present representing all religious beliefs, and addresses were made by an Episcopal rector, a Methodist minister, and a Jew, as well as by Roman Catholics. As a result the sum of $4,000 was pledged, a part of which was later included in the amount raised in the United War Work campaign. In the whole state, the pledges reached a total of $20,000. The Knights of Columbus' drive was under the direction of Honorable E. P. Davis who labored even more earnestly when the movement was merged with those of six other organizations.

The Salvation Army drive came July 24, 25, 1918. In New Mexico, the campaign was in charge of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks, Mr. P. A. Lineau, Exalted Ruler of the Santa Fe Lodge and Deputy State Insurance Commissioner, being the state chairman. The usual thorough preparation was made to meet the state's quota of $18,000 and again New Mexico went beyond the mark with subscriptions aggregating $24,623.72 exceeding the quota by 37 per cent.

The United War Work Campaign began September first, 1918, under the direction of S. J. Brient of El Paso. In the campaign, seven organizations worked harmoniously, each with a representative from the state at large, as follows: Young Men's Christian Association, George A. Kaseman, Albuquerque; Young Women's Christian Association, Mrs. F. W. Parker, Santa Fe; National Catholic War Council, E. P. Davies, Santa Fe; Jewish Welfare Board, Alfred Grunsfeld, Albuquerque; War Camp Community Service, E. T. Chase, Albuquerque; American Library Association, Evlyn Schuler, Raton; Salvation Army, T. J. Mabry, Albuquerque. At the head of this committee was R. E. Twitchell, who gave himself whole heartedly to the work of inspiration and leadership in all civilian activities. At a conference held at Albuquerque on September 19, 1918, practically every county was represented and plans were well laid with a view to an effective campaign. The quota for the state of $204,600 was accepted. The organization was complete and reached into practically
every community in the state. The state was divided into six districts with a director and a chairman for each. Each county also had its chairman and there was besides an advisory committee of one hundred members. The campaign was directed along several lines of endeavor including the following divisions: The Boys and Girls Earn and Give Clubs; Student work; Women’s organizations; Spanish speaking communities; Indians (Zuñi, Navajo, Apache, Mescalero, and Pueblo); Speakers Bureau. The drive began on November 11, 1918, the day of the signing of the armistice, and in spite of difficulties and handicaps it established a record of which our state may indeed be proud. According to reports, 3,584 boys gave $5,320 and 4,339 girls $6,179. The educative values suggested in these figures is significant. In the five state institutions open at the time, the University, the Spanish-American Normal, the New Mexico Military Institute, the Agricultural College and the School of Mines, 1,000 students and members of faculties gave $6,000. The pupils of the Indian School at Albuquerque gave $750 and those in the Indian School at Santa Fe $100. Indians on the reservations contributed approximately $3,000. Miners contributed generously as did employers in all the industries. One of the largest contributions was that of $35,000 by the Chino Copper Company of Grant County. So thoroughly had the work been done that the state was third in reaching its quota and on November 24th it was found that the state had contributed $286,153.

Types of organizations for meeting war quotas and for performing the community’s part in all activities were the “War Chest” in Colfax County, the “Lick the Kaiser” Club in Eddy County and the “Patriots’ Fund” in Albuquerque. The last mentioned fund was made up of contributions made upon the basis of one per cent of the income following the Kenosha Plan. In Santa Fe, the Red Cross requirements were met by systematic monthly payments. These various plans show the earnest spirit in which civilians were determined to “see it through.”
In the four Liberty Loan campaigns of May and October, 1917, April and September, 1918, New Mexico's quotas were respectively $1,375,400, $3,095,700, $3,658,500 and $3,243,300. The subscriptions amounted to $1,834,600, $3,945,750, $6,001,750 and $6,170,300. This is a record of which New Mexico is justly proud. Individual credit cannot be distributed as it seemed that all lent their aid in accordance with ability and opportunity. The figures for the third loan in the northern district where Judge Reed Holloman was in charge are typical. In that campaign in the ten counties of Colfax, McKinley, Mora, Rio Arriba, San Juan, San Miguel, Sandoval, Santa Fe, Taos and Union, every county oversubscribed its quota. The total quota for the ten counties was $1,058,300 and the subscriptions amounted to $2,323,450, the number of subscribers being 12,694. All the counties and fifty-five towns and villages in this district were awarded honor flags. The southern district under the directorship of Max Nordhaus of Albuquerque, was no less patriotic. In the campaign for raising New Mexico's quota of War Savings Stamps, it was, for several reasons, impossible for the people of the state to buy the amount assigned to it, yet many of the counties made splendid efforts to reach the mark set for them, Luna County, however, being the only one to exceed its quota. Grant County subscribed for $218,110.04, or 62 per cent of its allotment. Although New Mexico failed to raise its quota of seven million dollars, only two million dollars being subscribed for, the ratio per capita will compare favorably with those in many of the more prosperous states; and this in spite of a three years' drought and an utter lack of war profits or business stimulation such as other sections enjoyed. For the remarkable results obtained, the unwearied efforts of the director of the campaign, Mr. Hallett Raynolds of Las Vegas, are chiefly responsible.

The whole machinery of the State Food Administration was in the hands of civilians, thirteen hundred agents work under the directorship of Ralph C. Ely. There is not and representatives devoting their time and efforts to this
space in this chapter to tell of this work or of that of the Fuel Administration at the head of which, until his death, was former Governor William C. McDonald, with organizations in all the counties. Sixty or more civilians acted as agents for the issuance of permits to handle explosives. There were organizations of livestock growers, of wholesale and retail merchants, of restaurant and hotel keepers, each planning in conference and all working for the common aim of "winning the war." These conferences took place as a rule either at Santa Fe or at Albuquerque, a general conference of all war workers being at Albuquerque, May 9th and 10th, 1918.

The Highways Transport Committee, under the chairmanship of George Singelton of Clovis, organized the state into five districts each in charge of a chairman. The aim of this committee was to facilitate the movement of commodities in every way possible and, had the war continued, its well laid plans, involving the co-operation of hundreds of persons, would without doubt have achieved the desired results.

The thorough organization of the "Four Minute Men" in every county in the state, as perfected under the leadership of Laurence F. Lee of Albuquerque, was a noteworthy feature of civilian activities. Very little of the literature relating to the war was printed in Spanish and public addresses were, as a rule, the most effective means of appealing to Spanish-speaking people. The results of the various campaigns in the northern counties of the state are sufficient evidence of the generous response to these appeals. The "Four Minute Men" began their work in August, 1917, but for a time reports were sent directly to Washington. From March 11 to December 31, 1918, there were two thousand two hundred ninety-four addresses made to audiences aggregating four hundred ninety-two thousand four hundred twenty. It is conservatively estimated that fully as many talks were made and as many people heard them in the period from August 1917 to March 1918. Santa Fe County reported twenty speakers making a total of seventy-
five talks and together addressing eighteen thousand persons. In the city of Roswell one hundred fifteen talks were made to a total of forty-six thousand. In the organization were thirty-one chairmen and two hundred fifty regularly enlisted speakers, not including clergymen. Churches, motion picture theatres, school houses, public buildings of all kinds and many homes were freely offered for use by the "Four Minute Men." The extent to which the work was voluntary is indicated by the fact that the total expense incurred in this work for the whole state during the entire war period was less than five hundred dollars.

In connection with "war" meetings, mention should be made of Liberty Choruses which furnished patriotic music on numerous occasion. Wherever an enthusiastic musician could be found to lead, groups were formed to sing the songs of America and her allies. Whole communities were thus taught the national songs of the United States, England, France and Italy.

For the purposes of this chapter, one holding an office under the national, state, county, or municipal government is a civilian. Practically every man in public life in the state was called upon to perform duties in connection with war activities as a speaker, or as a chairman of a committee in charge of some important work. Thus our nine district judges were leaders in the Liberty Loan campaigns in their respective districts. All justices of the Supreme Court were active participants in the various "drives." But our officials also performed important work by virtue of the office which they held. As to Governor Lindsey, some account of the leadership and service of our "War Governor" has already been given.

The state bank examiner, George H. Van Stone, contributed much to the effectiveness of the excellent organization of the banks of the state in promoting all forms of work and in addition gave of his time and efforts to arousing interest in increased food production. Through the interest and cooperation of R. P. Ervien, commissioner of public lands, 22441 acres of land leased for grazing pur-
poses were planted in crops, and the raising of corn, beans, forage and potatoes was materially increased. The State Corporation Commission was instrumental in securing lower freight rates on feed for livestock that saved the growers of sheep and cattle over $100,000 in one season. The state treasurer invested three quarters of a million dollars of Permanent Funds of the state institutions in Liberty Bonds.

The State Superintendent of Public Instruction was called upon again and again to set the machinery of the school system of the state into motion to assist in various undertakings. As state director of the United States Public Service Reserve and of the Boys Working Reserve, Superintendent Wagner and his office staff enrolled 3700 men and 2624 boys. Of the men enrolled, seven hundred skilled workers and three thousand unskilled laborers entered the employ of the government in various parts of the country. Of the boys enrolled eight hundred and sixty reported seventy nine thousand five hundred and thirty seven days of work with net earnings amounting to one hundred twelve thousand four hundred and three dollars and thirty eight cents. In addition the state department of education supervised the organization of girls in a similar manner, enrolling one thousand three hundred and forty-one members of whom eight hundred and nine reported sixty-two thousand working days with total net earning of forty-one thousand one hundred fifty nine dollars and sixty-nine cents. Associated with Superintendent Wagner in bringing about these splendid results was Mr. Guthrie Smith as executive secretary. These results, it must be noted, were reached practically without cost to either state or nation. Through this office, the Thrift Stamp Campaign was carried into every school in the state. The director of industrial education, Mrs. Ruth C. Miller, was director also of the Home Economics Division of the State Food Administration and was one of the most active in spreading the gospel of production and food conservation. Among county and city officials, too, there was
the same readiness to answer every summons to service. The duties of county clerks in connection with the selective draft were heavy; sheriffs were called upon to assist in bringing in "slackers" of all classes; assessors made investigations concerning property of aliens; and county superintendents served as organizers of rural communities through the medium of the schools.

Those citizens of the state who held positions under the federal government during the war were all in the civilian division of our army. Postmasters and postal employees were overburdened with work naturally pertaining to their employment, and yet new duties were constantly added as a result of the government's war plans. For example, postmasters were appointed agents for securing laborers for war work and were expected to assist in the sale of War Savings Stamps. The officials of the various U. S. Land offices in the state and forest supervisors, all of whom were civilians, redoubled their efforts to improve conditions for quickly increasing production. In this state and in Arizona, as one result, the number of cattle grazed on national forest reserves increased by 70,000 over the previous year, and the number of sheep by 48,000.

The various state educational institutions, in addition to being centers of patriotism and loyalty, joined in every campaign for war funds. At the University of New Mexico, the service flag numbers one hundred seventy-five stars, evidence enough of the loyalty of the institution and its members. From the opening of the war in April, 1917, the president and board of regents of the University sought opportunities for cooperation with the state and nation in their war plans. The offer of its three hundred fifty acre campus for the location of barracks was accepted by the National Guard. The curriculum was adjusted to war conditions. Public lectures were given by members of the faculty on war topics. The columns of the "Weekly" and the "News" were devoted to disseminating war information. All "drives" were given the undivided support of instructors and students by generous subscriptions as well-
as by participation as workers in each organization. On October 1, 1918, the University opened its doors on practically a military basis in connection with the Student's Army Training Corps. One hundred sixty young men registered for military training in addition to college courses.

The varied and extensive operations conducted by the New Mexico College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts can hardly be even outlined in a paragraph. Many of these operations were carried on in connection with the Council of Defense and accounts of some of them will, no doubt, have a place in other chapters. The whole equipment of the institution and all its organization and facilities were offered to the government. In the engineering department, new courses were offered and old ones readjusted in accordance with war training requirements. For example a Radio and Buzzer Operators' School was established from which forty operators were trained. Special training was given in many trades required in the army, even before the assurance that the institution would be used for soldier training. Of the Student Army Training Corps, one hundred men registered in various departments, half of them electing work in engineering. A total of five hundred and seven men were sent to the college for military training during the summer and fall of 1918.

Because of the results of many years of study and experimentation, the College was found ready to assist the State Food Administration and the Council of Defense in the production and conservation of food and forage. Numerous bulletins were issued to supplement former publications. Information was promptly furnished along lines that had to do with methods for securing the best results quickly. Through the efforts of the agents and instructors in the College, it has been estimated that the production of crops was increased in the state by thirty per cent. In the extension department, the office and field force was expanded until there were one hundred ten persons on the pay roll all using their utmost efforts to assist the people of the state in their war work. Four thousand members
were enrolled in the Boys' and Girls' Club Work in 1918 in nearly twenty different classes of projects with the value of the products amounting to one hundred twenty thousand dollars and profits of seventy five thousand dollars.

With the expansion of the work of the College due to war demands into so many fields, it might be supposed that less attention would be paid to Liberty Loan, Red Cross and other campaigns. The record shows however, a total of $55,934.30 pledged by the members of the faculty and the students for war funds.

Eighty-six per cent of the students enrolled in 1916 at the New Mexico School of Mines were found at the close of the war to have been in active service, thirty-eight per cent of these receiving commissions. Considering the fact that this institution does not include military training in its courses, this is a remarkable evidence of the character of engineering work done and the spirit of patriotism characterizing the school, its faculty and students.

The New Mexico Normal University was active in all war enterprises. Its instructors made over 150 patriotic addresses in various parts of the state; faculty and students took $30,000 in Liberty Bonds and War Savings Stamps; and Red Cross Work was carried on constantly. The institution had charge of the war gardens in the town of Las Vegas where 205 boys and girls were enrolled and vegetables produced of the value of $3844.80. In the regular school work courses were readjusted to meet the demands of war conditions.

The New Mexico Normal School at Silver City has a long list of items to its credit in the civilian activities account. Only a few typical ones can be here given. Faculty members and students performed their full share of Red Cross requirements. Practically all boxes used for shipping the supplies of the Grant County Chapter were made by the manual training pupils of the Normal School. The support of orphan children of France and Belgium was assumed by the instructors and students of the school and by means of various entertainments the institution assist-
ed in raising one thousand dollars for the Blind Soldiers' Fund. As volunteer workers for the draft board, as members of canteen committees to care for sick soldiers passing through Silver City on their way to Fort Bayard and generous subscribers to all war funds, these teachers and students proved themselves patriotic and capable in the highest degree. In the regular school work emphasis was laid on courses in First Aid, Home Care of the Sick, Surgical Dressing and in Food Conservation.

The New Mexico Military Institute, in addition to the participation of its students, past and present, in active war service, shared in all other activities incident to war needs. Upon the opening of hostilities, the whole work of the institution was readjusted to assist the government. Military training was intensified and every effort made to prepare young men to become officers in the army. Students were sent into various communities to serve as drill masters in local high schools and to assist in organizing military units. When the Student Army Training Corps unit was established at the Institute, seventy-six students were inducted into the service; sixty-six others were enrolled but the armistice took place while their papers were under consideration at Washington.

The work of the director of the Museum of New Mexico and his staff in connection with child welfare and the collection of historical material relating to New Mexico's part in the war must be classed with civilian activities. So must the service rendered by public libraries in their use of war posters and bulletin boards. It was largely through the librarians of the state, led by Miss Evelyn Shuler of Raton, that ten thousand volumes were collected in twenty-two towns for the reading rooms at the various camps.

The increase in crop production under the stimulus of war demands is still another evidence of civilian energy and enterprise. The acreage planted in wheat increased from 113,000 acres in 1916 to 213,000 in 1918 and the production from 2,104,000 to 3,334,000 bushels. Of corn, 4,250,000 bushels were raised in 1918 as compared with
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2,625,000 in 1916. The potato yield was 816,000 bushels in 1916 and 1,276,000 bushels in 1918. In the former year, 64,000 acres were planted in beans and 207,000 acres in 1917. It is estimated that the bean crop in 1917 reached a total of 70,000,000 pounds. In Eddy County 6,500 bales of cotton were picked and in Dona Ana County 14,700 crates of canteloupes were shipped in one season.

In war garden work, men, women and children responded splendidly to the appeal for greater production. In all, there were about 3,000 war gardens, Tucumcari for example, reporting 140 gardens, Las Vegas 400, and the little town of Willard in Torrance county had 40. Mrs. Isaac Barth was the head of the home gardens division.

As a war measure, the adoption of the prohibition constitutional amendment at an election held November 6, 1917, should not be overlooked. On that date the civilians of New Mexico decreed by a splendid majority of 16,585 that they would not suffer their efforts to win the war to be handicapped by the liquor traffic. On October 1, 1918, therefore, in accordance with the provisions of the amendment adopted, all saloons in the state closed their doors and, it is believed, closed them forever.

We are not permitted in this brief resume to more than mention that in one of the Liberty Loan campaigns, twenty-seven convicts in the state pententiary joined in the purchase of a one thousand dollar bond, each contributing an amount of from two dollars to four hundred dollars; that practically all owners of automobiles placed their cars at the disposal of all committees and agencies engaged in war activities as Motor Minute Men; that traveling men in their several itineraries about the state added to the sum total of civilian activities by spreading the spirit of loyalty and by reporting to the proper authorities the slightest signs of disaffection; that miners in the Gallup coal fields volunteered to assist in the saving of the fruit crop in San Juan county; that Indian farmers on the Mes-
calero reservation increased the acreage of potatoes planted from three acres to seventy-eight acres in one year; that in several towns and cities of the state, men formed Home Guard companies and drilled persistently until the war closed. In fact, the special activities here mentioned are merely typical of the loyal spirit of New Mexicans. They have been selected at random and the list could be greatly extended.

The story of civilian activity in New Mexico told here in brief outline, could not be fully told by recounting merely what was done or attempted. What the people of the state did not do should also be a part of the history of the state for the period of the war. In obeying all suggestions and appeals it is doubtful whether any part of the United States has been more scrupulous than our own state. The food restrictions, often embarrassing, were seldom disregarded. The hampering regulations which governed traveling and transportation met with cheerful compliance. Needing school houses and other public buildings, all construction was promptly suspended at a suggestion from Washington. This was true also to a large extent, of the work on roads and bridges which had been planned by the county and state highway officials. In fact if the sum total of civilian self-restraint and sacrifice could be measured, it would equal even the splendid aggregate of what we might call positive forms of activity. While thousands in New Mexico served, tens of thousands obeyed and waited. They were all parts of the remarkable system of cooperation that evolved so rapidly and that placed New Mexico in the front ranks of the states of the Union in war activities.

Rupert F. Asplund
One of the richest fields for the collecting and study of Spanish folk-lore is the southwestern part of our own country, particularly the states of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California. Some of these regions are very old in Spanish traditions, being some of the oldest settlements made by the Spaniards after the conquest and colonization of Mexico or Nueva España, and they have very tenaciously preserved many precious treasures of old Spanish folk-lore that other regions of the Spanish world and even Spain herself have completely forgotten. For the comparative study of Spanish folk-lore, and, therefore, ethnology and culture, the collection, publication and study of folk-lore materials from the above mentioned regions of the United States are of the greatest interest and importance to science.

Very little has been done in the collection and publication of really old and traditional materials of Spanish source from any of these regions with the single exception of New Mexico. In the all-important field of New Mexican Spanish language and folk-lore the author of this article has worked almost alone, but even so he has been fortunate enough to collect abundant materials that have been published in various American and European journals. Some of these materials, particularly the purely linguistic studies, the folk-tales, and the romances tradicionales, or traditional ballads, have been very welcome contributions to Spanish linguistics and folk-lore. The traditional Spanish ballads, for example, that are ten in num-

1. My Studies in New-Mexican Spanish (studies in linguistics and dialectology) were published in Germany, in the Revue de Dialectologie Romane (Part I. Phonology, 1909, Part II. Morphology, 1911, and Part III. The English Elements, 1914.) A special article, Syllabic Consonants in New Mexican Spanish was published in the December, 1925, number of Language, Journal of the Linguistic Society of
ber and are found in twenty-seven versions, furnish us one of the most interesting, important and most archaic collections of Spanish ballads that have been collected anywhere in the Spanish world. Some of them are versions of old Spanish ballads that were brought to the New World by the early Spanish settlers in the XVIIth century, and are, therefore, some of the most precious materials of Spanish folk-lore that have been found in Spanish America.

But the New Mexican field has not been exhausted by any means. Much more material is available no doubt and it only awaits enthusiastic collectors and students of folk-lore who will appreciate its worth and save it from oblivion. New Mexican institutions unfortunately have taken little interest in the study or preservation of the Spanish language in New Mexico or in the collection and study of its folk-lore. The New Mexico Historical Society as now constituted is now to take the leading part in this great work and has asked the present writer to publish in the new journal of the Society articles on the Spanish language in New Mexico and on New-Mexican Spanish folk-lore. This is the first ray of hope for New-Mexican Spanish language and folk-lore and the plans of the New Mexico Historical Society will be seconded by all students of linguistics, folk-lore and ethnology. The present article, therefore, is an attempt to present to the readers of the New Mexico Historical Review an outline of New-Mexican Spanish folk-lore studies and to suggest the methods best suited to the pursuit of these.

