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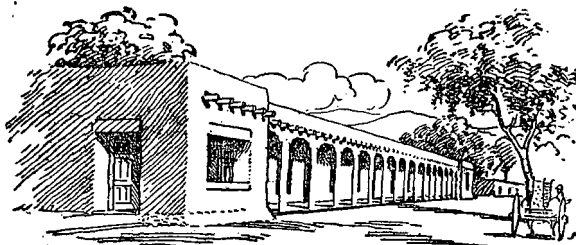
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NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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PALACE OF THE GOVERNORS

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Editor
LANSING B. BLOOM

Managing Editor
PAUL A. F. WALTER

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THEODOSIUS MEYER, O. F. M.

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

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THE PIMA OUTBREAK IN NOVEMBER, 1751

By RUSSELL C. EWING

LATE IN THE year 1751 the attention of the authorities of Sinaloa and Sonora was suddenly drawn to Pimería Alta by native disturbances. Since 1695, with the exception of minor uprisings in 1732 and 1748,¹ Pimería Alta had been free from internal Indian troubles.

The uprising was well planned. On Saturday, November 20, Luis Oacpicagua, native governor and captain-general of the Pimas, held a talk with his people in one of the small *barrancas* near Saric, a settlement lying close to the source of the Altar River.² There plans were made for a general uprising against Spanish rule. Missionary, rancher, soldier, *gente de razon*, and all Spanish sympathizers were to be driven from Pimería Alta. Neither life nor property was to be spared; and the Pimas had reason to feel certain of success, since there were only a few hundred persons in all the Upper Pima country who were considered to be loyal to the Spanish crown.³ Of this number less than one hundred could offer armed resistance.⁴ Santa Ana, largest of all the settlements, had less than one hundred Spanish and *mestizo*

1. Jacome, *Declaración*, Horcasitas, Nov. 23, 1753, in *Testimonio de . . . los Pimas Altas en La Provincia de Sonora* (A. G. L., 104-3-5).

2. Peña to Carta, Cucurpe, Nov. 29, 1751, in *Testimonio de los Auttos . . . sobre . . . tres Yndios . . . y . . . varias muertes . . . de sus misioneros* (A. G. I., 67-3-31); Baitioct, *Declaración*, San Ignacio, Jan. 22, 1752, in *Terzero Quaderno de Auttos de . . . Diego Ortiz Parrilla . . . Gobernador . . . de . . . Nueva Andalucia . . . por su Magestad* (A. G. I., 104-3-5); Lizasoain, "Informe," in *Documentos para la historia de Mexico*, series iii, 556, 635.

3. Peña to Carta, *loc. cit.*

4. *Ibid.*

inhabitants,⁵ and the nearest presidios, Terrenate and Fronteras, were unprepared for hostilities. The handful of presidials attached to the garrison at Terrenate was at that moment scattered, and most of the soldiers at Fronteras were ill.⁶ The Pimas could hardly have found a more propitious time for the success of their plans.

The uprising once decided upon, the next step was to inform the other Indians of the region of the scheme. Runners were immediately sent off in all directions from Saric bearing orders from Luis to the effect that all Pimas rebel at once against their Spanish masters, and that after spreading death and destruction throughout Pimería Alta they were all to retire to the Baboquivari Mountains with their families and live-stock.⁷

The native messengers were prompt in executing their several tasks. Towards sundown that same Saturday the aborigines of Tubutama learned of Luis's plans.⁸ But there, due to the act of a faithful mission Indian, Ignacio Matovit, the designs of the natives were somewhat frustrated. Matovit, upon learning that the Pimas of Tubutama were going to follow Luis's instructions, hastened to inform the *vecinos* of their impending danger.⁹

Father Visitor Jacobo Sedelmayr, resident missionary at Tubutama, immediately took measures for the protection of the few *gente de razon* and Spaniards who resided in the mission district. He let it be known that the Pimas were about to strike, and within a short time fourteen *gente de razon* and two soldiers took refuge with him in the mission

5. Altamira to Revilla Gigedo, Mexico, Jan. 16, 1752, in *Testimonio de . . . la sublevación de los Yndios de la Pimería Alta* (A. G. I., 57-3-31).

6. Sánchez, "Informe," Terrenate, Dec. 8, 1751, in *Testimonio de lo primer Quano de Autos . . . sobre sublevación . . . y providencias, que . . . expendio . . . Parrilla . . . Govor . . . de Sinaloa, y Sonora* (A. G. I., 104-3-5); Parrilla, instructions to subalterns, Nov. 23, 1751, in *ibid.*

7. Baitioct, *Declaración*, *loc. cit.*; Matovit, *Declaración*, San Ignacio, Jan. 8, 1752, in *Terzéro Quaderno de Auttos de . . . Diego Ortiz Parrilla . . . Governador . . . de . . . Nueva Andalucia . . . por su Magestad* (A. G. I., 104-3-5).

8. Baitioct, *Declaración*, *loc. cit.*

9. Bustamante, *Declaración*, San Pedro Nolasco, Dec. 16, 1753, in *Testimonio de Los Autos . . . sobre . . . el Alzamiento . . . en Sonora* (A. G. I., 104-3-4).

buildings.¹⁰ Then Sedelmayr's thoughts turned to the safety of Father Juan Nentvig, who was in charge of the *visita* of Saric.¹¹ Although the plot was being laid at Saric, there was the possibility that Luis had been more successful in keeping his secret at the *visita*. Sedelmayr therefore addressed a short letter to Nentvig warning him of the designs of the Pimas and advising him to come with all possible speed to Tubutama.¹²

Late that same evening Nentvig received Sedelmayr's note from the hands of the faithful Matovit. The Father Visitor had acted wisely, for Nentvig was apparently unaware of danger. A horse was instantly procured, and the Jesuit rode off down the valley to Tubutama, where he arrived at about midnight.¹³

Nentvig made his exit none too soon. Shortly after his flight, Luis, under the ruse that the Apaches were about to attack Saric,¹⁴ offered his house as a refuge to some twenty persons, among whom were three children and several male servants of Nentvig. Armed guards were then stationed around the house, and ere the occupants were aware of their predicament, the torch had been applied to their abode.

10. Baitioct, *Declaración, loc. cit.*; Bustamante, *Declaración, loc. cit.*; Bustamante, *Declaración*, San Ignacio de Cuquiarachi, Aug. 31, 1754, in forty *declaraciones* taken by Utrera (A. G. I., 104-3-5).

11. Nentvig to Utrera, Tecoripa, Dec. 3, 1754, in *Testimonio de los Autos formados en orden de Rl. cédula de 4 de Octre. de 1752, sobre . . . el Alzamiento de los Pimos Altos en la Provincia de Sonora* (A. G. I., 104-3-4).

12. Sedelmayr to Parrilla, Santa Ana, Nov. 27, 1751, in *Testimonio de lo primer Quano. de Autos . . . sobre sublevacion . . . y providencias, que . . . expendio . . . Parrilla . . . Govor . . . de Sinaloa, y Sonora* (A. G. I., 104-3-5); Matovit, *Declaración, loc. cit.*

13. Sedelmayr to Parrilla, *loc. cit.*; Stiger to Segesser, San Ignacio, Nov. 27, 1751, in *Testimonio de los Aulttos . . . sobre . . . tres mil Yndios . . . y . . . varias muertes . . . de sus misioneros* (A. G. I., 67-3-31). Ortega (*Apostólicos Afanes*, 488) states that Nentvig went by foot to Tubutama.

14. Rivera, *Declaración*, Horcasitas, Dec. 5, 1753, in *Testimonio de los Autos . . . sobre el Alzamiento . . . en . . . Sonora* (A. G. I., 104-3-4); Bustamante, *Declaración*, San Ignacio de Cuquiarachi, Aug. 31, 1754, in *loc. cit.* . . . According to Alegre (*Historia de la compañía de Jesus en Nueva España*, III, 291-292), the sudden appearance of great numbers of Pimas at Saric had led several Spaniards to go to Luis's house on the night of November 20 to ask the reason for the presence of so many natives.

Some attempted to escape this flaming inferno, only to meet death at the hands of the armed guards.¹⁵

The captain-general and his confederates now turned in search of Father Nentvig. The Jesuit, had he not anticipated their plans, would undoubtedly have been martyred. The infuriated natives, learning that Nentvig had sought safety in flight, gave chase, desisting in their pursuit only when they were certain that the father was beyond their immediate reach.¹⁶

The rebels' murderous lust, temporarily frustrated by Nentvig's escape, soon found satisfaction at the home of Laureano, *mayordomo* of Saric. Laureano succeeded in eluding his persecutors, but he left his family to the mercy of the Pimas. His wife and children were promptly killed. This deed brought to a close a night in which about twenty-five persons lost their lives.¹⁷

Meanwhile at Tubutama Sedelmayr and his companions, behind the barricaded walls of the father's house, were nervously awaiting an attack.¹⁸ The early morning hours of Sunday were passed in this tense atmosphere, when, just at break of day, the settlement was startled by the din of piercing war-cries and the pealing of the church bell, which, said Sedelmayr, was "a most notable circumstance."¹⁹ The besieged found themselves about to be attacked by nearly a thousand natives from the region of Santa Teresa and the *ranchería* of Jonamota.²⁰ Acting under the leadership of Sebastián, Indian governor of Santa Teresa, the rebels set fire to the church and the house in which Sedelmayr and his

15. Luis, *Declaración*, San Ignacio, Mar. 25, 1752, in *Testimonio de los Autos formados separadamente . . . con lo demas . . . de Sinaloa* (A. G. I., 104-3-5); Rivera, *Declaración*, *loc. cit.*

16. Luis, *Declaración*, *loc. cit.*

17. Peña to Carta, *loc. cit.*; Lizasoín, ("Informe," *loc. cit.*, 583) states that approximately sixteen lives were lost. Stiger lists twenty-two as having been murdered (Stiger's entry for Nov. 21, 1751, in *Libros de entierros deste Pueblo de Sn. Ygn . . . en que tambien seponen las de . . . Himuri*).

18. Sedelmayr to Parrilla, *loc. cit.*

19. *Ibid.*; Bustamante, *Declaración*, Real de San Pedro Nolasco, Dec. 16, 1753, in *Testimonio de los Autos, . . . sobre . . . el Alzamiento . . . en . . . Sonora* (A. G. I., 104-3-4).

20. Baitioct, *Declaración*, *loc. cit.*

companions had taken refuge.²¹ In spite of their dangerous retreat, the handful of Spaniards and *gente de razon* chose to defend themselves in the flaming building rather than to flee and expose themselves to the Indians' arrows.

The attack continued throughout the day, although somewhat less furiously than had been expected.²² As night closed in the rebels withdrew, leaving Sedelmayr and his fellow-defenders to formulate plans for relief. There had been no casualties among them, but there was no assurance that another day's encounter would end so successfully. The father's house was nearly destroyed, which rendered it practically useless as an abode of defense. Armed assistance was their only hope. News of their plight must therefore be gotten at once to one of the Spanish settlements which could furnish the desired aid. It was for this purpose that one of the soldiers was sent to Santa Ana and a loyal Indian dispatched to San Ignacio.²³ The remaining few now settled down to what must have been a most disquieting night.

At dawn on Monday the rebels returned to their attack. Their numbers were now somewhat more than on the preceding day, and they threw themselves at the Spaniards with a great deal more determination and effect than on the first day. The besieged put up a courageous defense. Fighting from behind the walls of their almost completely demolished retreat, which was now hardly more than a smoldering mass of cinders, they managed to hold the Indians at bay.²⁴

21. Sedelmayr to Parrilla, *loc. cit.*

22. *Ibid.*; Bustamante, *Declaración, loc. cit.*; González, *Declaración loc. cit.*

23. Sedelmayr to Parrilla, *loc. cit.*; Toral to Parrilla, Guepaca, Nov. 27, 1751, in *Testimonio de lo primer Quano. de Autos . . . sobre sublevazion . . . y providencias, que . . . expendió . . . Govor . . . de Sinaloa, y Sonora* (A. G. I., 104-3-5).

24. Sedelmayr to Parrilla, *loc. cit.* . Ortega (*op. cit.*, 448) inaccurately states that Sedelmayr and his companions defended themselves in the churchyard at Tubutama. Ortega's account of the revolt is unreliable. He completed his *Apostólicos Afanes* early in 1752. The first official account of the uprising reached Mexico City late in January, 1752 (*Testimonio de los Auttos . . . sobre hauerse levantado tres mil Yndios . . . y destrozado las Yglesias de sus misioneros'* (A. G. I., 67-3-31). Ortega could therefore have had relatively little information about the uprising.

That afternoon the natives suddenly withdrew from Tubutama. During the lull which followed, Domingo Castillo, a soldier from the garrison at Fronteras, went from the house for the purpose of rounding up several horses in the neighborhood, hoping thereby to provide a means of escape for his associates.²⁵ But Castillo's plans went awry. He had gone but a short distance when he fell into an ambush. Sensing his predicament, he made a desperate attempt to return to his companions; but he was overwhelmed by the Pimas, and fell a victim to the Indians' war-clubs.²⁶

The rebels now turned in their fury upon those fortified in the father's house. The Jesuit and his companions found themselves attacked from all sides. Arrows, sticks, and stones were directed at the Spaniards with devastating effect. Most of the defenders were wounded, two of whom, Barrientos and Nuñez, died shortly afterwards from their injuries. Sedelmayr received two ugly gashes in the head and a flint in one of his arms.²⁷ What the casualties were on the side of the Indians can only be a matter for speculation, for the authorities have failed to leave any specific records on this score.²⁸

The natives continued their attack until after sundown.²⁹ They then withdrew, leaving the defenders to take an inventory of the munitions and food supplies and to review the results of the day's encounter.³⁰ It was found that the powder and shot were nearly exhausted, and that the condition of the men was such that it would be impossible to expect anything but complete annihilation in another engagement with the Pimas. Moreover, they had received no news from the pleas they had sent for relief.

25. Bustamante, *Declaración*, San Ignacio de Cuquiarachi, Aug. 31, 1754, *loc. cit.*

26. Sedelmayr to Parrilla, *loc. cit.*

27. *Ibid.*

28. Bustamante (*Declaración*, San Ignacio de Cuquiarachi, Aug. 31, 1754, *loc. cit.*) states that great numbers of the Indians were killed.

29. González (*Declaración*, *loc. cit.*) says until late at night. Sedelmayr (Sedelmayr to Parrilla, *loc. cit.*) is authority for the statement that the attack lasted until shortly after sundown.

30. *Ibid.*

They were therefore of the belief that their only hope of safety lay in flight.

At nine o'clock that night, November 22, they made arrangements for their departure. It was decided that Barrientos and Nuñez be left behind, since they would retard the flight of the group. Furthermore both would doubtless be dead before the return of the Pimas. Sedelmayr and Nentvig accordingly received the confessions of the dying men, and then in company with the remaining twelve persons hastened off into the dark intent upon making their way to Santa Ana. They chose unfrequented and circuitous trails, hoping thereby to diminish the chances of meeting hostile natives. This dangerous game of hide-and-seek, as it were, lasted until Wednesday, nearly two full days after their sudden abandonment of Tubutama. On that day they arrived exhausted at Santa Ana.³¹

Meanwhile, the Indians had wrought havoc at other pueblos lying on the banks of the Altar and at San Miguel de Sonóita, the lone mission in the Papagueria. On November 20 Father Tomás Tello was murdered at Caborca by a band of Pimas under the leadership of the native governor of Pitic, who also bore the name of Luis.³² Not content with the death of the missionary, the Pimas directed their murderous designs against the *gente de razon* of the pueblo, where eleven persons were stricken down in cold blood.³³

31. Stiger to Segesser, San Ignacio, Nov. 27, 1751, in *Testimonio de los Autos . . . sobre hauerse levantado tres mil Yndios . . . y destrozado las Yglesias de sus misioneros* (A. G. I., 67-3-31); Bustamante, *Declaración*, San Ignacio de Cuquiariachi, Aug. 31, 1754, *loc. cit.* . . . Bancroft (*History North Mexican States*, I, 544) mistakenly says that the fourteen retreated to San Ignacio. Ortega (*op. cit.*, 449) writes that Sedelmayr, after leaving Tubutama, met an Indian who furnished him with a horse which he rode to San Ignacio. The same author (*op. cit.*, 449) also states, inaccurately, that Father Nentvig wandered about the countryside for five days before he finally arrived at San Ignacio.

32. According to Baitioct (*Declaración, loc. cit.*), an Indian of Tubutama, the Jesuit was killed on the 19th. González (*Declaración, loc. cit.*), states that the date was the 20th, as does Matovit (*Declaración loc. cit.*). Oapicagigua, leader of the revolt is reported to have said that the revolt broke out at Caborca on the very day that it did at Saric (Oacoi, *Declaración*, San Ignacio, Dec. 14, 1751, in *Testimonio de los Autos formados . . . con lo demas que coronl. de los Rs. exercitos Govor. y Capn. Gral . . . de Sinaloa* (A. G. I., 104-3-5). Father Toral to Parrilla, *loc. cit.*) is authority for the statement that Tello was murdered on Sunday the 21st.

33. Stiger's entry in *Libro de entierros, loc. cit.*

On the following morning the governor of Pitic and his men made their way to Uquitoa, where, in company with the Pimas of the latter place, they proceeded to kill the *gente de razon*.³⁴ They then plundered their victims' property, and that which they could not carry away was burned.³⁵ By nightfall some twenty persons lay dead at Uquitoa.³⁶

The events of the first few days of the uprising in other parts of western Pimería Alta are imperfectly known. In the remaining settlements of the Altar Valley approximately twenty-five persons are said to have perished at the hands of the Pimas.³⁷ At Sonóita, the Pápago mission, Father Enrique Rhuen and two others were killed. On Sunday the 21st a band of Indians, intent upon taking Rhuen's life, proceeded to the father's house. The Jesuit, seeing their approach, stepped forth to greet them. The details of what then took place are meager. It appears that the father was instantly clubbed to death along with his *mayordomo* Juan Orosio and his servant Antonio Marcial.³⁸ The church was then stripped of its sacred ornaments and set on fire.³⁹

Meanwhile the Spaniards and *gente de razon* inhabiting the region between Saric and San Xavier del Bac were experiencing similar treatment. On the night of the 20th the Pimas attacked the *gente de razon* at Arivaca.⁴⁰ During the course of that night and the next day three families and the *mayordomo* of Father José Garrucho, resi-

34. Salazar to Urrea, Santa Ana, Nov. 21, 1751, in *Testimonio de lo primer Quano. de Autos . . . sobre sublevacion . . . y providencia, que . . . expendio . . . Parrilla . . . Govor . . . de Sinaloa, y Sonora*, (A. G. I., 104-3-5); Xavier, *Declaración*, San Ignacio de Cuquiarachi, Sept. 2, 1754, in *Testimonio de los Autos . . . sobre . . . el Alzamiento . . . en . . . Sonora* (A. G. I., 104-3-4).

