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**SMALL SCHOOL.
BIG VALUE.**

JUAN ESTEVAN PINO, "SE LOS COMA":
NEW MEXICO LAND SPECULATION IN THE 1820s

G. EMLÉN HALL

EVER SINCE regional historians began taking New Mexico land history seriously, they have focused on changes in Spanish and Mexican land tenure brought on by the advent of American sovereignty in 1846. The confusing land claim adjudications by the United States' Office of the Surveyor General for New Mexico and Congress, and by the subsequent Court of Private Land Claims yield interesting stories. Manipulations of those confirmed rights in the 1870s, 80s and 90s by organized private interests tell an even more spectacular tale. But the pyrotechnics of territorial land speculation mask the fact that sharp dealing in New Mexico land already enjoyed a long history when the United States took over. That earliest speculation started and then fueled the small fire that later spread so quickly and disastrously under American rule.¹

The first sparks of those early speculative fires often lie hidden in the midst of separate, on-going tales of the Spanish and Mexican period. This paper will trace the rise of Juan Estevan Pino as a significant dealer in New Mexico land between 1820 and 1830. The Pino portrait emerges from disparate land transactions at different places and times; it is hard to find the pieces, harder still to see them whole. The resulting composite is not unique; other native New Mexicans had done and would do the same thing as Juan Estevan Pino. But Pino's land career in that critical one-decade period exemplifies a growing tendency among elements in New Mexico society to regard land as an economic asset to be exploited for the capital it could raise, not the crops it would yield.

The story of Pino begins in January 1820. At that time María Vitoria Gutiérrez, the wife of an ailing Angostura rancher and farmer, presented a curious petition to Governor Facundo Melgares of New Mexico. A few years before, she said, she and her

husband had borrowed 800 sheep from her brother, Pedro Miguel Gutiérrez, to meet other obligations. They had not repaid the loan. Now, in 1820, the brother claimed to own his sister's ranch by default. Could the governor help her protect her land by straightening out the matter?²

On 24 March 1820 Pedro Miguel Gutiérrez responded to his sister's petition. He did not blame her for the trouble between them. Instead, he blamed the original loan of 800 sheep, which had started the problems, on an aggressive local merchant named Juan Estevan Pino.³

In fact Pino was not just any local merchant. By the early nineteenth century an increasingly stratified New Mexico society had begun to develop. Pino brought to the mundane Angostura transaction a relatively lofty place in the emerging upper class. Born in 1782, Juan Estevan belonged to a family that had achieved political prominence by the turn of the eighteenth century. His father, Pedro Bautista Pino, served in 1810 as the first and only New Mexico delegate to the short-lived Spanish Cortes on the European continent. The Pino family moved easily between the landed aristocrats of the *rio abajo* and the center of political power at Santa Fe in the *rio arriba*. Various documents locate the family at Isleta in the south and Santa Fe in the north before son Juan Estevan appeared on the scene.⁴

In the first decades of the nineteenth century Juan Estevan Pino began to follow in the footsteps of his father's political career. By 1814 he had joined the Santa Fe ayuntamiento, a local body that exercised considerable influence in land grant matters, while simultaneously pursuing his land interests.⁵ During the same period he also served as a member of the *Diputación Territorial*, the area's first attempt at representative government. Through the 1820s he continued his official functions, sometimes filing reports with the government from distant posts where he had acquired real estate.⁶ In the early 1830s Pino added a judicial post to his peripatetic life when he became a judge, sometimes deciding in that capacity various land disputes.⁷ By the mid-1830s New Mexico achieved departmental status in the new Mexican federal system, and Juan Estevan was chosen the state's first delegate as his father had been chosen to go to Spain before him. Juan Estevan

celebrated the political triumph by formally authorizing his still minor child, Manuel Doroteo Pino, to manage the father's affairs while Juan Estevan was gone.⁸

The power of attorney in 1832 mentioned nothing about the Angostura affair of 1820, which so troubled Pedro Miguel Gutiérrez. Apparently Juan Estevan Pino had moved well beyond Angostura in the intervening years. But the early description provided by the Gutiérrez's complaint remained true to Pino's land dealings in the subsequent decade.