American. Most of my articles and studies on New-Mexican Spanish folk-lore were published in the Journal of American Folk-Lore during the years 1910-1915, with the general title New-Mexican Spanish Folk-Lore, as follows: Part I. Myths, Part II. Superstitions and Beliefs, Part III. Folk-Tales, Part IV. Mexican Proverbs, Part V. Popular Comparisons, Part VI. Los Trozos del Viejo Vilmas, Part VII. More Folk-Tales, Part VIII. Short Stories and Anecdotes, Part IX. Riddles, Part X Children's Games, Part XI. Nursery Rhymes. Fourteen more New-Mexican Spanish folk-tales were published in the Bulletin de Dialectologie Romane, Germany (1914.) My collection and study of the traditional Spanish ballads from New Mexico was published in the Revue Hispanique, Paris in 1915, with the title Romancero Nuevomejicano. As we have said above, there are ten ballads in twenty-seven versions, although Mr. C. F. Lummis in his work The Land of Poco Tiempo, New York, 1898, stated that no traditional Spanish ballads were to be found in New Mexico.
In California there are more collectors, according to reports, but very little has been published as yet that has any great value for Spanish folk-lore studies. The author of this article has collected and published a small number of traditional Spanish ballads, which like the New-Mexican are real gems on account of the archaic character of the versions. They are published unedited in the "Memorial Volumes" published in Spain recently in honor of Don Ramón Menéndez Pidal, the greatest living authority on Spanish language and literature, and who is collecting for publication the Spanish balladry of the whole Spanish-speaking world. He has the theory that the Spanish ballads are found in oral tradition wherever the Spanish language is spoken, and thus far his theory has been upheld wherever folk-lorists have looked for such materials. The author also has an unpublished collection of folk-tales from Spanish California. As for Spanish popular songs and lyrics, the only interesting collection for the Southwest as a whole is the publication of Miss Eleanor Hague, *Spanish American Folk-Songs*, New York, 1917. These songs, however, are not very old. The recent publications of Mr. Lummis, *Spanish Songs from Old California*, are XIXth century songs, and of little interest to folk-lore.

From Arizona and Texas I do not know of any important published documents of traditional Spanish folk-lore. Now that interest in the Spanish language is spreading over our country, thanks to the just appreciation on the part of Americans for a language that is spoken on this continent by some fifty million people with whom we must live in continual commercial and cultural relations, and that is one of the great languages of the world, it is to be hoped that professors and teachers of Spanish in our universities and colleges will make an earnest effort to interest their students in Spanish folk-lore, an almost virgin field that lies at our doors.

The American Folk-Lore Society, thanks to the efforts

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2. *Homenaje a Don Ramón Menéndez Pidal*, 2 volumes, Madrid, 1925.
of Professor Franz Boas of Columbia University, has taken a very active interest in the collecting and publishing of Spanish folk-lore from every possible source. But the funds of the society are limited, and unless material aid is constantly received from persons of wealth it is very difficult to carry on these investigations. In order to have a large collection of peninsular Spanish folk-tales for our comparative studies the American Folk-Lore Society decided several years ago to send a special investigator to Spain. The generosity of Mrs. Elsie Clews Parsons, past president of the society, and one of the most eminent American folk-lorists, made possible the expedition to Spain, and the result was most fortunate. We came back from Spain with some three hundred folk-tales that will be of inestimable value to our comparative studies. We have in these Spanish materials conclusive proof of the theories we formerly held about the general character of the Spanish-American material, namely that it is for the most part traditional and very old. For the ballads the creative period ended in the XVIth century. From that time to the end of the XVIIIth century they came to the New World through various channels of tradition. In other fields the creative period has had a longer life. In the case of the coplas, the décimas, or ballad-like compositions of a narrative, amorous or philosophic character, the vigor of modern tradition vies with the old.

And to collect these materials from the Spanish-speaking Americans of our great Southwest a work really herculean is necessary. To cry for funds to carry on these researches may seem, in our commercially mad age, like a voice that cries in the wilderness. But it does not matter. For even without funds some of this precious material may be collected by some of us.

In the following pages we give samples of genuine

3. These materials are now being published in the Stanford University Publications, with the title, Cuentos Populares Españoles. Volumes I and II appeared in 1923 and 1924. Volume III is now in press.
New-Mexican Spanish folk-lore, for the most part taken from my various studies already published. For the sake of brevity and because I am here reprinting in part from my own articles I shall omit all references to source.

As already indicated the most precious materials for the study of comparative literature and folk-lore are the romances tradicionales or old Spanish ballads. According to a theory of Ramón Menéndez Pidal the old Spanish romances were derived from the old cantares de gesta or old epic poems. From all the evidences derived from the Spanish chronicles of the XIIIth, XIVth and XVth centuries the old Spanish jongleurs and troubadours recited and sang the national epics to the people during those centuries. "Como dicen los juglares en sus cantares y en sus fablas," is a commonplace expression to be found in the old chronicles when they wish to indicate the sources of the national legends. And more than that, the prose accounts very often reveal the old verse epic by copying down whole passages of prosified verse from the cantares. The cantares, however, were handed down in the mouths of the people and from these are derived the first romances or ballads. The old Spanish ballads, so admirably appreciated and translated into English by Lockhart and Longfellow, are pieces of the old epic songs. These historical ballads were handed down in oral tradition from the XIIIth and XIVth centuries to the XVIth and XVIIth centuries when the ballad collectors and the national dramatists like Lope de Vega and Guillén de Castro saved them from oblivion and gave them dramatic form. Some, however, have survived in oral tradition even to the present day, and they may be found in the oral tradition of Castile and other parts of Spain, in the Balkan Peninsula among the Jews that were exiled from Spain in 1492, in Chile and Mexico, and in our own New Mexico.

The opening lines of the best versions of the ten traditional Spanish ballads found by me in New Mexico, and which may be useful to those who wish to seek other versions, are the following:
1. Delgadina se paseaba por una sala cuadrada.
2. Gerineldo, Gerineldo, mi camarero aguerrido.
4. Francisquita, Francisquita, la del cuerpo muy sutil.
5. Andábame yo paseando por las orillas del mar.
6. En una playa arenosa una blanca sombra vi.
7. Catalina, Catalina, paño blanco de lino es.
8. Chiquita, si me muriere no me entierres en sagrado.
9. Atención, señores míos, Membruno se va a casar.
10. El piojo y la liendre se quieren casar.

There is an eleventh New Mexican Spanish version of a traditional Spanish ballad, the one found by Miss Barbara Freire-Marreco of Oxford, England, when studying ethnology among the New-Mexican Pueblo Indians and published by me in the Journal of American Folk-Lore, in December, 1916, with a comparative study. Later I myself obtained another version of the same ballad from Taos (see Revue Hispanique, Paris, 1917.) The complete list to date, therefore of traditional Spanish ballads found in New Mexico contains eleven ballads in twenty-nine versions. There are, of course more ballads, but they are not really old and traditional.

I now give versions of two of the old ballads in full.

LA APARICION
(Recited by Gregorio García of Socorro, New Mexico)

En una playa arenosa una blanca sombra vi,
y entre más me retiraba más se acercaba de mí.
—¿Dónde vas, caballerito, alejándote de mí?
—Voy en busca de mi esposa, que hace días no la vi.
—Ya tu esposa ya está muerta, con mis ojos yo la vi;
cuatro duques la llevaban a la ciudad de Madrid.
El coche en que la llevaban era de oro y carmesí;
tapa que le pusieron era de oro y de marfil.
Cásate, caballerito, y no te quedes ansí,
y al primer niño que tengas ponle nombre como a mí.

4. Since we are not concerned at present with the peculiarities of New-Mexican Spanish I shall transcribe all the folk-lore materials in the standard Spanish alphabet.
Ya murió la flor de mayo, ya murió en el mes de abril; ya murió la que reinaba en la ciudad de Madrid.

**CAMINO DEL CALVARIO**

Por el rastro de la cruz que Jesucrito llevaba camina la Virgen Pura en una fresca mañana. Como era tan de mañana la hora que caminaba las campanas de Belén todas tocaban el alba. Encontró a San Juan Bautista y de esta manera le habló:

—¿No me has visto por aquí al hijo de mis entrañas?
—Por aquí pasó, señora, antes que el gallo cantara. Cinco mil azotes lleva en sus sagradas espaldas. Tres clavos lleva en sus manos con que ha de ser enclavado, y una corona de espinas con que ha de ser coronado. Una cruz lleva en sus hombros de madera muy pesada; tanto el peso le rendía que caía y se levantaba; una soga en su garganta, que era una pena doblada. Cada estirón que le daban mi Jesús se arrodillaba. Al punto que oyó la Virgen cayó al suelo desmayada. San Juan, como buen sobrino, luego acudió a levantarla.

—Levántese, tía mía, que no es tiempo de tardanza; que el martirio de Jesús es libertad de las almas.

This last ballad, which is the Taos version of a very old traditional Spanish ballad dating from the XVth century or earlier, is a very vivid account of a traditional episode of the tragedy of Golgotha. My father tells me that it is part of the repertoire of religious songs that describe the Passion of the Saviour and form the Holy Week ritual of the Hermanos Penitentes, the New Mexico flagellants, the last and degenerate sons of the Third Order of St. Francis that still exist and practice their rites in New Mexico and Southern Colorado. Their organizers and leaders in the New World were the early Franciscan missionaries. Other interesting old religious ballads may be found in the ritual of this society.⁵

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⁵ For a general account of the history of the New-Mexican flagellants see my article, *Los Hermanos Penitentes*, in The Catholic Encyclopedia.
Just as important as the old romances, in some respects even more important, are the New-Mexican Spanish folk-tales. The number of these must be very large. In all my collections already published the number does not reach fifty. In fact I have published only some thirty really long traditional tales. The study of the New-Mexican Spanish folk-tales has always been important because it helps us to trace very definitely the Indian influence, if any. The New-Mexican materials are, for the most part, Spanish and traditional. The Indians have been influenced by the Spanish in the folk-tale transmission, but the reverse influence has been found to be negligible. My trip to Spain in 1920 has convinced me of this fact absolutely, although before the Spanish expedition I had expressed the same view. The New-Mexican Spanish version of the Tar-Baby story, for example, is one derived from the Spanish Sansón story found by me in Spain, and the Spanish tale as well as the well-known negro tales of similar character are all in fact modern versions of the old Hindu tale of the Demon with the matted hair. The English folklorist Joseph Jacobs is substantially of the same opinion. In fact it is very probable that the tale has travelled from India to Europe and from Europe to Africa and America through Spanish and Portuguese versions, as Dr. Elsie Clews Parsons has very well shown.

To give even a brief account of the folk-tales of Spanish provenience that may be found in New Mexico would take us far beyond the limits of this article. I may give a comparison to illustrate the abundance of the traditional material that I confidently believe is still waiting in New Mexico for the pious sympathy of some scholar. During my six months stay in Spain in the year 1920 collecting Spanish folk-tales I collected some three hundred old tales of the greatest interest for comparative folk-lore studies. It is my guess that a similar number of old Spanish folk-

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tales could be collected yet in New Mexico in the same length of time. New-Mexican tradition represents a very archaic epoch with very little foreign influence since the beginning of the seventeenth century. A collection of some ten or more versions of the well-known picaresque tale of Pedro de Urdemalas alone would be at present a very desirable project. My few New-Mexican versions published in the Journal of American Folk-Lore awakened a genuine interest in the genre throughout the Spanish-speaking countries and recently some have been published from Chile by Ramón A. Laval.7

Comparative studies in the folk-tale material reveal to us surprising procedures in folk-loristic psychology. Without entering into a detailed comparative study of the material I give below versions of a Spanish tale, both modern versions of an old tale from India, one found in the Panchatantra and the Calila and Digna. Both Spanish versions, the one being one found by me in Spain in 1920, the other in New Mexico and recited to me by my mother many years ago and recorded for publication in 1912, date, no doubt, from a time when the Calila and Digna popularized the Arabic versions in Spain in the XIIIth and XIVth centuries.8 Both are excellent examples of the vigor of Spanish tradition in isolated districts in Toro, Spain, and New Mexico.

The two Spanish versions follow. I may add that the Spanish version from Toro, Spain, was the very first tale collected by me in Spain. The reader can imagine the joy and surprise I received when I heard this my first peninsular Spanish find of what was to be a collection of some three hundred, and recalled the similar, almost identical version that I had heard when a child from the lips of my mother. Perhaps other and longer versions may yet appear from New Mexico.

7. Cuentos de Pedro de Urdemalas, Santiago de Chile, 1925.
Había una vez una pega que vivía en un ponjo donde tenía un nido con varios peguitos. Todos los días venía un zorro y le decía a la pega:

—Peguita, dame un peguito,
que si no te corto el ponjo.

La pega, con grande dolor de su corazón, le tiraba del ponjo un peguito y el pícaro del zorro se lo comía. Volvía el zorro y pasaba siempre lo mismo. El zorro le decía a la pega que le diera un peguito y que si no le cortaba el ponjo, y la pega, con grande dolor de su corazón, le tiraba uno.

Ya el zorro acababa con los peguitos, cuando llegó un día a visitar a la pega su primo, el alcaraván. Cuando éste se enteró de lo que pasaba le dijo a su prima, la pega:— Si el zorro viene otra vez no le des un peguito. Y si te dice que te corta el ponjo le dices tú:

El hocil sí corta el ponjo,
pero no el rabo (d) el raposo.

Se fué el alcaraván y a poco llegó el zorro y le dijo a la pega:

—Peguita, dame un peguito,
que si no, te corto el ponjo.

Y la pega le respondió como le había dicho su primo, el alcaraván:

—El hocil sí corta el ponjo,
pero no el rabo (d) el raposo.

El zorro le dijo entonces a la pega:— ¿Quién te ha dicho que me dijeras eso? Seguramente fué tu primo, el alcaraván. Pues yo le pillare culo arriba en un cascajal. Y con efecto el zorro se dió maña para coger al alcaraván. Lo cogió y se lo tragó vivo. El pobre del alcaraván le decía desde la tripa:— Suéltame, hermano zorro. Déjame salir. El zorro se negaba a ello y por fin le dijo el alcaraván:— Ya que no quieres dejarme salir por lo menos vete delante del ponjo de mi prima, la pega, y grita desde allí bien alto para que todos se enteren: ¡Alcaraván comí!

Así lo hizo el zorro. Fué y se puso delante del ponjo de
la pega y gritó muy alto:—¡Alcaraván comí! Pero al gritar
abrió la boca tan grande que el alcaraván se escapó y ex-
clamó:—¡A otro, que no a mí!

B. Version from New Mexico'

LA PALOMA Y SUS PICHONES

Una paloma vivía en el monte y tenía un nido en un
encino con cuatro pichoncitos. Un día llegó un coyote y le
dijo:
—Paloma, dame uno de tus pichones.
Y la paloma le respondió:
—No, no te lo doy.
Entonces le dijo el coyote:
—Si no me lo das, te corto el encino y me los como
todos.
Y comenzó colazo y colazo a darle al encino. La pobre
paloma se espantó y de miedo le tiró uno de sus pichones
y le coyote lo agarró y se lo comió.

Luego llegó el calvo (el palomo) y halló a la pobre pa-
loma llorando y le dijo:—¿Por qué lloras? Y la paloma le
respondió: —¿Cómo no he de llorar? Vino el coyote y me
quitó uno de mis pichoncitos. —¿Pá qué se lo diste?—le
dijo el calvo. Y la paloma le respondió: Porque me dijo que
si no le daba uno me cortaba el encino y se los comía todos.
Y el calvo le dijo entonces:—Si vuelve a venir no le des
nada. Y si te dice que te corta el encino y se los come todos
le dices:

Hacha, burro, corta encino,
no cola de raposino.

A poco que se fue el calvo vino de nuevo el coyote y le
dijo a la paloma:
—Paloma, dame uno de tus pichones.
Y la paloma le respondió:
—No, no te lo doy.
Entonces le dijo el coyote:
—Si no me lo das te corto el encino y me los como todos.
Y la paloma le dijo entonces:

0. I am calling this a New-Mexican version because I believe it is really a tale
that may belong to New-Mexican tradition, but just how long it has been divorced
from a peninsular Spanish tradition I would not pretend to determine. My mother
learned it from her mother, but beyond that we do not know from where it came.
My mother's paternal grandmother came directly from Spain toward the end of the
XVIIIth century and she may have brought the tale from her home in Castile.
Hacha, burro, corta encino,
no cola de raposino

El coyote se fue muy nojao, maliciando que el calvo era el de la culpa y lo halló bebiendo agua en un ojito. Arrimándose poco a poco y muy quedito, lo pescó y le dijo:— Ora si te voy a comer, porque tú fuiste el que le dijiste a la paloma que no me diera otro pichón. Y el calvo le respondió:— No, manito coyotito, no me mates. Mira que yo soy el rey de todas las aves y yo te llevaré onde te las comas todas. Súbete arriba de aquella lomita y te paras en las patas de atrás y gritas: ¡Alcaraván comí! y todas las aves vendrán y te las comerás.

El coyote dijo que estaba bueno, que así lo haría. Y se fué como el calvo le dijo pa arriba de la lomita, se paró en las patas de atrás y abrió la boca muy grande pa gritar lo que el calvo le había dicho. Pero abrió la boca tan grande cuando gritó ¡Alcaraván comí! que el calvo se escapó y le dijo:— ¡M— comiste!

New Mexico seems to be particularly rich in traditional Spanish proverbs and riddles. Some of these are in assonance or rhyme and represent very archaic materials. A complete or fairly complete collection of the New-Mexican Spanish proverbs would be easy to compile among the Spanish pupils in the schools. They could be asked to collect them in their homes and some one could arrange them and publish them. The same might be done with the riddles. These last are often presented in the form of décimas or riddle-tales. My own published collection of proverbs contains six hundred and one and one and the riddles number one hundred and sixty-five. The proverbs are of the greatest possible interest. Of the entire six hundred and one in my publication exactly four hundred and twenty, or about seventy per cent are to be found in the Diccionario de la Lengua Española published recently in the 15th edition by the Royal Spanish Academy. In other words seventy percent of the entire collection (with here and there insignificant changes in words or dialectic changes) are part of the general store house of Spanish proverb tradition so skillfully used by the great Cervantes in the mouth of San-
cho Panza. The following, which I select at random from my published collection, may be given as examples:

A. In assonance or rhyme

El que se enoja no moja ni come maiz de la troja.
El que tiene hijo varón que no dé voces ni pregón.
El que nació para guaje haste jumate no para.
El que da lo que ha menester el diablo se rie de él.
El muerto al pozo y el vivo al negocio.
El que a las ocho no se va a las nueve ¿qué espera? Que lo agarren de la mano y lo echen fuera?
El que regala bien vende y el que lo recibe lo entiende.
Eres como Juan Gómez tú lo das y tú te lo comes.
El que da lo que tiene no desea lo que ve.
El que de santo rebalsa hasta el infierno no para.
El dinero del mezquino dos veces anda el camino.
El martes ni te cases ni te embarques.
Favor referido ni de Dios ni del diablo es agradecido.
Haz bien y no acates a quién.
Hace más el que quiere que el que tiene.
La suerte de la fea la bonita la desea.
No hay dolor que dure cien años ni enfermo que lo aguante.
Natural y figura hasta la sepultura.
No prometas ni a los santos votos ni a los niños bollos.
Piensa el ladrón que todos son de su condición.
Recaudo hace cocina, no Catalina.
Si quieres pasar mal día deja tu casa y vente a la mía.
Tanto va el canto al agua hasta que se cae
Vale más saber que tener.
Vanidad y probreza son de un pieza.
Zamora no se ganó en una hora.

B. Not in assonance or rhyme

A palabras necias oídos sordos.
A cada uno su gusto le engorda.
Así le paga el diablo al que bien le sirve.
Al que se hace de miel se lo comen las moscas.
A la bondad le dicen salvajada.
Al caballo y al amigo no hay que apurarles.
Al que Dios se la tiene San Pedro se la bendice.
Al que tiene manada le dan potrillito
Buen abogado mal vecino.
Caras vemos pero corazones no.
Con la vara que mides serás medido.  
Con deseos no se hacen templos.  
Cada loco con su tema y yo con mi terquedad.  
Cuando el diablo reza engañar quiere.  
De tal palo tal astilla.  
Dígotelo a ti, mi hija, y entiéndetelo tú, mi nuera.  
El que busca el peligro cae en él.  
El que da un paso da dos.  
El que ha de ser real sencillo aunque ande entre los do­blones.  
El que está hecho al mal el bien le ofende.  
La esperanza no engorda pero mantiene.  
La caridad bien ordenada comienza por sí mismo.  
No hay mal que por bien no venga.  
¿Para qué quiere lavandera el que no tiene camisa?  
Pájaros de una misma pluma se reconocen.  
Se espantan los muertos de los degollados.  
Vale más un toma-toma que un aguardate-tantitó.