35. Matovit, *Declaración*, loc. cit.; Joachin, *Declaración*, San Ignacio, Jan. 8, 1752, in *Testimonio de lo primer Quano. de Autos . . . sobre sublevacion . . . y providencias, que . . . expendio . . . Parrilla . . . Govor . . . de Sinaloa, y Sonora* (A. G. I., 104-3-5).

36 Cf. Stiger's entry in *Libro de entierros*, loc. cit.

37. *Ibid.*

38. *Ibid.*; Oycatitonic, *Declaración*, Horcasitas, Nov. 23, 1752, in *Testimonio de los Autos formados separadamente . . . con lo demas . . . de Sinaloa* (A. G. I., 104-3-5).

39 *Ibid.*

40. Luis, *Declaración*, loc. cit.

dent missionary at Guevavi, were ruthlessly slaughtered.⁴¹ Several hours later a group of settlers in the valley of San Luis learned of the massacre. They at once proceeded to Arivaca to inter the dead. But their plans met with little success. At Arivaca they were confronted by such a formidable band of Pimas that they were forced to make a hasty retreat in the direction whence they came. Followed for some time by the rebels, they were finally forced to fight, and in the ensuing skirmish two settlers were wounded and four Pimas killed. It was with some difficulty that the remaining settlers managed to fight clear and make good their retreat to the valley of San Luis.⁴²

The outbreak was relatively slow in spreading to Soanca and San Xavier.⁴³ Several days after the initial uprising at Saric the Indians of the north began to show signs of restlessness. On November 23 and again on the 24th Father Ignacio Keller, missionary at Soanca, fearing an outbreak among his native charges, appealed to Isidoro Sánchez de Tagle, lieutenant of the presidio of Terrenate, for protection.⁴⁴ Keller asked for six soldiers; but six soldiers, replied Sánchez, were more than the presidio could safely spare, for most of the men of Terrenate were away on special duties.⁴⁵ Eighteen were stationed at Bacanuchi; four were at San Xavier; two were escorting a pack-train from the pueblo of Imuris to Terrenate; three were out rounding up horses; and most of the others were in the valley of San Luis engaged in branding cattle. But despite this scarcity of men Sánchez managed to send five soldiers to Keller.⁴⁶

41. Juan, *Declaración*, San Ignacio, Dec. 9, 1751, in *ibid.*; Keller to Stiger, Soanca, Nov. 22, 1751, in *Testimonio de lo primer Quano. de Autos . . . sobre sublevacion . . . y providencia, que . . . expendio . . . Parrilla . . . Govor . . . de Sinaloa, y Sonora* (A. G. I., 104-3-5); Sedelmayr, Nentvig, and Stiger to Parrilla, San Ignacio, Nov. 30, 1751, in *ibid.*; Romero to Parrilla, Soanca, Dec. 3, 1751, in *ibid.*

42. Baitioct, *Declaración*, *loc. cit.*; Romero to Parrilla, *loc. cit.*

43. Keller, "Consulta," in *Doc. hit. Mex.*, series iii, 26-32.

44. Sánchez, "Informe," *loc. cit.*

45. *Ibid.*

46. *Ibid.*

A few days later Father Francisco Paver, in charge at San Xavier, also sensed danger.⁴⁷ Believing that the Indians of the mission were about to rebel, Paver hurriedly made his way to Guevavi with three soldiers and his *mayordomo*. There they found Garrucho somewhat perturbed at recent events, and in a short while the entire group, augmented by a considerable number of *vecinos* from the surrounding country, hastened off in the direction of Terrenate. At Soanca they were joined by Keller, and it appears that all reached the garrison with the exception of Garrucho, who for some unknown reason turned back.⁴⁸

Thus within about a week's time the Pimas had laid the larger settlements in western Pimería Alta in waste. More than a hundred persons had perished at the hands of the rebels, and the property of the victims had either been burned or carried away. The church at Tubutama had been looted and burned, and similar treatment had been meted out to the other religious establishments in the hostilized area. The Indians' plans had succeeded, at least in part.

University of Arizona.

47. Rivera, *Declaración*, loc. cit.; Romero to Parrilla, loc. cit.

48. *Ibid.*

THE CHAPEL OF DON ANTONIO JOSÉ ORTIZ

By COL. JOSÉ D. SENA

It appears from an instrument, which has been in the vault of his Excellency Archbishop R. A. Gerken that, in the year 1797, Don Antonio José Ortiz, a resident of the city of Santa Fé, in the Kingdom of New Mexico under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Durango, petitioned his Lordship Dr. Don Francisco Gabriel de Oliváres y Benito, then bishop of Durango, for permission to erect at his home and residence in Santa Fé, a chapel so that he could comply with his religious duties of hearing mass on Sundays and feasts of obligation, because, owing to his infirmities, he was unable to attend at the parroquial church.

In the petition which was corroborated by the Reverend Fathers Fray Buenaventura Marino, Fray José Rubio, and Fray Francisco de Hocio, they state that Don Antonio José Ortiz, had been and was a very devout Catholic, contributing with his means to the support and betterment of the churches in Santa Fé. It is stated further that, at one time, the parroquial church had fallen down completely, and that it was Don Antonio José Ortiz who, out of his own money and completely at his own expense, rebuilt the church and added to it a beautiful and roomy chapel, dedicated to St. Joseph, and had placed in it a statue of St. Joseph. He had also added a chapel dedicated to our blessed mother, making the church then in the form of a cross. In this chapel were placed statues of our Lady of the Holy Rosary, pictures of our Lady of Guadalupe, and one of San Miguel. The reverend fathers testified also that he had contributed largely to the repair of the chapel of San Miguel when in a state of deterioration, and that all this was done at his own expense. It was further stated that he paid for the wax and wine for the celebration of holy mass.

Due to all these acts of devotion and his pious character and Catholic devotion, his Lordship Bishop Oliváres y Benito granted the permission, on condition that the chapel should be separate from the rest of his domicile and with an entrance to the street. He also stipulated that the chapel should have a bell to gather the faithful to the holy services.

It appears that, upon a later petition and due to the chronic illness of Mr. Ortiz, an additional grant was given him, namely, that the chapel might be connected with his residence, so that he could be brought in to the services and not be exposed to the inclemency of the weather. His Lordship also granted the permission that if Don Antonio José Ortiz provided a tabernacle according to the rubrics of the church, the blessed sacrament might be kept constantly in the chapel, and the sacraments be administered from the said chapel to the faithful, as well as to the members of his family and servants. It appears that at that time the blessed sacrament was kept only in the said chapel, and that from there all services were performed, even to administering the last rites of the church. During all this time, Don Antonio José Ortiz continued providing all that was necessary, the vestments, holy vessels, hosts, wax, wine and other necessities for the divine service. His Lordship also granted, on petition, that the bodies of Don Antonio José Ortiz, the members of his family, and some other persons, who were pleasing to Don Antonio José Ortiz might be buried there. It was provided, in the grant of permission, that the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass should be celebrated at the said chapel, daily, by one of the fathers of the parish.

There appears a letter to Don Antonio José Ortiz, from his Lordship which is signed by Don José Aguilar, secretary to his Lordship, in which he states, that his letter was not answered by his Lordship Bishop Oliváres due to his infirmities and his advanced age, but that he instructs the secretary to write in his name, renewing his heretofore granted concessions, and imparting his Apostolic Benediction and

wishing him many, many more years of life to be dedicated to the service of God and His church on earth.

The document contains eleven different paragraphs or it might be said eleven different steps in the matter of the permission asked and the concessions granted.

Don Antonio José Ortiz is the great-grandfather of the Ortiz family. One of his sons, Don Juan Felipe Ortiz, at the time of the arrival of Bishop J. B. Lamy, was vicar apostolic of the Province of New Mexico. Don Antonio José Ortiz was married to Doña Rosa de Bustamante, and to her (as appears in a letter from Don Santiago Baca y Ortiz, a cleric of first tonsure then at Chihuahua and also a grandchild of Don Antonio José Ortiz) were renewed all the concessions previously granted by His Lordship Bishop Oliváres. This was done on January 12, 1813, by Don Francisco Fernandez y Valencia, administrator of the vacant see of Durango.

As nearly as can be ascertained, the residence of Don Antonio José Ortiz and the chapel here spoken of were located on San Francisco Street, where it joined the former Rosario Street, where the D. & R. G. railroad tracks now are.

The Catholicity of the people which was instilled into them from their mother country and by the efforts of the early friars still remains alive and continues to show itself, with very few exceptions, as something that goes deep into their hearts. May God grant that the faith so instilled into the hearts of the Spanish-speaking people may take a renewed life, and be joined in by our brothers in faith of Anglo-Saxon descent.

* * *

TRANSLATION OF THE CONCESSIONS MADE TO DON ANTONIO
 JOSÉ ORTIZ BY THE BISHOP OF DURANGO, GRANTING PER-
 MISSION TO BUILD AN ORATORIO IN HIS HOME, AS A
 MISSION TO BE LOCATED AT THE CORNER OF
 SAN FRANCISCO AND ROSARIO STREETS, IN
 SANTA FÉ, NEW MEXICO

FIRST:

We, Dr Don Francisco Gabriel de Oliváres y Benito, of the council of His Majesty, and bishop of Durango, etc.

Whereas in a memorial which was presented to us by Don Antonio José Ortiz, together with the certification accompanying it, from the Reverend Fathers, Fray Buanaventura Marino, Fray José Rubí, and Fray Francisco de Hocio, he has informed us that, at the parish church of Santa Fé, New Mexico, he has erected, at his own expense, a chapel, beautiful and roomy and in the form of a cross; that he has placed in the said chapel the statues of St. Joseph, and has likewise repaired the four district chapels, which were almost in ruins; that he has installed sanctuaries, and canopies; that he contributes all the wax, wine and hosts which are needed during the year, as well as all other necessities for the proper and decent service of divine worship, in the almost ruined missions in which mass is to be celebrated; that he has paid for masses and other ceremonials as well as for benediction with the Blessed Sacrament; has placed statues of Our Lady of the Rosario, Our Lady of Guadalupe, San Miguel, and St. Joseph; and ends with the request to us that we be pleased to grant our permission, in order that in this said chapel of St. Joseph; it be permitted that his body be buried as well as those of the members of his family, and some other persons of liking and appreciation. In what pertains to us, as to these presents, taking into consideration his pious zeal and devotion to the Divine services, we are pleased to grant, to the said Don Antonio José Ortiz, our full permission and license, so that there may be celebrated in the said chapel the sacrifice of the mass, and that the bodies of himself, the members of his family, and such others of his predilection and friendship as he may desire, may there be buried.

Given at our Episcopal Palace at Durango, and signed by us, with our seal and Coat of Arms, and countersigned by the secretary of our Canonical Government, on the 27th day of the month of December in the year 1797.

Francisco, Bishop of Durango.

By order of his Lordship.
Registered in Book I of Acts, folio 114,
by Father Pedro Millan Rodriguez.

* * *

SECOND:

We, Dr. Don Francisco Gabriel de Oliváres y Benito, by the grace of God and the pleasure of the Apostolic See, Bishop of Durango, of the council of his Majesty, etc.

Whereas, Don Antonio José Ortiz, resident of the City of Santa Fé, in New Mexico, in a petition, presented to us, has made us acquainted with his chronic illness which prevents him from complying with the obligation of hearing Mass and attending to his duties, on Sunday and Feasts of obligation, during the year, and ends with the request that we be pleased to grant him our permission and license to construct an oratory, in which the holy sacrifice of the Mass may be decently celebrated, offering, at the same time to provide the said chapel with holy vessels, vestments, altars, and all other necessaries for the decent needs of such sacred mysteries. In the light of these presents, and giving our attention to the just cause of his petition, as well as others which have moved our mind, and using the Apostolic faculties, for our part, we grant our license and permission to the said Don Antonio José Ortiz, so that he may, in the house of his abode, construct and build a public oratory, with a door to the street, and a bell over the same, which shall serve to convene the people and faithful to hear the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. We order the said Don Antonio José Ortiz to construct the said oratory apart and free from all other rooms of his domicile, and when it is concluded and decently adorned, and with all the necessary appurtenances, we hereby empower the parish priest of Santa Fé, New Mexico, or some other priest who may have the proper licenses, that he may bless the said oratory, in the form directed by the Roman Ritual, and when blessed, the Holy Mass may be and must be celebrated every day, as well as to administer the Holy Sacraments of penance and Holy Eucharist, by any priest, secular or religious, who has been duly approved by our bishopric, with all our due good will and approbation, without any prejudice to the parroquial rights.

Given at our Episcopal Palace at Durango, and signed by us, with our seal and Coat of Arms, and countersigned by our Canonical and government secretary on the 16th day of the month of June, 1798.

Francisco, Bishop of Durango.

By order of His Lordship the Bishop
my Lord. Pedro Millan Rodriguez,
Secretary. Recorded in Book 1 of Government
page 23.

* * *

THIRD:

We, Dr Don Francisco Gabriel de Oliváres y Benito, by the Grace of God and the favor of the Apostolic See, Bishop of Durango, of the council of his Majesty, etc.

Whereas, due to the memorial presented to us by Don Antonio José Ortiz, resident of Santa Fé, New Mexico, by which it is evident, that he has already built and adorned, in his house and domicile a public oratory, in one of his offices, with a door to the street in the hallway of the house, in order to avoid many inconveniences that have come up, in order to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice of Mass; therefore, by these presents we grant our permission and license, so that the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass may be celebrated and will be celebrated in the said oratory, by any priest, secular or religious, who has been duly approved by us or from any other province and Vicar General, on every day of the year, with the express condition, that he must place a bell over the wall of the said oratory, toward the street, which may gather the faithful to hear the Mass on Sundays and other days of obligations, and that they may comply, in the said oratory. And in the same manner, each one who may hear the bell, will gain, forty days indulgence, which we have been pleased to grant, and another forty days indulgence, which we have been pleased, to all such who will attend the recitation of the Holy Rosary in the said oratory, on every day of the year, as also forty days indulgence to each person who may attend each one of the feasts of Our Lady the Blessed Virgin Mary, and who may recite with devotion, once, the Salve Regina. We order the said Don Antonio José Ortiz, to maintain the said chapel with all the corresponding decency and adornment: That the secular or regular priest who may say Mass in the said chapel, on Sundays or other feast days, shall explain some point of the Christian doctrine, which may be of instruction to the faithful and that no priest, regular or secular, shall suspend the license and permission, even though he may exercise the function of Pastor Vicar, without first, notifying us. That this shall be valid in all due respect, and with our whole will;

Given at our Episcopal Palace at Durango, and signed by us and sealed with our seal and Coat of Arms, and countersigned by our undersigned, secretary, canonical and governmental on the 8th day of October, 1799.

Francisco, Bishop of Durango.

By order of his Lordship my Lord,
 Pedro Millan Rodriguez, Secretary.
 Recorded Book 1 page 106.

* * *

FOURTH:

Don Antonio José Ortiz— My Dear Sir: His Lordship, my lord, owing to his advanced years and continuous complaints, does not answer in person, your respectful letter of the 14th of November last, and I do it in his name and by his order, saying that he cannot grant the faculty of blessing the chalice, to the pastor of the village, nor to any other priest, for the reason, that the blessing of it is not a blessing proper, but a consecration in which must be used the sacred uncion, and therefore, the power to grant this does not exist in his Lordship, and that if it did, he would at once grant it as he grants the permission to bless bells, vestments, crosses, and all that which does not involve the sacred uncion. He grants the power to the said pastor, and in his absence to any other priest, to celebrate two masses, one at the Parish church, and the other one in the neighborhood chapel, on feast days, only. — May God grant you many years to your life. Durango February 6, 1801. Your humble and faithful servant in our Lord.

Francisco, Bishop of Durango.
 José Aguilar, Secretary.

* * *

FIFTH:

Don Antonio José Ortiz: Answering your letter of the 31 of March, and after extending you my thanks, for your carefulness in regard to divine cult, I will say that I grant my permission the exposition in your chapel, maintaining it with its due decorum, relative to the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament. Regarding the exception of the duties of dues of graves, with the obligation of opening and closing the same, I grant the same to you and your family. Regarding the consecration of the chalice and the altar stone, we will consider the best way, as these are things reserved only to the Bishops.

God grant you many years of life. Durango May 3rd, 1800.

Francisco, Bishop of Durango.

* * *

SIXTH:

We, Dr. Don Francisco Gabriel, Oliváres y Benito, by the Grace of God and the favor of the Apostolic see, Bishop of Durango, of the counsel of his Majesty, etc. Whereas, we have been informed that Don José Antonio Ortiz, resident of the city of Santa Fé, in the Province of New Mexico, maintains, continuously, at his own expense, in the public oratory which he has in his house, the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, and that they also take from there the Holy Viaticum to the sick, by the parish priest of the said city, which redounds to the benefit of the neighborhood, as well as to their spiritual advantage. Therefore, and in regard for the expense of the oil, which is sold at a high price, in said Province, and which he has to provide, by these presents we grant him the favor, that there may be sung, on every Thursday during the year, the mass of renovation, in the said oratory, by its chaplain, or any other priest, secular or regular, who is registered or approved by this our bishopric. And also on the feast of his patron saint and on some special festivities during the year. But we do prohibit, that there may be masses sung, on the said days, and any others, by requests of any other faithful, which are not of devotion, and which are for a stipend given by other faithful, who must pay the parroquial dues. And we order the parish priest, who is now or may hereafter be, in the said city, that he shall not require parroquial dues, for the masses of devotion by the said Don Antonio José Ortiz, due to the merits he has already acquired but to require them for masses that may be sung on stipends given by other persons. Given at our Episcopal Palace at Durango, on the 7 day of February, 1804, signed by us, and countersigned by our undersigned secretary of canonics and government. We also grant to the said Don Antonio José Ortiz, the permission, that he and the members of his family, may receive the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Eucharist at their oratory, excepting the compliance with their Easter duty, which must be done at the Parish Church. We further grant the permission, that he and the rest of the members of his family, may be buried in said oratory without damage to the parroquial dues, and all baptisms, marriages and burials that are not of the members of the family, must be had in the parish church. Signed, sealed as above.