Several years prior to 1820, reported Pedro Miguel in Spanish laced with marvelous hyperbole, Juan Estevan Pino had lent money to María Vitoria Gutiérrez and her husband. In return Pino had taken a mortgage on their Angostura ranch and irrigated land. ("*Una dependencia con D. Juan Estevan Pino,*" María said, "*hubo de quedar, para su satisfacción, en clase de empeñada, la propiedad que disfructamos.*") María's husband then fell ill. The couple could not or did not repay the borrowed money. Now Pino had the Gutiérrezes in such dire straits ("*estrechado*") with various loans, reported her brother, that they could not meet his constant demands. Pino threatened to take their ranch. Indeed, Pino would devour them, they said, unless they paid the money they owed. ("*Ya D. Juan Estevan Pino se los coma por lo que devian y que queria quitarlos su rancho,*" as María's brother put it.) In desperation María Vitoria and her husband turned to her brother and begged him to lend them the resources to get Pino off their backs. Moved by his sister's tears and entreaties ("*lagrimas y ruegos*") and by Pino's unending threats against her, Pedro Miguel Gutiérrez finally gave in. He lent his sister 800 sheep. She used the sheep to settle up with Pino, but she never settled up with her brother. Thus the war with Juan Estevan Pino ended, and the trouble between brother and sister began.⁹

The Gutiérrez incident played a minor role in the confusion that already surrounded Angostura land in 1820. Part of the problem was political and ethnic: the Angostura tract found itself squeezed between the Indian pueblos of Santa Ana and San Felipe. Both pueblos claimed the tract. Yet neither had occupied it since the mid-eighteenth century when a Spanish community had settled there and started to grow.

Natural causes had further complicated the Angostura situation. The Rio Grande had shifted course, eliminating agricultural land on one side of the river and accreting land to the far bank. In the century to come, various Spanish, Mexican, and United States tribunals would struggle with the problems caused by changes in the political and natural course of Angostura events.¹⁰

Juan Estevan Pino contributed a third kind of change to Angostura land problems, a new kind, one with economic dimensions. Pino was no faceless financial institution, especially early in his career. He never dealt in large sums of money and completely abstract, inchoate claims to land as subsequent speculators would.¹¹ María Vitoria Gutiérrez, with 800 sheep in her flock, was no hapless subsistence farmer. Still Pino and Gutiérrez dealt with land to secure capital, not to make a direct living. As such, the incident between the two suggests a less bucolic, more "modern" attitude toward land in New Mexico in 1820, earlier than is generally recognized. The adjudicatory mechanisms provided by the three sovereigns that ruled over Angostura between 1820 and 1920 eventually could—and did—handle the complex problems brought to the tract by political and natural changes. But no mechanism could even address, let alone solve, the problems caused by the new economic vision Juan Estevan Pino helped to bring to Angostura.

Most native New Mexicans neither shared nor even understood Pino's new view of land. By the 1830s substantial communities had sprung up in northern New Mexico. Many of the residents did not have a shred of documentary evidence to justify their presence on the lands on which their houses stood. At the same time Juan Estevan Pino at least already regarded land as something to be manipulated to yield money, not crops, abstract claims, not real use. To the first class of nineteenth-century native New Mexicans, paper title meant nothing. To Pino, it meant all.¹²

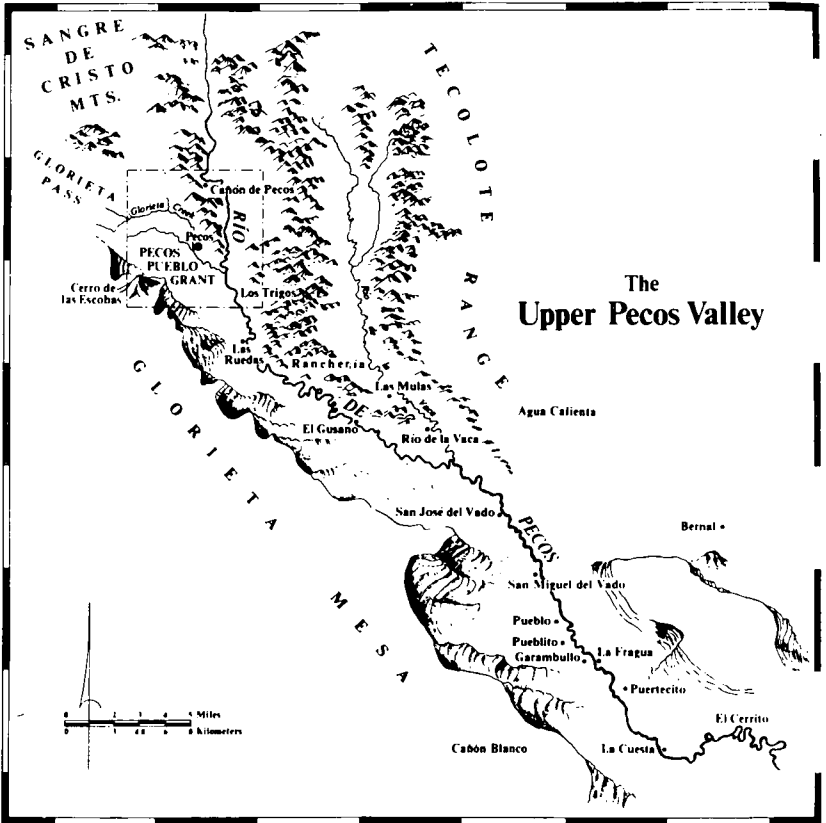
Between 1820 and 1830 Juan Estevan Pino, in a relentless paper chase, extended his land interests beyond the small loan business he operated in the Angostura area. During these years his land claims came to include a land grant he received in his name and various other pre-existing rights he purchased from earlier land grant recipients. The claims involved Spanish land, Pueblo Indian