The riddles, although not so numerous as the proverbs, are just as important for folk-lore studies. They are frequently more archaic, especially those preserved in poetic form. There is one type that is of special value for comparative folk-lore, the long and complicated riddle that is preserved in oral tradition in the form of a décima. A décima is in Spanish a poetic composition in hendecasyllabic or octosyllabic metre in five strophaic groups, the first of four verses and the last four of ten each. The popular décima is found in all Spanish-speaking countries and on almost any subject. Political subjects are frequently treated in the décimas. In Spanish literature they are very old. In the riddle-décima we have, therefore, a popular poetic composition of great interest and importance and a traditional genre that very eloquently gives testimony of the vigor of Spanish tradition. It is most surprising that such long compositions should be handed down in oral tradition and preserved so long unchanged. A collection of these riddle-décimas from New Mexico is published in my Romancero Nuevomejicano already mentioned. But that col-
section is small and we need many more. The following one will serve as an example:

El día en que yo nací
ese día me bautizaron;
ese día pedí mujer,
y ese día me casaron.

Confieso que soy criatura,
y de la tierra nací;
y antes de formarme a mí
hicieron mi sepultura.
Y me vide en tal altura
que muchos me repasaron.
Con cuatro letras me hablaron;
y para más entender,
luego que yo tuve el ser,
en la hora me bautizaron.

Mi madre es una criatura
que no tiene entendimiento
ni luz ni conocimiento;
ni sabe hablar porque es muda.
Mi padre es imagen pura,
incomprendible, y así
que habiéndome criado a mí
con su poder sin segundo,
me nombró solo en el mundo
en el día en que nací.

Fuí en el nacer admirable,
porque no soy engendrado,
ni tampoco bautizado
en la iglesia, nuestra madre.
y para que más les cuadre,
tres y uno solo me criaron;
por mi nombre me llamaron,
y para más entender,
luego que yo tuve el ser,
en la hora me bautizaron.

Yo soy padre de mi hermana
y me tuvo por esposo;
pues Dios, con poderoso
me la dio por desposada.
Pues ella no fue engendrada,
Dios la creó con su poder.
De mi edad la quiso hacer
con su poder infinito;
y yo, por no estar solito,
es ese día pedí mujer.

In the field of popular poetry New Mexico is indeed a veritable mine of folk-loristic materials, important both as traditional legendary material and as new native product. We have already spoken of the romances tradicionales or popular ballads, the proverbs and riddles. There are many other genres. Of those not yet discussed perhaps the most important is the copla popular or octosyllabic quatrain known in New Mexico as verso. Echar versos, to compose, sing or recite the popular coplas or versos was during the XVIIIth and XIXth centuries a popular pastime in New Mexico at almost any social gathering. Sometimes they took the form of poetic competitions and the canta-
dores or popular poets and singers, the jongleurs and troubadours of New Mexico, were held in high esteem among the people. These popular poets, of whom, let us hope, there may exist yet a few in New Mexico, are the same ones that compose and sing and recite any kind of popular poetic composition, but the verso was the most popular genre cultivated by them. At baptisms, at weddings, at the prenderios and other important social events, and between the copitas de vino, or something a little stronger, the cantadores were the center of attraction and interest. The monotonous tones of the guitarrista or the more melodious melancholy music of the New-Mexican violinista accompanied as a rule the popular cantador in his entertainment.

A very large and important part of the repertoire of versos of the New-Mexican cantador have always been traditional material that came from Spain, and it is therefore similar to that found in all Spanish countries. In fact the institution itself of echar versos is not of New-Mexican origin. The old Spanish juglar and trovador of the past ages that, at the courts King John II in the XVth century, or even earlier, sang in popular song the deeds of the old Spanish heroes or the tragic loves of the Provenzal troubadours, is the direct ancestor of the New-Mexican cantador just as the Spanish Franciscan friar of the XVth century is the direct ancestor of the modern degenerate penitente who flogs himself in public despite the admonitions of his ecclesiastical superiors. The material of the verso popular, however, is not entirely old. These versos are a constant growth and new forms appear every day. Many of them are of a proverbial or sententious character and may be changed and adapted to fit almost any occasion. The versos are the philosophy of the people and express in beautiful and rhythmic verse the feelings and ideas of the Spanish people. The real character of the Spanish race may be very well studied in the popular copla. In it are expressed its joys and its sorrows, its hopes and its skepticism, its sentiments, feelings and ideas. In short it expresses the life of the people in artistic form. My collection of po-
popular coplas or versos contains about one thousand and is as yet unpublished. The collection being now so large it is desirable to make it as complete as possible and for that reason I hope that New-Mexican teachers and others who may be able to collect material may be good enough to send it to me. No doubt there will be many repetitions and duplicate versions sent, but the task is well worth while. Collections have been published of popular coplas from various parts of Spain by Rodríguez Marín in his five volume edition of Cantos Populares Españoles (Madrid, 1882-1884), Ledesma in his Cancionero Castellano, etc. Our New-Mexican collection promises to be even larger and more important than these if our New-Mexican friends will continue their active help.

The New-Mexican verso is an octosyllabic quatrain that expresses in its four short verses a complete judgment or idea. The verses are as a rule united by assonance or rhyme. When in assonance only the second and fourth verses are so joined. This metre is the Spanish national metre par excellence and is the verse of the Classic, and XIXth century drama. The following New-Mexican versos, taken at random from my collection, will serve as examples of this poetic genre known to all New Mexicans. I confidently believe that it would be difficult to find a New Mexican of Spanish descent who could not recite or sing at least a half dozen of them. The local newspapers printed in Spanish often publish a few of them and a small collection could be compiled from these newspapers alone.

1
Dicen que lo negro es triste,
yo digo que no es verdad;
tú tienes los ojos negros
y eres mi felicidad.

2
De tu ventana a la mía
me tirates dos abrazos;
one se quedó en el aire
y el otro se hizo pedazos.

3
Antanoche fui a tu casa
y vide luz en tu ventana;
era la luz de tus ojos,
lucero de la mañana.

4
De los chinos de tu frente
me darás una semilla,
para sembrar en el oriente
una rosa de Castilla.
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5 El río grande va crecido
y el chiquito va hecho un mar.
Manuelito en la otra banda
y yo sin poder pasar

6 Ya la luna tiene cuernos
y el lucero la acompaña.
¡Ay, qué triste queda un hombre
cuando una guerra lo engaña!

7 Vale más morir a palos
que de celos padecer;
vale más querer a un perro
que no a una ingrata mujer.

8 Cuatro palomitas blancas,
sentadas en un romero,
una a la otra se decían:
—No hay amor como el primero.

9 Dices que me quieres tanto
no me subas ran arriba,
que las hojas en el árbol
no duran toda la vida.

10 Arbolito enflorécido.
verde, color de esperanza;
mi corazón no te olvida
mi de quererte se cansa.

11 Ninguno cante vitoria,
aunque en el estribo esté;
que muchos en el estribo
se suelen quedar a pie.

12 Si Dios me diera dinero
como arenas tiene el mar,
gastaría como un loco,
todos los días un real.

13 Me han dicho que tienes otros
que lo quieres más que a mí.
Gózalo por muchos años;
no le pagues como a mí.

14 Cuando un pobre se emborracha
y un rico en su compañía,
lá del pobre es borrachera,
lá del rico es alegría.

15 La que se casa con viejo:
ha de tener dos trabajos,
el soberar las rodillas
y estirarle los zancajos.

16 ¿Mal haya la ropa negra
y el sastre que la cortó!
Mi morena tiene luto
sin que me haya muerto yo.

17 Cuando quise no quisites:
y ahora que quieres no quiero;
llora tú tu soledad
que yo la lloré primero.

18 De tus hermosos cabellos
me darás para un cordón,
y yo te daré por ellos
la vida y el corazón.

A subject that has a direct relation to New-Mexican Spanish ethnology and folk-lore is New-Mexican music. We find here, of course, that Spanish tradition is also very strong. When I travelled through the villages of Old Castile during my trip to Spain in 1920 I was more than once
agreeably surprised to find that a New-Mexican *tonadilla* or tune known to me since childhood was practically the same as one yet current in Castile. In Salas de los Infantes, near Burgos, I heard a few Christmas carols sung by children and there was among these one,

Señora Santa Ana,
Señor San Joaquin,
Arrollad este niño,
Se quiere dormir,

that had the same words and practically the same tune as the New-Mexican one, showing evidently a direct relation. The history of Spanish popular music is a subject that is unknown to me, but I venture to suggest that in New Mexico there are important materials for its study in the New World. One thing is certain. There seems to be in the music and also in the development of the popular dances some native Indian influence. In the music of the popular, traditional poetic forms there may be little or no Indian influence whatever. The following, for example, are tunes to which are sung popular versos, and these, I believe, are really of Spanish source:

No. 1

```
No.1

Di-com que lo se-cre-to, yo di-go que no es ver-dad.

Tú te-nes los o-jos ne-gros y res mi fe-li-ci-dad.

CHORUS: prestissimo, marcato.

La, la, la, la, etc.
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10*
The music of the following indita, however, betrays a very decided Indian influence. The term indita has a variety of meanings in New-Mexican Spanish. It may mean a modern type of ballad written either in the traditional octosyllabic romance verse or in octosyllabic quintillas or five verse strophies. But it also denotes a popular song and dance formed after the pattern of the Spanish jota that may be a song, a dance, or both. The following indita is one of the second type, and any one that has heard native New-Mexican Indian music will at once observe the Indian flavor of its notes. The way the Spanish octosyllabic verse with a perfectly well defined iambic accentuation and assonanced scheme has been combined and harmonized with music of Indian source (probably of the Pueblo type) or at least strongly influenced by it is explained only by the fact that primitive rhythm, the only indispensable and absolutely essential principle in verse or music, is not the special patrimony of any people or race.

LA INDITA DE COCHITI

¡Mal haya las indias Juanas
y el alma que las parió,
que como no son cristianas
reniegan de quien las crió!
Indita, indita, indita,
indita de Cochiti;
no le hace que sea indita,
al cabo no soy pa ti.

Mal ha-ya las in-dias Ju-nas y el alma que las pa-
rió,
que co-mo no son cris-tia-nas re-nie-gan de quien las
crió
que co-mo no son cris-tia-nas re-nie-gan de quien las
crió
Chapter III.

Ponce Plans to Conquer New Mexico. In the early months of 1596, there appeared on the scene still another competitor in the person of Don Pedro Ponce de León, Count of Bailén, ambitious to undertake the conquest of New Mexico. He was not a total stranger in New Spain, for he had gone there with the Count of Coruña, who had served as viceroy from 1580 till his death in 1582. Presumably Ponce had soon again returned to Europe as he does not reappear in the records of New Spain, but during 1596 and 1597, while seeking to win the leadership of the New Mexico project, he frequently occupied the attention of the Council of the Indies.

Before the month of April, 1596, had progressed very far he had petitioned the king for the right to lead an expedition for the conquest of New Mexico. On the 7th the Council of the Indies drew up a statement in regard to Ponce which disclosed the fact that he had by that time memorialized the crown for the right to undertake the coveted enterprise. His purpose in assuming the direction of this great undertaking was, according to his own statement, entirely unselfish. He openly boasted that nothing other than the desire of furthering the service of his majesty could induce him to leave Spain. The station in life which he filled was already secure. His ancestors as counts of Bailén had never experienced want, but had always been able to serve the king. His object therefore

111. The Council of the Indies to the king, April 7, 1596, in Hackett, Hist. Docs., 293.
113. The Council to the king, April 7, 1596, in Hackett, Hist. Docs., 293.
was to distinguish himself above his forbears in some notable manner, and he purposed to win that glory by extending the dominions of the king to New Mexico. He sought no reward till the goal had been achieved; but actually insisted that none be provided.\textsuperscript{114}

\textit{The Council Supports Ponce}. When the Council took Ponce's memorials under consideration, it was already in possession of the letter written by the Count of Monterey on December 20, 1595.\textsuperscript{115} In this letter, it will be recalled, the latter had asked the king that Oñate's expedition be not confirmed till he should have time to examine the contract with greater care. The Council now stressed this incident in a report to the king regarding Ponce's desire to be the conqueror of New Mexico. It further reported,\textsuperscript{116} after having considered his petitions regarding this position, that in its opinion it would be possible to give the leadership of the undertaking to him, since Oñate's contract had not been accepted by the Count of Monterey when he became viceroy.

The reasons advanced to substantiate this argument are interesting. First of all the Council emphasized the personality of Don Pedro Ponce, whose intelligence and general qualifications particularly fitted him for the task. These favorable conditions would enable him to attract a large following, especially in New Spain, which would serve a double purpose. Not only would the expedition benefit thereby, but Mexico would be freed of many idle and useless people who were a nuisance to the officials of the province. Furthermore the practical members of the Council of the Indies\textsuperscript{117} seemed quite willing that the Count of Bailén should leave his peaceful and quiet life in Spain to exchange it for a life of privation on the frontier of America, in order that he might, as he had previously stat-

\textsuperscript{114} Don Pedro Ponce de León to the king, Madrid, April 23, 1596, in Hackett, \textit{Hist. Docs.}, 299.
\textsuperscript{115} This is apparent from the royal decree of May 8, 1596. See \textit{ibid.}, 203. For Monterey's letter of December 20, 1595, see \textit{ibid.}, 257.
\textsuperscript{116} The Council to the king, April 7, 1596, in \textit{ibid.}, 293-295.
\textsuperscript{117} The Council was usually made up of high officials who had served in the New World. Cunningham, \textit{The Audiencia in the Spanish Colonies}, 15.
ed in his memorials, perform a great service for the king. Seemingly the Council gave only slight attention to the rights of Oñate other than to slur his reputation. It did however recommend that the viceroy be instructed to repay him if he should have made any preparations worthy of recompense.118

When the king received this communication he took no immediate action. He desired additional information and requested the Council to advise him more fully regarding Oñate.119 This was done without delay. The reply consisted of a bitter attack on Oñate.120 He was said not only to have wasted his fortune but to have incurred debts amounting to thirty thousand pesos, and was holding off his creditors by deceitful means. Since he was without money he would be unable to secure followers of repute, and his army must necessarily degenerate into a mob of desperadoes and vagabonds. His unfitness had already been demonstrated, for on a former expedition he had been unable to inspire respect or obedience among his men. These reports were said to have been given by persons of high standing who knew Oñate and had had dealing with him.121

Ponce on the other hand was represented as an admirable gentleman, an individual of such high standing and so well known in Mexico that he would at once secure a following of the best people in the province, since he intended to grant the latter all the profits on the new country. Ponce wished nothing for himself, but simply desired that any reward which he might receive for his service should be left entirely to the generosity of the king. In the eyes of the Council of the Indies Ponce was thus a distinguished and able man, while Oñate, whose contract had already been delayed by the viceroy, was painted in sordid

118. The Council to the king, April 7, 1596, in Hackett, Hist. Docs., 295.
119. Royal decree in report of the Council of April 7, 1596. A. G. I., 140-7-38. It is not printed by Hackett.
120. The Council to the king, April 25, 1596, in Hackett, Hist. Docs., 299 ff.
121. Villagrá vigorously assails those who were spreading false reports about Oñate and lauds the courage and fortitude which he showed under those attacks. Historia, I, 31.
colors. The Council desired that the king confirm the former immediately so that the Oñate expedition might be recalled before it was too late.122

The King Suspends Oñate. Acting upon this advice the king decreed that instructions be given the Count of Monterey to suspend the execution of the contract which had been made with Don Juan.123 He also authorized the Council to examine the proposals which Ponce offered for the conquest of New Mexico, and to reach an agreement with him if possible. The members of the Council could now rejoice, for the candidate of their choice had seemingly won.

After having expedited a formal decree to the viceroy of New Spain embodying the king's order to suspend Oñate,124 the Council appointed the licentiate Augustín Alvarez de Toledo to confer with Ponce and to examine the conditions which he proposed for making the expedition.125 Alvarez was also authorized to acquaint him with the details of Oñate's capitulations, and in addition to take note of how much more favorable terms Don Pedro would voluntarily offer for making the same conquest. A statement, drawn up in accordance with this order setting forth the claims of both Oñate and Ponce was therefore made and sent to the king, so that, as the Council suggested, he could see for himself that Ponce's offer was really much more advantageous than that of Don Juan. At the same time it definitely recommended that Ponce be awarded the contract and urged immediate action in order that he might be ready to sail with the fleet for New Spain. To this recommendation the king was not averse,126 and he therefore

122. The Council to the king, April 25, 1596, in Hackett, Hist. Docs., 301.
125. The Council to the king, May 19, 1596, in ibid., 303.
126. The king usually accepted the advice of the Council of the Indies in all matters relating to the colonies. Moses, B. The Spanish Dependencies in South America, I. 232-234.
ordered that an agreement be made with Ponce for the conquest of New Mexico.\footnote{127}

\textit{Ponce's Liberal Offer.} The statement which the Council referred to as showing the eminent desirability of Ponce's contract in preference to Oñate's, and of which a copy was sent to the king at the same time, has recently come to light in the Spanish archives.\footnote{128} It compares the terms offered by Ponce with those made by Don Juan and vividly shows the advantages of the former's capitulation.\footnote{129} For example Oñate had bound himself to enlist over two hundred soldiers and colonists; Ponce would increase this by one hundred mounted men. Don Juan had agreed to take 20,000 reales worth of flour, maize, wheat and jerked beef; Ponce offered to spend 39,000 reales for these materials.\footnote{130} Of live stock including cattle, sheep, goats, colts and nares, Oñate had provided for 6,400 head, but again Ponce completely outdid him by offering to increase this number to 13,900. Instead of six bellows, as Oñate had stipulated, Don Pedro would bring fourteen; in a group of materials including footgear, medicine, gifts to the Indians, paper, cloth, iron tools, and iron for horseshoes, Oñate's offer was completely eclipsed. His sum was 38,400 reales; that of Ponce 79,400. Twenty ox carts had been specified by Oñate; his competitor would provide thirty. In no case did any of Ponce's proposals fall below those made by his rival. The latter's personal equipment of horses, mules, saddles, arms,
etc., was, in general, increased an equal amount, and in addition Ponce would take shields, helmets, muskets and crossbows, for which no provision had been made by Don Juan. Moreover many of the concessions demanded by Oñate were not now mentioned. By this strong bid Ponce, Count of Bailén, thus strove to secure the honor of conquering New Mexico.

Ponce and Alvarez Negotiate. During the summer months of 1596, the licentiate Agustín Alvarez de Toledo, acting for the Council of the Indies, reached an agreement with Ponce for the proposed conquest, and forwarded it to the Council for approval. This was given, and the papers were then sent to the king for final confirmation September 7, 1596.

While the terms of a contract were being arranged the aspiring conqueror specified some particular things which he desired his contract to contain. Some of these requests have been preserved in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, Spain, in the form of rough notes, evidently made by some clerk for the convenience of Alvarez or the Council. They are, with one exception, undated and unsigned, but do contain decrees of approval or dissent and carry rubrics. Their chief importance rests in the

132. The Council to the king, September 7, 1596, in ibid., 305.
134. "Don Pedro Ponce de León prays that your worship will propose to the members of the Council that they shall grant him what is stated in the following articles. [Madrid, April 23, 1596]." in Hackett, Hist. Docs., 295-299. The decrees approving or refusing these requests are not given by Professor Hackett.
135. These papers were published by Professor Hackett under date of April 23, 1596, which is date of a letter of Ponce de León, in which he elaborates on his reason for desiring to undertake the conquest of New Mexico. (See Hackett, Hist. Docs., 295-299) None of the other papers were written that early, as an examination of the internal evidence shows. It was not till May 2, 1596, that the king authorized the Council to look into the conditions proposed by Ponce. (Royal decree in report of the Council of the Indies of April 23, 1596, in ibid., 301-202) and on May 19 that Alvarez was named to act for the Council. Moreover Ponce stated in one of these notes that a creditable person had come to Madrid from New Spain, bringing certain information which showed Oñate's inability to manage the expedition honorably; that his captains had left Mexico with only a handful of men, most of whom were half-breeds and mulattos; and that so many outrages had been committed that the viceroy and audiencia had been constrained to send an alcalde to punish the lawless
fact that they show us some special privileges which Ponce requested in order to make his venture successful. In particular he wanted to be made governor of Nueva Vizcaya on completion of the incumbent's term. That would enable him to place a lieutenant in that government, and to order reinforcements sent to New Mexico without appealing to the officials in New Spain, which was usually a dubious affair and likely to involve ruinous delay.

Ponce's request was not granted. The king merely informed the governor of Nueva Vizcaya of the contract and ordered him to aid the new conqueror in whatever he might need and ask for, specifically requiring him to return any runaway soldiers found in Nueva Vizcaya. That was as far as the king would go in this matter. He did not want the adelantado of New Mexico to become too powerful.

Nature of the Contract. The contract which the Council of the Indies had made with Ponce de León does not differ materially from the one which the viceroy had concluded with Onate, though its provisions are, on the whole,
characterized by greater concessions to Ponce.\textsuperscript{138} This is not strange in view of the fact that the latter had demanded less of the king and had promised to equip a larger expedition entirely at his own expense. Nor can we forget that the Council particularly favored his cause and seemingly urged him to accept favors at the hands of the king.\textsuperscript{139}

It has already been observed that Ponce agreed to assemble three hundred soldiers for the expedition, all to be recruited in the Indies. In order to enlist so many men every facility was placed at his command.\textsuperscript{140} The supplies required for the support of the expedition after the new lands had been reached, the flour, maize, wheat, cattle, etc., remained the same as Ponce had first proposed to the Council early in 1596.\textsuperscript{141} One new article of importance provided that he would bring one hundred and thirty officials and servants of his own household to New Mexico, the married ones to be accompanied by their wives and families. In addition thereto one hundred soldiers might be recruited at home. After all, the entire three hundred need not be secured in the colonies, and the king instructed the Casa de Contratación to permit them to leave Spain.\textsuperscript{142} The order was in no way compulsory, only certain objectionable classes being prohibited from going to the Indies.\textsuperscript{143}

No export duties were to be paid by any of these men who enlisted in Spain, nor was Ponce to pay such duties. Cédulas embodying these favors were issued by the king and sent to officials in New Spain and Nueva Galicia.\textsuperscript{144}

\textsuperscript{138} It was approved by the king on September 25, 1596. \textit{ibid.}, 305.
\textsuperscript{139} See the Statement of what Oñate and Ponce offer, \textit{in ibid.}, 281-293, \textit{passim}.
\textsuperscript{140} Contract and agreement with Don Pedro Ponce de León, September 25, 1596, \textit{in ibid.}, 307-317. (Hereafter cited as Ponce's contract.) For special cédula confirming this privilege, see \textit{ibid.}, 323-325.
\textsuperscript{141} The contract reads that 290 colts and 290 mares were to be taken to New Mexico, which is evidently an error for 250. See Hackett, \textit{Hist. Docs.}, 455 note 27. My copy of the same document also gives the number as 290.
\textsuperscript{142} Royal cédula, October 16, 1596, \textit{in Hackett, Hist. Docs.}, 335.
\textsuperscript{143} Licenses had to be procured for going to the Indies, and the emigrant had to prove himself an orthodox Catholic before it would be issued. Robertson, W. S. \textit{History of the Latin-American Nations}, 124.
\textsuperscript{144} Ponce's contract, \textit{in Hackett, Hist. Docs.}, 315; royal cédula, October 19, 1596, \textit{in ibid.}, 337-339.
In the personal equipment of the two conquerors we also find a decided difference. Ponce in particular had bound himself to bring an elaborate supply of materials for this purpose, presumably to emphasize the greater distinction of his own person.\textsuperscript{145}

There were also some special provisions in Ponce's contract with the king. He agreed to carry out its terms within a year and a half after it had been approved.\textsuperscript{146} In Mexico his army was to be inspected by the viceroy in order that the king might know that he had fulfilled his obligations. On the whole he was to remain under the viceroy's supervision while in New Spain and Nueva Galicia, but as soon as New Mexico was reached he was to be wholly independent. He would then be directly responsible to the Council of the Indies. Civil cases involving one hundred pesos or more could be appealed to Spain, and the same was true of criminal cases where the sentence was death, or the permanent injury or removal of a limb. However the appeal might be made to the nearby audiencia of Nueva Galicia. Aside from these points Ponce was the highest source of justice within New Mexico.\textsuperscript{147}

Numerous aids and incentives were granted Ponce. He was made governor and captain-general with a salary of twelve thousand ducats,\textsuperscript{148} twice the amount allowed Oñate. He could engrave stamps and dies with the royal arms to mark the precious metals. He could establish royal treasuries, name the officials thereof, and after these had become explorers and settlers, divide the Indians among them, even though there might be prohibitions against holding these two privileges at the same time.\textsuperscript{149} Royal

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145. Ponce's contract, in \textit{ibid.}, 269.
146. \textit{Ibid.}
147. \textit{Ibid.}, 317. A special cédula was issued concerning Ponce's independence of the officials in America, in which the viceroys and audiencias and other officials in New Spain and Nueva Galicia were warned of this fact. Royal cédula, October 26, 1596, A. G. I., 139-1-2.
148. Ponce's contract, in \textit{ibid.}, 313; special cédulas to this effect were issued, but the king was to be under no obligation to pay that salary if there was no money in New Mexico, \textit{Ibid.}, 225; 339-341.
149. Ponce's contract, in \textit{ibid.}, 313; for special cédulas, see \textit{ibid.}, 339.
funds might be used in suppressing rebellion, provided a majority of the royal officials approved.\textsuperscript{150} He was privileged to make ordinances for the regulation of mines and the government, though royal sanction must be secured within three years. He could divide the province into districts and appoint officials, but royal approval must eventually be had. He might also name a cosmographer who was to make scientific descriptions of the province and to select suitable sites for the establishment of towns.\textsuperscript{151} Three cities were to be founded within six years, and in each Ponce agreed to construct a fort.\textsuperscript{152} After their completion he was to have command of them for the remainder of his lifetime with an annual salary of one hundred thousand maravedis for each one.\textsuperscript{153} He would also build vessels to examine the rivers and parts of the North and South Seas in case his discovery should lead him to either of these bodies of water.\textsuperscript{154}

Concerning war materials more was given Ponce than his competitor. His allowance consisted of four pieces of artillery, forty quintals of powder, a hundred and thirty of lead,\textsuperscript{155} and sixty quintals of fuse, for which he had petitioned the crown. If more powder should be needed this might be purchased in Mexico at the same rate as the crown had to pay.\textsuperscript{156}

Ponce de León was given some other powers similar to those granted Oñate, namely: the right to arrest anyone who might have entered New Mexico without authority;\textsuperscript{157} to take along, as interpreter, an Indian woman who had come from that province;\textsuperscript{158} and to give all the Indians of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{150} This was a special concession. \textit{Royal cédula}, October 12, 1596, in \textit{ibid.}, 337.
\item \textsuperscript{151} Ponce's contract, in \textit{ibid.}, 313-319; for special cédulas, see \textit{ibid.}, 322; 381.
\item \textsuperscript{152} Ponce's contract, in \textit{ibid.}, 317.
\item \textsuperscript{153} The maravedis is an old Spanish coin worth about one sixth of a cent.
\item \textsuperscript{154} Ponce's contract, in Hackett, \textit{Hist. Docs.}, 311.
\item \textsuperscript{155} \textit{Ibid.}, 315.
\item \textsuperscript{156} \textit{Ibid.}, 316.
\item \textsuperscript{157} This refers to Bonilla and Humaña who made an unauthorized expedition to New Mexico in 1593.
\item \textsuperscript{158} Ponce's contract, in Hackett, \textit{Hist. Docs.}, 315; \textit{Royal cédula}, October 16, 1596, in \textit{ibid.}, 331-333.
\end{itemize}
New Mexico in encomienda among the soldiers and settlers of the first three generations. However the ports and capital cities must be reserved for the crown. Ponce was especially warned that all the royal regulations designed to protect the natives must be observed. One point was singled out for emphasis and provided that the aborigines should be taxed according to the New Laws of 1542. If more than the proper amount of tribute should be exacted by an encomendero he was to be deprived of his encomienda and permanently disqualified from holding any such privilege again. Ponce was also permitted to give pasture and farm land to the settlers, but in order to acquire permanent title to such land the prospective owner had to "homestead" for five years. No taxes of any kind were to be levied on those who had erected sugar mills and used slaves to operate them, nor could a tax be put on the slaves or the equipment used.

A number of important exemptions were granted to Don Pedro Ponce. The customary royal fifth, always imposed on the precious metals, pearls and valuable stones, was reduced to a tenth during the first twenty years of the conquest. The much hated alcabala, or excise tax, universally despised in the Spanish-American colonies, was withheld for twenty years. Both of these privileges were to date from the time when the first town should be founded. Mention should also be made of the almojarifazgo, an import and export duty on all commerce, from which the colonists of New Mexico were freed for a decade.

Some additional articles of Ponce's contract remain to be noticed. All the officials in the army of soldiers and colonists were to be appointed by him, and the king's agents in America were specially instructed to give all possible aid.

159. Royal cédula, October 15, 1596, in ibid., 323; for a summary of the New Laws, see Priestley, The Mexican Nation, 82-84.
160. Ponce's contract, in Hackett, Hist. Docs., 315-319; for special cédulas, see ibid., 323; 335.
Even if there were men in the army who had committed crimes they were not to be detained unless some one insisted on prosecuting them. As a special favor Ponce was permitted to take fifty negro slaves to the Indies free of duty, both in Spain and in New Spain. But thereupon the order was to be destroyed lest it be used again. So carefully was the commercial monopoly guarded.

Then too Ponce was allowed to select his heir for the continuance of the conquest should he himself die before its completion. Oñate, it will be recalled, was accorded the same privilege, subject to the approval of the viceroy of New Spain.

Ponce had petitioned the king for permission to leave the province of New Mexico at the end of six years after it had been explored and settled. This was granted, as was his request to leave a qualified substitute in his place. Oñate's petition for the same privileges had been refused, but there is this point to be noted. Ponce asked to leave after having successfully completed his task, whereas Oñate desired freedom to go at any time wherever he pleased.

The privilege of becoming hidalgo was granted to Ponce's settlers, but the honor did not hold should they abandon the province. This restriction was evidently designed to promote the growth of New Mexico as a Spanish province. Oñate's settlers had to remain only five years to win the coveted glory. Titles of towns and cities could be given by Ponce as a further inducement for going to New Mexico. Political and military "plums" were to be distributed among the sons and grandsons of the original settlers, and they could not be deprived of their offices.

164. Ibid., 819-821; for special cédulas, ibid., 331; 339.
165. For an account of the mercantile system, see Haring, C. H. Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies, chs. I and VI.
167. Ibid., 321; 343.
168. Ponce's contract, in Hackett, Hist. Docs., 319; for special cédula, see ibid., 343.
169. Given in two cédulas issued October 19, 1596. Ibid., 335-337.
170. Cédula of October 19, in ibid., 337.
Regarding the missionaries who were to accompany the expedition and undertake the conversion of the land, Ponce had agreed to pay all their expenses. Jesuits had been procured for this purpose, and the contract so provided. But for some reason which does not appear a different arrangement had been made by October 28, 1596, Franciscans having been substituted for the Jesuits. On the date mentioned the king requested the Father Provincial of the Franciscan Order of New Spain to give Ponce six religious to engage in ministering unto the Indians of New Mexico. This remained the final disposition.

Ponce's Secure Position, 1596. It is thus evident that in September 1596, when Ponce's contract was approved by the king, his ascendancy was complete. The Council of the Indies supported him. Philip II had accepted the recommendations of his advisers seemingly without reserve. The contract read that "it is my royal and determined will that you and no other person whatsoever shall undertake the said pacification, settlement, and exploration, or if it has been commenced by another that you shall continue and finish it." In accord with this policy so forcefully expressed the king instructed the Count of Monterey of the royal will in this matter and of the necessity of detaining Don Juan de Oñate wherever he might be. Truly there seemed to be no hope for him.

Reversal of Fortune, 1597. Nothing is known of what actually transpired between the first part of November, 1596, and the early part of February, 1597. It seems that Ponce passed through a critical illness, and that his fortunes, on the whole, suffered a serious check. This change is seen in a letter of the Council to the king. It reveals the fact that Ponce, previous to that date, had petitioned the

172. Cédula of October 26, 1596, in *ibid.*, 343.
175. The Council to the king, February 18, 1597, in *ibid.*, 347.
176. The Council to the king, February 7, 1597, in *ibid.*, 345.
king for the right to place a mortgage on his estate in order to complete his preparations for the expedition to New Mexico. If this was not favored he desired the king to loan him a certain sum which would enable him to carry on what he had begun. It further shows that the Council was still acting as spokesman for Ponce, urging that he should go very soon. When the Council wrote this report it had just received information from the viceroy of New Spain to the effect that Oñate had been advised of the cédula of May 3, 1596, stopping the expedition. With his army halted the opportunity for Ponce was as good as ever, and he was anxious to conclude the necessary arrangements. But the king again acted with deliberation. He asked to see the papers which Monterey had sent dealing with these matters. 177