Francisco, Bishop of Durango.

By order of his Lordship, the Bishop my
Lord, José Antonio Aguilar, Secretary.

* * *

SEVENTH :

We, Dr. Don Francisco Gabriel de Olivár y Benito, by the Grace of God and the favor of the Apostolic See, Bishop of Durango, of the counsel of his Majesty, etc.: Whereas, Don Antonio José Ortiz, resident of the city of Santa Fé, in New Mexico, moved by his pious and extreme zeal, has tendered to the parist priest of the city, the use of his oratory which he has, that there might be celebrated, the divine offices, for the reason of the parish church having fallen in ruins, and that he has reconstructed the same at his expense, employing in the said work the sum of 5,000 dollars. Therefore, in order to remunerate in some manner, the benefit which he has done to the said city, in having reconstructed the parish church at his own expense; By these presents, we exempt him, from now and for the future, from the payment, not only of Parroquial dues, but also from the dues for all the Masses either law or sung, and all other functions, which due to his devotion and those of his family, are celebrated in his said oratory, all of which shall be made known to the parish priest and his successors, so that with this understanding as to this determination, they may obey and comply with them as it is customary.

Given at our Episcopal Palace at Durango, on the 25th day of the month of September, 1804. Signed by us, and sealed with our coat of arms, and countersigned by the undersigned our office and governmental secretary.

Francisco, Bishop of Durango.

Before me,

José Aguilar, Secretary.

* * *

EIGHTH :

Your Lordship: Up to now, I have no notice whether your Lordship has received a young Indian and other things, which I sent you last year with my son Miguel, who told me before his death, he had sent from Chihuahua as I have before expressed to your Lordship, requesting, that you again tell me, whether I have to pay the dues to the church, for the burials in the chapel, which by your concession, I have in this parish and city. for I have just paid for the burial of my deceased son, José Miguel. Not desiring to bother your Lordship, with my repeated requests, and repeating my true blind love, that I know your Lordship has for me, informing you again that the parish church in this city, after it had fallen down the first time, six years ago, I

undertook by myself to reconstruct the same, and in fact I placed the same ready for the vigas last year, owing to the damage of lightning which struck, I was obliged to tear it down again and to enlarge it ten varas. From the foundation up I extended it 8 varas and reconstructed its walls, and I have it now ready nearly up to the placing of the vigas, there missing four rows of adobes in order to be able to roof it. The sanctuary and high altar have been renewed by me, also the chapel of our Lady of the Holy Rosary and the chapel of St. Joseph, in which your Lordship has granted me the privilege and grace to have, all, from their foundations to their conclusion, sanctuary, and other ornaments have been placed by me. The sanctuary of the chapel of St. Michael outside of the Parish I made myself. I have given various jewels to the parish church, not only in adornment but in services to the Mission of San Diego at Tesuque, I have made the principal sanctuary at the mission of our Lady of Guadalupe at Pojuaque. Today, by virtue of the concession made to me by your Lordship, there is no other tabernacle in this city, than the one that is maintained in my oratory, from which come all the viaticums given in the neighborhood of this city and for the troops of the garrison. On every Thursday, I pay for the mass of renovation all of which are performed with the greatest devotion and solemnity, and many other things that I omit, so as not to importune your Lordship. Therefore I pray your Lordship to grant me, if it be your pleasure, that pious grace of exception and distinction that your lordship may deem proper to grant to me. I also pray that you grant me the concession of an oratory, for my private use, in order that I may prepare and adorn the room, which I shall dedicate to Our Lady of Guadalupe, at my ranch and home at Pojuaque, to which I always retire so as to breathe the fresh air of the country, for the relief of my ailments, and in which I may be able to hear the holy mass, together with those of my family and servants. If I should merit this grace with the favor of your Lordship, I pray that it be extended permanently and also to my successors, after my death, which will be taken care of by one of my sons who will remain at the said ranch. I am aware, Sir, that the parish priest, Don José Maria Bivian de Ortega, who was the parish priest in this city, with knowledge of this concession, did all in his part to prevent me from burying therein all my children and other persons of my liking and appreciation. God Our Lord, give pros-

perity to your important life, and grant to your Lordship many years to live as I desire for you, for the help and consolation to me and your entire flock. At the feet of your Lordship, I remain, most revered sir; Antonio José Ortiz. To the Very Reverend Bishop of Durango, Francisco Gabriel de Olivares, Durango, January 25, 1805. Having received this request, and being aware, from information, which we have received that all that which is alleged, is certain as expressed in the petition, of the expenses made and incurred for the divine cult of God, we grant with all our will, everything which is asked for, with the exception of the oratory on his ranch at Pojuaque, which must be public, and in which all that is required, is that the room designated for divine service, have a door to the street, and that the faithful be called to mass, when it should be celebrated, by a small bell rung in the due and customary form in said oratory. It was so decreed, ordered and signed by his Lordship the Bishop, to which I testify. Before me, José Aguilar, Secretary.

* * *

NINTH:

We, Dr. Don Francisco Gabriel Olivares y Benito, by the grace of God and the favor of the Apostolic See, Bishop of Durango, and of the counsel of his Majesty, etc. By these presents we grant a plenary indulgence to all the priests who may celebrate Mass in the altar of the oratory of Doña Rosa Bustamante, resident of the city of Santa Fé, in New Mexico, on the feast of our Lady of Guadalupe, as also to all those present of either sex who may hear the mass, and on the rest of the days of the year, forty days indulgence, so much so to the priest who may celebrate the mass as to the faithful who may assist at the same. Given at our Episcopal palace at Durango, signed by us, and countersigned by the undersigned, secretary of office and Government on the 13th day of December 1807.

Francisco Bishop of Durango.

By order of his Lordship, the
Bishop my Lord, José Aguilar,
Secretary.

* * *

TENTH:

Mrs. Rosa Bustamante: His Lordship my lord, grants to you the grace which is requested through the Rev. Parish Priest of this city, or any other priest who may be there, to celebrate the Holy Mass on feast days, in your oratory that

you may have the joy of complying with the precept of the Church, and that by showing this to the Parish Priest of the city, Fray Francisco de Hocio, or to the one who due to his absences, sickness or death, may be acting as Pastor, he may without any scruples, use this privilege and requested grace. God may grant you many years of life. Durango, January 13, 1807. José Aguilar, Secretary—(what is scratched out does not count).

* * *

ELEVENTH:

Sir Provisional Judge and Capitular Vicar;—Don Santiago Baca y Ortiz, a cleric of the first tonsure, from this domicile, coming from the village of Santa Fé in New Mexico, before your lordship, in the best that may be, that Doña Rosa Bustamante, writes from that Capital, she having been the wife of Don Antonio José Ortiz, deceased; both of them my grandparents, to whom, due to their known piety, his Lordship my Lord, whom God rest in peace, Dr. Don Francisco Gabriel de Oliváres y Benito, granted the grace of having, in their home, an Oratory, for public use, wherein the Holy Sacrifice of Mass might be celebrated; and they having constructed and adorned the same to the benefit of many souls who enjoyed it, all having been done at the expense of my said grandparents, and who, also, besides this grace, obtained from the piety of His Lordship the privilege of having therein, the Blessed Sacrament in the Tabernacle, and that all the sacraments might therein be administered except during the time of Easter, at which time, they were to comply with their Easter duties at the parish church, but the owners and family and servants might comply with the duties of the church at the Oratory, but none others. For such concessions, it was natural that they should pray for the soul of the deceased prelate. But due to an erroneous occurrence, these privileges have not been renewed, therefore, I come before you in person and for others, that you may be pleased to renew the said privileges and concessions conferred, and in the meantime, that I may be enabled to examine the original papers, in order to present them to your Lordship, making at present this petition, in precaution that the parish priest, might stop the functions in the said Oratory, with just reason, already indicated to you. I pray your Lordship, to be pleased to accede to my present solicitude, supplication and petition for which I pray your grace and grant. I swear, etc.

Santiago Baca y Ortiz.

Durango, January 12, 1813: These presents having been presented, and in consideration of all that has been expressed by the petitioner, using the faculties existing, I give permission and license so that in the said public Oratory, mentioned, the holy Sacrifice of Mass may be celebrated, as also to administer therein the Sacraments, under the condition, that with the least delay possible, there be remitted to this tribunal, the licenses granted by the deceased Prelate, that upon their examination, we may proceed to their renewal, in such manner as we might feel convenient, as only in order that there might not occur any damage, do we accede to the said petition, provisionally, and in particular not to cause any damage to the parroquial rights.

By Dr Don Francisco Fernandes, Valencia, Dean of the Cathedral Church, Synodal Examiner, Provisional Judge, and Capitular of the vacant see, so decreed and signed, before me, as to which I testify: Fernandez, Before me, José Miguel de Irigoyen, Secretary of Government.

Santa Fé, N. M.

A CHIRICAHUA APACHE'S ACCOUNT OF THE GERONIMO CAMPAIGN OF 1886

By MORRIS E. OPLER

INTRODUCTION

During the years 1931-33, while I was engaged in ethnological research among the Chiricahua Apache Indians now living on the Mescalero Indian Reservation of New Mexico,¹ one of my most helpful informants was a fifty-seven- or fifty-eight-year-old man, Samuel E. Kenoi. In 1932 a long autobiographical account was recorded from Mr. Kenoi. The pages that follow comprise the section of that life story which has to do with the 1885-86 campaign against the Chiricahua leader, Geronimo. Many of the American military leaders who participated in that campaign have offered, in reports, articles, and books, their versions of the event. It is certainly in order that the less articulate Chiricahua be consulted before we may say that all relevant historical material concerning the episode is before us.

The Chiricahua Apache tribe may be divided into three bands, the Eastern, Central, and Southern Chiricahua. Before the reservation period, the Eastern band, better known as the Warm Springs Apache, ranged mostly in southwestern New Mexico.² Mangus Colorado, Victorio, Nana, and Loco are some of the better known leaders of this band. The Central Chiricahua, led at various times by Cochise, Chihuahua, and Naiche, controlled the southeastern part of Arizona.³ The Southern Chiricahua, with whom the names Geronimo, Bonito, and Juh (Who, Whoa, or Ho) are

1. This research was made possible by the Laboratory of Anthropology of Santa Fé, the Southwest Society, the University of Chicago, the Social Science Research Council, the National Research Council, and Columbia University.

2. The Chiricahua name for the Eastern Chiricahua is Tcihende, "Red Paint People."

3. In their own language the Central Chiricahua are known as Teokanene. The word does not yield to linguistic analysis.

to be identified, lived primarily in the state of Chihuahua, Mexico, but frequently entered southern Arizona as well.⁴

In order to settle and pacify the two bands living wholly within the boundaries of the United States, reservations were established. In 1872 a reservation was set aside in the Dragoon Mountains of Arizona for the Central Chiricahua under Cochise. Previously the Ojo Caliente Reserve in western New Mexico had been established for the Eastern Chiricahua or Warm Springs Apache. Under this policy, which allowed the bands to remain by themselves within their former territories, conditions improved markedly. Serious trouble broke out when these reservations were abolished after 1875 and an attempt was made to concentrate all Chiricahua on the White Mountain Reservation (now the San Carlos and White Mountain reservations) of the Western Apache. The Chiricahua bitterly resisted removal and failed to make a satisfactory adjustment to the Western Apache, from whom they considered themselves separated by a sharp difference in dialect and customs. At the time of the removal of the Chiricahua to the Western Apache Reservation, as many Southern Chiricahua as could be found were taken, too, but quite as many were not apprehended. As the following narrative attests, the distrust of the Western Apache, the nostalgia for their former homes, and the resistance against the close supervision of the white military, led to frequent escapes of small Chiricahua parties and marauding expeditions. Many of these raiding parties became involved with the unsubdued Southern Chiricahua in depredations or fled to Southern Chiricahua territory for refuge, and it was not long before the Southern Chiricahua who were still at large were the target of the military and an attempt was made to place them at San Carlos as well. Since the Southern Chiricahua operated on both sides of the border, it was necessary for General Crook, in his campaign of 1883, to cross over into Mexico to conquer these Apache and to bring a large number of them to San Carlos.

4. The native name for the Southern Chiricahua is Ne'na'i, "Enemy People."

The increasing number of outsiders was hardly welcomed by the Western Apache. Suspicion and unrest continued, friction increased, a conflict over authority between civil and military officers added to the uncertainty and confusion, and in 1885 Geronimo, Chihuahua, Mangus, and Naiche had again left the reservation with their followers and resumed raids throughout New Mexico and Arizona. General Crook followed and carried on the war until he was relieved of command in favor of General Nelson A. Miles. The surrender of Geronimo, September 5, 1886, ended the contest.

The father of the narrator was a Southern Chiricahua, but he was in no way involved in the Geronimo outbreak. Many other Chiricahua not only refused to heed the advice of the headstrong leaders, but rendered signal service to the United States troops throughout the expedition. Mr. Kenoi gives special credit to two Chiricahua, Charles Martine and Kaitah, for locating the hiding place of Geronimo in the Sierra Madre and for inducing him to surrender. That estimate of the contributions of these two men to the final victory has been concurred in by Captain John G. Bourke (*On the Border With Crook*) and Britton Davis (*The Truth About Geronimo*). The subsequent imprisonment and removal from the west of the entire tribe, including the peaceful and coöperative elements, is still a source of bitterness and reproach, as Mr. Kenoi's account indicates.

A CHIRICAHUA APACHE'S ACCOUNT OF THE GERONIMO CAMPAIGN OF 1886

I was born in 1875. I remember the last time Geronimo went on the war-path. That was in 1885, but I had heard about his taking the war-path before this.

My father was a Southern Chiricahua. He ran all over the country, here, there, and everywhere. Ho¹ was the leader of my father's group, which was a small group. But

1. Ho, also written Juh, Who, and Whoa in reports and historical accounts, was a Southern Chiricahua leader. His son, Asa Datlogi, is still living at Mescalero.

my father did not stay with them very long. He went to San Carlos, to Fort Apache, to Mescalero. My father was never with Geronimo on the war-path.

But one time my father and another man by the name of Adis, Tom Duffy's father, were chosen as scouts at Fort Apache. This was before Geronimo escaped for the last time. There was a big hostile band out before Geronimo went. Ho was chief of that band. It was a Southern Chiricahua group. The United States Army officers selected my father and Adis to go out after them. Small round tickets with numbers were issued to my father and Adis by the army officer. Only the oldest scouts were issued tickets in this way. You had to be a scout in order to get one, and you had to be recognized in Washington too. These tickets were issued to the Indians by the officers just the same as they were issued to their own white scouts. After these two men were selected, they were issued an army rifle, Springfield 45-70, with belt and cartridges and plenty of ammunition. The two men were told to go and get Ho's band, make peace with them, and bring them in. This happened about 1873.² Because my father and this other man were Southern Chiricahua and Ho's band was Southern Chiricahua, they were told to go and get them. My father and Adis went out, because my father had many relatives by marriage in Ho's band.³ They went over and got those Indians and brought them back to Fort Apache.

From the way they talked in the old days, it seems that the Indians didn't say much about the white people except what good they were doing, giving them plenty of blankets and rations. They seemed to be on good terms with them in those days. Even during the wars the peaceable Indians at the agency talked like that. They said the white man came from across the ocean.

2. This date is probably set too early, since few Chiricahua were settled in Western Apache country prior to 1876.

3. The relationship bond and especially the rights and duties of affinities in respect to one another were much emphasized by the Chiricahua and the men evidently depended upon this factor to bring them through safely.

What they didn't like was so much ruling; that's what they didn't like. They didn't have all the Indians at the agency in those days. It was the people who lived around the agency, who saw white people all the time, who were controlled. The people out away from the agency were wild. That's why some thought the white men had queer ways and hated them. After they got to know the white man's way, they liked it. The white men gave them new things, new food, for instance. But it was the new-comers like Ho and Geronimo who didn't like the white man. If there was any ruling to do, they wanted to do it.

The Indians and the Mexicans were enemies. The Indians thought the Mexicans were no good. It seems that even the different Apache groups, like the Southern Chiricahua and the Central Chiricahua, were not so close. It was the country. They loved the country, the place where their parents were born. They claimed that country.

Looking back over the way those Indians lived, it seems to me that the Department of the Interior or the War Department was just trying to outlaw the Indians, just to have something to do. They put the Indians on a reservation, trying to civilize them; and in place of civilizing them, they herded them in on that reservation, naked, starving, sad, too far from any white people. The nearest school the government had in those days was in Carlisle, Pennsylvania. There was no Indian school in Fort Apache or anywhere near in those days. The only white men they sent out were some very rough army officers, as rough as they could find in the United States Army, to put in charge of these poor ignorant Indians.

I remember seeing General Crook directing the Western Division of the United States Army. He had been to this reservation. It is very cold in Fort Apache in winter. Still they were living in brush huts with whatever they could get hold of, a piece of cowhide or sheep hide, to prevent the water from going through their huts.

General Nelson A. Miles was second in charge of these Indians. He relieved General Crook. He also saw the conditions. Instead of making conditions a little better, his soldiers were always scaring small groups here and there. Then these frightened Indians would go on the war-path.

This is the way it would happen. Suppose Ho was on the war-path, and suppose Naiche⁴ was on the war-path, and suppose Geronimo was on the war-path. Well, they might send two Apache to Ho to get him to come back to the reservation in a peaceable way. The government might send two men after Naiche. The government might send two men after Geronimo. They might all come back at the same time to the agency. When they got back on the reservation, these three groups would be full of fear. They might think they were going to be hung or have their heads cut off. So they were sure to listen and try to find out what was said about them. They would go around to this camp and the next camp to learn. They were full of fear.

The soldiers would point to them, asking, "Which is Naiche? Which one is Ho? Which is Geronimo?"

In order to get some fun out of them, a soldier might run his hand along his throat as if to slit it, when the officer wasn't looking.⁵ Then the Indians would be more afraid than ever; something would be done about it. Those three, Ho, Geronimo, and Naiche, would hold a secret council when everybody was asleep that night. They would say to each other, "That white soldier met us and made a motion as if he were cutting his throat. It's bound to mean something. He might be a good man trying to let us know just what they are going to do to us.."