land, government land, and land like Angostura that lay somewhere in between. They stretched from Angostura on the south to Tesuque, eighty miles north, and from the Rio Grande on the west to the plains country, 100 miles to the east.

In one case the Mexican government granted a tract of land to Pino himself. His sons, who inherited the tract, lost it to Preston Beck, Jr., one of New Mexico's earliest and most obscure Anglo land speculators. The United States then adjudicated that grant, still directly linked to Pino, the original grantee, in the name of the Anglo speculator.¹³ Otherwise Pino's connections to New Mexico land claims were much more murky. Pino bought from original grantees whose names survived in the Spanish or Mexican archives. He sold to others whose names appeared prominently in the official papers of the office of the surveyor general. But because there was no public system of recording private land transfers in New Mexico until after United States succession, no one repository held the records of those intervening transfers in which Pino served as middle man.¹⁴ As a result, the surviving papers that mark the trail of Pino's land dealings randomly dot the Spanish Archives of New Mexico, the Mexican Archives of New Mexico, the records of the surveyor general, various private collections and the courthouses of the counties in which his interests lay.¹⁵ To track down all Pino's land involvements between 1820 and 1830 requires consulting all these sources.

The largest and most obvious Pino acquisition in the period involved a huge tract of land on New Mexico's eastern frontier at the confluence of the Pecos and Gallinas rivers. On 6 December 1823 Pino applied for the grant, bemoaning, in typical grant application terms, his lack of sufficient land to pasture his livestock. Despite protests from settlers on the neighboring San Miguel del Bado grant, Governor Baca and the Diputación Territorial looked favorably on Pino's request. By August 1825 Juan Estevan Pino officially found himself in possession of what he called the "*Hacienda de San Juan Bautista del Ojito del Rio de las Gallinas*." Subsequent formal surveys showed that the Pino grant encompassed some 318,000 acres.¹⁶

According to various Pino friends, relatives, and compatriots, Juan Estevan immediately settled on his new grant in 1825 and



From John L. Kessell, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown*, page 440. Courtesy of the National Park Service and Jerry L. Livingston.

started to ranch. By the 1830s, they said, he had 900 cows and 80,000 sheep pastured on the vast tract of land. (Apparently he needed a place to put the herds he had acquired in transactions like the one involving María Vitoria Gutiérrezes and her brother.) In fact, his contemporaneous political career indicates Juan Estevan must have spent most of his time much closer to Santa Fe. When the time came to prove his use and occupancy of the grant, several old-time shepherders appeared and testified that they had cared for Pino's herds as peones in his almost constant absence from the ranch.¹⁷

In fact, at just the time one would expect Pino to have been devoting his attention to his new ranch, he was busy acquiring, by different means, interests in heretofore private lands. In the early 1820s he moved his credit operation from Angostura to Santa Fe and began lending money and, in exchange, taking mortgages from pressed land owners in the Santa Fe area, all the while holding down his various political offices.

For example, on 22 June 1823 Pino lent Gregorio Alarid 360 pesos and took in return a deed to a 536 vara tract of land that Alarid claimed in the Rio Tesuque area just north of Santa Fe and presumably just south of the Tesuque Pueblo grant.¹⁸ Apparently Alarid satisfied the Pino mortgage; no more was heard about it.

But the transaction of 1823 did mark Juan Estevan Pino's entrance into the complex world of Tesuque land. By 1849 Juan Bautista Vigil y Alarid, a younger rico of the Pino mold from the Mexican period, would sell a tract of Tesuque land that Vigil y Alarid claimed to have purchased directly from Juan Estevan Pino in 1838.¹⁹ That tract clearly encroached on Tesuque pueblo land. The problem would await the arrival of the Pueblo Lands Board in the 1920s for final resolution.²⁰ A century earlier Pino had placed himself at the center of the boiling cauldron that the Tesuque land would become and added apparent substance to the confused brew.

Nowhere, however, did Juan Estevan Pino's land machinations between 1820 and 1830 have such dramatic impact as in the upper reaches of the Pecos River's rich bottom land between Santa Fe on the west and the Hacienda de San Juan Bautista on the east. There Juan Estevan Pino jumped into a land situation confused in

the 1820s by the decline and ultimate disappearance of the once great Pecos pueblo.²¹ In the ten years between 1820 and 1830 Pino acquired what he could of the irrigated and irrigable land lying on both sides of the Pecos River as it debouched from its high mountain sources and added them to his personal land inventory.