In spite of the king's lack of warmth for Ponce's cause the Council reiterated its preference for him. 178 In a summary of the whole situation it pointed out that in December, 1595, Monterey had been dissatisfied with both Oñate and his contract. Now all this was changed. His recent letters had urged that Oñate be retained as leader of the expedition. 179 This change of heart displeased the Council. Ponce was ready to leave on eight days' notice. He had a brother in Seville preparing the ships, arms and provisions necessary. If a change should be made at that stage of affairs his reputation would suffer greatly. Such a rebuff would be an extremely poor reward for a man who had volunteered to serve his majesty with much spirit and generosity. Furthermore the Council charged that the doubt cast on Ponce's cause was the work of a brother-in-law of Oñate, an oidor of the audiencia of Mexico. His stand was that a captain coming from Spain would be unable to cope with conditions in the New World. But this was of minor

178. The Council to the king. February 18, 1597, in ibid., 347.
importance, maintained the Council, and it recommended that Ponce himself should bear the news of the king's decision to the Indies.\footnote{180}

**King Philip Suspends Ponce.** On this occasion King Philip did not accept the advice of his royal Council. He felt that since Ponce was in poor health and lacked the necessary funds no immediate decision should be made. The Council was instructed to keep him in suspense for the time being, meanwhile making secret inquiry of the viceroy as to whether Oñate still had everything in readiness to continue the expedition. If so, he should be authorized to proceed to New Mexico, but if his force had fallen to pieces, the king was to be promptly informed.\footnote{181} The Council, however, was in no mood to leave matters in such an uncertain muddle. Since Ponce was continuing his preparations at much expense it seemed proper that he be undeceived at once or that he be informed that no decision could be made for a year and a half.\footnote{182} To this the king laconically replied that he should be informed that nothing could be determined for a year.\footnote{183}

Shortly after these events had occurred the king's will was embodied in a formal cédula to the Count of Monterey. This was merely a repetition of his orders to the Council that Oñate should be permitted to conquer New Mexico if he was prepared to do so.\footnote{184} With this sudden termination Ponce's good fortune came to an abrupt end. As far as the expedition to New Mexico is concerned he is not heard of again. In fact nothing more is known of Don Pedro Ponce de León.

\footnote{180}{The Council to the king, February 18, 1597, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 347.}
\footnote{181}{Royal decree in report of the Council of February 18, 1597, in *ibid.*, 349.}
\footnote{182}{The Council to the king, March 7, 1597, in *ibid.*, 349.}
\footnote{183}{Royal decree in report of the Council of March 7, 1597, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 349.}
\footnote{184}{Royal cédula, April 2, 1597, in *ibid.*, 345.}
Chapter IV.

Onate in the Wilderness

*Preparing the Expedition.* The contract which the viceroy made with Oñate was formally approved September 21, 1595, as we have seen, and preparations for the great enterprise were soon under way. It was undertaken in feudal style. Important positions were given to wealthy friends and relatives. These did homage and swore fealty to Oñate and raised companies at their own expense. Oñate’s nephew Juan de Zaldivar was at once named maestre de campo; another nephew Vicente de Zaldívar became sargento mayor; the wealthy Juan Guerra de Resa was made lieutenant captain-general. Oñate’s brothers Cristóbal and Luís Nuñez Pérez were made his personal representatives in Mexico.

The preparations were carried forward enthusiastically for a time. If we believe the picture given by Villagrá, the soldier-poet, a spirit of friendly helpfulness prevailed among the soldiers. Not even the bees, under the stimulus of the April sun, could make honey with greater haste than the future conquerors of New Mexico prepared themselves for their work. Proclamations were made in the most frequented streets, picturing the many privileges given to those who would serve in the conquest. Banners were hoisted, trumpets sounded, fifes played and drums beat. Mingled with these martial notes was the clamor of the soldiers who were burning with eagerness to set off for the land of promise, the “otro Mexico,” immediately.

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185. See chapter II of this study in Vol. I of the Review.
187. They were given this power on October 19, 1595, in Zacatecas. Aceptación de las capitulaciones, December 15, 1595. A. G. I., 58-3-12. Villagrá mentions only Cristóbal. *Historia*, I, 29.
The scenes enacted by Oñate and his followers resembled those which had occurred when Coronado organized his army in 1540, to explore the Northern Mystery. In the city of Mexico where only one recruiting squad was permitted, Vicente de Zaldivar was put in charge with authority to enlist both foot and horse. For this privilege his friends were so happy that they carried him to the palace to kiss the Count's hands. Proceeding to the grand plaza, a salute of artillery was fired to indicate that enlistment was under way.172

Opposition from Oñate's Foes. The start so brilliantly begun soon struck obstacles. Monterey the new viceroy entered upon his duties in Mexico in November, 1595,190 and Oñate's contract was submitted to him for his approval.191 Office seekers flocked to his court, and among them were enemies of Oñate.192 These malcontents were probably the main element in prejudicing the viceroy against the enterprise.

Discouragement of the Soldiers. Before the two viceroys came to an agreement at Oculma in regard to Oñate's contract the uncertainty and delay caused by the change in government nearly ruined the army which had commenced to assemble. "It faded and dried up like an unwatered flower," said the poet. Gossip and slander had been so widely circulated that the soldiers lost faith in their leader and shamelessly believed the charges against him.193 In an appeal to the king Oñate himself painted the difficulties under which he was working during the latter part of 1595. He complained that the delay in forwarding his warrants had occasioned enormous damage; that some of the soldiers had lost interest and were completely discouraged; and that the outlook was growing more dubious. It might not be pos-

172. Torquemada, Monarchia Indiana, I, 671.
190. Ibid: Bancroft, Mexico, II, 766.
191. See chapter II.
192. Villagrá, Historia, I, 27: 30; Bancroft follows Villagrá, Arizona and New Mexico, 118.
sible to carry out the expedition before the rainy season commenced. That possibility would involve great expense, and be extremely disheartening to the entire army.\(^\text{194}\)

By tactful management he succeeded, together with his lieutenant Juan Guerra de Resa, in preventing the break-up of the expedition, and at the conference of Monterey and Velasco at Oculma he was permitted to go on with the enterprise.\(^\text{195}\)

The news of that decision was sent to the camp by letter and caused an outburst of joy.\(^\text{196}\) Recruiting again went forward with enthusiasm and the expedition was nearing completion in January, 1596, according to Oñate’s claims.\(^\text{197}\) Such a statement is probably an exaggeration, but it indicates that all was progressing as rapidly as could be expected.\(^\text{198}\)

At last nothing was lacking except the final warrants,\(^\text{199}\) but trouble was brewing. During the Christmas season of 1595, Monterey carefully scrutinized Oñate’s capitulation\(^\text{200}\) and concluded to limit his privileges in some important particulars. As already intimated it is possible that this decision was due to suspicions aroused by discontented fortune seekers disgusted at Oñate’s success.

When the news of this additional misfortune reached the army it was thrown into utmost confusion. The angry soldiers turned on their leader again. It was clear to them that the privileges which had been so tantalisingly displayed at the time of enlistment had

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195. See chapter II.
197. Letter of Cristóbal de Oñate, [January, 1596]; order of Monterey, June 6, 1596, in Traslado de la visita que por comision del señor virrey tomó Don Lope de Ulloa y Lemos á Don Juan de Oñate, de la gente, armas y municiones que llevó para la conquista del Nuevo México, A. G. I., 58-3-14. Hereafter cited as Ulloa visita. See also Santiago del Riego to the king, November 10, 1596, in Hackett, Hist. Docs., 369.
198. The Viscaino expedition to the Californias was being organized at this same time, and though Monterey had objections to it and was dubious of the outcome, he did not hinder its progress. Chapman, C. E. History of California, 124-126.
200. See chapter II.
been mere mockery. Charges of deception and even of treachery were leveled at him, and it was with much difficulty that their suspicions were allayed and order restored anew. The assistance of the faithful Juan Guerra seems to have been important in bringing this about.\(^{20}\)

**Success in Enlisting Men.** Oñate's representatives did not hesitate in coming to a decision in regard to the viceroy's limitations. These they accepted,\(^{202}\) and then the governor was immediately given complete and final authority to go on with the enterprise.\(^{203}\) Additional facilities were also given for enlisting soldiers and Monterey thus felt that the journey to New Mexico could be made that season.\(^{204}\)

In spite of the many reverses which had served to discredit the expedition the captains seemed to meet with success in securing men. The attitude of the viceroy had now changed and he was represented as friendly to the project. This aided in stimulating enlistment and many married men volunteered.\(^{205}\) In fact matters progressed so fast that on April 17, Monterey reported that almost all of the soldiers recruited in Mexico were already on the way to Zacatecas. Haste was necessary if the journey was to take place that year, as the viceroy realized, and he was hurrying along those who had not then departed.\(^{206}\)

**Arranging the Visita.** At the same time Monterey was making other plans in order that Oñate might not leave Zacatecas for New Mexico with a smaller number of men and less supplies than he had agreed to bring. In order to safeguard the welfare of the soldiers and settlers in the army and to protect the Indians and possessions of the mining settlements in Nueva Galicia and Nueva Vizcaya,

\(^{201}\) Villagrán, *Historia*, I, 84-85.
\(^{202}\) Letter of Cristóbal de Oñate, [January, 1596].
\(^{203}\) Aceptación del consentimiento que se hizo por Don Juan de Oñate a la moderación de las capitulaciones, January 13, 1596. A. G. I., 58-3-15.
\(^{204}\) Carta del Conde de Monterey á S. M., February 28, 1596.
\(^{205}\) Torquemada, *Monarquia Indiana*, I, 671.
\(^{206}\) Monterey á S. M., April 17, 1596. A. G. I., 58-3-12.
which were situated along the line of march, he determined to send a reliable officer to review the army. If we may believe his own words he appears to have been somewhat perturbed about the performance of this duty, because much suffering had already been caused Oñate and this inspection would probably give additional reason for complaint. Nevertheless he proposed in an acuerdo de hacienda, held on May 18, 1596, that the inspection should be held, and the plan was approved.

With these necessary arrangements completed the Count nominated the captain of the viceregal guard, Don Lope de Ulloa y Lemos, as juez visitador y teniente de capitán-general for the New Mexico expedition. His instructions required him to overtake the colonists and accompany them from Zacatecas to Santa Bárbara in order to become thoroughly familiar with conditions in the army. The visita was not necessarily to be held at Santa Bárbara, but near there. Oñate's contract had stipulated that the army should be assembled at that place, the last settlement in the conquered territory, and there he should give proof of having fulfilled his obligations. If the inspection proved that the requirements of the contract had been fulfilled he was to be permitted to go on, otherwise he should be detained.

One other commission was given Don Lope de Ulloa. Recruiting was dragging on more slowly than had been anticipated. Some of the soldiers and colonists were still in Mexico on June 6, 1596, in spite of efforts to hurry them on toward Oñate's rendezvous. Small groups were departing

207. Monterey a S. M., April 17, 1596. A. G. L., 58-3-12.
208. Order of Monterey, June 6, 1596, in Ulloa visita.
209. Ibid. see also "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento," in Col. Doc. Inéd., XVI, 191; Villagrá, Historia, 1, 35.
211. Monterey to the king, November 15, 1596, in ibid., 377. Ulloa was also given several assistants. Antonio de Negrete, who had served in the royal council of Castile, was made secretario; Francisco de Esquivel, who had seen military service in Flanders and Portugal, was named comisario; and Jaime Fernández went as alguacil. See order of Monterey, June 6, 1596, in Ulloa visita.
for Zacatecas at irregular intervals, and it was rumored that they were disturbing the inhabitants and causing more or less property damage.\textsuperscript{212} These complaints reached the viceroy in the first part of June. To punish such offences and eliminate future occurrences Monterey gave Ulloa full power to deal with any trouble that might arise. At the same time he was to observe friendly relations with Oñate. The latter was to remain free to govern his people and to enforce military discipline. Ulloa should only interfere to protect the settlements or to punish those guilty of crimes. These special cases were left entirely to his discretion. As soon as the inspection had been held Oñate should be compelled, if it was successful, to continue the journey in order that he might enter New Mexico in August, 1596.\textsuperscript{213} Monterey did not want the army to linger and excite the newly pacified areas of Nueva Galicia and Nueva Vizcaya. These orders were fulfilled at once. On June 11, the various officers left Mexico to assume their duties.\textsuperscript{214}

On their journey northward Ulloa and his company carried letters from Monterey to Oñate, wherein he wished him the good fortune which so illustrious an individual and his distinguished relatives deserved, and bade him Godspeed in the conquest. He did not desire that Oñate should be worried about the inspection which Ulloa was to make, and attempted to overcome objections by saying that it was ordered as a formality rather than because on any suspicions that the contract had not been fulfilled. These glad tidings were received with joy by the soldiers, for it seemed to augur a speedy march, and they celebrated with tournaments and merrymaking.\textsuperscript{215}

\textit{Appraising the Supplies.} Before the inspection could take place certain preparations had to be made to enable

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{212} Order of Monterey, June 6, 1596, in \textit{Ulloa visita}.
\item \textsuperscript{213} Order of Monterey, June 10, 1596, in \textit{Ulloa visita}.
\item \textsuperscript{214} Report of Antonio de Negrete, June 11, 1596, \textit{ibid}.
\item \textsuperscript{215} Villagrán, \textit{Historia}, 1, 35.
\end{itemize}
Ulloa to hold it. Oñate, for example, had bound himself to take along five hundred pesos worth of medicine. Many other articles in the contract were given in the same manner. In order to determine upon a scale of prices for the visita Monterey ordered that two appraisers should be chosen, one by the king and the other by Oñate, to make such an adjustment. This was done in Mexico City. Gordian Casasano, contador of the royal alcabala of New Spain, and Baltasar Rodríguez were chosen for this purpose by the respective groups. They were to appraise the horseshoe iron, nails, footgear, medicine, iron tools, iron for making tools, paper, frieze and sackcloth, and things for bartering and for making gifts to the Indians, according to the prices prevailing in Zacatecas. Flour, maize, wheat and jerked beef, on the contrary, were to be regulated by the prices in the frontier towns of Guadiana (Durango), La Puana and Santa Bárbara. When the appraisers presented their report in Mexico on June 18, two of these items, the medicine and the things for the Indians, could not be definitely appraised, and they suggested that it would have to be done in Zacatecas.

Meanwhile Ulloa and his staff proceeded to Zacatecas where he soon delegated the second of his commissions, containing certain police powers, to the commissary Francisco de Esquivel, instructing him carefully to follow the army to Santa Bárbara and to punish all disorders. To simplify this task he was ordered not to permit the soldiers to scatter about; none were allowed to wander more than half a league beyond the camino real. Ulloa gave him full power for enforcing these measures and appointed an alguacil to assist him.

Inspecting the Medicine. Having relieved himself of these disciplinary functions Ulloa next turned his attention

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217. Statement of Monterey, June 14, 1596, in Ulloa visita.
218. Report of Gordian Casasano and Baltasar Rodríguez, Mexico, June 18, 1596, in ibid.
to the inspection and ordered that the five hundred pesos of medicine which was to be valued according to the current Zacatecas price, should be appraised at once. To reach an agreement on this score he appointed as his agent Pedro de Vergara. At the same time Cristóbal de Zaldivar, Oñate's representative in the province, chose Alonso Sánchez Montemolín to cooperate with him. They appraised the materials in question, but the total value only amounted to three hundred and six pesos, or one hundred and ninety less than was required to fulfill the contract.

The Order of Suspension. The record of what happened during the next six weeks is almost a blank. We do know that the army continued marching, as it reached the Nazas river on September 9. It is also clear that Oñate was completing his preparations for the inspection by purchasing such cattle and supplies as were still needed. Aside from that there was probably nothing to record.

While the soldiers were thus plodding forward discouraging news from Mexico was about to overtake them. In the latter part of July the viceroy received an order from the king, in response to his letter of December 20, 1595, suspending Oñate as leader of the expedition and prohibiting him from entering New Mexico. If the journey should already have commenced the army was to come to an immediate halt. He was to remain under that ban till the king pleased to order otherwise. This cédula had been ordered on recommendation of the Council of the Indies which was vigorously campaigning for Don Pedro Ponce de León in order that he might become the conqueror of New Mexico.
When Monterey received the cédula he forwarded it to Ulloa, and accompanied it by an order of his own of August 12, 1596. In rigorous terms he added warning and severe penalties to the king's decree should it not be obeyed. Oñate was prohibited from going beyond the place where the cédula should be received, though Ulloa might allow him to go a few leagues, if he found it necessary to do so, to better hold the people. Any such arrangement had to be made in writing. Failure to comply with the king's cédula, was the dire threat, would mean the loss of all the privileges granted in the contract.

**Oñate Dissimulates.** The bitter news contained in these messages did not reach Oñate till September 9, 1596, while the army was camped at the Rio de las Nazas in Nueva Vizcaya. On that day there came hurrying to the camp a messenger asking albricias for the dispatch which he brought from the viceroy. Believing that it contained orders for the continuation of the journey he proclaimed good news, saying that the entire camp was finally ordered to enter New Mexico. But it was all a tragic mistake. When the seal was broken, and Oñate took the precaution to do this behind closed doors, it was found to be the royal order delaying the whole affair. Oñate however did not falter, but remained true to his king as on former occasions. He respectfully kissed the unwelcome letter and reverently placed it upon his head in token of obedience.

What was now to be done? If the army should learn the true nature of the message it would be demoralized. All were anxiously waiting to hear the news and Oñate soon satisfied their curiosity. Putting on a bold front he

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228. Notification to Oñate, in Hackett, Hist. Docs., 351; Oñate to Monterey, September 13, 1596, in ibid., 353.
229. Reward for some good news.
231. Notification to Oñate, in ibid., 351; Villagrá, Historia, I, 39.
too proclaimed good news; the entrada would be made without delay. The overjoyed soldiers gave vent to their feelings by displaying their skill on horseback. A race was first run, and then a tilting match was staged, led by the two best men in the camp, the Zaldívar brothers, Juan and Vicente. Oñate also celebrated by riding forth to witness the spectacle, and when he dismounted his gayly bedecked steed on returning to camp he gave the messenger the reward expected for the good news he had borne.\footnote{232}

This additional discouragement was hard to bear. Oñate had already suffered extraordinary expenses due to the earlier delays. His army had now been assembled practically a year and the situation was more dubious than ever before. It is true that there was still a ray of hope on the horizon. Further orders were expected from Spain by the fleet. It would come, at the very latest, in October.\footnote{233} Hope was now pinned on the possibility that the king might countermand the decree of suspension.\footnote{234} In the meantime he could not prevent the desertion of large numbers of the soldiers if they should learn the truth. Monterey took what precautions he could in order to help him in this respect, for there were rumors afloat in the city of Mexico that Don Pedro Ponce was coming to displace Oñate. This story had been learned in private letters from Madrid. To discredit them Monterey said as much as he dared in public to counteract such hearsay, and Ulloa dissimulated in the same manner in Oñate’s army, where he was waiting to hold the inspection. If the fleet should arrive at the accustomed time, the expedition would thus be found intact.\footnote{235}

Juan Guerra Promises Aid. While Oñate was awaiting the receipt of such news, however, his supplies must deteriorate and losses of horses and cattle would be inevitable. Up till this time he had already expended more than one hundred thousand Castilian ducats on the expedition.

\footnote{232. Villagrá, Historia, I, 39-40.}
\footnote{233. Monterey to the king, November 15, 1596, in Hackett, Hist. Docs., 379.}
\footnote{234. Oñate to Monterey, September 13, 1596, in ibid., 353.}
\footnote{235. Monterey to the king, November 15, 1596, in ibid., 379.}
His captains and soldiers had spent more than twice that amount. They had sold their lands and would be practically destitute on the break-up of the army. This information was included in a report made by Ulloa’s secretary, Antonio Negrete. It is perhaps a proper antidote to Villagrá’s estimate of half a million ducados largos which Oñate was said to have expended on the enterprise. It is at any rate clear that Oñate was again in straightened circumstances. In his difficulty he turned to his friend and relative Juan Guerra de Resa, the lieutenant captain-general of the expedition, and revealed the actual condition of affairs to him. Juan Guerra had long ere this won distinction because of the great work and large sums of money he had spent in the service of the king, and he did not fail his friend now. “Like the illustrious Jacob, who, charmed by the beautiful Rachel wished to live with Laban again,” so did Guerra once more desire to serve the king, and without considering the services he had already performed, pledged Oñate one hundred thousand pesos annually from the income of his estates. He accepted joyfully.

When the above events had transpired the expedition halted at the mines of Casco by Ulloa’s order. The place proved an unfortunate stopping place, according to the poet, as it was barren of provisions, grazing land and water. These mines were reached November 1, 1596.

Failure of the Fleet. The slender hopes which Don Juan had nourished regarding the arrival of additional news from the king that fall were shortly dashed to the ground. On October 22, Monterey dispatched a message,
notifying him that the ships had not left that year, and
therefore no news could be expected till spring. The
information was received on November 22, while the army
was still at Casco. In view of this condition of affairs
Oñate was again warned that the ban of suspension was
still in effect. It was a desperate situation which he was
facing, but no sign of disobedience was shown. Villagrá

tells how the viceroy tried to assuage Oñate's ruffled feel­
ings by expressing the utmost confidence in him, but the
poet scoffed at such condolatory expressions.

Oñate Protests. While the army was worrying away
the weary days at the mines of Casco renewed efforts were
made by the leaders in this drama to influence the viceroy
and the king for a favorable decision. Oñate sent a pains­
taking and exhaustive report to Monterey. Freely now
did he express his emotions. He was quite beside himself
with grief over the new misfortune and complained that
the extreme penalties provided in the viceroy's order ac­
companying the royal cédula of suspension were unnecess­
ary for a true and faithful vassal of the king. He protest­
ed that he had no intention to do otherwise than to obey,
even though it might mean an extraordinary reversal of
fortune for him, loss of all the money and labor expend­
ed, and irretrievable diminution of reputation and prestige.
He promised obedience both in form and spirit, and volun­
teered to make every effort to hold the expedition together
until his majesty ordered differently.

Facing the facts squarely Oñate informed Monterey
that only a handful of soldiers or colonists would remain
in the army should it be learned that a new leader was ex­

240. Order of Monterey, October 22, 1596, in Ulloa visita; "Memorial sobre el
descubrimiento," in Col. Doc. Inéd., XVI, 192; due to the wars in Europe only eleven
fleets came to Vera Cruz between 1580 and 1600. Bourne, E. G. Spain in America,
285-286.
241. Notification to Oñate, November 22, 1596, in Ulloa visita.
pected. There were obvious reasons for this. The army was a feudal organization. Should Oñate and his chief officers go the key stone would fall from the arch. The soldiers would follow their old leaders whom they admired. Moreover Oñate had followed the customary methods of the frontier in organizing his army. He was accustomed to Indian warfare and had acted from experience. European methods of fighting would be futile against the natives. Consequently any one coming from Spain must necessarily be at a great disadvantage in managing an army organized to conquer a new province like the "otro Mexico."

Oñate thus argued that the threatening change of leadership would bring about the destruction of the expedition. Some had already deserted," and others were being retained by rather dubious means. These facts were soon seen by Ulloa, who was then with the expedition. He gave Oñate all the assistance at his command in preserving the intactness of the force. Don Juan appreciated this kindness. He was glad that all straggling bands of soldiers had been compelled to unite with the army. The evil these isolated groups had inflicted on the countryside was as bad for Oñate as for anyone else. The rumors of their depredations were giving the expedition a black eye and furnishing its enemies an opportunity to discredit its leader before the king."

Oñate Requests an Inspection. While thus attempting to make secure his position as leader of the expedition Oñate was also seeking to safeguard his rights by giving proof of having fulfilled the contract. On November 1, a large part of the army reached Casco." Other parts were at Santa Bárbara and La Puana. Normally the inspection

244. Santiago del Riego to the king, November 10, 1596, in Hackett, Hist. Docs., 369.
245. Oñate to Monterey, September 13, 1596, in ibid., 359.
246. See above.