They would take it that way. They would think that white soldier was a kind fellow, that he was telling them that they were going to have their heads cut off. That soldier did it for fun and never knew why those Indians left the

4. Naiche was the son of Cochise, the great chief of the Central Chiricahua. Naiche's sons, Christian Naiche and Barnabas Naiche, are now living at Mescalero.

5. All old Chiricahua agree concerning what they now recognize as obvious attempts of the white soldiers to terrorize them.

reservation again. But those Indians were wild. They didn't know any better.

The Indians who had been on the war-path would listen to find out anything that was said about them. A soldier, a private, might say, "Those Indians ought to go to jail," or, "Those Indians ought to be killed for that." Maybe some uneducated Indian who knew just a little English would hear this. He would spread the news that the Indians were going to jail or were going to be killed. And off they would go again.

The Indians on the reservation stayed around the agency buildings when the bandits were out, because the bandits would capture anyone who could carry a gun and make him go with them. And they took women too. If you wanted a horse from pasture, you would have to send a little boy for it to be safe.

Rock piles and mountains bounded the reservation. I was a little fellow. I didn't know the boundaries. But my father and mother knew them, and all the older people knew. My father was already on the reservation when I was born. My father was first brought to the agency by General George Crook. It was before my time. They told him, "Here is your agency, Fort Apache. You can go from here to San Carlos. You can camp anywhere between."

I think it was in 1871 that many groups of Indians were put on that reservation. They had to comply with the regulations and orders. Anyone violating the laws against killing and stealing was punished. Most of the Indians complied with the regulations. Just a few didn't.

There was Geronimo, for instance. He was called a human tiger.⁶ He would rather be on the war-path than anything else. He would advise his parents' group, and his wife's relatives, and any other relatives, to leave and he

6. The informant has seen a very popular commercial picture of Geronimo with this phrase on it and has picked it up.

would take them out with him.⁷ And since I have thought about Geronimo I feel this way: He was always suspicious of living on the reservation as other Indians did. He was always afraid. Then there was his foolish ceremony.⁸ He thought the white people were going to kill him or send him to jail somewhere. Then he would hold his ceremony and see some vision and it would say, "Go out on the war-path."

Ho was Asa's⁹ father. The name doesn't mean anything. He was called that because he stuttered. He was a war shaman, and during the trouble with the white men he had a great deal of influence. He always managed to keep a few men stirred up and out raiding and fighting. Then the whole tribe would be blamed for it, and it was because of men like him that we were held prisoners of war and were treated as we were.

Geronimo was nothing but the same kind of man, an old trouble maker. He was a shaman. He was as cowardly as a coyote. You can ask men like Perico what he was like.¹⁰ Perico is a brave man and was one of the best Apache fighters. He is well known for this, as was his brother, Eyelash, who was also called Fun. Fun was a great fighter. He killed himself in Alabama.¹¹ Perico will tell you how he and others did all the fighting while Geronimo stayed behind like a woman.

7. Geronimo was not a chief in the accepted Chiricahua sense of the term. As this passage indicates, his influence was exerted primarily on relatives and close friends. This is one reason why those over whom he had no control resent the fact that the government exacted the penalty from them as well.

8. Among his own people Geronimo's chief claim to prominence prior to his defiance of the white forces, was his ceremonial power. One of his ceremonies was designed to determine the whereabouts and intentions of the enemy. During the period under discussion he used this to predict the actions of the white man. Since he had definite fears in respect to this subject and since his ceremony was the servant of his fears, the directions of his "power" were likely to involve him in flight and further difficulties.

9. Between Ho's son, Asa, and the narrator, there exists sharp political rivalry and some personal animosity. Ho has been consistently described as aggressive and cruel, however.

10. Perico has died since this story was recorded.

11. Fun is said to have injured his wife in a fit of jealousy. Thinking he had killed the woman (she later recovered) he took his own life.

Once Geronimo's men were caught in a cave by the Mexican soldiers in Old Mexico. The women and children of the party were in there too. The Mexicans set fire to the grass all around and tried to smoke and burn them out, and they kept up a steady fire into the entrance of that cave. The Apache were falling right and left. Instead of standing up and fighting, Geronimo got behind the women and children. Women and children were dying right on top of him, with their blood running down over him, and he was under them, burrowing in the sand. One of his soldiers caught him by the feet and pulled him up and said to him, "Where are you going? You were man enough at the start. Why don't you stand up now and fight like a man?"¹²

I know plenty of stories like this about Geronimo. Now some of the young people try to make him out a hero. They say he was a fine man and stood up and fought for his country, and things like that.

I was talking about him once at Fort Sill,¹³ and one Indian said to me, "What do you know about Geronimo?"

I said to him, "I know plenty about him. I know that he and a few others like him were the cause of the death of my mother and many of my relatives who have been pushed around the country as prisoners of war. I know we would not be in our present trouble if it was not for men like him, and you honor him for that!"

I remember how it was at Fort Apache. Most of the Indians were peaceful. They were attending to business. They were raising crops. They had their sheep and cattle and were getting along very well. Then somebody would say, "Geronimo is out again," and there he would be with a small band of about forty men up in the mountains. Pretty soon he would raid a settlement here, or kill a person, and the whole tribe would be blamed for it. Instead of coming and getting his rations and settling down and trying to be civilized, he would be out there like a wild animal, killing

12. I happened upon this story a number of times during my stay.

13. Fort Sill, Oklahoma, where the Chiricahua were quartered as prisoners of war from 1894 to 1913.

and raiding. Then they would organize the Chiricahua scouts and send them out after Geronimo's men. In this way he caused Apache to fight Apache and all sorts of trouble to break out among our people.

Naiche was one of the sub-chiefs under Geronimo. Naiche was a good man in some ways, but you couldn't civilize him. He liked his Indian dancing, and he liked his fighting, and he liked his drinking. You could make a good soldier out of him, and that was all. He was always influenced by Geronimo. Mangus was another trouble maker. He always had three or four men on the war-path, and the whole tribe would be blamed. His daughter is still living here. She is George Martine's wife. This is not Mangus Colorado, but another Mangus. Mangus Colorado lived before this and was a good man. Roger Tulane is his grandson.

I asked Perico who were the best chiefs he knew. He said Mangus Colorado was by far the best of them. Perico is an old man, even older than Chatto. He says that when he was a boy he saw Mangus Colorado sign a peace treaty for the Indians. This treaty was signed July 1, 1852, according to a government paper that I have. Perico says that he was twelve or fourteen years old then. He says that Tcic was second best.¹⁴ Tcic was Christian Naiche's father's father. He says that Bonito, a Southern Chiricahua, was the next best man. Loco, Johnny Loco's father, was afraid, he said, and just hung around Warm Springs.¹⁵ Victorio was another trouble maker.

At Fort Apache they said Geronimo was always suspicious. There were two women and three men who were secret service agents for Lieutenant Davis. They were Western Apache. These are a different tribe. That is what caused many of the stories that were going around.

14. Tcic, "Nose," known to the whites as Cochise.

15. Johnny Loco is still living near Apache, Oklahoma. In 1913 when the Chiricahua were freed from military supervision, some chose to remain in Oklahoma and receive allotments; most decided to take up residence at Mescalero, New Mexico. Johnny Loco accepted allotment in Oklahoma.

The two women who were secret service agents would go after midnight to these army officials and tell them what had been said, what the Indians intended to do. Most of the trouble came through the Western Apache. They told stories, mostly false. We don't know who the secret service people were. But I don't think the government officials can deny that they had secret agents, men and women.

Really the reservation belonged to the Western Apache. It was their land just as other places belonged to other groups. There were the Warm Springs Apache. There were the Central Chiricahua; they had a little strip of country away from the reservation. The Southern Chiricahua had another little place of their own. And there were the people of Mount Mora and Baronko. There were small groups here and there, relatives and people related by marriage, people who knew each other, scattered out in different country. The Mohave Apache¹⁶ had their own country, and they were brought there too. In about 1871 the United States Government started to herd the Indians on the reservation. It reached the Warm Springs Indians and those other groups. They spoke the same language. These groups were put on these two reservations, San Carlos and Fort Apache.¹⁷

The Chiricahua got along all right with the Western Apache at first. Then the Western Apache in about a year began to be uneasy, began to be jealous of the other tribes on their reservation, though these Chiricahua were put there and compelled to live there. When these Western Apache, who had owned that reservation before we were put there, began to have a jealous feeling against the other tribes, they told the agent and other army officials some false stories so they might get something to do from the government if the Chiricahua went on the war-path.

16. The Yavapai, who are often mistakenly called Mohave Apache, are meant. They are in no way Apache and speak a language of an entirely different linguistic stock. Some of them are still living on the San Carlos Indian Reservation.

17. Fort Apache was the agency center for the White Mountain Reservation.

The name we called the Western Apache Indians, Biniedine,¹⁸ was made long before my father or his father. It meant, according to the old people, that they were foolish, didn't have much sense. There are a good many stories that show how well this name fitted them. There were not many marriages between the Western Apache and the Chiricahua, not as many as between the Mescalero and Chiricahua here.

The Navaho acted as scouts against the Chiricahua on the war-path, and so did a few Pueblo Indians and some of the "People without Moccasins." These are a people in Arizona, around Tucson somewhere. I think they are the Pima. They were barefooted. If they got stickers in their feet they just rubbed them off on the ground.

In 1885 Geronimo went on the war-path again. Some of those who stayed on the reservation were sympathetic toward Geronimo because they didn't know any better. General Nelson A. Miles, General Lawton (Captain Lawton at that time), Captain Crawford, 1st Lieutenant Gatewood, 2nd Lieutenant Britton Davis, were all at Fort Apache.

Uncus¹⁹ father, George Noche, was called by General Miles one night. General Miles said, "I want you to organize the Chiricahua Apache Scouts to run down the renegades."

And I feel that General Miles did the right thing to organize Apache scouts who knew the country in Arizona, New Mexico, and Old Mexico. These Indian scouts were familiar with all the water holes, with all the rough country, and all the trails in that region. George Noche was highly respected by General Miles. Whenever General Miles wished to do anything about the bandits, he asked George Noche.

After the troop was organized, they gave them two rounds of ammunition and issued them Springfield U. S. Army rifles. The only thing they issued them in the way of

18. Literally "People with no Sense." All Western Apache groups are called this by the Chiricahua.

19. Uncus, a blind Chiricahua now past middle age, was alive and was employed as agency interpreter at Mescalero when this story was being recorded.

clothing was a coat, a black uniform coat. To show who was a non-commissioned man and who was not, they wore their coats. Those non-commissioned wore their stripes according to what they were. And they made George Noche sergeant-major. They claim George Noche knew all the country. He was not a leading man among the Indians, however.

Another night George Noche was called again. That night General Miles told Noche, "I'm going to give you two days and two nights. I leave it to you to decide which is the best way to get Geronimo and his band. I have sat here day and night and I have tried my best with white troops to catch Geronimo, but all my attempts seem to have failed. Now I give you two days and two nights to think about it, and on the morning of the second day you come back and let me know. That's why I called you over here." That's what General Miles told George Noche.

So George Noche told General Miles, "There is no need for you to give me two days and nights to think it over. It seems to me right now I know how to get that man. I appreciate and thank you for the high respect you show to me to do this important work. Now I want to tell my plan to get that man. If it doesn't work you can get someone else. It's the best I can do. If you agree to it we can set out tomorrow.

"Here's my plan. I have two men here for you, Kaitah and Martine. I will have a talk with them in the morning and bring them over to you. I will tell you the reason I have chosen these men. Martine has many close relatives in that band and so has Kaitah. Also Geronimo is Kaitah's relative-in-law. So it would be almost impossible for those bandits to kill these men. It is impossible to send any other men, for they will not come back alive."

General Miles was well pleased with Noche's idea. He said, "We must do that."

George Noche saw Martine and Kaitah. In the morning they went to General Miles with George Noche. They agreed to it. He enlisted them as scouts, issued them guns and gave

them each a mule. So they went out the following day, starting for Mexico. They told General Miles that when they got Geronimo they would bring him to Fort Bowie, Arizona.

Those men went by themselves with Lieutenant Gatewood of the 6th Cavalry. In a day or so the 3rd Cavalry with a hundred Indian scouts set out for Mexico too, to look for him. And in the meantime Mexican soldiers ran Geronimo into Arizona; then these soldiers chased him into Mexico again. They were hot on his trail.

Crawford had his troops and Indian scouts close to the Mexican border. For some reason Crawford's troops were several miles behind, but Crawford was with the Indian scouts ahead. This was in Old Mexico. It was on a mountain. Then they met a Mexican troop of about five hundred or more soldiers. They were after Geronimo too. The Mexican troop was here on a flat, coming up to them. The Mexican troop stopped, and the Indians were on a ridge over there with Captain Crawford. There were about five hundred Mexican soldiers lined up, and Crawford only had about a hundred Indian scouts. The commanders of these Mexican troops got together in front. They started to march over there. And then all at once as these officers were going along, one of these men began to shoot.

Crawford got up. He took his handkerchief out and waved it. He said, "We're United States troops. We're friends."

But those Mexican officers didn't pay attention to Crawford. One of them shot him. He fell down to the rocks below. The Indians had told him not to get on that rock, but he did not think the Mexicans would shoot. He had another army officer with him, 2nd Lieutenant Maus.

The Indians loved Captain Crawford. After they saw him knocked off that big rock one Apache who could speak Mexican said to the Mexicans, "Don't run if you are men. You're going to meet up with men today."

The Mexican officers cursed them right back. They said, "We are the troops that cleaned out Victorio's bunch."²⁰

The Indians told them, "Right from where you are now, you are not going to make tracks for another place."

And they were standing behind trees, two or three of them behind every tree, and they said, "We are the ones that killed Victorio, and we can kill every one of you today."

Then the scouts got a couple of pack mules with ammunition. Maus didn't want them to fight. But they said, "They killed our commander, now let's go over this Lieutenant's head and kill them. Half go one way and half stay here along the ridge."

And they threw the ammunition down and filled their belts and pockets. One half said to the other, "We're going to cut loose on them from the side."

The Mexican officers felt that they had more men, so they were eager to fight. They kept saying, "Why don't you shoot? You just sit up there and talk. You're no women!" That's what they said.

So this Indian said, "All right, get ready. We're going to fire on you right now."

The Indians were all strung around on the ridge. They fired on the Mexicans. The way the old men tell it, and they laugh about it, is that the officers were falling over each other behind those trees trying to get out of the way. The trees were just riddled. Every one of these officers was killed. And the other half began shooting on the soldiers. They killed about a hundred and chased them.

I heard the story then and I still hear it told. Sundayman, Benjamin, Paul, Cooney, Arnold, and lots of others were there. Perico was on the war-path with Geronimo. Stephen and Evan Zozoni were there.²¹ Some of the scouts were out with other troops. There were many bands looking for Geronimo.

20. Victorio was killed and his command almost annihilated in 1880 when he met a superior force of Mexican soldiers in Mexico.

21. Of all the men mentioned here, only two, Arnold Kinjoni and Stephen Gaji, are still alive.

The Indian scouts gathered together again after the Mexicans put up their white flag. They were gathering up their dead. They carried Crawford. He was still alive but he couldn't talk. They didn't have any doctor with them. So they took him in a sort of crate made from long poles which a mule dragged. The Indian scouts did the best they could, but he died before they got to Fort Bowie.

Meanwhile Kaitah, Martine, George Wratten, and Gatewood were out. All the troops and Indian scouts were looking in different parts of the country for Geronimo. And Kaitah and his bunch were trailing them too. A body of troops was following Kaitah and the others, many miles behind.

They came to a mountain called Sierra Madre. They were down at the foot of the mountain, and they saw those men at the top of the mountain. While they were down on the flat, Kaitah hoisted up a white flag to them. Kaitah says Martine was afraid to go up. Martine must have been behind him, always tying his shoestring or something. Kaitah told the two white men to stay down, and he started up with the white flag. When Kaitah got about half way up he looked back. Martine wasn't anywhere in sight.²²

Geronimo's men were pretty well armed and ready. Before Geronimo knew it was Kaitah he ordered his men not to let any man get up to that place or down alive.

Kaitah kept on going up till he got in sight, and they knew it was Kaitah. He stopped once in a while, for he thought they were going to shoot at him.

After they were sure it was Kaitah, his relatives said, "Come on up. No one is going to hurt you."

Then he went up there. He sat up there and talked with all those men. Still Martine hadn't come in sight.

Kaitah told these men, "All of you are my friends, and some of you are my brothers-in-law. I think a lot of you

22. There has been some dispute between the Martine and Kaitah factions concerning the bravery of Martine on this occasion. Certain it is that Kaitah was more closely related to members of Geronimo's band and therefore stood in least danger. Both Kaitah and Martine acted as informants for me during my ethnological field-work. Kaitah has since died, but Martine was alive in 1935 and may still be living.

Indians, and I don't want you to get killed. The troops are coming after you from all directions, from all over the United States. You people have no chance whatever. The War Department's aim is to kill every one of you if it takes fifty years to hunt you down. But if you people come as the government wants you to do, they will not harm you at all. Everything is against you. Even pieces of stick will hurt you. At night you do not rest as you should. If you are awake at night and a rock rolls down the mountain or a stick breaks, you will be running. The high cliff even is your enemy. At night you go around, and you might fall off the cliff. You have the wild animals for your enemies. You even eat your meals running. You have no friends whatever in the world.

"So I beg you, my friends, do what the government wants you to do. That's what I'm up here for. I have followed you people around for several months. It's not a very pleasant life. So agree with me. I live at the agency. I live peaceably. Nobody bothers me. I sleep well; I get plenty to eat. I go wherever I want, talk to good people. I go to bed whenever I want and get all my sleep. I have nobody to fear. I have my little patch of corn. I'm trying to do what the white people want me to do. And there's no reason why you people shouldn't do it. I'm doing it. I know you people could do it. You all agree with me and behave yourself and go back to the reservation with me. We'll live longer, more happily, and rest better. So I want you to go down with me when the troops come, and they want you to come down on the flats and have a council with them."

Then all these men said, "All right, we'll do what you say, and we'll come down."

Kaitah had kept watching for Martine. Martine hadn't come up yet all through the conversation. And Kaitah wondered what was wrong, and he went down a little way. There was Martine coming, listening for gun-fire too, I guess. And when Kaitah came to Martine he ordered him to go down and tell Wratten to run his horse back and get

those troops on the flat as fast as possible. So Martine went.