One of Pino's acquisitions in the Pecos area seemed innocent enough. In 1815 three Santa Fe residents had requested and received from the Spanish government a tract of land on both sides of the Pecos River just north of the Pecos Pueblo grant. The poorly delineated tract had brought the three original grantees nothing but trouble with their dwindling pueblo neighbors to the south who insisted that most or all of the new Spanish grant lay within Indian land.²² In 1825 Juan Estevan Pino bought out one of the three original grantees. Then, on 23 September 1826 he purchased the "rights" of a new, second claimant to the same tract. No one ever heard from the two other original grantees. But by 1828 everyone assumed that Juan Estevan Pino owned the grant just north of the Pecos Pueblo grant. By 1854 everyone assumed that the grant in fact existed. The papers produced by Pino added weight to the legitimacy of the claim and defined the tract's boundaries as well.²³

Pino's final purchase in the 1820-1830 period may have placed him in the middle of the Pecos Pueblo grant itself. By the late 1830s the Pecos pueblo survivors had moved in with their kinsmen at the Jemez pueblo. Rumors floating around the Pecos area hinted that the Pecos tribesmen had sold their Indian grant to Juan Estevan Pino before departing. By the late 1880s local Pecos custom had it that the last Mexican governor, Manuel Armijo, had approved the sale in 1840 or 1841, thus eliminating any possible objection to it on the grounds that the existing sovereign had not supervised the sale of pueblo land as Spanish and perhaps Mexican and American law required.²⁴ Several lengthy court documents placed Juan Estevan Pino and his sons in the middle of various Pecos land disputes in the mid-1830s.²⁵ But no document appeared in the 1830s to substantiate Pino's claim to the Pecos Pueblo grant. Pino did not mention it in his 1832 power of attorney to his son. Neither the Spanish nor Mexican archives, otherwise packed with Pino papers, documented any part of the story.

Then, just six years before the turn of the twentieth century, there appeared in the San Miguel County courthouse for the first time a deed from the Pecos pueblo's last resident governor to Juan Estevan Pino. Officially recorded on 29 May 1894, the 20 September 1830 deed from José Cota on behalf of the Pecos pueblo to Pino purported to convey to the non-Indian politician the so-called "ciénega de Pecos," about 300 acres of rich, already irrigated land lying well within the Pecos Pueblo grant and north-east of the pueblo living site.²⁶

The Pecos pueblo Indians had not farmed the tract themselves since 1776 at the latest.²⁷ Spaniards had moved on it from the north prior to 1817 despite continued, largely useless pueblo protest. It is possible that the pueblo in fact had decided to sell. No one would have been more likely to buy than Juan Estevan Pino.

But internal inconsistencies cast doubts on the validity of the document of 1830. The sixty-four year delay between the deed's alleged making and its appearance in the public records make its authenticity equally suspect, especially in light of the care Juan Estevan Pino normally took to document contemporaneously his real estate acquisitions. When in the late 1880s a New Yorker who had purchased the entire Pecos Pueblo grant from other Pecos survivors brought suit to quiet title in himself to the whole grant, Spanish-American residents, including Juan Estevan Pino's heirs, responded by flooding the San Miguel County courthouse with deeds from the Mexican period.²⁸ The deed of 1830 did not surface then although it could have provided the Spanish community's principal basis for its claim to Indian land. Instead, the deed's appearance in 1894 coincided with Spanish Pecos's first attempt to head off resurgent Pueblo and New York claims to land the actual residents regarded as their own. In that year, Spanish residents of the Pecos Pueblo grant tried to incorporate the Indian "grant," thus neatly vesting the pueblo grant with a Spanish-American board of directors.²⁹

Enshrouded as it was in Pecos politics of the American period, the deed of 1830 from the Pecos pueblo to Juan Estevan Pino still capped a decade of busy land speculation for the astute politician. He had terrorized land holders in the Angostura area with his loan shark practices. He had acquired a large grant of his own on New

Mexico's eastern plains, well before the last Mexican governor, Manuel Armijo, had begun to make his late and large grants on the area's perimeters in the 1840s.³⁰ He had entered the Tesuque land world and added to the confusion there. He had purchased a small grant in the Pecos area. Perhaps he had bought the lion's share of the Pecos pueblo's richest irrigated land in the heart of the ancient pueblo grant. Obviously in those ten years Juan Estevan Pino had something more in mind than a small, self-sufficient New Mexico farm.