would have been held without delay, but would if be done now that the enterprise was under suspension? It was a matter of importance for Oñate. Further delay might mean the distintegration of the expedition and he could be charged with failure to carry out his obligations. Responsibility for defeat would therefore be his own. But he justly insisted that the inspection was also necessary to fulfill the king’s duty toward him, and so he earnestly beseeched Monterey to order Ulloa to carry it out. He wanted to demonstrate that the contract had been liberally furnished, and that poverty, which had been ascribed to him in public, was unfounded. “Upon your lordship’s doing me this favor depends all my reputation, honor and credit.” It would be of material help in preventing desertion among the soldiers since they would feel that preparations for departure were steadily progressing.

Moreover though the status of his future part in the enterprise was so doubtful he requested permission for the entire camp to move forward to Santa Bárbara, the last settlement on the frontier. The valley in which it lay was a fertile region where the expense of supporting the army would not be so great. There the inspection could conveniently be held and the army could settle down to await the king’s pleasure at the minimum cost. Oñate had no ulterior motives in mind when asking for these favors. He gave his word of honor not to advance a step beyond Santa Bárbara without express order from the viceroy. If Don Pedro Ponce or some one else should be given the leadership of the expedition he promised to make no disturbance whatever."

_Santiago del Riego’s Appeal._ Doctor Santiago del Riego, an oidor of the audiencia gave his support in this cause, and sent an impassioned appeal to the king in favor of Oñate. He maintained that expeditions coming from Spain were never successful, because those who enlisted in

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Europe were usually poor people attracted by false promises of mountains of gold. When it was learned how thoroughly the truth had been concealed from them and how greatly they had been deceived they would cry out to God in their misfortune, and worst of all, return home—broken. After making a brief summary of the things required for such an expedition as Oñate's, he exclaimed:

What man, indeed, in these kingdoms will wish, or be able, to help the people procure these things? What length of time will he need to secure it all? How will he succeed in providing it with four or five thousand head of cattle which must be taken ahead for food unless he wishes to enter by robbing the Indians in their poverty? How will he provide four or five thousand quintals of biscuit which will be needed for the road and the interval until they begin to cultivate and work the land? How will he provide fifty or more carts with the awnings which will be needed for the trip, and other things that are necessary for such a long journey, and at the least more than twelve hundred oxen which will be needed to draw them?

Santiago del Riego asserted that this mass of supplies, plus an infinite number of other things that would be needed, could not be secured for one hundred thousand ducats by any one bringing an expedition from Spain. Experience had proven moreover that armies organized in the Indies usually achieved brilliant success, and he recalled the work of Cortés and Pizarro as proof of his contention. Furthermore he argued:

With what justice can the expedition be taken away from the one who made the contract and agreement with two viceroys who represented the person of your Majesty? What he spent in virtue of this agreement, which must be a very large sum, he must lose, and the viceroys, who make the contract in the name of your Majesty, must cheat their liegemen, which does not seem to be just...

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248. Santiago del Riego to the king, November 10, 1596, in Hackett, Hist. Docs., 371. Riego mentioned several men who had come with expeditions from Spain and had failed. He named Serpa, in New Andalucia; Juan Ponce in Florida; Luis de Carbajal in New León; and others whose identity has been lost.
Monterey Consults the Audiencia. The pressure which Oñate and his friends thus brought to bear on the viceroy had the desired effect. His attitude changed, but he was nevertheless perplexed as to what course of action to pursue toward him when the fleet failed to come. What should he do if some of Oñate's men strayed off or broke away and left for New Mexico contrary to the royal orders? Finally he determined to bring the whole affair to the attention of the audiencia in order to learn its opinion. It felt however that nothing should be done until the king's will was known, and that in the meantime Oñate should remain at the head of the army. It was still possible that ships would soon come bringing definite orders from Spain. Till then the expedition ought to be preserved. But Monterey was not satisfied with the Council's recommendation. He continued to urge upon the king the desirability and necessity of continuing the enterprise as then constituted, but at the same time he refused to assume the responsibility of sending the army on to New Mexico, and the audiencia likewise declined to take upon itself any part of the viceroy's burden.

Reasons for Favoring Oñate. In order to convince the king and the Council of the Indies of the very good reasons why Oñate should be allowed to carry out the conquest the viceroy sent them a detailed list of notes, including his own opinion, that of the audiencia and others, in regard to the matter. These documents are of interest and importance. They indicate why the king at last approved Oñate for this enterprise when Ponce's cause began to weaken.

First of all, Oñate's contract had been legally made. If the project should be committed to another he would have a claim, which could not be denied, to collect interest from the crown on the expenses incurred.

249. Monterey to the king, November 15, 1596, in Hackett, Hist. Docs., 379; report of the fiscal, in ibid., 391.
Many had sold or mortgaged their estates and brought their families with them on the expedition. If not permitted to go their plight would be serious, all of which ought to be taken into consideration.

If the soldiers were disbanded they would scatter all over the country, and robberies and outrages might be perpetrated on the inhabitants. Some might join the Indians and excite them to adopt their old habits as bandits and thieves, thereby breaking the peace which had recently been established.\footnote{The reference is probably to the peace established along the frontier by Velasco in 1591. See Bancroft, \textit{Mexico}, II 763-764.}

There was danger that some of the soldiers might unite and go to New Mexico without authority. They would probably mistreat the Indians and discredit the Spaniards and their religion. In that case future attempts to pacify the country would be extremely difficult.

The annoying disturbances that New Spain and Nueva Galicia had experienced while the expedition was being organized would have to be endured again, should Oñate's following be dispersed.

Oñate's expedition had been highly esteemed among the people. If now defeated it would be virtually impossible to find any one in the Indies willing to organize such an expedition, and no one would enlist.

Should another army be equipped long delays would occur. As the chief purpose of the conquest was the conversion of the natives, for which Oñate was well prepared, that mission must necessarily be jeopardized.

There was very serious doubt as to whether any one coming from Spain and without property in the New World, could collect, by money alone, the people and supplies necessary.

Moreover at the head of the expedition should be a man accustomed to deal with the Indians. Experience had demonstrated that a person coming from Spain did not pos-
sess that quality in a high degree, and was accordingly an important reason for retaining Oñate.  

The Delay of the Inspection. Meanwhile the army was still stationed at the Casco mines where the goddess of good fortune seemed unable to find it. The inspection which Ulloa had been delegated to perform was still awaited. The viceroy stated it had been postponed because Oñate did not lead the expedition to the last settlement, and that he did not arrive there in time to make the entrance, as had been ordered. But this was clearly impossible as the cédula of suspension had prohibited him from taking another step unless by Ulloa's written order. The real reason is probably to be sought elsewhere. Perhaps Ulloa had been ordered not to hold the inspection if he believed that Oñate could pass it satisfactorily, as he would then be able to charge interest on his expenditures. This idea is ascribed to the audiencia and may be true. At the same time, so runs this story, should Oñate threaten to hold the inspection without Ulloa's presence, then it should be done by the latter in order to avoid any opportunity for fraud, "and in order that it should not appear as though the truth were not being sought." Furthermore both Monterey and the audiencia were agreed that Ulloa should remain with the expedition regardless of the expense involved, since the soldiers would certainly be undeceived and immediately disperse when his departure became known.

As the weeks continued to roll by without further developments the soldiers finally despaired and the army was on the verge of disintegration. At that moment Oñate received help from an unexpected quarter. Doña Eufemia, wife of the real alferez Peñalosa, a woman of singular valor, beauty and intelligence, according to the poet, harangued the soldiers in the plaza. But it does not appear that

252. Reasons why Oñate should go to New Mexico, in Hackett, Hist. Docs., 385-387; report of the fiscal, in ibid., 393-395.
her appeal to the courage and honor of the colonists had more than momentary effect. They continued to leave. As Villagrá said, "Weak souls cannot desist from their intent."  

Meanwhile Oñate's trouble increased with the dissatisfaction of his men. He was growing very impatient over the endless excuses advanced by Ulloa for not making the visita. On November 28, 1596, he explained to Ulloa that his army was assembled at the Casco mines and at Santa Bárbara. This had entailed heavy expense. Supplies were running low, soldiers deserting, cattle horses and mules being lost, and New Mexico was still far away. He therefore demanded an immediate inspection. Ulloa however paid little attention to this appeal. It was repeated on the same day, but he merely acknowledged acceptance of the message.  

On December 2, and again on the 5, Oñate renewed his request, with the same result.  

The Inspection Ordered. On December 9, the inspector delayed no longer. Oñate had in the meantime threatened to hold it himself before a royal notary. Replying to his appeals Ulloa signified his readiness to carry out the visita even though it would be very expensive for the king as the expedition was widely scattered. However such action was not to be construed as repealing the orders prohibiting the continuation of the entrada.  

Thereupon he ordered Oñate to take oath that all the supplies and other materials offered for inspection were his own, and that nothing had been given him simply for the purpose of making a creditable showing.  

254. Villagrá, Historia, I, 42.  
256. Oñate to Ulloa, December 2, and 5, 1596, in Ulloa visita.  
257. Order of Ulloa, December 9, 1596, in ibid.  
258. Second order of Ulloa of December 9, 1596, in ibid. Moreover if anyone had loaned anything to Oñate he must appear within three days to make a statement thereof. Four soldiers reported that they had sold certain goods to him. They were Juan Moreno de la Rúa, Captain Pablo de Aguilar, Alonso Gómez and Captain Joseph
The inspection at Casco was then begun, but dragged on for more than two months. Practically every class of goods showed a substantial surplus, and there were quantities of supplies which had not been specified in the capitulations. Of medicine there was still a deficit, though some additional things had been forwarded by Cristóbal de Zaldívar from Zacatecas. To overcome this deficiency Oñate requested that some supplies of sugar, oil, wine and other things be substituted, as these were essential for sick people. In this manner all difficulties were swept aside and the inspection at Casco was concluded toward the end of January, 1597.259

Again there came a break in Oñate's plans. On January 26, just as the inspectors were ready to go to Santa Bárbara to continue the visita at that place, word was received from Mexico that Ulloa had been appointed commander of the Philippine flota for that year. Oñate therefore immediately requested him to go to Santa Bárbara to complete the inspection, protesting that if Ulloa did not do so and if the inspection showed any deficits the responsibility would not be his. But Ulloa did not want to go to Santa Bárbara. He was willing to finish the job at Casco. To the more distant place he would send the commissary Esquivel.260 The latter was accordingly provided with the necessary power for that purpose.261

Before Ulloa left for Mexico Oñate tried to secure a statement from him in regard to the elaborate equipment of the expedition when the order of suspension came. The visitor however did not feel that his instructions would permit him to do as Oñate suggested. For that reason he agreed that he might make such a record himself.262

On February 1, 1597, Oñate and the inspecting officers left Casco for Santa Bárbara. twenty-eight leagues

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259. See the Ulloa visita for January 31, 1597.
260. Oñate to Ulloa and reply, January 27, 1597, in ibid.
They arrived there four days later, and on the 5, commenced the final part of the inspection. By the 19, all the supplies had been listed with the exception of certain extra goods which Oñate and the soldiers had brought along. The governor claimed to have forty thousand pesos worth of negro slaves, Chichimecas, clothing, wrought silver and numerous other things. Others in the expedition had similar possessions of great value which amounted to more than one hundred and fifty thousand pesos. Oñate insisted that all this should be recorded. There was some basis for his claim. Monterey had so ordered in his instructions to Ulloa, as Esquivel realized, but he replied that the latter had not given him the necessary authority. With that the matter dropped.

When it was seen that nothing was lacking of what was required Esquivel issued an order, already promulgated by Ulloa on January 30, prohibiting Oñate from moving the army till orders should be received from the viceroy. As on previous occasions Don Juan promised to comply.

The Successful Completion. Before the end of February Esquivel finished his task. At the mines of Casco there were found to be one hundred and thirty-one soldiers, at Santa Bárabara thirty-nine and at La Puana thirty-five. The total number thus amounted to two hundred and five, or five more than Oñate was obliged to furnish. Of supplies and provisions there was a surplus of well over four thousand pesos.

The fact that Oñate had been able to make such a fine
showing after having experienced an almost endless series of delays was clearly a tribute to his leadership and to the support of his wealthy lieutenant Juan Guerra de Resa and others. Under the circumstances it was a source of wonder to all New Spain, says the chronicler. As soon as the result was known Oñate’s brothers in Mexico appealed to the viceroy for permission to proceed. But Monterey was still awaiting orders from Spain and unable to do anything in their behalf. He did write encouraging letters, pointing out that it was still possible that matters might be successfully adjusted. In this there was small comfort indeed.

Although Fray Marcos de Niza (Friar Mark of Nice) was the first white man who indisputably set foot on the soil of New Mexico, there has hitherto been published no good translation into English of his Relación, or the report which he made to his official superiors upon his return. Indeed, the only previous translation that I have been able to discover is one given in Hakluyt's Voyages and this was not made from the original Spanish, but from a very imperfect Italian rendering by Ramusio. A French version may be found in Ternaux-Compans' Voyages and this was made from the Spanish manuscript copy at Simancas, but unfortunately it is a careless and unreliable piece of work.

The present translation has been prepared from the printed copy contained in the Documentos Inéditos del Archivo de Indias (Vol. III, pp. 325 et seq).

The report of Fray Marcos raised to fever heat the

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1. Mr. Twitchell and others have accorded this honor to Cabeza de Vaca, but the claim is rejected by most historians.
4. Ternaux-Compans, Henri: Voyages, Relations, et Mémoires Originaux pour servir à l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique. Paris, 1837-1841. The translation of the "Relation" is in tome IX, pp. 236-234. At the end of it appears the following note: "J'ai collationné cette copie avec l'original, qui est à Simancas, le 3 septembre, 1781.—Juan Bautista Muñoz."
5. Several examples of this are quoted in footnotes to the translation given here-with and more are mentioned by Bandelier (article cited below), who, however, was in error in thinking that Ternaux-Compans translated from Ramusio.
interest of the Spanish adventurers in "the seven cities of Cibola" and Coronado's army set out with high hopes of duplicating or surpassing the exploits of Cortés in Mexico. When these hopes were grievously disappointed and, instead of marvellous cities exceeding in wealth and grandeur anything yet discovered in the New World, were found only the Indian pueblo villages of Zuñi and its neighborhood, the father was roundly traduced as a liar. Cortés, at the court of Madrid in 1540, declared that the report was simply an elaboration of some information which he (Cortés) had received from Indians and which he had communicated to the Friar and he alleged that the Friar, in thus relating what he had neither seen nor heard, was merely following a practice for which he had become notorious in Peru and Guatemala. This charge is grotesque, because Fray Marcos accompanied Coronado to Cibola and, had he not been over the ground previously, the fact would have become painfully evident as the expedition proceeded.

However, this does not clear the Friar of the charges of exaggeration preferred against him by Coronado himself. Castañeda de Nagera, the principal chronicler of the Coronado expedition, gives a story of Stephen Dorantes' death and subsequent events which differs in several particulars from the "Relation." He says the Indians killed only Stephen and let his companions go and that when these met the "friars" (plural), they incontinently fled, so that they never came within sight of Cibola. This is tantamount to a charge that the Friar's report, presented immediately after his return and solemnly sworn to, was deliberately falsified to cover an act of cowardice. But Castañeda is evidently wrong when he speaks of there being three friars,


whom he mentions by name as Marcos, Daniel, and Antonio de Santa Maria. Fray Marcos expressly speaks of his being alone and having no one with whom he could take counsel, having left his companion Onorato (not Daniel nor Antonio) behind at Vacapa. His official superiors must have known how many companions he had and an error on this point would have been obvious. Castañeda's account was written more than twenty years after the events he describes and, when it comes to a question of his word against the Friar's, there is certainly no reason to accept his.

Some historians have been almost as unkind to Fray Marcos as were his contemporaries. Ternaux-Compans speaks disparagingly of him9 and Haynes, in Winsor's Narrative and Critical History, says: "We think that he fairly deserves the epithet of the 'lying monk,' which has been bestowed upon him, in spite of the air of probability which pervades the greater part of his narrative."10 On the other hand, as John G. Shea remarks: "Haynes follows his real narrative and does not note a single statement as false or bring any evidence to show any assertion untrue."11 F. H. Cushing has brought to light Indian traditions which corroborate a part of the Friar's story.12 A. F. Bandelier has stoutly defended him and has given plausible explanations of all his statements, as well as traced his probable route, in his Contributions to the History of the Southwestern Portion of the United States.13 J. P. Winship, in discussing his credibility writes: "Friar Marcos undoubtedly never wilfully told an untruth about the country of Cibola, even in a barber's chair."14 C. F. Lummis goes so

far as to say warmly: "He has been accused of misrepresentation and exaggeration in his reports; but if his critics had not been so ignorant of the locality, of the Indians and of their traditions, they never would have spoken. Fray Marcos's statements were absolutely truthful."

The Friar himself, in concluding his report, says: "I simply tell what I saw and what was told me concerning the countries where I went and those of which I had information." All through his narrative he is careful to distinguish between observation and hearsay and certainly nothing that he states from observation can be set down as deliberately false. On the contrary, as Bandelier has shown, it conforms pretty accurately with what we know of the ethnology and topography of the region over which he travelled.

There are, however, two statements for which he vouches that are open to question. One is his observation have made an error here of about 3° 30' in his latitude that in 35° the coast suddenly turns to the west. He must which does not say much for the knowledge of cosmography that Fra. Antonio ascribes to him and which is given as one of the reasons why he was chosen for the exploration. Even with the crude instruments of those days, 3½ degrees is a large error. But the most puzzling point is that at a previous point in his journey he had found himself 40 leagues from the coast and his subsequent traveling must have led him away further still. Bandelier estimates that he must have been 200 miles away," and seems to think that he made a special trip to the coast to ascertain its direction. But nothing in the text would indicate that he made any such important deviation from his route. He was hurrying on after Stephen Dorantes and he was only a day's march from Cibola when he met the fugitive who gave him the first news of Stephen's disastrous end. This lone observation of our cosmographer-priest is unfortunately of no as-

sistance to us in determining his route. Nowhere else does he mention his latitude and he gives only vague clues as to the direction in which he is marching.

The other dubious statement is that, from a distance, Cibola appeared to him bigger than Mexico. Castañeda later wrote: "There are mansions in New Spain which make a better appearance from a distance," and he tells us that Fray Marcos found it unsafe to remain with Coronado's army when his exaggerations became apparent, and returned to New Spain. However, allowance must be made for the difference in point of view. Friar Mark had been given many glowing accounts of the greatness of Cibola by the Indians; these accounts had checked with one another and the Indians had been truthful in all else. His mind was primed to expect a big city and no doubt distance lent enchantment to the view. After all, his was only common human failing of being prone to believe what he wanted to believe and to see what he wanted to see.

It is altogether probable that the accounts which the adventurers in Coronado's army had heard were grossly exaggerated and garbled versions of Fray Marcos's report. It is possible that some of these got into print and that one of them was used by Ramusio for his Italian version. How else can one explain the extraordinary interpolation in connection with the description of Cibola? (See page 218) It is difficult to believe that Ramusio invented it and deliberately foisted it into the text. Certainly Fray Marcos should not be held responsible for these embellishments of his narrative.

In one respect, at any rate, the Friar deserves our admiration. He is fair to the Indians at every point. He describes their joy at being set free by Mendoza; he draws attention to their agriculture being neglected due to warlike raids upon them by the "Christians" of San Miguel; he will not break faith with the messengers he sent to the

17. Winship, op. cit. supra, p. 488.
sea coast from Vacapa; he declines to receive gifts from the aborigines in a country where white men have not been previously known; he gratefully acknowledges their hospitality and aid at every stage of his journey; he testifies to their great truthfulness; he does not blame them when they manifest a hostile disposition towards himself after the massacre of their companions; he evidently regards their anger as arising naturally from their grief and says that it would be against his will if Christians should come to avenge his death. He seems to be moved throughout by missionary zeal and there is no reason to suppose him insincere, even though, as Castañeda insinuates, the ambition to be elected Father Provincial of his order may not have been absent from his thoughts.

When all is said, the fairest treatment we can give him is to let him speak for himself, and therefore the subjoined translation of his “Relation” is given for the benefit of the readers of the New Mexico Historical Review. The report is written in a naive style that does not lack interest and we feel sure that New Mexicans will be willing to accord the discoverer of their land an attentive hearing.

INSTRUCTION OF DON ANTONIO, VICEROY OF NEW SPAIN

[Fray Marcos de Niza, this is what you have to do in the expedition which you are undertaking for the honor and glory of the Holy Trinity, and for the propagation of our holy catholic faith].

First: As soon as you arrive at the province of Culiacan, you shall exhort and encourage the Spaniards, who reside in the town of San Miguel, to treat well the Indians who are at peace and not to employ them on excessive tasks, assuring them that if they do so, they shall find favor with and be rewarded by H. M. for the labors

1. This introductory paragraph is given by Ternaux-Compan. It is not in the Documentos inéditos.
which they have there undergone, and in me they shall have a good supporter for their claims, but if they do the contrary, they shall be punished and out of favor.

You shall give the Indians to understand that I send you, in the name of H. M., to order that they be treated well, and that they may know that he is afflicted by the affronts and injuries which they have received, and that henceforward they shall be well treated, and that those who do them harm shall be punished.

Likewise you shall assure them that they shall no longer be made slaves, nor removed from their lands, but that they shall be left free on them, without hurt or damage; that they shall lose their fear and recognize God Our Lord, who is in heaven, and the Emperor, who is placed by His hand on earth to rule and govern it.

And as Francisco Vazquez de Coronado, whom H. M. has appointed governor of that province, will go with you to the town of San Miguel of Culiacan, you must advise me how he provides for the affairs of that town, in what concerns the service of God Our Lord and the conversion and good treatment of the natives of that province.

And if by the aid of God Our Lord and the grace of the Holy Ghost, you shall find a way to go further and to enter the country beyond, you shall take with you Stephen Dorantes for a guide, whom I order that he obey you in all and by all that you command him, as he would myself, and, if he does not so, he shall be in jeopardy and shall incur the penalties which befall those who do not obey persons who hold power from H. M. to command them.

Likewise the said governor, Francisco Vazquez, has with him the Indians who came with Dorantes and some others, that it has been possible to gather from those parts, in order that, if to him and to you both it may seem advisable that you take some in your company, you may do so and may use them as you see is good for the service of Our Lord.

You shall always arrange to go in the safest manner possible, and inform yourself first if the Indians be at
peace or war with one another, that you may give them no occasion to commit any indiscretion against your person, which would be the cause of proceeding against them and chastizing them. If such were the case, instead of doing them good and bringing them light, it would be the opposite.

You shall take much care to observe the people that there are, whether they be many or few, and if they are scattered or live close together.

Note the quality and fertility of the soil, the climate of the country, the trees and plants and domestic and wild animals, which there may be, the nature of the ground, whether rugged or level, the rivers, whether great or small, and the stones and metals which there are in the country. Send or carry back samples of such things as it is possible to do so, to the end that H. M. may be advised of everything.