When he came back Kaitah was eating and joking with the men. Then the troops came. They came where Lieutenant Gatewood was. So at that time they sent a despatch to Fort Bowie that they had Geronimo and that General Miles should meet them half way. Then they brought all those families down.

They had a little talk. They came to an agreement to take them to Fort Bowie. Right here one army officer told them that General Miles would meet them on the way to Fort Bowie. They hadn't disarmed them yet. That day they took them and went with them all day till dark. They weren't guarded. Some of those men were running on the side, hunting as they went along. Next day General Miles met them. He came in a government stage coach. They met again the next day.

General Miles, when he met them, asked Geronimo to hold a conference with him. General Miles, the way Kaitah tells this story, said, "The people of these three states, the State of Arizona, the State of New Mexico,²³ and the State of Mexico, are enforcing laws to capture you or bring you back dead. We were forced to look for you. When we are forced to look for you, we must carry out our orders. We are like slaves. We have to do according to what the people of the United States say. In these two states, New Mexico and Arizona, the governments and the people do not like the way you have been treating them, killing them, taking their stock and destroying the homes of the settlers. They made a law to force the War Department either to kill you or bring you back alive. If you fight, we will kill you. If you surrender, we will bring you back alive. You have killed many settlers, killed many soldiers, and taken their horses and mules and other equipment. The people do not like it. You see those mountains over there. If you do not agree with me that what I am telling you is the best thing you could do, I give you the privilege to go to your mountains. I'll give

23. Both Arizona and New Mexico were still territories at this time, of course.

you a whole night and a day before I follow your gang. Then I shall kill every last one of you, even your children. But if you want to go back with me to Fort Bowie and be peaceful and faithful like other Apaches who are at Fort Bowie and San Carlos, all right. Take your choice.

"The government has spent several million dollars in order to catch you. You have taken many lives. You have destroyed many homes. Those people you have destroyed are human just like you. They wanted to live. Why should you do that? And there's Kaedine.²⁴ He was one of the dangerous young war chieftains. He's right here in the midst of us now. He has rendered me a great service. A two year sentence in a California Federal prison has done him good. Since he got back he admits that he used to do wrong. I have high respect for him, for turning into as good a man as he is since he got back.

"Now, Geronimo, Naiche, all you men, members of this band, you could do as well as this Kaedine did, maybe better. Instead of that you have everything on earth against you, and you live, dodging people, like a coyote, ambushing innocent people. I'm here under authority to take you to Fort Bowie. There I will put you in prison until further orders from Washington. Now I'd like to hear from you," he told Geronimo.

Now Geronimo talked. He didn't say very much. What little he said covered a lot though.

"I agree with you about taking us back. You said just the right thing when you told me that everything is my enemy. It's just the way of you white people. You always have a ground of your own to make your statement as though it was the only true statement. But there is still something that causes you to criticize us in that manner.

24. The name means "No Arrows" and implies that the individual is so brave he has shot them all. Kaedine was one of the leading spirits of the Chiricahua raids of the early '80's. After his surrender to General Crook in 1883 the prison sentence to which reference is made was imposed. After his return he assisted the government in pacifying the rest of his tribesmen.

The earth is listening to us. The winds listen to us. The sun sees us and hears everything we say, all these things.

"The second time I went on the war-path it was because of your having so many Indian secret service men telling you some false story about me. 'Geronimo is going to do this,' 'Geronimo says this,' 'You ought to have Geronimo in some jail,' and so on. Some of your own white soldiers, when they saw me and some of my men, would motion as though they were going to cut our throats.

"When I was on the reservation before, you people taught me nothing. You did not come to my home or teach me how other people live. You are here right in the midst of these soldiers. Where have you ever tried to help me? Then you criticize me for killing white people here. I did kill many Mexicans, but I have never killed as many white people as you say I have. I know some of your big generals. You become generals just because you are good liars. Why I tell you that you are a liar right in the midst of your troops is that you never have caught me shooting. And now, General Miles, I have come with my men to you with good will, but I know just what you are going to do. You will say this, I know: 'I have caught Geronimo while he was shooting and made him surrender to me.'" That's what he told General Miles.

"I'm here. The earth, the sun, and the winds all listen to me. Yusr²⁵ listens to me. I do not lie to you. I lay my arms down. I will not ask for mercy. If you wish, line us up and shoot us today or tomorrow. I won't care. I'll take my medicine like a man. So here's my gun." And he and his men laid their guns down.

Then General Miles talked again. He shook hands with Geronimo. "No, don't have that idea, Geronimo. We do not kill people who don't offer any fight. What I said a while ago to you, I repeat. I will take you back to Fort Bowie, have you under guard as prisoner until further orders from

25. Yusr is an Apache loan word from the Spanish *Dios*. The final *n* is a relative, having the force of "he who is."

Washington. As I said a moment ago, I have to carry out my orders from the War Department." And General Miles said, "I myself do not like the idea, but I'm a soldier of the United States, and I get my orders. If I don't obey them, they have me under guard just as I'm going to have you under guard. Don't worry about what they may do to you, for you are causing all this trouble; you brought it on yourself."

So they took all their arms. Then they decided to go. They took Geronimo in that coach, and Naiche and Perico and the principal men rode with Miles. The men, women, and children were followed by Indian scouts and several troops of cavalry. In a day or so they were in Fort Bowie. They had Geronimo already under guard in prison when the rest got there. They had that small band in prison, women, children, and all. They had those men and women under armed guard, had them working with picks and shovels making ditches around the post. They had Chihuahua's little band, just a few men, already in prison when Geronimo arrived. They were working too, under armed guard.

And Mangus was still out with a very small group, three or four men. General Miles had spoken at the council with Geronimo about this and told Geronimo, "It is not necessary to run down Mangus, because it will mean just so much more expense, more hardships for the soldiers. He can keep going if he wants to, but he will not get anywhere; for I know, Geronimo, when he hears that you and Chihuahua have made peace with the government, he will not be out there by himself any longer. I know he will come into one of these reservations, San Carlos or Fort Apache."

That first band captured in the fall of 1886, Chihuahua's little band, they took to Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida, and put them in prison.²⁶ It's one of the oldest posts in the United States, right on the edge of the ocean, where, when the heavy tide comes in, it flaps against the building. It is an old Spanish fort made of stone and cement.

26. Chihuahua has a son, Eugene Chihuahua, and a daughter still living at Mescalero.

Geronimo's band, the second group captured, was taken to San Antonio, Texas. They had them in prison there for several months.

The third group taken was composed of the faithful Indians who lived at Fort Apache. After all the Indian scouts came home from the expedition, when they thought they were all at home at Fort Apache, they called all the Indian scouts together and lined them up.²⁷ Then the commander ordered his troops to take their belts and ammunition and their guns away from them. By order of the commander to his soldiers, they herded the scouts in the horse barn and guarded them day and night. They threw them horse blankets to lie on. Soldiers guarded them, the very men they had gone out with before. If they wanted to urinate the soldiers went with them.

After these Indians had gone through all these hardships for the good of the people of these two states, they did this to them. Many of these scouts and most of the other Indians were farming all this time at the agency. Some of them had sheep, some had goats, some had mule teams, wagons, harnesses; some of them had horses and fine saddles.

The Chiricahua scouts did not know what was happening. That night the Western Apache gave a big social dance, and the women were in there dancing. No one was worried. Suddenly the escort wagons were there. They herded the children, the women, and the old men at the camps down to the agency. They loaded them on escort wagons. They wouldn't allow any of them to carry any kind of weapon. They just let them take what they had on, a shawl, a blanket. All the crops were ready to be gathered. I was about ten or eleven years old then, and I was one of them.

The nearest railroad station was at Holbrook, Arizona. It is about a hundred miles away, maybe a little more, I don't know. That's where they were taking us, to load us on a train for Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida, the same

27. The Indian scouts referred to are the Chiricahua who had been serving the government in the Geronimo campaign.

place where Chihuahua was. They took us from Fort Apache to Holbrook in escort wagons, a two or three days' trip in escort wagons, strung out, a long way.

I was with my father in an escort wagon. My mother was with some other people. I didn't know where she was until we got off at Holbrook. Then I found her. At Holbrook the Indians had a big dance that night with the Western Apache scouts, negroes, and white people all present.

We didn't know where we were to be taken from Holbrook. Some thought we were going to be taken to the ocean and thrown in. Some thought we were going to be killed in some other way.

These people, these Chiricahua Apache, who lived at Fort Apache peacefully, and the scouts who had helped the army run down Geronimo's band, were taken to prison for what Geronimo had done.

And I say this much about it. The white man plants corn. But he puts two kernels in the ground. One good kernel will yield, but one rotten kernel will kill the good one if you put them together. So, as smart as the white people pretend to be, there's one time they planted a good kernel with a rotten one. The shadow of the shameful way they treated these faithful Indians and United States Scouts still lies over us.

At Holbrook, Arizona, they loaded us on a train, and they took us to Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida.

It was the first time most of us had seen a train. When that train was coming along the river and it whistled, many said it was run by lightning, and they began to pray to the train. I saw many old men and women doing this. They said, "Bless us, that we may be blessed wherever we go."

Lots of the children were running out in the brush. They were afraid of the train. The soldiers had to chase them and get them in. I ran away from them; they had to catch me. I was afraid. I was thinking that they were taking me somewhere to kill me. I was so afraid. I had so much serious fear in me, that I don't know how I felt.

It took us about a week to get to St. Augustine. There were two soldiers at each door. The train stopped somewhere around Albuquerque, New Mexico, in the plains, and we were told to get off. The Chiricahua all thought it was their last day. The soldiers came withhardtack barrels and fed us. The rest of the time we ate on the train. They drove us back in there and we went on. It was the only time we got off. The soldiers kept making motions as if they were going to cut our throats every time they went through the train to give coffee. The Indians, poor and ignorant, took it that they were going to have their throats cut.

There was one scout, Massi, who jumped off the train.²⁸ He jumped in a sandy place somewhere in Colorado. He got away. He was one of the scouts who had been in that battle where Crawford had been killed. He's a relative of Stephen, Duncan, and Benjamin.²⁹ He was related to Duncan's father. He got back here and was wild for a long time. He never came to town. Once he ran away with a woman who was gathering piñon nuts at Rinconada. He forced her to go. He just threw her on his back and went off to the San Andreas Mountains. They chased him but couldn't catch him.

This woman is still living and is the wife of a Spanish-American.³⁰ She told the story once that he sent her home with all the children. She came back with a lot of children. All died except one, who is living now. She's married to a Mescalero. Those children were born in the wilds. This woman was a Mescalero. She's a relative of Marion Simms,³¹ calls him cousin.

28. This individual has been confused with Apache Kid and is often spoken of as the Apache Kid by white men who live in the vicinity of the Mescalero Indian Reservation.

29. Stephen Gaji, Duncan Balachu, and Benjamin Astoyah are the persons meant. So far as I know, the first two are still alive at Mescalero. The last named has died recently.

30. This woman has since died.

31. Marion Simms, a prominent Mescalero Apache, has died since this account was taken.

On that train we slept the best we could sitting up. Little children were put in that rack where you put packages.

We arrived, the last party, in that place at night, moonlight, about ten or eleven o'clock. It's a big place made out of cement and stones. It has a great dungeon under it. It's dark; even in daytime you have to carry a lantern. Those dungeons are filled with nothing but cannon balls and ammunition. There is a big place about fifteen yards wide all around on top, with a cement wall about four feet high so you couldn't fall over. On each corner of that wall is a square, a little tower made out of stone and concrete with windows on each side. It was a lookout tower, I believe. On that run-around they had been setting up army tents thick. We were up there on a cement floor, and we had no privilege to move our tents. We had to stay right there.

And they had a big gate down there where they brought us in, and it was guarded by soldiers. The Indians were not allowed to leave that gate without permission. Just certain people were allowed to get out.

They began to send the children to schools, the ones about fourteen or fifteen years old who were able to go. In the morning they strung out those poor children, and without trying to dress them up like their own class of people, they sent them to school. Wearing moccasins, some of them, some of them going barefooted, they were compelled to go to the Catholic school in the city. They wore their loin cloths, wore rags around their heads, and were bare-legged. And they sent them into that city to the Catholic school every day until the Catholic school was burned down one night. These Chiricahua children were turned in as prisoners every evening. They were watched as well as the older people.

Later General R. H. Pratt (Captain Pratt then) was selected as Superintendent of Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania. He came to Fort Marion, took all the children under the authority of the Department, put them on board ship to New York somewhere. From there they took

a train to Carlisle Indian School. Some of those children who were taken from there are still living today—Duncan Balachu, Arnold Kinzuni, Charlie Isti, Dora Isti, Hugh Chee, Asa Dat-ogi, David Kaja, and others. There were over a hundred children taken. The ones that went to Carlisle were only at St. Augustine one month.

I have told you that Chihuahua was the first, and the biggest bunch, the faithful tribe, came next. I don't know how many months we were there when Geronimo and his band came. They shipped him right to an island, to Pensacola, Fort Pickens. We could see the island from Fort Marion.

We were at Fort Marion for about six months. At Fort Marion my mother, my sister, and I lived in one of those tents. They issued out bread and meat each day. We did our own cooking. There was no wood there. Wood was given, a little, and a place to cook was provided in one of the dungeons below. We had to sleep on the hard cement floor. It was warm there in Florida. Bananas grow there.

It was a tough life. I was a little fellow, and I never stole anything, never did harm to anyone. They kept me a prisoner for twenty-seven years. It's the same with Blind Tom.³² He was blind; he wasn't harming anyone, but he was taken prisoner too. He had to be led around. If I were offered a hundred more years of life like that, I would say "No." Many died at St. Augustine. We were not used to the climate.

As I told you, the worst bandits, Geronimo and his people, they put on the island over there, Pensacola. Geronimo, Naiche, Perico, Jasper Kanseah,³³ Jewett Tisnoltos, and Asa were there. Chihuahua was not there then. He had been out with Geronimo on the war-path from the beginning, but when things got too hot, they separated from Geronimo's band and got chased to Fort Bowie, Arizona. This was in 1886. They were the first ones to be sent away.

32. Blind Tom Lasinasti was still living at Mescalero recently.

33. Jasper Kanseah was chief of police at Mescalero when this account was being recorded.

They were sent to Florida—Chihuahua, Ozoni, his brother, Eugene, Ramona, Hosea Second, and others. They were all relatives it seems. The women were sent too, whole families. This was about a month before Geronimo was captured.

Kaitah and Martine were taken with Geronimo's people. They had gone up to the Sierra Madre to get Geronimo to surrender. They had done a valuable service to the government. Still they were taken prisoner. They took them to San Antonio, Texas. They had them in prison there for about a month or so. And all those scouts who had been after Geronimo were straying back to Fort Apache. Some got in in a week; some took longer. They came in on foot, with sore feet, and some nearly starved. Then they were made prisoners.

Geronimo's band was taken to Fort Pickens, Pensacola, an island near the shore where we were. We knew they were there because when the army ship went from the shore to the island some men went along and saw them. But they didn't come over and visit us. They were not allowed to leave. The women of that band were there too, whole families were there.

Reed College, Portland, Oregon.

THE CANANEA INCIDENT

By HERBERT O. BRAYER

IN THE FIRST decade of the twentieth century, the year 1906 was an eventful one. The "trust-busting, big-stick" campaign of President Theodore Roosevelt was meeting with stern opposition from practically the same elements, which another Roosevelt, thirty years later, was to label "economic royalists." The nation was shocked by the Standard Oil scandals, the Railroad rebate revelations, and the "yellow-journal" accounts of Jewish persecutions in Russia. Amidst these exposés a new current of horror swept the country as a young "muckraker," Upton Sinclair, tore the veil from Chicago's powerful packing industry, with his vivid descriptions in a book entitled, "The Jungle." Congress, under the domination of Speaker Joe Cannon, after a month of acrimonious debate, passed the Arizona-New Mexico and Oklahoma statehood bills, the first two territories being given the dubious opportunity of entering the union as a single commonwealth. From California came the year's greatest disaster, when, on April 18th earthquake and fire spread ruin in San Francisco. Meanwhile Ohio coal strikes, directed by the powerful Western Federation of Miners, brought riot and bloodshed, and the threat of federal military intervention. The controversial Panama canal bill passed congress and was signed by the President. On May 31, romantic Americans, reading the elaborate details of the marriage of King Alfonso of Spain to the Princess Victoria, were shocked at the almost successful bombing of the royal couple as they left the cathedral following the ceremony.

There is small wonder that amidst such spectacular and historic events as these, the border episode on June 1, at Cananea, has been all but forgotten by historians of that period.

La Cananea lies in the rugged country of northern Sonora, some forty-five miles southwest of the American border town of Naco, Arizona. The hills surrounding Cananea are rich in copper, which fact accounts for the very existence of the community. The entire region, on both sides of the border, was filled with mining activity. Bisbee, Douglas, Lowell, Mina Ora, and dozens of smaller communities dotted the hills. The Diaz administration had been very liberal in its relations with the American mining companies, with the result that much American capital flowed into not only the Cananea district, but the entire Republic. American mining investments in Sonora alone were estimated at \$27,829,000, with \$7,500,000 of this sum being concentrated in Cananea.¹

In 1906, with copper selling on the domestic market at more than twenty-five cents per pound, the mines surrounding Cananea were working at capacity. American owned and financed, these employed between eight and nine thousand Mexican and some twenty-three hundred American miners. The largest mine and the smelter, as well as most of the town, were owned by the Cananea Consolidated Copper Company, a part of the Colonel W. C. Greene mining organization, then prominent in Arizona.

The smelter copper was taken from Cananea to the United States by means of a narrow-gauge railroad which connected with the Southern Pacific railroad at Naco, Arizona. The railway and the unimproved wagon and automobile road from Naco where the only means of ingress and egress from this Mexican mining community.