Juan Estevan Pino died in 1839 or 1840 with most of his estate intact.³¹ Before the advent of American sovereignty in 1846 and the coming of the office of the surveyor general for New Mexico in 1854, a second Pino generation entered the scene. Two of Juan Estevan's sons, Manuel Doroteo Pino and Justo Pastor Pino, further confused the tangled mess their father had left by adding another layer of complex transactions to the state's land history.

Like their father before them, the two Pino sons wheeled and dealt with mortgages and property.³² But they reversed their father's established pattern of doing so. Juan Estevan had used his money to attract others' land. His sons used their land to attract others' moneys. In the end they failed where he had succeeded.

To a new generation of primarily Anglo financiers, the Pino sons lost the property they had inherited from Juan Estevan. They lost to Preston Beck, Jr., the huge eastern New Mexico grant their father had gained. Alexander Valle, a Missouri speculator with a Spanish pseudonym, bought their small grant just north of the Pecos pueblo's lands. Donaciano Vigil and Manuel Varela squeezed the Pino sons out of their claim to the "ciénega de Pecos."³³ By the time the first surveyor general, William Pelham, opened shop in Santa Fe in the summer of 1855, the Pino sons had disappeared, more or less, from the land grant scene.

But they and their father left a complex legacy that only further confused the work of the hapless surveyor general. Confirmation by the United States in 1858 of Juan Estevan Pino's grant of 1825 to Preston Beck, Jr., caused endless problems because of the grant's overlap with the neighboring Town of Anton Chico community grant. Born of Pino's 1820-vintage speculative fervor, the Preston Beck, Jr., grant begat only further, wilder American period speculation to the ultimate detriment of the grant's resi-

dents and their neighbors.³⁴ Pino's Tesuque area dealings added historic texture and weight to non-Indian encroachments on Tesuque pueblo land and water.³⁵ His acquisition of the small "grant" just north of the Pecos Pueblo grant guaranteed that that tract would win recognition as "private," not "public" property. Missouri speculators proved the ultimate beneficiaries.

As for the Pecos Pueblo grant, Pino's alleged purchase in 1830 did the most damage to the most confused situation. One Spanish community, residing on the Indian grant and claiming rights through Pino's purchase, turned against another resident Spanish community not so connected to Pino.³⁶ Both warring communities had to contend with other, different and subsequent purchasers of the grant.³⁷ All three contenders for title were pitted against the surviving Pecos clan residing at the Jemez pueblo. Those Pecos survivors would sell their ancestral Pecos home at least three different times to different buyers only to stand by, ready to return, when the United States Supreme Court in the twentieth century in effect voided all nineteenth century sales from Pueblos to non-Indians.³⁸

Juan Estevan Pino's real estate dealings between 1820 and 1830 probably had a more direct and long lasting impact on New Mexico history than did the simultaneous switch from Spanish to Mexican sovereignty. Political changes did not alter the status of New Mexico land as much as shifts in land economics did. Juan Estevan Pino, small time operator that he was, portended the much more serious and destructive speculations to come. In his land manipulations, Pino showed on a smaller scale every Anglo "trait" that would come to wreak such havoc to New Mexico land fifty years later. Pino and his successors viewed land as an abstract economic asset, not the basis for life-support systems. They regarded that asset as something to be manipulated to yield the greatest dollar, not something to support growing communities. In that sense T. B. Catron, Stephen B. Elkins, Andreus A. Jones, Hugh N. Smith, John S. Watts and other Anglo lawyers and speculators differed from Pino only in that they had access to wider markets and deeper pockets.³⁹

In another, more important sense the connection between Pino and those who came after him ran deeper. The rampant speculation in New Mexico land that characterized the state's territorial

period could not have happened so easily had not Pino and his cohorts laid the groundwork as and when they did. The earlier sharp dealings of men like Cornelio Vigil, Donaciano Vigil, Domingo Fernández, Tomás C. de Baca, Manuel Martínez, Juan Vigil y Alarid, Simon Delgado,⁴⁰ and Juan Estevan Pino left sufficient loose land strings dangling to allow later speculators to grab hold.

NOTES

1. For general information on New Mexico land grants, see Olen Leonard, *The Role of the Land Grant in the Social Organization and Social Processes of a Spanish American Village in New Mexico*, rev. ed. (Albuquerque: Calvin Horn, 1970); William deBuys, "Fractions of Justice: A Legal and Social History of the Las Trampas Land Grant, New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review* (NMHR) 56 (January 1981): 71-97; Victor Westphall, *The Public Domain in New Mexico, 1854-1891* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico [UNM] Press, 1965); Malcolm Ebright, *The Tierra Amarilla Grant: A History of Chicanery* (Santa Fe: Center for Land Grant Studies, 1980); Act of 22 July 1854, U.S., *Statutes at Large*, vol. 10 (1854), p. 308; Act of 22 December 1858, U.S., *Statutes at Large*, vol. 11 (1858), p. 374.