Always endeavor to obtain information about the sea coast, that of the North as well as that of the South, because the land may narrow and in the country beyond some arm of the sea may enter. And if you come to the coast of the South Sea, bury letters concerning whatever may appear to you noteworthy, on the prominent points, at the foot of some tree distinguished for its size, and on the tree make a cross so that it may be known. Likewise make the same sign of the cross and leave letters by the most remarkable trees near the water, at the mouths of rivers and at places suitable for anchorage. Thus, if we send ships, they will go advised to look for such signs.

Always arrange to send news by the Indians, telling how you fare and are received and particularly what you may find.

And if God Our Lord be pleased that you find some large town, where it may seem to you that there is a good situation to establish a monastery and to send religious to undertake the work of conversion, send word by Indians or return yourself to Culiacan. Send such word with all secrecy, in order that what is necessary may be provided
without commotion, because in bringing peace to the country which may be found, we look to the service of Our Lord and the good of the inhabitants.

And although all the earth belongs to the Emperor our lord, you in my name shall take possession of the country for H. M., and you shall erect the signs and perform the acts, which seem to you to be required in such case, and you shall give the natives of the country to understand that there is a God in heaven and the Emperor on the earth to command and govern it, to whom all men must be subject and whom all must serve.—Don Antonio de Mendoza.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF RECEIPT

I, Fray Marcos de Niza, of the order of St. Francis, declare that I received a copy of these instructions signed by the most illustrious lord Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy and governor of New Spain, the which was delivered to me, by command of his lordship and in his name, by Francisco Vazquez de Coronado, governor of this New Galicia. The said copy is taken from these instructions de verbo ad verbum, corrected by them and made to agree with them. I promise faithfully to fulfill the said instructions and not to go against nor to exceed them in anything therein contained, now or at any time. And as I will thus adhere to and fulfill them, I sign hereto my name, at Tonalá, on the twentieth day of the month of November in the year one thousand five hundred and thirty-eight, where were given and delivered to me in the said name the said instructions, and which is in the province of this New Galicia.—Fra. Márkos de Niza.

RELATION

With the aid and favor of the most holy Virgin Mary, our Lady, and of our seraphic father St. Francis, I, Fray Marcos de Niza, a professed religious of the order of St. Francis, in fulfillment of the instructions above given of the most illustrious lord Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy and governor for H. M. of New Spain, left the town
of San Miguel, in the province of Culiacan, on Friday, March 7th, 1539. I took with me as companion Friar Honoratus and also Stephen of Dorantes, a negro, and certain Indians, which the said Lord Viceroy bought for the purpose and set at liberty. They were delivered to me by Francisco de Coronado, governor of New Galicia, along with many other Indians from Petatlan and from the village of Cuchillo, situated about fifty leagues from the said town. All these came to the valley of Culiacan, manifesting great joy, because it had been certified to them that the Indians were free, the said governor having sent in advance to acquaint them of their freedom and to tell them that it was the desire and command of H. M. that they should not be enslaved nor made war upon nor badly treated.

With this company as stated, I took my way towards the town of Petatlan, receiving much hospitality and presents of food, roses and other such things; besides which, at all the stopping-places where there were no people, huts were constructed for me of mats and branches. In this town of Petatlan I stayed three days, because my companion Friar Honoratus fell sick. I found it advisable to leave him there and, conformably with the instructions given to me, I followed the way in which I was guided, though unworthy, by the Holy Ghost. There went with me Stephen Dorantes, the negro, some of the freed Indians and many people of that country. I was received everywhere I went with much hospitality and rejoicing and with triumphal arches. The inhabitants also gave me what food they had, which was little, because they said it had not rained for three years, and because the Indians of that territory think more of hiding than of growing crops, for fear of the Christians of the town of San Miguel, who up to that time were accustomed to make war upon and enslave them. On all this road, which would be about 25 or 30 leagues beyond Petatlan, I did not see anything worthy of being set down here, except that there came to me some Indians from the island visited by the Marquess of Valle, and who
informed me that it was really an island and not, as some think, part of the mainland. I saw that they passed to and from the mainland on rafts and that the distance between the island and the mainland might be half a sea league, rather more or less. Likewise there came to see me Indians from another larger and more distant island, by whom I was told that there were thirty other small islands, inhabited, but with poor food excepting two, which they said had maize. These Indians wore suspended from their necks many shells of the kind which contain pearls; I showed them a pearl which I carried for sample and they told me that there were some in the islands, but I did not see any.

I took my way over a desert for four days and there went with me some Indians from the islands mentioned as well as from the villages which I left behind, and at the end of the desert I found some other Indians, who were astonished to see me, as they had no news of Christians, having no traffic with the people on the other side of the desert. These Indians made me very welcome, giving me plenty of food, and they endeavored to touch my clothes, calling me Sayota, which means in their language “man from heaven.” I made them understand, the best I could by my interpreters, the content of my instructions, namely, the knowledge of Our Lord in heaven and of H. M. on earth. And always, by all the means that I could, I sought to learn about a country with numerous towns and a people of a higher culture than those I was encountering, but I had no news except that they told me that in the country beyond, four or five days’ journey thence, where the chains of mountains ended, there was an extensive and level open tract, in which they told me there were many and very large towns inhabited by a people clothed with cotton. When I showed them some metals which I was carrying, in order to take account of the metals of the country, they took a piece of gold and told me that there were

2. “Abra.”
vessels of it among the people of the region and that they wear certain articles of that metal suspended from their noses and ears, and that they had some little blades of it, with which they scrape and relieve themselves of sweat. But as this tract lies inland and my intention was to stay near the coast, I determined to leave it till my return, because then I would be able to see it better. And so I marched three days through a country inhabited by the same people, by whom I was received in the same manner as by those I had already passed. I came to a medium-sized town named Vacapa, where they made me a great welcome and gave me much food, of which they had plenty, as the whole land is irrigated. From this town to the sea is forty leagues. As I found myself so far away from the sea, and as it was two days before Passion Sunday, I determined to stay there until Easter, to inform myself concerning the islands of which I said above that I had news. So I sent Indian messengers to the sea, by three ways, whom I charged to bring back to me people from the coast and from some of the islands, that I might inform myself concerning them. In another direction I sent Stephen Dorantes, the negro, whom I instructed to take the route towards the north for fifty or sixty leagues to see if by that way he might obtain an account of any important thing such as we were seeking. I agreed with him that if he had any news of a populous, rich and important country he should not continue further but should return in person or send me Indians with a certain signal which we arranged, namely, that if it were something of medium importance, he should send me a white cross of a hand's breadth, if it were something of great importance, he should send me one of two hands' breadth, while if it were bigger and better than New Spain, he should send me a great cross. And so the said negro Stephen departed from me on Passion Sunday after dinner, whilst I stayed in the town, which I say is called Vacapa.

In four days' time there came messengers from Stephen with a very great cross, as high as a man, and they
told me on Stephen’s behalf that I should immediately come and follow him, because he had met people who gave him an account of the greatest country in the world, and that he had Indians who had been there, of whom he sent me one. This man told me so many wonderful things about the country, that I forebore to believe them until I should have seen them or should have more certitude of the matter. He told me that it was thirty days’ journey from where Stephen was staying to the first city of the country, which was named Cibola. As it appears to me to be worth while to put in this paper what this Indian, whom Stephen sent me, said concerning the country, I will do so. He asserted that in the first province there were seven very great cities, all under one lord, that the houses, constructed of stone and lime, were large, that the smallest were of one storey with a terrace above, that there were others of two and three storeys, whilst that of the lord had four, and all were joined under his rule. He said that the doorways of the principal houses were much ornamented with turquoises, of which there was a great abundance, and that the people of those cities went very well clothed. He told me many other particulars, not only of the seven cities but of other provinces beyond them, each one of which he said was much bigger than that of the seven cities. That I might understand the matter as he knew it, we had many questions and answers and I found him very intelligent.

I gave thanks to Our Lord, but deferred my departure after Stephen Dorantes, thinking that he would wait for me, as I had agreed with him, and also because I had promised the messengers whom I had sent to the sea that I would wait for them, for I proposed always to treat with good faith the people with whom I came in contact. The messengers returned on Easter Sunday, and with them people from the coast and from two islands, which I knew to be the islands above mentioned and which, as I already knew, are poor of food, though populated. These people
wore shells on their foreheads and said that they contain pearls. They told me that there were thirty-four islands near to one another, whose names I am setting down in another paper, where I give the names of the islands and towns. The people of the coast say that they, as well as the people of the islands, have little food, and that they traffic with one another by means of rafts. The coast trends almost directly towards the north. These Indians of the coast brought to me shields of oxhide, very well fashioned, big enough to cover them from head to foot, with some holes above the handle so that one could see from behind them; they are so hard, that I think that a bullet would not pass through them. The same day there came to me three of those Indians known as Pintados, with their faces, chests and arms all decorated; they live over towards the east and their territory borders on those near the seven cities. They told me that, having had news of me, they had come to see me and among other things they gave me much information concerning the seven cities and provinces, that the Indian sent by Stephen had told me of, and almost in the same manner as he. I therefore sent back the coast people, but two Indians of the islands said they would like to go with me seven or eight days.

So with them and the three Pintados already mentioned, I left Vacapa on the second day of the Easter festival, taking the same road that Stephen had followed. I had received from him more messengers, with another big cross as big as the first which he sent, urging me to hurry and stating that the country in question was the best and greatest of which he had ever heard. These messengers gave me, individually, the same story as the first, except that they told me much more and gave me a clearer account. So for that day, the second of Easter, and for two more days I followed the same stages of the route as Stephen had; at the end of which I met the people who had

3. "Labrados"—Bandelier would translate this word by "tattooed." Ternaux-Companys says "peinta." The word here used leaves it indefinite like the Spanish.
given him news of the seven cities and of the country beyond. They told me that from there it was thirty days' journey to the city of Cibola, which is the first of the seven. I had an account not from one only, but from many, and they told me in great detail the size of the houses and the manner of them, just as the first ones had. They told me that, beyond these seven cities, there were other kingdoms named Marata, Acus and Totonteac. I desired very much to know for what they went so far from their homes and they told me that they went for turquoises, cowhides and other things, that there was a quantity of these things in that town. Likewise I asked what they exchanged for such articles and they told me the sweat of their brows and the service of their persons, that they went to the first city, which is called Cibola, where they served in digging the ground and performing other work, for which work they are given oxhides, of the kind produced in that country, and turquoises. The people of this town all wear good and beautiful turquoises hanging from their ears and noses and they say that these jewels are worked into the principal doors of Cibola. They told me that the fashion of clothing worn in Cibola is a cotton shirt reaching to the instep, with a button at the throat and a long cord hanging down, the sleeves of the shirts being the same width throughout their length; it seems to me this would resemble the Bohemian style. They say that those people go girt with belts of turquoise and that over these shirts some wear excellent cloaks and others very well dressed cowhides, which are considered the best clothing, and of which they say there is a great quantity in that country. The women likewise go clothed and covered to the feet in the same manner.

These Indians received me very well and took great care to learn the day of my departure from Vacapa, so that they might furnish me on the way with victuals and lodgings. They brought me sick persons that I might cure them and they tried to touch my clothes; I recited the Gospel over them. They gave me some cowhides so well tan-
ned and dressed that they seemed to have been prepared by some highly civilized people, and they all said that they came from Cibola.

The next day I continued my journey, taking with me the Pintados, who wished not to leave me. I arrived at another settlement where I was very well received by its people, who also endeavored to touch my clothing. They gave me information concerning the country whither I was bound as much in detail as those I had met before, and they told me that some persons had gone from there with Stephen Dorantes, four or five days previously. Here I found a great cross which Stephen had left for me, as a sign that the news of the good country continually increased, and he had left word for me to hurry and that he would wait for me at the end of the first desert. Here I set up two crosses and took possession, according to my instructions, because that country appeared to me better than that which I had already passed and hence it was fitting to perform the acts of possession.

In this manner I travelled five days, always finding people, who gave me a very hospitable reception, many turquoises and cowhides and the same account of the country. They all spoke to me right away of Cibola and that province as people who knew that I was going in search of it. They told me how Stephen was going forward, and I received from him messengers who were inhabitants of that town and who had been some distance with him. He spoke more and more enthusiastically of the greatness of the country and he urged me to hurry. Here I learned that two days' journey thence I would encounter a desert of four days' journey, in which there was no provision except what was supplied by making shelters for me and carrying food. I hurried forward, expecting to meet Stephen at the end of it, because he had sent me word that he would await me there.

Before arriving at the desert, I came to a green, well watered settlement, where there came to meet me a crowd of people, men and women, clothed in cotton and some
covered with cowhides, which in general they consider a better dress material than cotton. All the people of this town wear turquoise hanging from their noses and ears; these ornaments are called cacona. Among them came the chief of the town and his two brothers, very well dressed in cotton, encaconados, and each with a necklace of turquoise around his neck. They brought to me a quantity of game--venison, rabbits and quail--also maize and meal, all in great abundance. They offered me many turquoise, cowhides, very pretty cups and other things, of which I accepted none, for such was my custom since entering the country where we were not known. And here I had the same account as before of the seven cities and the kingdoms and provinces as I have related above. I was wearing a garment of dark woollen cloth, of the kind called Saragossa, which was given to me by Francisco Vazquez de Coronado, governor of New Galicia. The chief of the village and other Indians touched it with their hands and told me that there was plenty of that fabric in Totonteac and that the natives of that place were clothed with it. At this I laughed and said it could not be so, that it must be garments of cotton which those people wore. Then they said to me: "Do you think that we do not know that what you wear and what we wear is different? Know that in Cibola the houses are full of that material which we are wearing, but in Totonteac there are some small animals from which they obtain that with which they make a fabric like yours." This astonished me, as I had not heard of any such thing previously, and I desired to inform myself more particularly about it. They told me that the animals are of the size of the Castilian greyhounds which Stephen had with him; they said there were many of them in Totonteac. I could not guess what species of animals they might be.

The next day I entered into the desert and at the place where I had to go for dinner, I found huts and food enough, by the side of a watercourse. At night I found cabins and
food again and so it was for the four days that I travelled through this desert. At the end of them, I entered a very well populated valley and at the first town many men and women came with food to meet me. They all wore many turquoises suspended from their noses and ears, and some wore necklaces of turquoises, like those which I said were worn by the chief of the town on the other side of the desert and his brothers, except that they only wore one string, while these Indians wore three or four. They were dressed in very good cloaks of ox leather. The women likewise wore turquoises in their noses and ears and very good petticoats and blouses. Here they had as much information of Cibola, as in New Spain they have of Mexico and in Peru of Cuzco. They described in detail the houses, streets and squares of the town, like people who had been there many times, and they were wearing various objects brought from there, which they had obtained by their services, like the Indians I had previously met. I said to them that it was not possible that the houses should be in the manner which they described to me, so to make me understand they took earth and ashes and mixed them with water, and showed how the stone is placed and the edifice reared, placing stone and mortar till the required height is reached. I asked them if the men of that country had wings to climb those storeys; they laughed and explained to me a ladder, as well as I could do, and they took a stick and placed it over their heads and said it was that height from storey to storey. Here I was also given an account of the woolen cloth of Totonteac, where they say the houses are like those at Cibola but better and bigger, and that it is a very great place and has no limit.

Here I learned that the coast turns to the west, almost at a right angle, because until I reached the entrance of the first desert which I passed, the coast always trended towards the north. As it was very important to know the direction of the coast, I wished to assure myself and so

4. Ternaux-Compañes says, "vers le nord," but the Spanish is "al Poniente."
FRAY MARCOS' RELACION

went to look out and I saw clearly that in latitude 35 degrees it turns to the west. I was not less pleased at this discovery than at the good news I had of the country.

So I turned to follow my route and was in that valley five days. It is so thickly populated with fine people and so provided with food that there would be enough to supply more than three hundred horse. It is all watered and is like a garden. There are villages at every half or quarter league or so. In each of them I had a very long account of Cibola and they spoke to me in detail about it, as people would who went there each year to earn their living. Here I found a man who was a native of Cibola. He told me he had fled from the governor whom the lord had placed there in Cibola—for the lord of these seven cities lives and has his residence in one of them, which is called Ahacus, and in the others he has placed persons who command for him. This citizen of Cibola is a man of good disposition, somewhat old and much more intelligent than the natives of the valley and those I had formerly met; he told me that he wished to go with me so that I might procure his pardon. I interrogated him carefully and he told me that Cibola is a big city, that it has a large population and many streets and squares, and that in some parts of the city there are very great houses, ten storeys high, in which the chiefs meet on certain days of the year. He corroborated what I had already been told, that the houses are constructed out of stone and lime, and he said that the doors and fronts of the principal houses are of turquoise; he added that the others of the seven cities are similar, though some are bigger, and that the most important is Ahacus. He told me that towards the south-east there lay

5. "Y así fui en demanda della." "Demanda" is a nautical term for "look-out" and this translation seems to be indicated, as Fray Marcos goes on to say that he saw clearly that the coast turned to the West. Being familiar with navigation (see the attestation of Fray Antonio) it would be natural for him to use a sailor's expression and the mention of the latitude points to an actual observation. Nevertheless, this remains a very puzzling statement, as Fray Marcos was evidently too far from the coast to see it. Perhaps the meaning is, "after inquiry, I perceived etc."
a kingdom called Marata, in which there used to be many very large towns, having the same kind of houses built of stone and with several storeys; that this kingdom had been and still was at war with the lord of the seven cities; that by this war Marata had been greatly reduced in power, although it was still independent and continued the war.

He likewise told me that to the south-east there is a kingdom named Totonteac, which he said was the biggest, most populous, and the richest in the world, and that there they wore clothes made of the same stuff as mine, and others of a more delicate material obtained from the animals of which I had already had a description; the people were highly cultured and different from those I had hitherto seen. He further informed me that there is another province and very great kingdom, which is called Acus—for there are Ahacus and Acus; Ahacus, with the aspiration, is one of the seven cities, the most important one, and Acus, without the aspiration, is a kingdom and province by itself.

He corroborated what I had been told concerning the clothes worn in Cibola and added that all the people of that city sleep in beds raised above the floor, with fabrics and with tilts above to cover the beds. He said that he would go with me to Cibola and beyond, if I desired to take him along. I was given the same account in this town by many other persons, though not in such great detail.

I travelled in this valley three days and the natives made for me all the feasts and rejoicings that they could. Here in this valley I saw more than two thousand oxhides, extremely well cured; I saw a very large quantity of turquoises and necklaces thereof, as in the places I had left behind, and all said that they came from the city of Cibola. They know this place as well as I would know what I hold in my hands, and they are similarly acquainted with the kingdoms of Marata, Acus and Totonteac. Here in this

6. Ternaux-Compais and Hakluyt both say to the west, which seems more reasonable, as Marata lay to the south-east.
valley they brought to me a skin, half as big again as that of a large cow, and told me that it was from an animal which has only one horn on its forehead and that this horn is curved towards its chest and then there sticks out a straight point, in which they said there was so much strength, that no object, no matter how hard, could fail to break when struck with it. They averred that there were many of these animals in that country. The color of the skin is like that of the goat and the hair is as long as one's finger.

Here I had messengers from Stephen, who told me on his behalf that he was then entering the last desert, and the more cheerfully, as he was going more assured of the country; and he sent to me to say that, since departing from me, he had never found the Indians out in any lie, but up to that point had found everything as they had told him and so he thought to find that beyond. And so I held it for certain, because it is true that, from the first day I had news of the city of Cibola, the Indians had told me of everything that till then I had seen, telling me always what towns I would find along the road and the numbers of them and, in the parts where there was no population, showing me where I would eat and sleep, without erring in one point. I had then marched, from the first place where I had news of the country, one hundred and twelve leagues, so it appears to me not unworthy to note the great truthfulness of these people. Here in this valley, as in the other towns before, I erected crosses and performed the appropriate acts and ceremonies, according to my instructions. The natives of this town asked me to stay with them three or four days, because there was a desert four leagues thence, and from the beginning of it to the city of Cibola would be a march of fifteen days and they wished to put up food for me and to make the necessary arrangements for it. They told me that with the negro Stephen there had gone more than three hundred men to accompany him and carry food, and that many wished to go with me also, to serve me and be-
cause they expected to return rich. I acknowledged their kindness and asked that they should get ready speedily, because each day seemed to me a year, so much I desired to see Cibola. And so I remained three days without going forward, during which I continually informed myself concerning Cibola and all the other places. In doing so I took the Indians aside and questioned each one by himself, and all agreed in their account and told me the number of the people, the order of the streets, the size of the houses and the fashion of the doorways, just as I had been told by those before.

After the three days were past, many people assembled to go with me, of whom I chose thirty chiefs, who were very well supplied with necklaces of turquoise, some of them wearing as many as five or six strings. With these I took the retinue necessary to carry food for them and me and started on my way. I entered the desert on the ninth day of May. On the first day, by a very wide and well travelled road, we arrived for dinner at a place where there was water, which the Indians showed to me, and in the evening we came again to water, and there I found a shelter which the Indians had just constructed for me and another which had been made for Stephen to sleep in when he passed. There were some old huts and many signs of fire, made by people passing to Cibola over this road. In this fashion I journeyed twelve days, always very well supplied with victuals of venison, hares, and partridges of the same color and flavor as those of Spain, although rather smaller.