Two factors in Mexico were to play a definite role in the outbreak at Cananea. A growing anti-Diaz feeling was being manifested. A revolutionary junta, publishing inflammatory articles from St. Louis, Missouri, flooded Mexico, especially Sonora, with its propaganda. Organized agitators, some directly connected with the St. Louis group, worked among the peons, spreading discontent and calling

1. James Morton Callahan, *American Foreign Policy in Mexican Relations*, (Macmillan: 1932), 511-512.

for action.² A second factor was in the government regulation setting a maximum wage level for those Mexicans engaged in non-agricultural pursuits. The purpose of this curious enactment was aptly, though maliciously, stated by Antonio I. Villareal, secretary of the Liberal Party junta at St. Louis, who said,

. . . Colonel Greene was willing to pay the Mexican laborers wages as good as those paid Americans, but the Mexican Governor and his clique saw danger in this. It would mean that the Mexican peasant would leave the farm, where the Mexican employer pays from twenty-five to fifty cents a day, and seek employment in the mines, where he could get two or three times as much salary.

The low salary in the mines is the result of official influence brought to bear on the American mine owners, Mexican officials have used their official power—their friendship with Diaz—as a means of keeping the wage standard down to the minimum.³

A study of the press previous to the actual outbreak at Cananea gives little indication of the growing discontent. Two days before the clash, on May 30, the mining pages of southwestern newspapers carried long articles on operations, projected improvements and enlargements, and future prospects.⁴ The article painted a glowing picture of the situation at Cananea. The next day, May 31, less than twenty hours before the first shots were fired, a baseball game between Cananea and Bisbee was witnessed by several thousand persons, the Cananea miners being defeated 5 to 4, "in the best game seen in Bisbee in years."⁵

But it is evident from the piecing together of various incidents, some of which were known before the strike and

2. *Bisbee Daily Review*, June 10, 1906, page 16, columns 4-5, "Junta Admits Interest in Revolt." This article, an interview with Antonio I. Villareal, secretary of the Liberal Party junta, reveals the revolutionary character of the St. Louis group.

3. *Loc. cit.*

4. *Bisbee Daily Review*, May 30, 1906, page 8, column 5.

5. *Ibid.*, May 31, 1906, page 5, column 4.

others came to light after the affair, that all was not well across the border.

For some time anti-Diaz elements had been active in Sonora. One of the leaders of this activity was Enrique Bermúdez, a well-educated and popular young Mexican, who had lived for some years in Douglas, Arizona. While engaged in spreading the doctrine of revolution, he published a newspaper named *El Centenario*, which became the official organ of the society called the *Industrial Company of Laborers*. This society had been organized by Bermúdez early in April, 1906. In *El Centenario* he called upon "Mexican laborers to stand for their rights," often attacking the Greene company, which placed American foremen over the Mexican miners.⁶

Bermúdez moved his operations to Cananea sometime late in April, where he founded a revolutionary paper named *The Regenerator*, in which he advocated the overthrow of the Diaz regime.⁷ The activities of Bermúdez and his cohorts soon bore fruit. Revolutionary clubs were founded, and propaganda, both anti-Diaz and anti-American, was disseminated.

From across the border the principles of organized labor filtered into Sonora. The Western Federation of Miners had been fairly successful in organizing miners from Ohio to California. Opposition in Douglas and Bisbee, Arizona, by the employers, had made labor organization difficult, but efforts to unionize continued. The close association between the Arizona companies and the Cananea corporations made it inevitable that labor activities would not

6. *Ibid.*, June 9, 1906, page 2, column 1.

7. *Douglas Daily Dispatch*, June 7, 1906, page 1, column 2.

Although no actual evidence exists to prove the accusation, officials at Cananea and newspapers on the border, linked with Bermúdez in this activity a noted Mexican attorney, Gutierrez de Lara. Lara was well known in the United States, having lived in Douglas for a time. Although holding a lieutenant's commission in the Mexican army, Lara was strongly anti-Diaz. That no connection with Bermúdez or his activities could be proven is evident from the fact that after having been imprisoned for six days following the Cananea outbreak, he was permitted to go free. *Douglas Daily Dispatch*, June 7, 1906, p. 1, c. 2; *Tucson Citizen*, June 5, 1906, p. 1, c. 1.; *Bisbee Daily Review*, June 13, 1906, p. 1, c. 6.

recognize either the international line or the Mexican law forbidding labor unions not sanctioned by the government. The work of the Western Federation of Miners in trying to form a union at Cananea fell into the hands of Bermúdez agitators, who told the peons that their pay was insufficient. The fault, it was said, was not only that of the American employers, but of the government and "dictator" Diaz, who "had sold out to the Gringos."⁸

That the mining company authorities were aware of this situation, is certain. The local police department, composed of 175 men, was paid by the Greene company. As early as May 9, it was apparent that something was worrying the police, for orders had been given some days before for the arrest of all persons, Mexicans or Americans, who were out late at night. On the night of May 9, acting United States Consul Berthold, returning from a visit to the local hospital, was arrested in accordance with this order and held in jail the entire night. Berthold made no comment upon being released, other than, "he knew they [the police] were acting under orders . . ."⁹ There was no apparent reason for such an order, unless it was that the company feared the activities of the agitators it knew to be in Cananea. The *Tucson Citizen* on June 2, the day following the outbreak, commented:

The trouble . . . has been of long standing. The feeling between Americans and Mexicans in the camp has been strained for months. The Mexican policemen have been extremely offensive and tyrannous to Americans for nearly a year past, and during the past six months more than ten Americans have been shot and wounded by the Mexican police. The bad feeling between the two peoples culminated a few days ago when a policeman killed an American saloon keeper without cause or provocation.¹⁰

While this statement is possibly exaggerated there is some truth in its report of anti-American feeling. It is but

8. *Douglas Daily Dispatch*, June 7, 1906, p. 1, c. 2, and June 9, 1906, p. 1, c. 3-4.

9. *Bisbee Daily Review*, May 10, 1906, p. 1, c. 6.

10. *Tucson Citizen*, June 2, 1906, p. 1, c. 1-2.

a short step from condemning the American companies as the agitators were doing to condemning the Americans themselves who represented the offending organizations.

Despite the precautions taken by the police, the undercover activity continued. Many of the American miners, sympathetic with the Western Federation of Miners' movement, were also in accord with the doctrines spread among the Mexican miners by the agitators.

The crisis came on June 1, when the Cananea Consolidated Copper Company raised the wages of its American workers and not those of the Mexican miners. The Mexicans had been receiving \$3.50, Mexican money, for a ten-hour day. This was the maximum amount which the government permitted the companies to pay to Mexican workers. The American miners were receiving \$5.00 per day in American money. The salary raise announced several days before had caused considerable feeling among the Mexican workers, thus giving the agitators the opportunity they had been waiting for. Through representatives, a demand for \$5.00, Mexican money, for an eight-hour day, and the employment of 80 per cent of Mexicans in the Greene enterprises, half the foremen also to be Mexicans, was made by the Mexican miners, according to an authoritative dispatch in the *Tucson Citizen* on June 2.¹¹ On the morning of June 1, the day of the outbreak of hostilities, a revolutionary circular was issued at Cananea which called upon the Mexicans to "awaken." It read:

MEXICAN WORKMEN!

A GOVERNMENT elected by the people to guide them and satisfy their necessities in all requirements: This Mexico does not possess.

ON THE OTHER HAND

A GOVERNMENT which is composed of ambitious persons, who criminally contemplate oppressing the people, being elected by the worst of them in order that they might assist them in en-

¹¹. *Tucson Citizen*, June 2, 1906, p. 1, c. 1-4.

riching themselves. This MEXICO DOES NOT need.

PEOPLE, arouse yourselves and ACT. LEARN that which you seem to have forgotten. Congregate and discuss your rights. DEMAND the respect that is due you.

Every Mexican, whom the foreigners despise, is worth just as much as, or more, than those foreigners, if he will join with his brothers and CLAIM his rights.

CURSE the thought that a Mexican is worth less than a Yankee; that a negro or Chinaman is to be compared with a Mexican. That this is a fact is the result of the very bad government, which gives the advantages to the adventurers rather than to the true owners of this unfortunate land.

MEXICANS, AWAKEN! The country and our dignity demand it!
Cananea, June 1, 1906.¹²

From this brief account it seems apparent that the strike at Cananea was not a sudden development, but rather the result of a long period of agitation, brought to a head by a discriminatory action on the part of the American owned mining company.

The actual strike was a carefully prepared action, which, though confined in the beginning to but a small proportion of the Mexican miners, soon reached major proportions. For the actual details of the events of June the first and second, only the newspaper accounts of eye-witnesses, correspondents, and company officials are available. Though many of these are highly colored with exaggeration and rumor, some central elements can be discerned.

An account of the events leading up to the hostilities of Friday morning, June 1, is contained in a letter filed with the Department of State by Colonel W. C. "Bill" Greene, president of the Cananea Consolidated Copper Company,

12. *Bisbee Daily Review*, June 5, p. 1, c. 6; *Tucson Citizen*, June 4, p. 1, c. 4; *Douglas Daily Dispatch*, June 6, p. 1, c. 5, and June 19, p. 1, c. 3-4; *El Paso Herald*, June 5, p. 4, editorial.

and a well known figure in the mining communities of the Southwest. His description of the strike reads in part:

On the night of May 31, I was informed by a man, who was working for the Cobre Grande that a Mexican working there had told him that trouble was going to start in Cananea on the morning of June 1st, at 5 o'clock; that a socialist club had held three meetings at midnight on May 30, at which a large number of agitators of socialistic tendencies were present; that agitators of the Western Federation had been through the mines inciting the Mexicans and that they had been furnishing money for the socialist club at Cananea.

He also gave us a couple of copies of the revolutionary circulars that had been widely distributed, together with a number of other details.

While it looked ridiculous to me that a thing of this kind could be done, their program included dynamiting the bank, where it was reported that we had \$1,000,000, breaking open the stores and getting fire arms and ammunition and with them starting a revolution against the Diaz government.

Soon after I saw a Mexican whom I had confidence in and upon asking I found that he had heard the same rumors, he giving the further detail that agitators had stolen, a few nights before, a few boxes of powder, which I knew to be the truth.¹³

That this account is fairly accurate seems certain. Greene was popular among the Mexicans. He had been a poor miner among them for many years before becoming wealthy. They knew him and most of them trusted him. It, therefore, does not appear strange for the strike plans to have been disclosed to Green by some loyal Mexican employee as described.

Steps were immediately taken by the company officials to organize for the protection of the mines, smelter, offices and other property. With the dawn of Friday, the first

13. *Douglas Daily Dispatch*, June 19, 1906, p. 1, c. 3-4. This article is an Associated Press telegraphic dispatch dated from Washington, D. C., June 18, released through the Department of State.

effects of the strike began to be felt. At the Oversight mine a large number of Mexicans gathered and prevented the 7:00 o'clock shift from going to work. Other mines were closed in quick succession, and the large smelter was compelled to suspend operations. At about noon the Capote and Veta Grande shafts, as well as the concentrating plant of the company, were also forced to suspend work.

A few minutes later about 2,000 Mexican miners gathered in front of the office of the local alcalde and the chief of police in Ronquillo, the Mexican section of Cananea which lay at a lower elevation than the town itself. The American residences, hotels, and the bank were on a higher level known as "La Mesa." While gathered at Ronquillo the Mexican miners were addressed by Greene, who, in fluent Spanish, spoke at some length, stating that the wages being paid the miners were higher than those paid by any other mining company in Mexico, and assuring them that the company would in the future, as it had in the past, treat all its employees fairly.¹⁴ What transpired after Greene's address is not perfectly clear. The miners seem to have dispersed temporarily. During the lull the leaders of the strike again circulated their propaganda. It was decided, as proved by subsequent events, to make the strike a general walkout by causing all Mexican laborers in lumberyard, offices, and construction crews to leave their work. The miners then reassembled, and, at about 3:00 o'clock p. m., started for the "Mesa" in order to put this program into effect. As they advanced they either persuaded or forced "every Mexican workman they met in their path to fall in with them."¹⁵ Although they met at least two Americans on their march before reaching the lumber yard, no personal attack was attempted.¹⁶ The mob, increasing in number as it went, marched to the lumber yard to pick up the Mexican laborers

14. *Douglas Daily Dispatch*, June 5, p. 1, c. 4.

15. *Bisbee Daily Review*, June 2, p. 8, c. 4. Story of Eugene Brown, plasterer in Cananea, whose workers were taken by the crowd.

16. *Loc. cit.* In the same newspaper, p. 1, c. 6-7, is mentioned another attempt to obtain workers at the Wilkey stable. In neither instance were the Americans abused.

there. It was at this point that the first shots were fired and the first American and Mexican deaths occurred.

The lumber yard belonged to the Cananea Consolidated Copper Company and was managed by George Metcalf, aided by his brother, Will Metcalf. As the strikers advanced up the mesa someone had telephoned Metcalf, warning him of the intentions of the strikers. As one eyewitness described the situation:

. . . a crowd of strikers was seen advancing, with the intention of forcing the laborers at work in the lumber yard and hay yard to quit. Metcalf ordered the gates closed and the hose (a four inch fire-hose) turned onto the crowd if an attempt was made to enter. His instructions were followed and the strikers at the gate were met with a stream of stones, clubs and brickbats . . .¹⁷

The eyewitness then stepped into a lumber shed out of the way of the flying missiles, while Metcalf took up his stand in front of the gate, rifle in hand, and warned the strikers that any man who attempted to climb the corral would be shot.¹⁸ Metcalf's belligerency, plus the stream of water, infuriated the Mexicans, who quickly surrounded the lumber yard manager, clubbing and stabbing him to death with miner's candlesticks.¹⁹ Will Metcalf, seeing the attack upon his brother, attempted to rush to his assistance, but "before he had gone a dozen paces," fell dead, pierced by a dozen bullets. The mob, three of which were killed in the riot before the gate, entered the lumber yard and set it afire in several places.²⁰ In a few minutes the yard was a roaring

17. *Douglas Daily Dispatch*, June 10, p. 1, c. 3. This eyewitness account is by Philo Freudenthal of Solomonville, Arizona, who was engaged in selling hay to Metcalf when the strikers appeared before the lumber yard.

18. *Douglas Daily Dispatch*, June 10, p. 1, c. 3.

19. The miner's candlestick is a dagger-like instrument which when stuck into a beam or wall served to hold a candle by which the miners were able to see in the mines.

20. Just who fired the shots which killed the Mexican miners has not been determined. It appears from all accounts that both the Metcalfs were armed, but in almost every case witnesses definitely state that neither of the men had a chance to fire their rifles.

mass of flame. The loss due to the fire was set at \$250,000 by company officials, but the actual value of the material destroyed, according to a lumber expert, was not in excess of \$100,000.²¹ That the mob was not viciously inclined toward the Americans, despite the Metcalf murders but a moment before, was made clear to Mr. Philo Freudenthal of Solomonville, Arizona. Freudenthal, a hay dealer, had stopped at the yard a few minutes before the strikers arrived to confer with Metcalf. After witnessing the arrival of the strikers and the barrage of missiles which endangered his person, he stepped behind a lumber shed to protect himself. With the death of the Metcalfs the mob stormed through the yard. Several armed Mexicans approached Freudenthal, who explained his presence. One of the strikers seized the gold chain and watch worn by the hay dealer, and seemed about to make off with it when one of the men, evidently one of the leaders, forced the Mexican to return the watch to Freudenthal with the terse comment, "We are not robbers, we only want our rights. Let the watch alone."²²

After firing the lumber yard, the crowd, now visibly excited, continued its march toward the plaza, upon which Colonel Greene's residence, the Catholic Church, and the hotels were located. The Cananea police, sadly outnumbered, could do little but arrest what few of the leaders and strikers they could reach. On arriving at the plaza the strikers were met by Colonel Greene and an armed force of Americans. Greene attempted to address the crowd, but it refused to quiet down long enough to hear what he had to say. One of the leaders, who, according to all eyewitness accounts, carried a red flag, continued to incite the Mexicans. It is difficult to determine from these accounts which side actually began the firing, but some of the more excited of the Americans suddenly opened fire and a general fusilade resulted.²³ The flag-waving leader was hit by at least fif-

21. *Tucson Citizen*, June 5, p. 1, c. 1. Practically all other accounts are in agreement with this statement.

22. *Douglas Daily Dispatch*, June 10, p. 1, c. 3.

23. *Tucson Citizen*, June 4, p. 1, c. 3; *Douglas Daily Dispatch*, June 5, p. 1, c. 4.

teen bullets.²⁴ At least two other Mexicans were killed and fifteen wounded. General manager Dwight, of the Cananea Company, received a minor head wound. The fusilade sent the Mexicans, who were badly armed, scurrying for cover. The strikers fled from the "Mesa" to the foot of the hill where they looted several stores for the purpose of obtaining arms and ammunition.²⁵ A number of skirmishes between remnants of the mob and the police, assisted by armed company employees, occurred, causing additional casualties among the strikers. Although the strikers never reassembled as a mob, shooting continued throughout the evening. No further destruction of company property occurred, although a train on the way to the Capote mine was fired upon and driven back, and a party of strikers bent on destroying the Veta Grande ore bins, according to the police, were driven off and a number of their leaders captured, among them three alleged leaders of the revolutionary junta which had instigated the outbreak.²⁶

As the afternoon grew late, rumors that the Mexicans were going to burn the railroad trestle, and fear that night might bring a renewal of mass action on the part of the Mexicans, forced Colonel Greene to telephone Bisbee, Arizona, for immediate assistance. Although there is no record to substantiate the supposition, there is little doubt that a second call for assistance was dispatched to Governor Rafael Yzabal of Sonora, at Hermosillo. Greene was well aware that assistance from this latter source could not arrive before morning, but it was his hope that immediate assistance from the United States would arrive within a few hours.

With gunfire continuing uninterruptedly throughout the night, the scene of greatest activity changed from Cananea to Bisbee, Arizona. Greene had telephoned to Walter Douglas, general manager of the large Copper Queen Company, requesting immediate help. Douglas promptly sent for Captain Tom Rynning, commanding officer of the Ari-

24. *Bisbee Daily Review*, June 10, p. 11, c. 4.

25. *Loc. cit.*

26. *Loc. cit.*

zona Rangers, whom he knew to be in town on that evening. Explaining the situation as Greene had described it, Douglas advised Rynning to telephone Greene. Rynning followed the suggestion and talked with Greene, who excitedly explained what had transpired in Cananea. "Hell is popping here," Greene is reported to have said, "and every American's life is in danger."²⁷

Meanwhile Marshal Bidy Doyle of Bisbee, acting on Manager Douglas's suggestion, issued a call for two hundred armed volunteers, and set Judge McDonald's office as the meeting place. Douglas announced he would issue transportation to two hundred men over the El Paso and Southwestern railroad from Bisbee to Naco.