Other useful background materials include Herbert O. Brayer, *Pueblo Indian Land Grants of the "Rio Abajo," New Mexico* (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1939); Howard Lamar, *The Far Southwest, 1846-1912: A Territorial History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1970), pp. 137-71; Richard Bradfute, *The Court of Private Land Claims* (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1975); William Keleher, "Law of New Mexico Land Grant," NMHR 4 (October 1929): 350-71; Donald C. Cutter, "The Legacy of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo," NMHR 53 (October 1978): 305-15; Victor Westphall, *Thomas Benton Catron and His Era* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1973); Jim Berry Pearson, *The Maxwell Land Grant* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1961).

2. María Vitoria Gutiérrez to Gov. Facundo Melgares, Angostura, 16 March 1820, Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, 2 vols. (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Torch Press, 1914), 1:115, item 383. Original documents are at the State Records Center and Archives (SRCA), Santa Fe.

3. Pedro Miguel Gutiérrez to Gov. Facundo Melgares, Angostura, 24 March 1820, Twitchell, *Spanish Archives*, 1:115, item no. 383.

4. Pedro Bautista Pino, "Exposición" in *Three New Mexico Chronicles*, ed. and trans. H. Bailey Carroll and J. Villasana Haggard (Albuquerque: Quivira Society, 1942). Fray Angelico Chavez, *Origins of New Mexico Families in the Spanish Colonial Period* (1954; reprint ed., Santa Fe: William Gannon, 1975), pp. 259-60.

5. U.S., Bureau of Land Management, Surveyor General's Reports, New Mexico Land Grants, Records of Private Land Claims Adjudicated by the U.S. Surveyor General, 1855-1890, Los Trigos Grant, report no. 8, file no. 11, reel 13, frame 5. Original housed at SRCA. Frame 5 lists the members of the Santa Fe ayuntamiento, including Juan Estevan Pino who approved the Los Trigos grant 30 July 1814.

6. Juan Estevan Pino to Juan José Arocha, 17 June 1828, Mexican Archives of New Mexico (MANM), reel 8, frames 65-66, SRCA. Pino was reporting from the "cañón de Pecos" on Comanche raids on the waning pueblo of Pecos. He had just purchased what purported to be a private land grant immediately north of the Pecos Pueblo grant.

7. Judicial proceedings, 1828, MANM, reel 8, frames 347-476, contain the official Pino court documents that survive.

8. Power of attorney of Juan Estevan Pino in favor of his son, Manuel Doroteo Pino, 9 November 1832, MANM, reel 15, frames 452-56.

9. Petition, 16 March 1820, and Answer, 24 March 1820, Twitchell, *Spanish Archives*, 1:115-18, item 383. "Dependencia" replaces "hipoteca," the more common word for mortgage, suggesting that Pino's arrangement did not follow the more traditional form of transaction even in 1820. In the Spanish quotations in the text I have chosen not to "modernize" or otherwise amend the document's language, giving the bilingual reader some appreciation for the hyperbole that measures the strength of the text of 1820.

10. E.g. proceedings on petition for restoration of lands, 1813, Twitchell, *Spanish Archives*, 1:423-32, item 1356; proceedings concerning return of lands to Santa Ana pueblo, 1819, Twitchell, *Spanish Archives*, 1:358-59, item 1364; proceedings on order to restore lands to Santa Ana pueblo, 1819, Twitchell, *Spanish Archives*, 1:358-59, item no. 1234; *Angostura Settlers v. Pueblo of Santa Ana*, 1824-1838, in the Julius Seligman Collection, Special Collections Department, University of New Mexico Library (UNM-SC), Albuquerque; U.S., Department of Justice, Pueblo Lands Board Reports on Indian Titles Extinguished, Santa Ana and San Felipe Pueblos, 1928. A copy is available at Southern Pueblos Agency, Albuquerque, New Mexico; U.S., Congress, House, Committee on Indian Affairs, Pueblo Indian Land Titles, Hearings on H.R. 13452 and 13674, 67th Cong., 4th sess., 1-15 February 1923, p. 123; *Jesus M. Castillo, et al. v. United States*, no. 229, Court of Private Land Claims, 1897, for confirmation of the Angostura land grant as identified in Richard Bradfute, *The Court of Private Land Claims*, p. 250.

11. Pearson, *The Maxwell Land Grant*; Thomas K. Simpson, "The Anglo Revolution in New Mexico," *Occasional Papers*, Number 4 (Santa Fe: Committee on the Liberal Arts, St. John's College, March 1976).