At this juncture I met an Indian, the son of one of the chiefs who were journeying with me, who had gone in company with the negro Stephen. This man showed fatigue in his countenance, had his body covered with sweat, and manifested the deepest sadness in his whole person. He told me that, at a day's march before coming to Cibola, Stephen according to his custom sent ahead messengers with his calabash, that they might know he was coming.
The calabash was adorned with some rows of rattles* and two feathers, one white and one red. When they arrived at Cibola, before the person of the lord's representative in that place, and gave him the calabash, as soon as he took it in his hands and saw the rattles, with great anger he flung it on the ground and told the messengers to be gone forthwith, that he knew what sort of people these were, and that the messengers should tell them not to enter the city, as if they did so he would put them to death. The messengers went back, told Stephen what had passed. He said to them that that was nothing, that those who showed themselves irritated received him the better. So he continued his journey till he arrived at the city of Cibola, where he found people who would not consent to let him enter, who put him in a big house which was outside the city, and who at once took away from him all that he carried, his articles of barter and the turquoises and other things which he had received on the road from the Indians. They left him that night without giving anything to eat or drink either to him or to those that were with him. The following morning my informant was thirsty and went out of the house to drink from a nearby stream. When he had been there a few moments he saw Stephen fleeing away pursued by the people of the city and they killed some of those who were with him. When this Indian saw this he concealed himself and made his way up the stream, then crossed over and regained the road of the desert.

At these tidings, some of the Indians who were with me commenced to weep. As for myself, the wretched news made me fear I should be lost. I feared not so much to lose my life as not to be able to return to give a report of the greatness of the country, where God Our Lord might be so well served and his holy faith exalted and the royal domains of H. M. extended. In these circumstances I consoled them as best I could and told them that one ought

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* "Cucaboles,"
not to give entire credence to that Indian, but they said to me with many tears that the Indian only related what he had seen. So I drew apart from the Indians to commend myself to Our Lord and to pray Him to guide this matter as He might best be served and to enlighten my mind. This done, I returned to the Indians and with a knife cut the cords of the packages of dry goods and articles of barter which I was carrying with me and which till then I had not touched nor given away any of the contents. I divided up the goods among all those chiefs and told them not to fear and to go along with me, which they did.

Continuing our journey, at a day's march from Cibola, we met two other Indians, of those who had gone with Stephen, who appeared bloody and with many wounds. At this meeting, they and those that were with me set up such a crying, that out of pity and fear they also made me cry. So great was the noise that I could not ask about Stephen nor of what had happened to them, so I begged them to be quiet that we might learn what had passed. They said to me: "How can we be quiet, when we know that our fathers, sons and brothers who were with Stephen, to the number of more than three hundred men, are dead? And we no more dare to go to Cibola, as we have been accustomed." Nevertheless, as well as I could, I endeavored to pacify them and to put off their fear, although I myself was not without need of someone to calm me. I asked the wounded Indians concerning Stephen and as to what had happened. They remained a short time without speaking a word, weeping along with those of their towns. At last they told me that when Stephen arrived at a day's journey from Cibola, he sent his messengers with his calabash to the lord of Cibola to announce his arrival and that he was coming peacefully and to cure them. When the messengers gave him the calabash and he saw the rattles, he flung it furiously on the floor and said: "I know these people; these rattles are not of our style of workmanship; tell them to go back immediately or not a man of them will re-
main alive.” Thus he remained very angry. The messengers went back sad, and hardly dared to tell Stephen of the reception they had met. Nevertheless they told him and he said that they should not fear, that he desired to go on, because, although they answered him badly, they would receive him well. So he went and arrived at the city of Cibola just before sunset, with all his company, which would be more than three hundred men, besides many women. The inhabitants would not permit them to enter the city, but put them in a large and commodious house outside the city. They at once took away from Stephen all that he carried, telling him that the lord so ordered. “All that night,” said the Indians, “they gave us nothing to eat nor drink. The next day, when the sun was a lance-length high, Stephen went out of the house and some of the chiefs with him. Straightway many people came out of the city and, as soon as he saw them, he began to flee and we with him. Then they gave us these arrow-strokes and cuts and we fell and some dead men fell on top of us. Thus we lay till nightfall, without daring to stir. We heard loud voices in the city and we saw many men and women watching on the terraces. We saw no more of Stephen and we concluded that they had shot him with arrows as they had the rest that were with him, of whom there escaped only us.”

In view of what the Indians had related and the bad outlook for continuing my journey as I desired, I could not help but feel their loss and mine. God is witness of how much I desired to have someone of whom I could take counsel, for I confess I was at a loss what to do. I told them that Our Lord would chastize Cibola and that when the Emperor knew what had happened he would send many Christians to punish its people. They did not believe me, because they say that no one can withstand the power of Cibola. I begged them to be comforted and not to weep and consoled them with the best words I could muster, which would be too long to set down here. With this I left them and withdrew a stone’s throw or two apart, to
commend myself to God, and remained thus an hour and a half. When I went back to them, I found one of my Indians, named Mark, who had come from Mexico, and he said to me: “Father, these men have plotted to kill you, because they say that on account of you and Stephen their kinsfolk have been murdered, and that there will not remain a man or woman among them all who will not be killed.” I then divided among them all that remained of dry stuffs and other articles, in order to pacify them. I told them to observe that if they killed me they would do me no harm, because I would die a Christian and would go to heaven, and that those who killed me would suffer for it, because the Christians would come in search of me, and against my will would kill them all. With these and many other words I pacified them somewhat, although there was still high feeling on account of the people killed. I asked that some of them should go to Cibola, to see if any other Indian had escaped and to obtain some news of Stephen, but I could not persuade them to do so. Seeing this, I told them that, in any case, I must see the city of Cibola and they said that no one would go with me. Finally, seeing me determined, two chiefs said that they would go with me.

With these and with my own Indians and interpreters, I continued my journey till I came within sight of Cibola. It is situated on a level stretch on the brow of a roundish hill. It appears to be a very beautiful city, the best that I have seen in these parts; the houses are of the type that the Indians described to me, all of stone with their storeys and terraces, as it appeared to me from a hill whence I could see it. The town is bigger than the city of Mexico.

8. Here Ramusio, III. 359B, interpolates: La citta è maggior che la citta di Temistitan, laqual passa venti mila case, le genti sono quasi bianche, vanno vestiti, & dormono in letti, tengono archi per arme, hanno molti smeraldi, & altre gioie, anchor che non apprezzino se non turchese, con lequali adornano li pareti dell' portali delle case, & le vesti, & li vasi, & si spende come moneta in tutto quel paese. Vestono di cotone, & di cuoi di vacca: & questa è il piu apprezzato, & onoreuole vestire: vanno vasi d'oro, & d'argento, perch' non hanno altro metallo, delguale vi è maggior vs. & maggior abbondanza che nel Peru, & questo comprano per
At times I was tempted to go to it, because I knew that I risked nothing but my life, which I had offered to God the day I commenced the journey; finally I feared to do so, considering my danger and that if I died, I would not be able to give an account of this country, which seems to me to be the greatest and best of the discoveries. When I said to the chiefs who were with me how beautiful Cibola appeared to me, they told me that it was the least of the seven cities, and that Totonteac is much bigger and better than all the seven, and that it has so many houses and people that there is no end to it. Viewing the situation of the city, it occurred to me to call that country the new kingdom of St. Francis, and there, with the aid of the Indians, I made a big heap of stones and on top of it I placed a small, slender cross, not having the materials to construct a bigger one. I declared that I placed that cross and landmark in the name of Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy and governor of New Spain for the Emperor, our lord, in sign of possession, in conformity with my instructions. I declared that I took possession there of all the seven cities and of the kingdoms of Tontonteac and Acus and Marata, and that I did not go to them, in order that I might return to give an account of what I had done and seen.

Then I started back, with much more fear than food, and went to meet the people whom I had left behind, with the greatest haste I could make. I overtook them after

turquesse nella provincia delli Pintadi, dove si dice che vi sono le minere in grande abbodanza. D'altri regni non potetti hauer instruttione così particolare, alcune volte fui tentato andarmene fino li . . .

Hakluyt translates this passage as follows: The people are somewhat white, they wear apparel, and lie in beds, their weapons are bowes, they have Emeralds and other jewels, although they esteeme none so much as turqueses wherewith they adorn the walles of the porches of their houses, and their apparell and vessels, and they use them instead of money through all the Country. Their apparell is of cotton and Oxen hides, and this is their most commendable and honourable apparell. They use vessels of gold and silver, for they have no other metal, whereof there is greater use and more abundance then in Peru, and they buy the same for turqueses in the province of the Pintados, where there are sayd to be mines of great abundance. Of other Kingdoms I could not obtain so particular instruction. Divers times I was tempted to goe thither . . .
two days' march and went with them till we had passed the desert and arrived at their home. Here I was not made welcome as previously, because the men as well as the women indulged in much weeping for the persons killed at Cibola. Without tarrying I hastened in fear from that people and that valley. The first day I went ten leagues, then I went eight and again ten leagues, without stopping till I had passed the second desert.

On my return, although I was not without fear, I determined to approach the open tract, situated at the end of the mountain ranges, of which I said above (page 5) that I had some account. As I came near, I was informed that it is peopled for many days' journey towards the east, but I dared not enter it, because it seemed to me that we must go to colonize and to rule that other country of the seven cities and the kingdoms I have spoken of, and that then one could see it better. So I forebore to risk my person and left it alone to given an account of what I had seen. However, I saw, from the mouth of the tract seven moderate-sized towns at some distance, and further a very fresh valley of very good land, whence rose much smoke. I was informed that there is much gold in it and that the natives of it deal in vessels and jewels for the ears and little plates with which they scrape themselves to relieve themselves of sweat, and that these people will not consent to trade with those of the other part of the valley; but I was not able to learn the cause for this. Here I placed two crosses and took possession of all this plain and valley in the same manner as I had done with the other possessions, according to my instructions. From there I continued my return journey, with all the haste I could, till I arrived at the town of San Miguel, in the province of Culiacan, expecting to find there Francisco Vazquez de Coro-


10. Here Ternaux-Comans inserts: "et une tres jolie ville," which brings down upon him a severe criticism from Bandelier.

11. Hakluyt says: "out of which ran many rivers." This is his own mistranslation, as Ramusio writes "fumos."
nado, governor of New Galicia. As I did not find him there, I continued my journey to the city of Compostella, where I found him. From there I immediately wrote word of my coming to the most illustrious lord, the viceroy of New Spain, and to our father provincial, Friar Antonio of Ciudad-Rodrigo, asking him to send me orders what to do.

I omit here many particulars which are not pertinent; I simply tell what I saw and what was told me concerning the countries where I went and those of which I was given information, in order to make a report to our father provincial, that he may show it to the father of our order, who may advise him, or to the council of the order, at whose command I went, that they may give it to the most illustrious lord, the viceroy of New Spain, at whose request they sent me on this journey.—Fray Marcos de Niza, vice comissarius.

ATTESTATIONS

I, Friar Antonio of Ciudad-Rodrigo, religious of the order of the Minorites and minister provincial for the time being of the province of the Holy Evangel of this New Spain, declare that it is true that I sent Fray Marcos de Niza, priest, friar, presbyter and religious, and in all virtue and religion so esteemed that, by me and my brethren of the governing board who take counsel together in all arduous and difficult matters, he was approved and held as fit and able to make this journey and discovery, as well for the aforesaid character of his person, as for being learned, not only in theology, but also in cosmography and navigation. When it had been considered and decided that he should go, he departed with a companion, a lay-brother named Friar Honoratus, by the command of the lord Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy of this said New Spain. His lordship gave him all the furnishings and equipment necessary for the said journey and exploration. His instructions which are here written, which I saw and which his lordship communicated to me, asking my advice thereon,
were given, as they appeared to me good, to the said Fray Marcos, by the hand of Francisco Vazquez de Coronado. He duly received them and executed them faithfully, as in fact has appeared. And as the above is the truth and there is no mis-statement in it, I have written this faithful testimony and signed it with my name. --Executed in Mexico, on the twenty-sixth day of August, in the year one thousand five hundred and thirty-nine.—Fra. Antonio de Ciudad-Rodrigo, minister provincial.

In the great city of Temixtitan, Mexico of New Spain, on the second day of the month of September, in the year of the birth of Our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand five hundred and thirty-nine, before the very illustrious lord Don Antonio de Mendoza, viceroy and governor for H. M. in this New Spain, president of the audiencia and royal chancery, residing in the said city, and being present the very magnificent lords, the learned judge Francisco de Ceiños, oidor for H. M. in the said royal audiencia, and Francisco Vazquez de Coronado, governor for H. M. in the province of New Galicia, and in the presence of us, Juan Baeza de Herrera, chief secretary of the said royal audiencia and of the government of the said New Spain, and Antonio de Turcios, secretary to Their Majesties and of the said royal audiencia, appeared the very reverend father Fray Marcos de Niza, vice-commissary in these parts of the Indies of the Ocean," of the order of San Francisco, and presented before their lordships and before us the said secretaries and witnesses the appended writings, these instructions and this relation signed with his name and sealed with the general seal of the Indies, the which have nine leaves, including this in which go our signatures; and he said, affirmed and certified to be true the content of the said instructions and relation and that what is contained therein occurred, in order that H. M. may be informed of

12. Ternaux-Compan give the 27th.
13. "Las Indias del mar Océano."
the truth of that which is made mention of therein. And their lordships ordered us the said secretaries, that, as the said vice-commissary presented it and declared it to be such, we attest the same at the foot thereof and that we declare it for truth, signed with our signatures.—Witnesses present: the above-named, and Alamaguez and Friar Martin of Ozocastro, religious of the same order.

In faith whereof, I the said Juan Baeza, the above-named secretary, affix here this my seal, thus in testimony of truth.

—Juan Baeza de Herrera.

And I the said Antonio de Turcios, the above-named secretary, who was present at what is here said, affix here this my seal, in testimony of truth.

—Antonio de Turcios.

CONTRIBUTORS


Percy M. Baldwin. — M. A. (Queen’s Univ., London); research student in Spain; Ph. D. (Univ. of Calif.); since January, 1925, professor of history, N. Mex. College of A. & M. A.

REVIEWS AND EXCHANGES

The Frontier Times for January publishes a biographical sketch of Kit Carson, which in view of the centennial of Carson's first trip to Santa Fe, is of special interest. Among other contributions in the current issue is one by George S. Roper of Two Harbors, Minnesota, who tells of "Soldiering on the Frontier" fifty five years ago. Roper was a trooper in the Eighth Cavalry commanded by General J. Orvin Gregg. He says among other things:

"We got to Kit Carson, Colorado, and the first thing we saw the next morning were two fellows strung up under a railroad bridge where they had been hung the night before by a vigilance committee . . . . At Kit Carson we were given guns, and we picked up a bunch of 'doughboys' headed for the 15th Infantry . . . . There we started on our long march of nearly 1,200 miles to New Mexico. Any one now passing over the A. T. & S. F. from Los Animas, Colorado, to San Marcial, New Mexico, probably would not appreciate what a God-forsaken country that hike took us through back in the fall of 1870 . . . . Trinidad was just one street, with a few scattering adobe shanties down near the river. We crossed the Raton Mountains at Dick Wooten's ranch, and found the Red River of the South, west of the foot of the mountains, only about 10 feet wide. One place where we camped for a night there was a rancher living. It was said that at this house they had soda biscuits three times a day, 365 days in the year. I had a good many meals there and I never found any other kind of bread; so it must be so. At this place we saw our first Indians. They were Utes, and one of them had on a Major General's dress uniform, coat, epaulets, and all, which had been given him by General Sherman. The old chief also had a letter from the General which he prized very highly. The letter advised the reader to watch the old fellow very close, that he would carry away anything he could get his hands on. Cimarron was about the only place we found that would lead one to believe that there had ever been anything but a Mexican in that country. Fort Union was the headquarters of the 8th Cavalry. I was fortunate enough to be assigned to troop
B, with Captain Wm. McCleave in command. He is long since dead, but I want to go on record as believing that there were very few officers that were his equal. At Fort Union we lost the men who were assigned to troops at that station, and also those at Fort Garland. After a few days' rest we again took up the weary march, and two days after we camped at Las Vegas, an old Mexican town. What is now East Las Vegas was not at that time even a hole in the ground. At Albuquerque we first saw the Rio Grande, and lost our comrades that were enroute for Fort Wingate. At Fort Craig the fellows for Fort Selden and Fort Bayard kept on down the river; and we that were going to Fort Stanton crossed the river and hiked east through the sandy desert. The first of November we reached our long looked for 'happy home.' We were not long in taking up the duties of soldiers, with foot and mounted drill nearly every day. We had a splendid drillmaster in Sergeant Patrick Golden, an old soldier of several years' service. A short time before we reached the post the Apaches killed one of our troop, and also a member of Co. I of the 15th Infantry within a few miles of the post. A scout was at once started after the murderers who were followed so closely that in order to let the bucks get away the squaws got in the way of the charge going up a narrow canyon, knowing, as they did, that in order to get around them it would delay the charge. Several prisoners were taken and we found them still in confinement at the post with a guard over them. That post was not very desirable. We enlisted at $16 a month, but Congress got funny and reduced our pay to $13. Of course, that did not set very good, and the result was the army lost many men by refusal to re-enlist and by desertion. One of the latter was my bunkey. It would be hard for one who has not passed through the experience to realize the irksome sameness, or want of variety of a soldier's life in New Mexico, and especially at Fort Stanton in the early 70's. The nearest point of anything that might be called civilization being Las Vegas, more than 150 miles away. Not a book or anything to read. Mail once a week and taking from four to five weeks for a letter from as far East as Ohio. Where one was fortunate enough to have a friend who sent them the home paper it was read by every man in the troop until entirely worn out. There was nothing to attract one's attention except the same old round of soldier duty, an unending sequence of guard, stable police,
kitchen police, and fatigue; and then back over the same thing. We cavalrymen had a little the best of the infantrymen. We got all the escort duty, scouting and other things of that kind. For a few days we had a chance to lose sight of the old stone buildings of the post. We looked forward with delight to the afternoon that we were the old guard, as we then had the splendid duty of herding the horses for grazing. It certainly was fun to get the horses all excited in the corral (when there were no commissioned officers around), and then turn them loose and run them until they got their play out. We all felt as though we had lost our best friend when mounted drill was taken off. All of the officers of the regiment above Second Lieutenant had seen service during the Civil War. Several of them had reached the rank of Brigadier General. With us as we were making our tramp was four Second Lieutenants that had graduated with the class of 1870. I think only one of them is now living, Brig. Gen. Samuel W. Fountain, retired. Lieut. R. A. Williams only lived long enough to get his Captain's commission. I have understood that Lieut. F. E. Phelps lost a leg at Wounded Knee and was retired; Lieut. Godwin became a Brigadier General, retired. S. B. M. Young was one of our original captains, appointed in 1866. He was, I think the last one to die. Capt. J. F. Randlett was transferred to the regiment in 1870 and was a captain for 16 years. This letter starts by saying '55 years ago I put on the blue.' Now I close it by saying that 50 years ago Major J. H. Mahnked, Regimental Adjutant, handed me my discharge at Santa Fe, New Mexico, for expiration of term of service, signed by General Gregg, and the Major was kind enough to write the word 'excellent' under the black line.

The Frontier Times also publishes in this issue a list of Confederates who were stationed at different points in New Mexico during the Civil War. The list included a number of documents pertaining to these troops furnished by Henry J. Brown of Santa Rita. A copy of the pay-roll is also attached.

SANTA FE'S FIRST AMERICAN PORTRAIT PAINTER

The latest annual report of the Smithsonian Institution prints a portrait and biographical sketch of John Mix Stanley, by David I. Bushnell, Jr., whose portraits painted from life among forty-three different tribes of Indians
during ten years that he spent in New Mexico and other western states, were entrusted to the Smithsonian Institution. Unfortunately, all of these except five were destroyed in the fire of January 24, 1865, which damaged the main building. The following are excerpts from the biography:

“In 1842, accompanied by Sumner Dickerman, of Troy, he visited the Indian country in Arkansas and New Mexico and made sketches and pictures of the Indians and Indian scenes . . . . . . The opportunities afforded by his constant contact with the Indians were improved by almost daily paintings and sketching. In attempting to paint the portrait of the Cherokee chiefs Mr. Stanley found a difficulty in their caprice and superstition. They insisted that portraits should first be painted of Jim Shaw, a Delaware, and of Jess Chisholm, a Cherokee, under whose protection Mr. Stanley had been conducted; if these men should consent to sit and should receive no harm from the operation, then the Cherokee chiefs would sit. It was done in this way. They came forward in the order of their rank and were delighted with the idea of being painted, considering it a great honor. Mr. Stanley spent part of the year 1845 in New Mexico. By the year 1846 he had painted 88 canvases, and in January of that year he and Mr. Dickerman exhibited them in Cincinnati and Louisville . . . . . In October, 1846, he visited Santa Fe to paint still more pictures. Here he joined the expedition of Gen S. W. Kearny, who led the dangerous march overland to San Diego, Calif. He was placed under the immediate command of Captain Emory, of the Topographical Corps, United States Army. At the mouth of the Gila River they had a battle with some California irregulars. This was during the time when General Flores, the counter revolutionist, held Los Angeles and Commodore Stockton, in opposition, held San Diego. In this march Mr. Stanley was also in the actions at San Pasquale, Calif . . . . . In 1853 Mr. Stanley was appointed to be the artist of the expedition sent by the Government of the United States to explore a Route for the Pacific Railroad near the forty-seventh and forty-ninth parallels of latitude from St. Paul to Puget Sound . . . . . The Indians were impressed by Mr. Stanley’s ability to make pictures of them with his brush. Also the daguerreotype process which he sometimes used was to them a thing inspired because produced by the light of the sun . . . . . As a member
of the expedition he made a large number of sketches of the
various points of interest, and as a novel experiment he
carried a daguerreotype apparatus, probably the first
taken up the Missouri. In the report of the expedition is
this note: 'August 7, 1853. Mr. Stanley, the artist, was
busily occupied during our stay at Fort Union with his
daguerreotype apparatus, and the Indians were greatly
pleased with their daguerreotypes.'"

Of the five paintings still on exhibition in the Smith­
sonian, three bear evidence of having been painted in New
Mexico. One is that of a Towoccono Warrior.

"This man distinguished himself among his people by
a daring attempt at stealing horses, in the night, from Fort
Milan, on the western frontier of Texas. He succeeded in
passing the sentries, and had secured some eight or ten
horses to a lariat, and was making his way to the gates of
the fort, when he was discovered and fired upon. The night
being dark, the shots were at random; he was, however,
severely wounded by two balls, received two sabre wounds
upon his arms, and narrowly escaped with his life. He is
about twenty-three years of age, and by this daring feat
has won the name and standing of a warrior among his
people."

The second painting is entitled "A Buffalo Hunt on the
Southwestern Prairies," while the third is a portrait of
Black Knife, an Apache chief who accompanied Kearny on
his march from Santa Fe to California.
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