"The scene that followed the first coming of the news has never been equalled in Bisbee," stated editor W. B. Kelley of the *Bisbee Daily Review*.²⁸

Fully two thousand people were huddled in the plaza, excitedly discussing the news and anxiously awaiting the latest details from the scene of terror.

Then the bulletins began to come in fast and furious. First came the news that forty American residents of Cananea had been killed, among them George Metcalf.

Rumor that American Consul Galbraith had wired Fort Huachuca for assistance, or all would be wiped out, sent a shudder through the crowd.

Already men, drunk with excitement, were beginning to show the effect of drink.

Mayor Caven issued an edict that all saloons be closed and this was promptly done. Not a drop of liquor was sold in Bisbee from seven o'clock until after the midnight train had pulled out of the railroad yards, when the saloons were again opened.²⁹

The volunteers were soon congregated in front of the Copper Queen Store, where Rynning addressed them, ex-

27. Letter, Captain Tom Rynning to the author, January 21, 1938.

28. *Bisbee Daily Review*, June 2, p. 1, c. 1-2. Editor W. B. Kelly is now publishing the *Safford Outlook*, at Safford, Arizona. He is well known in Arizona journalistic circles, being an official of the state press association.

29. *Loc. cit.*

plaining that the first reports were probably exaggerated, and that in any case the men could not cross the border as an armed body, for such an incident would constitute an armed invasion of Mexico. He explained, however, that he had a wire from Governor Yzabal of Sonora, saying he would meet the volunteers at Naco.³⁰

The volunteers, armed with every conceivable type of firearm, were unable to obtain a train for Naco until midnight. In the meantime the streets of Bisbee were crowded with people seeking further news from Cananea, and awaiting the departure of the rescue party. The volunteers spent the time in better arming themselves for the eventualities expected at Cananea. The Bisbee correspondent for the *Douglas Daily Dispatch* reported that

. . . very soon all the arms in the Copper Queen were at their disposal. Several pawn brokers trebled their money on rusty old shooting irons, and a little army was perculating through the streets.³¹

At 11:00 o'clock the first refugee train from Cananea, carrying mostly women and children, reached Bisbee. Again highly exaggerated reports spread rapidly among the over-excited throng. One group of fifteen volunteers, including the local Y. M. C. A. physical director, Edward Buchner, unable to control their eagerness to get to the scene of the conflict, saddled their horses and rode to Naco, where they became embroiled with the Mexican border guards. Buchner received a bullet wound in the arm during the fight and one Mexican officer was wounded. None of the group, however, crossed the international line.

30. In a personal letter to the author, Captain Rynning, now Deputy United States Marshal at San Diego, California, states, "General Luis Torres [Military Governor of Sonora, Sinaloa, and Baja California] called me from Hermosillo, Mexico, to await him at Naco . . ." This version varies from the facts quoted above which were given by Captain Rynning on June 10, 1906, after returning from Phoenix, where he had been called to explain to the Governor of the territory his part in the Cananea affair. *Bisbee Daily Review*, June 10, 1906, p. 2, c. 2-3.

31. *Douglas Daily Dispatch*, June 6, p. 1, c. 2.

Just before midnight the trainload of 270 volunteers left Bisbee for Naco, arriving there about 1:00 o'clock.³² While awaiting the Mexican governor at Naco, Rynning received another telephone call from Greene, who urged the volunteers to hurry as the firing had not abated. The Captain assured Greene that he would come as soon as a train could be obtained, but explained that in any event he had to await the arrival of Governor Yzabal and Military Governor General Luis Torres.³³ While in Naco the volunteers were informed of the shooting scrape in which Y. M. C. A. director Buchner had been injured. "For a time," reported the *Review* correspondent, "there was loud talk and threats of going across the line immediately to avenge the attack, but cooler counsel prevailed."

Rynning faced a difficult problem in Naco. As an officer of the Territory and the United States—he was also Deputy United States Marshal—he could not cross the line, nor could he permit any of the Arizona Rangers who were with him to do so. To cross the border as American officers would have created an international incident. The result of Rynning's difficulty was a hurried telegram to Territorial Governor Joseph H. Kibbey of Arizona, requesting an immediate temporary leave of absence. This telegram was lost in transit.³⁴ Sometime later, Rynning, unaware of the loss of his earlier message, wired Governor Kibbey

BY REQUEST OF GOVERNOR YZABAL
275 VOLUNTEERS WILL GO IN TO PROTECT
AMERICAN INTERESTS IN CANANEA.³⁵

32. *Bisbee Daily Review*, June 3, p. 1, c. 4. This is a signed article by W. B. Kelley. The *Review* correspondent accompanied the volunteers on the entire trip, reporting in detail the events which transpired on the journey and after the arrival of the men in Cananea. The *Review* story is in general agreement with most of the other accounts, and is undoubtedly the most reliable newspaper source that can be obtained.

33. Letter, Rynning to the author, January 21, 1938.

34. *Bisbee Daily Review*, June 3, p. 4, c. 4. The Douglas, Phoenix, and El Paso newspapers carried substantially the same story.

35. *Ibid.*, June 5, p. 1, c. 2-5.

In the meantime the Governor, receiving press reports of the riot, wired the ranger captain the following instructions:

Relative to reported riots at Cananea and Naco, please take every precaution to see that order is preserved on this side of the international line. Of course you understand that our authority has its limit at the line. Any one who crosses into Sonora on account of the Cananea trouble will do so at his own serious risk and all Americans should be so advised. I have full confidence in your good discretion. Please wire me fully and as often as may be necessary to keep me fully informed of the situation at Cananea and on the line.

This telegram was also delayed in transit and was not received at Naco until after the volunteers had departed for Cananea. The governor, however, now in receipt of Rynning's second telegram, announcing the intention of the volunteers to go to Cananea, curtly telegraphing Rynning:

Volunteers going into Mexico do so at the risk of divesting themselves of their American citizenship and protection as such while there. I cannot permit any officer or man in the territorial service to go into Mexico at this time. Use every precaution to preserve order on our side of the line.³⁶

This telegram Rynning did not receive until after he had departed for Cananea.

After a long and anxious wait the Mexican governor's train arrived at Naco at 7:30 in the morning.³⁷ A hurried conference between Rynning, Governor Yzabal and Military Governor Torres was held. Torres pointed out to the Ranger captain that the armed body of men could not cross

36. *Bisbee Daily Review*, June 5, p. 1, c. 2-5. These telegrams were made public by the Governor's Office at Phoenix and by Captain Rynning. Other newspapers printed variations of these messages, but the accounts offered here appear to be the most authentic.

37. The delay in the arrival of the Governor was due to the long trip required to reach Naco from Hermosillo. There was no direct railroad line from Hermosillo to Cananea. It was necessary for the Governor to go from his headquarters at Hermosillo to Nogales, Arizona, where he transferred to an American train which took him to Naco where he again changed trains in order to reach Cananea.

the border. The Mexican general also stated that he had ordered a body of Mexican infantry to march from Arispe, Sonora, to Cananea. Rynning pointed out to the governor that Arispe was sixty miles south of Cananea, and that even with forced marches the troops could not hope to reach Cananea in less than three days, during which time all Americans in Cananea could be killed. A solution to the difficulty was proposed by Rynning. If the men crossed the border individually without any organization whatever, such action would not constitute an "invasion by an organized body of armed men." The Mexican authorities were quick to see the point. Governor Yzabal was certain he would need help when he arrived at Cananea. His own personal guard of less than fifty men he had been forced to leave at Imuris before crossing the line at Nogales.³⁸ They could not possibly march to Cananea in time to be of assistance, and their number was far too few to be of real value if they should arrive in time. Before leaving Hermosillo, however, he had requested Colonel Kosterlitzsky of the Rurales to hurry to Cananea, but he knew well that at least twenty hours would be required for the difficult ride from Magdalena, Kosterlitzsky's headquarters. It was certain that this aid could not reach the scene for at least another twelve hours. With this knowledge both Yzabal and Torres were glad to find a way in which they could legally utilize the services of the American volunteers. They immediately assented to Rynning's plan and the volunteers were marched to the border and lined up. Rynning then addressed the men, explaining the difficulty in crossing the international line as a body, but advising them that they could cross as individuals. The Mexican officials standing on the Mexican side of

38. *Douglas Daily Dispatch*, June 10, p. 4, c. 5, quoting the *Mexico City Herald* reported: "Governor Yzabal asked the federal government whether he might pass with his force through American territory, and the department of the interior told him that he must on no account do so, as it was desired to avoid giving any ground for a similar request on the part of the American government in the event of its having occasion to wish to have its forces pass across a stretch of Mexican territory.

Governor Yzabal, in consequence, left his military escort at Imuris, about twelve leagues from Cananea, with orders for it to march across the country to the scene of the riots . . ."

the border then told Rynning to send the men over "sin forma." "Like a bunch of sheep" the men crossed the line. There, the formality of offering their service to the authorities "as soldiers to help put down this insurrection" was made. The governor formally accepted the services of the men and again ranks were formed. Military governor Torres then swore the Americans into the Mexican army, and governor Yzabal addressed them:

I am deeply grateful for your volunteer of services on this occasion. I am going to Cananea to restore law and order, and I am pleased to have your offer of assistance. Before we depart for Cananea, however, I desire every man to understand distinctly that so long as he is in Sonora on this expedition, he is absolutely under my orders and in addition is amenable to the laws of Mexico.³⁹

Captain Rynning accepted the conditions on behalf of the volunteers, and the entire party marched to the depot to entrain for Cananea. Rynning remained in command of the Americans. Besides his position as Captain and commanding officer of the Arizona Rangers, he held a commission as militia Captain in Sonora, appointed by General Luis Torres. This position, in view of his request for a leave of absence to the Governor of Arizona, was technically the capacity in which Rynning entered Cananea. Five Arizona Rangers, however, did accompany Rynning. These were Rangers Arthur Hopkins, Johnny Foster, Samuel Hayhurst, Johnny Brooks, and William Olds.⁴⁰ Whether or not their commanding officer, Captain Rynning, had granted them a "temporary leave of absence" in order to accompany the volunteers, will always be a moot point.

39. Letter, Captain Thomas Rynning to the author, January 21, 1938; *Bisbee Daily Review*, June 3, 1906, p. 1, c. 4-5. The *Review* article is by the special correspondent who accompanied the volunteers to Cananea.

40. Arthur Hopkins is now Captain Hopkins of the Los Angeles Sheriff's Office. Johnny Foster is working for the Copper Queen Company at Bisbee. Samuel Hayhurst is a member of the Douglas, Arizona, Police Department. Johnny Brooks was killed at Tamochic in Chihuahua and William Olds was killed some years ago in Arizona.

The volunteers arrived in Cananea in the middle of the morning, Saturday, June 2. Their arrival is best described by editor W. B. Kelly of the *Bisbee Daily Review*:

... When the Bisbee special pulled into Cananea carrying the volunteers and the Governor and staff, it appeared to your correspondent that half of the population was at the depot. Three automobiles were in waiting at the station. Col. Greene was standing in the front one, and as the Governor alighted, grasped him by the hand and led him to carriage. A large crowd gathered around. Waving his hat in his hand, Col. Greene proposed "Viva el Gobernador (?) de Sonora!" ... everything was as quiet as a picnic. After a hurried visit to the concentrator and nearby mines, and shortly after twelve o'clock, the party returned to Ronquillo. In front of the general offices the Bisbee train had been drawn up and the volunteers alighted and marched up to the smelters, under the direction of the following captains: H. J. Amphlett, Sam Powers, Al Mathews, Billy Swan and Billy Olds. In the meantime the word had evidently been passed around that the governor had arrived. When he and Col. Greene, accompanied by Frank Moson, reached the store in their automobile, the streets were packed. Fully two thousand Mexicans were in the crowd. They crowded about the automobile occupied by the Governor and President Greene. Moson stood on the step of the automobile with rifle ready for instant use, but there was happily no occasion for violence in this instance. The Governor rose to speak and instantly there was silence. Mexicans surged about the automobile, clamoring to hear. Around the square occupied by the important company buildings American guards were stationed with rifles trained on the crowd. The front porch of the company store was bristling with fighting men. Governor Yzabal arose to speak. He began by telling the Mexicans that all citizens of the republic should respect law and order. "You have done things that cannot be countenanced by the Mexican government," said the Governor. "Killing and looting cannot find a place in this camp so long as I am Governor. I am here in your

interests, and I guarantee you that all your rights will be respected, but first there must be law and order."

The Governor was frequently interrupted by young men. They urged the question of wages with him. They broke in and told him their grievances, and the outcome of the Governor's remarks left the crowd, evidently, in the same frame of mind.

Then Col. Greene spoke. His language was Spanish, and he was followed closely. He stood bareheaded and unarmed, facing a crowd of at least three thousand Mexicans, men, women and children, whom he knew would not be in sympathy with his remarks, but with a smile on his face, and perfect control of his words and actions, he began:

"You Mexican people all know me, I have been a poor man myself. Some of you were my friends then, and all of you know that I have acted always honestly and fairly with you. When I have been able to pay you \$3.50 for your work, I have gladly paid it. But a man cannot pay more than he makes. I cannot pay you five dollars at this time. The revenue from the mines would not permit it. I have tramped over these hills for a long time. I have spent millions of dollars in building up here among you the most thriving mining camp in Mexico. I have always been fair and candid with you, and I ask you to do the same by me."

Col. Greene spoke in earnest. He went into the operations of the company from its inception.

During his remarks the correspondent of the *Review* mixed with the crowd. He listened to the remarks made by the rank and file present. Often they ridiculed certain statements made by Col. Greene. But the meat of the cocoanut, and the bone of contention, was contained in the remark of a Mexican laborer to another, who said, "Yes, all that is true, but why don't the company pay the Mexicans the same wages they pay the Americans?"

The Mexican miners and other employees want the same high wages at present paid Americans. This is the fight on at Cananea among the Mexicans who struck for higher wages, and assisted by revolutionary followers who flaunted

the flag before the people, caused the insurrection.

While Col. Greene was speaking, a restless movement was noted in the crowd of Mexicans about the automobiles. Immediately no less than five hundred rifles were trained on the square. The crowd scampered like rats, but fortunately not a single shot was fired at this time. After this speechmaking incident Col. Greene and Gov. Yzabal proceeded to the office of the chief of police, where they were in conference with that officer for more than an hour.⁴¹

While Greene and the Governor addressed the miners, the Bisbee volunteers marched and countermarched from the smelter down into the town. From the moment of their arrival the volunteers were kept well in hand by their company commanders. After their display of strength the Governor ordered the Americans to return to their cars where they remained during the entire afternoon, not engaging in the sporadic firing which continued until evening. The Americans were not allowed to depart, however, until after the arrival of Colonel Kosterlitzky and the Rurales, but though they did not engage in the afternoon hostilities most eyewitnesses credit their presence as preventing a recurrence of the serious rioting of the day before.

From three o'clock until sundown, when the rurales arrived, there was almost incessant firing. The railroad trestle was the scene of nearly continuous gunfire. From this vantage point a small group of American cowboys poured a hail of bullets into the valley below. During the afternoon's firing three more Americans were fatally wounded. Conrad Kubler, an employee of the Cananea railroad, was shot while watching the battle from his front yard. Bert Ruth, a bartender, was hit and instantly killed while visiting the tenderloin district. A company employee named Bert Lockey was the third American victim of the day. Together with the two Metcalfs and an unidentified bookkeeper at the lumber yard, these casualties brought the

41. *Bisbee Daily Review*, June 3, p. 1, c. 3-5. Signed article by editor W. B. Kelly.

toll of American dead to six for the two days' warfare. It was generally admitted by all witnesses of the Saturday afternoon battle, that there was a good deal of uncalled-for shooting on the part of the Americans. Guards placed between the residence of Colonel Greene, in which the wives and children of Americans had taken refuge, and the railroad bridge leading to Ronquillo, took no chances. Every Mexican was halted at long distance, and, says the *Review* correspondent, "if the command did not suffice, more effective means were used."⁴² The volunteers, confined to their railroad cars by order of the Governor, chafed at the restriction which prevented their joining the battle. To the credit of Captain Rynning and the individual company commanders however, is the fact that no American volunteer broke his pledge of obedience.

At 6:30 in the evening, Colonel Kosterlitzsky and his reserve force of rurales, numbering about seventy-five, were reported to be in sight. At 7:00 o'clock the rurales entered Cananea by a road in the rear of Colonel Greene's residence. The riders made their way past the mesa and reported to Governor Yzabal at Ronquillo. The *Bisbee Daily Review* correspondent described the effect of Kosterlitzsky's arrival in this manner:

... Within a few minutes after his arrival orders were flying thick and fast. Kosterlitzsky's name was on everybody's lips and there was a feeling of security that had not existed since the hostilities commenced. Almost as if by magic the firing ceased. Next came the martial-law order. Kosterlitzsky was at the head now. Couriers (?) were sent out to all portions of the city, carrying his instructions that all persons, Mexicans and Americans, were to remain in their houses. Any person found on foot in the streets after dark would be shot ...

At 9:30 Colonel Kosterlitzsky, General Torres, and Colonel Greene, at the head of about thirty Rurales, began

42. *Bisbee Daily Review*, June 3, p. 1, c. 3-5.

the patrol of the mesa. At each intersection Colonel Greene stopped and made an announcement which had been "authorized by Colonel Kosterlitzsky."

"There must be no more shooting for any cause tonight," announced Col. Greene. "All Americans will obey strictly the orders issued. We are going to have law and order in this camp and we are going to have it quick. Col. Kosterlitzsky, with the troops and rurales at his command, can handle this situation without any interference. There is no cause for alarm any longer. Go to your homes and go to bed. Myself, in company with Col. Kosterlitzsky and the Governor General will be on patrol duty with the rurales for the remainder of the night."⁴³

Meanwhile the Bisbee volunteers had been dismissed with appreciation and thanks by Governor Yzabal, but due to engine trouble their special train was unable to leave until 10:00 P. M. The train arrived at Naco at 11:45 and several hours later the volunteers were back in Bisbee. They had been in Cananea less than twelve hours, and had not engaged in the strife. "Not a shot was fired by them, and not a shot was fired at them . . ." ⁴⁴

Upon arrival at Naco from Cananea, Captain Rynning immediately telegraphed Governor Kibbey:

Just arrived from Cananea, Mexico. Troops were relieved by Governor Yzabal and thanked in the most courteous manner. About thirty Mexicans killed, two Americans. Brought out several lady refugees. Colonel Greene riding with about thirty rurales patrolling the streets, was fired on while leaving.⁴⁵

The telegram barrage between the Territorial Capitol at Phoenix and the border town of Naco continued through Saturday and Sunday. From Douglas, Arizona, Antonio

43. *Bisbee Daily Review*, June 3, p. 1, c. 4.