12. Leonard, *The Role of the Land Grant*, p. 94, n. 8; G. Emlen Hall, "Giant Before the Surveyor-General: The Land Career of Donaciano Vigil," *Journal of the West* 19 (July 1980): 64-73; Surveyor General's Report, Los Trigos Grant, report no. 8, file no. 11, reel 13. The Los Trigos adjudication pitted an existing

community without any documentary evidence to support its claim to the land against the claim of politician-speculator Donaciano Vigil, who asserted that he alone owned the grant and had the papers to prove it. Similarly, the presence of the Juan José Lovato grant of at least two long-settled towns, El Rito and a part of Abiquiu, which had sprung up without apparent formal permission, confused the American confirmation of that grant to the heirs.

13. For Beck's background see Ralph E. Twitchell, *Old Santa Fe: The Story of New Mexico's Ancient Capital* (Santa Fe: Santa Fe New Mexican Publishing, 1925), p. 357; Cirilia Beck v. Estate of Preston Beck, Jr., Cause 739 (1861), San Miguel County Court Records, SRCA; Hall, "The Land Career of Donaciano Vigil"; Surveyor General's Reports, Preston Beck, Jr., Grant, report no. 1, file no. 2, reels 12, 13.

14. Henry P. Beers, *Spanish and Mexican Records of the American Southwest* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1979). Part 1 gives an adequate description of the central sources of New Mexico archival information. The Spanish and Mexican land archives largely limit themselves to original land grants, the point at which "public" land became "private." Authorities did not much care which private individual owned a tract so long as the government did not. As a result, subsequent transfers of already granted land were not routinely filed for record even if they were written down. Juan Estevan Pino appears to have written and recorded more land documents than any of his contemporaries. But no index exists indicating references to Pino in the surviving Spanish and Mexican records.

15. The various county courthouses, established after 1846, often received and filed for record private property documents made prior to United States succession to New Mexico. Eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century land documents often surface in the county courthouses for the first time well after 1846 (House Committee on Indian Affairs, Pueblo Indian Land Titles, Hearings on H.R. 13452 and 13674, p. 302). Also, see Deed from José Cota to Juan Estevan Pino executed 20 September 1830 and recorded 29 May 1894 in Deed Book 46, p. 474, San Miguel County Records, San Miguel County Courthouse, Las Vegas, N. Mex.

16. Surveyor General's Report, Preston Beck, Jr., Grant, report no. 1, reel 12, frame 296, and reel 13; U.S., Congress, House, Ex. Doc. 1, 34th Cong., 3rd sess., 1857, pp. 444-48.

17. Testimony of Bernardo Varela, 9 February 1875, Surveyor General's Reports, Preston Beck, Jr., Grant, report no. 1, file no. 2, reel 13, frame 206 ff; U.S., Congress, House, Ex. Doc. 1, 34th Cong., 3rd sess., 1857, pp. 448-53.

18. Deed from Gregorio Alarid to Juan Estevan Pino executed 22 June 1823 and recorded 18 June 1849 in Deed Book A, pp. 56-58, Santa Fe County Records, Santa Fe County Courthouse, Santa Fe. The deed describes Alarid as a "vecino" or tax-paying citizen "del Rio Tesuque" and Pino as the "diputado de la Excelentísima Diputación de esta Provincia."

19. Deed from Juan Bautista y Alarid to Dna. Peregrina Ortiz, executed 5 September 1849 and recorded 12 March 1867 in Deed Book D, pp. 295-98,

Santa Fe County Records. By the Spanish deed Vigil y Alarid conveyed to Ortiz "a house consisting of four serviceable rooms and an irrigated garden plot that I acquired eleven years ago from D. Juan Estevan Pino."

20. U.S., Department of Justice, Pueblo Lands Board Report on Indian Titles Extinguished, Tesuque Pueblo Grant, November 1925.

21. John L. Kessell, *Kiva, Cross, and Crown* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1979), p. 440 ff.

22. Surveyor General's Reports, Alexander Valle Grant, report no. 18, file no. 54, reel 14; U.S., Congress, House, Report No. 321, 36th Cong., 1st sess., 1860, pp. 279-90. Juan de Aguilar to Gov. Melgares, 19 August 1818, Twitchell, *Spanish Archives*, 1:30-31, item no. 56. This petition begins a long boundary dispute between the moribund Pecos pueblo and its Alexander Valle grant neighbors to the north. Part of the problem stemmed from the extremely vague descriptions in the original Alexander Valle grant papers.

23. Deed from Pedro Ortiz to Juan Estevan Pino, 23 September 1826, Surveyor General's Report, Alexander Valle Grant, report no. 18, file no. 54, reel 14, frame 594. Domingo Fernandez, another Mexican period speculator who moved around abandoned Pueblo land, witnessed the deed. See also reel 14, frames 251 ff for boundary description problems.