44. *Ibid.*, June 6, p. 4, c. 2, editorial. This paper is misdated; containing the date June 5 instead of June 6. A perusal of the dated dispatches, however, places the date definitely as June 6. The printer just forgot to change the date line.

45. *Bisbee Daily Review*, June 6, p. 8, c. 4.

Maza, the Mexican viceconsul, telegraphed governor Kibbey:

My government communicates with me that by no means are the Rangers to be allowed to cross into Mexico. Our ambassador has already requested from the department of state that accurate orders be given to this respect. Please notify your people to be very cautious in this case, to avoid further complications, as the strike has had none of the proportions as reported by the newspapers. I also beg that you give orders that firearm sales are to be stopped at once. Very respectfully,
Antonio Maza.⁴⁶

The governor promptly replied to this message by informing the consul that he had warned Americans not to cross the border. Not having received Rynning's first message from Naco, the Governor was not fully aware of the events that had transpired since early Saturday morning. With Maza's message before him, Kibbey sent Rynning a telegram which read:

Under no circumstances cross into Mexico. Caution Americans against going across. I have telegram Mexican Government will not allow it.⁴⁷

Unable to obtain a full account of events at the border, and fearful of international complications Kibbey wired Rynning on Monday, June 4, requesting him to come to Phoenix for a conference. At the capitol the Ranger Captain explained to the Governor the entire situation and no further comment was made by the Territorial executive. Rynning meanwhile had received the plaudits of the press throughout the Southwest for his action in the strike, and already was being publicized as the next sheriff of Cochise county.

The international complications of the strike at Cananea drew great interest both in the United States and Mexico. At the height of the conflict on June 1, acting United States consular agent Galbraith, witnessing the first

46. *Loc. cit.*

47. *Douglas Daily Dispatch*, June 7, p. 1, c. 2.

effects of the strike, succumbed to panic,⁴⁸ and telegraphed to the Secretary of State, Mr. Elihu Root, the following:

Send assistance immediately to Cananea, Sonora, Mexico. American citizens are being murdered and property dynamited. We must have help. Send answer to Naco.⁴⁹

This message was evidently sent late in the afternoon, as no action appears to have been taken until the next day, Saturday, June 2, when Secretary Root telegraphed Ambassador David E. Thompson:

Galbraith, Consular Agent at Cananea, telegraphs American citizens are being murdered and property dynamited at that point, and asks for immediate assistance. Press dispatches this morning report that strike riots have resulted in a race conflict between Mexicans and Americans. Bring to the attention of the Mexican government and ask prompt and effective action to protect American citizens. Say to the Mexican government that if the matter appears to be of so serious a character as the dispatches seem to indicate, the Government of the United States would be glad of any suggestion from the Government of Mexico as to the course we may take to prevent violation of international obligation on the part of our citizens, or help to promote peace and safety.⁵⁰

Thompson answered almost immediately with the message that "the Mexican government assured him of its ability promptly to control the situation."⁵¹ On the same day Secretary Root telegraphed Thompson discreetly to ascertain "Whether the Mexican government would welcome or acquiesce in assistance of United States troops to preserve order in the special emergency, pending arrival of Mexican troops."

48. *Tucson Citizen*, June 4, p. 1, c. 1.

49. *Ibid.*, June 2, p. 1, c. 3-4.

50. *Loc. cit.* James Morton Callahan, *American Foreign Policy in Mexican Relations*, 522, also refers to this telegram.

51. Callahan, *loc. cit.*

On June 3, Thompson, after a conference with President Diaz who seemed much agitated over the Cananea incident, wired to Secretary Root the following reply:

“. . . In an interview today with President Diaz concerning Cananea matters, he said that the foundation of the whole thing is revolutionary and aimed at his government. There were in Cananea about twenty revolutionists, he thinks all Mexicans, inspired from headquarters in St. Louis, Missouri. A reduction of wages in a Cananea mine from abnormally high to something like Mexican normal caused this outfit to put forth the claim that the government was responsible. The result was that a large number, all Mexicans, followed the revolutionists, while on the other side were both Americans and Mexicans. The fight and attempted destruction of property, some buildings and lumber being destroyed, was the early result, immediately followed by twenty imprisoned and the scattering and fleeing of the attacking party. The Mexican Government is in perfect military control of Cananea and in pursuit of offenders. The President says he would be much pleased if the American side of the line could be patrolled by any authorized forces to prevent escape into American territory of fugitives, and that should further serious trouble develop, which he thinks not likely, he would, if bad, be glad to have Federal soldiers' assistance. No armed American force should cross line unless authorized.⁵²

This telegram ended the official Washington-Mexico City phase of the Cananea strike. That Thompson's warning concerning the crossing into Mexico of American armed forces was not entirely unwarranted is borne out by the fact that on June 2, probably as a result of an alarming telegram from Galbraith, four troops of cavalry arrived at Naco from Fort Huachuca. The detachment went into camp on the American side of the line, but obviously was prepared for an order to cross the border. Soon after the arrival of the troops, a wire from Galbraith addressed to President Roose-

52. Callahan, *op. cit.*, 523, quoting from the archives of the State Department, 183 *Mexico, Dispatches*, No. 79, June 5, 1906.

velt was transmitted through the Naco telegraph office. In some manner the text of the message was divulged. It read: "Crisis has been reached. This is a time for immediate action. Send Federal troops."⁵³ In the increasing apprehension there seemed little doubt that the troops would be ordered to Cananea. Late in the afternoon, however, Major Watts, commanding the cavalry units at Naco, received a message from the war department containing the single significant order: "Absolutely and under no conditions are you to cross the line until further instructions."⁵⁴ The troops remained at Naco until Tuesday, June 5, when they were ordered to return to Fort Huachuca by Colonel C. A. Steadman, commanding officer at that post.

The situation at Cananea following the arrival of Kosterlitzsky became easier. On Sunday the strike was all under control and there had been little, if any, firing since the Rurales assumed command. The local police, aided by the Rurales, arrested and jailed at least twenty Mexicans suspected of having engaged in "revolutionary activities." General Torres and Colonel Kosterlitzsky had virtually taken over complete control of Cananea. All Americans and Mexicans were disarmed, and attempts of the miners to congregate were immediately frustrated.⁵⁵ On Monday two furnaces at the smelter and the concentrator resumed work with full crews, but of the mines only the Elisa mine was working. At the other shafts only American miners were at work, the Mexican workers remaining in their huts and refusing to return to the mines.⁵⁶ By midday more than fifteen hundred Mexican troops had arrived at Cananea, and were encamped outside of the town.⁵⁷ There was little need for the soldiers, however, as Kosterlitzsky and Torres were maintaining rigid control. Five hundred miners resumed work on Tuesday morning as the mining community seemed

53. *Bisbee Daily Review*, June 3, p. 1, c. 6-7.

54. *Loc. cit.*

55. *Bisbee Daily Review*, June 5, p. 1, c. 2-5.

56. *Loc. cit.*

57. *Douglas Daily Dispatch*, June 5, p. 1, c. 1.

to return to almost normal. One observer reported the *Rurales* to be "lazily lolling around town," seemingly disgusted with the lack of action after their difficult twenty hour ride. One inharmonious note, however, disturbed what seemed to be an otherwise closed incident. Meeting at Denver, Colorado, the Western Federation of Miners convention passed a resolution deploring the loss of life and property at Cananea, but "greeting the Mexicans and hailing their class struggle," which they urged them to continue.⁵⁸ The following morning in a pointed address to two thousand Mexican miners, General Torres gave them the alternative of returning to work within two days or of being drafted into the Mexican army and being sent to fight the troublesome Yaqui Indians.⁵⁹ Arrests of suspected ringleaders and agitators continued for several weeks. One notable change in Cananea became apparent as the normal routine of the mining community was resumed. Of approximately twenty-three hundred American miners employed before the strike less than two thousand resumed work. The Mexican authorities, as well as the company officials, claimed to be in possession of a confession to the effect that about three hundred American miners had been secretly, if not openly, aiding and encouraging the Mexicans who had gone on strike. Determined to eradicate all such activity, the authorities allowed a rumor to circulate which warned that arrests would be made within twenty-four hours. A general exodus of American miners resulted, with an estimated three hundred crossing the line to the comparative safety of the United States.⁶⁰

Many estimates of the number dead and wounded have been made. An actual count of the American casualties show that six United States citizens lost their lives. The number of Mexican fatalities has remained in doubt. Estimates run as high as a hundred, though a more probable figure would be thirty. The difficulty in determining the actual Mexican

58. *Douglas Daily Dispatch*, June 6, p. 1, c. 4. This was a press association dispatch.

59. *Ibid.*, June 7, p. 1, c. 2.

60. *Bisbee Daily Review*, June 14, p. 5, c. 3, and p. 11, c. 4.

loss was due to the close supervision by the Mexican authorities, under whose direction burial squads worked during the night to remove the dead.⁶¹

The placing of blame for an historical incident such as that at Cananea is always a delicate if not dangerous undertaking. It would seem that the contention of the Mexican government to the effect that the strike was revolutionary in purpose and in character had some foundation. On the other hand, this contention raises a question which merits scrutiny. If the riot at Cananea were primarily revolutionary in design, why were not the other mining communities, such as Nacosari, affected? It would seem that the leaders of such an action would have known that the rising of such a small group could not be successful. Only a simultaneous action on the part of all the Mexican miners in Sonora could have had even a chance of success in causing a widespread revolution. That the affair was only a localized labor movement, in short a strike, seems to be the only logical conclusion. The Mexican miners wanted an equality in pay with American miners, and the strike was the weapon by which they hoped to accomplish this end. It seems highly probable that had George Metcalf peaceably permitted the strikers to enter the lumber yard and call out the Mexican employees working there, no bloodshed would have resulted. Instead the riot ensued and the miners not only suffered physical loss, but failed to win the salary equality for which they had gone on strike.

Though of minor importance in itself, the Cananea incident of 1906 was of national importance in Mexico, being the first major labor strike of the rapidly developing Mexican labor movement.

University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, N. M.

61. *Ibid.*, June 8, p. 1, c. 1.

NECROLOGY

HARRY F. LEE

A LIFELONG RESIDENT of New Mexico and for decades a member of its officialdom, Harry F. Lee died at Albuquerque on September 29. Mr. Lee, who was 64 years of age, suffered a heart attack at his office and returned to his home, where his death occurred within a few minutes. He had been seriously ill with pneumonia a few months ago, but had appeared in good health since resuming his duties. Mr. Lee was born in LaFayette, Ind., son of William D. Lee, who became member of the territorial supreme court and New Mexico district judge in 1873. He came to New Mexico with his family in that year. The Lee family resided in Las Vegas for several years. Mr. Lee was educated in the public schools there, and was employed for a time by the Las Vegas Optic. He was city clerk of Albuquerque for six years, prior to 1898, when he became secretary of the New Mexico Sheep Sanitary Board to serve for fourteen years. From 1912 to 1915, he was clerk of the Federal District Court under the late Judge William H. Pope. In 1915, he was made clerk of the District Court, a position he held under six judges, both Republican and Democratic. Mrs. Lee and three nephews survive. The nephews are Floyd W. Lee, prominent wool and sheep man of San Mateo; Lawrence F. Lee, life insurance president, of Charleston, S. C., and Chester Lee, who represents the Occidental Life Insurance Company in Denver.

H. E. FOX

A six-months' illness proved fatal to H. E. Fox, 90, former Albuquerque resident and a pioneer business man of New Mexico. He died in Los Angeles. Mr. Fox, who came to New Mexico in 1892 and engaged in the jewelry business in Albuquerque for many years, was the father of Mrs. O. A. Matson and Mrs. L. C. Bennet of Albuquerque, and Mrs.

Frank Strong and Mrs. A. B. McGaffey of Los Angeles. He also is survived by 11 grandchildren and eight great-grandchildren. Twenty-two years ago Mr. Fox retired from the jewelry business in Albuquerque and moved to Los Angeles where he owned a fruit ranch. He was born in Rochester, N. Y., in 1848, and before coming to Albuquerque was a resident of Emporia, Kas., where he helped organize the Congregational Church. He also was active in the Congregational Church at Albuquerque and at one time was a member of the city council. Mr. Fox was the last charter member of the "Ten Dons," discussion group founded jointly by himself, A. B. McMillen, and Dr. J. W. Wroth. Burial was in Los Angeles' Fairlawn Cemetery beside his wife who died in 1934.

CHARLES BENT

Charles Bent, grandson of Governor Charles Bent who was assassinated at Taos, died on August 9, at the home of his daughter, Mrs. John V. Sanders at Los Angeles. He was seventy-eight years old. Surviving him besides his wife, are four daughters: Mrs. Sanders, Mrs. C. B. DuBoise of Minneapolis, Mrs. J. I. Glendinning of Oakland and Mrs. Woodson Ross of Oakland. A son, Raleigh Bent, also is living.

MRS. G. L. BROOKS

Mrs. Charlotte E. Brooks, widow of the late G. L. Brooks, who resided in Albuquerque for more than fifty years, died in that city on September 7. A native of Canada, she came to the United States in childhood. Mr. Brooks, who died in 1931, had a prominent part in the development of Albuquerque. Mrs. Brooks was a member of the Protestant Episcopal church. She leaves two sons, Herbert O. Brooks of Albuquerque, and Louis C. Brooks of Chicago, and a brother, Frank Wilson of Albuquerque.

ANDREW B. SIMPSON

Andrew B. Simpson, aged eighty-nine years, one of the founders of Tucumcari, died in that city on September 14.

He came to Tucumcari in 1901 and established the town's first mercantile establishment and its first bank. He arranged for the drilling of the first well to supply water. Six children survive him.

NEWS NOTES

Dr. and Mrs. Marion Dargan returned recently from six weeks of research in the Library of Congress in Washington, D. C., where Dr. Dargan continued his research in connection with New Mexico's struggle for statehood. Dr. Dargan was assisted by two University of New Mexico graduate students, Miss Mary Jane Masters, principal of the junior high school in Farmington, and Miss Dorothy Thomas, teacher in the El Paso high school, both of whom are working on master's theses of the same period. Dr. Dargan said that he was particularly fortunate in finding material concerning the governorship of Miguel A. Otero, Sr. The results of his research will be published in the near future in a series of articles in THE NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Pontificia Americana: a documentary history of the Catholic Church in the United States (1784-1884). By Donald Shearer, O.M.Cap., Ph.D. (Joseph F. Wagner, Inc., New York, 1933. xi—413 pp., calendar of documents, bibliography, index. \$1.25.)

This is Number 11 of the interesting series of *Franciscan Studies*, which lists as other titles "Science in the Franciscan Order," "The Capuchins in French Louisiana," "Pioneer Missionaries in the United States." These monographs are being published under the auspices of the Franciscan, Conventual, and Capuchin Fathers of the United States and Canada. Needless to say, each has been submitted to the censorship and imprimatur of the Church authorities.

The monograph here noted gives the Latin, Italian, and French text of 159 documents, most of which have to do merely with administrative routine and will be of small interest to the layman. Others, however, afford some sidelight on important matters in United States history. For example, there was no more serious problem within the period covered than that of slavery. Yet, if this volume is (as represented by the editorial author) a complete documentation, Rome was utterly silent on this matter after the papal brief of December 3, 1839 (pp. 201-205): and that pronouncement condemned, not slavery, but merely the trade in slaves.

Successive popes were much more concerned over the matter of "trusteeism" within the Church. This may be traced (see Index) from its first appearance in South Carolina through similar controversies in New York, New Orleans, Virginia, and Philadelphia. The monograph gives nothing of importance regarding the former Spanish colonies now within the United States, since the Spanish and Mexican background are almost wholly ignored. Even in

editorial reference to the secularizing of the California missions (p. 206), the "Pious Fund" is not mentioned.

The editor has done excellent work in his introduction, and in summarizing and annotating the documents. His monograph is a valuable contribution to American history.

—L. B. B.

Franciscan History of North America. Edited by Claude Vogel, O.M.Cap. (Capuchin College, Brookland, Washington, 1937; 385 pp., index.)

In the 18th annual meeting of the Franciscan Educational Conference in August 1936 at Santa Barbara, Calif., twelve papers were presented and discussed which were, in effect, a symposium on the general subject, "Franciscan History of North America." The papers are available in a separate volume, ably edited by the Rev. Claude Vogel, O.M.Cap. In some cases the Franciscan Fathers show a lack of acquaintance with the recent work of secular scholars, but on the whole they show a remarkable range and activity in the field of historical research.

Students of the Southwest will find especial interest in four of the twelve papers. Fr. John M. Lambert opens the symposium with an excellent bibliographical survey, "Franciscan historians of North America." Fr. Joseph Thompson follows with "The Franciscans in New Spain, 1522-1600," and Fr. Bonaventure Oblasser with a paper on "The Franciscans in the Spanish Southwest." Last of the twelve, Fr. Marion Habig had the theme, "The Franciscan Martyrs of North America." In tabulating the martyrs, Fr. Habig has included Fr. Juan Mínguez, which is hardly justified by his own definition of a "martyr" (p. 277); while in his separate list of the martyrs of New Mexico (p. 290) he has omitted ten who belong in New Mexico history—before there was any Texas, Arizona, or Nebraska.

The reviewer's estimate of this group of papers may be indicated by the fact that he had made it a *vade mecum* for his present journey to European archives in search of Southwestern material for the Coronado Library. —L. B. B.

ERRATA

Page 93, note 22, interchange lines 3-4.

Page 110, in title, *after* EST *insert* TABULA.

Page 263, note 5, *read* Labadi.

Page 274, line 5, *read* immediately.

Page 274, line 8, *for* Jucero *read* Lucero.

Page 278, line 3, *for* An *read* A.

Page 288, line 13, *for* was *read* were.

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(INCORPORATED)

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CONSTITUTION

OF THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

(As amended Nov. 19, 1929)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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REVIEW**

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

Editors

LANSING B. BLOOM

PAUL A. F. WALTER

Associates

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GEORGE P. HAMMOND

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