24. Charles H. Lange and Carroll L. Riley, eds., *The Southwestern Journals of Adolph F. Bandelier 1880-1882* (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1966), pp. 77-84; Kessell, *Kiva, Cross and Crown*, p. 553, n. 59.

25. Proceedings against Miguel Sena for assault on Juan Estevan Pino and Justo Pino, 23 July 1836 to 7 January 1837, MANM, reel 22, frames 212-316, continued in reel 23, frames 929, 1046. Petition by Juan Estevan Pino to Diocese of Durango for a chapel in the "Cañón de Pecos," 29 December 1837, MANM, reel 24, frames 809-13.

26. Deed from José Cota to Juan Estevan Pino executed 20 September 1830 and recorded 29 May 1894 in Deed Book 46, p. 474, San Miguel County Records.

27. Francisco Atanasio Domínguez, *The Missions of New Mexico, 1776*, trans. and annot. Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angelico Chavez (Albuquerque: UNM Press, 1956), p. 213.

28. Seymour v. Roberts et al., Cause 2723 (1887), San Miguel County Court Records, SRCA. Seymour had purchased the entire grant out of a non-Indian chain of title that began with another purported Pecos pueblo sale, this time to an alcoholic Indian agent, John Ward, who then sold to a debonair bachelor Las Vegas dry goods merchant, Frank Chapman, in the late 1860s. For the ancient deeds with which Pecoseños responded to the Seymour legal attack, see Juan Estevan Aragon to Juan Estevan Pino executed 31 March 1837 and recorded 12 August 1887 in Deed Book 31, p. 206, San Miguel County Records, and Estevan Aragon, et al. to Manuel D. Pino executed 25 July 1840 and recorded 13 August 1887 in Deed Book 31, p. 215, San Miguel County Records.

29. Petition in Re the Incorporation of the Pecos Pueblo Grant, Cause 4416 (1894), San Miguel County Court Records, SRCA.

30. Ebright, *The Tierra Amarilla Grant*, pp. 1-2, n. 5. Marianne L. Stoller, "Grants of Desperation, Lands of Speculation: Mexico Period Land Grants in Colorado," *Journal of the West* 19 (July 1980): 22-39.

31. Testimony of Donaciano Vigil, 12 February 1875, Surveyor General's Reports, Preston Beck, Jr., Grant, report no. 1, file no. 2, reel 13, frame 214.

32. Deed from Manuel D. Pino and wife, Josefa Ortiz, to Hugh N. Smith as trustee for Preston Beck, Jr., executed 14 June 1853 and recorded 16 June 1853 in Deed Book 1, p. 64, San Miguel County Records. Pino v. Hatch, *New Mexico Reports*, vol. 1 (1855), p. 125. Transcript and record in Pino v. Hatch, File 7½, archives of the New Mexico Supreme Court, Santa Fe.

33. Hall, "The Land Career of Donaciano Vigil."

34. Stoneroad v. Beck, *New Mexico Reports*, vol. 16 (1912), p. 754; Stoneroad v. Stoneroad, *United States Reports*, vol. 158 (1895), p. 240; Jones v. St. Louis Land Company, *United States Reports*, vol. 232 (1917), p. 355. See also "Preston Beck Grant papers" in the private papers of A. A. Jones, SRCA. Las Vegan Jones by 1900 held a large interest in the Preston Beck, Jr., grant.

35. By 1920, if not before, development upstream from and south of the Tesuque pueblo had so diminished the flow of water in the tiny Big Tesuque Creek that little reached the pueblo downstream. Actual encroachments on the pueblo from the south worsened the situation. The northernmost settlement included the land Vigil y Alarid said he had bought from Pino (Committee on Indian Affairs, Pueblo Land Titles, Hearings on H.R. 13452 and 13674, p. 24; *Old Santa Fe Today* [Albuquerque: UNM Press for the Historic Santa Fe Foundation, 1972], pp. 74-75).

36. In Re the Incorporation of the Pecos Pueblo Grant, Cause 4416, San Miguel County Court Records, SRCA, details an extended Pecos battle running from 1890 to 1900 between the Pino and anti-Pino Spanish-American factions.

37. Gross Kelly Co. v. Juan Quintana et al., Cause 6319, San Miguel County Court Records, San Miguel County Courthouse, Las Vegas, N. Mex. The New Mexico mercantile company brought suit to quiet title in itself to the entire Pecos Pueblo grant against the claims of both the Pueblo Indians and the Spanish-Americans who then lived in Pecos.

38. United States v. Sandoval, *United States Reports*, vol. 231 (1913), p. 28; United States v. Candelaria, *United States Reports*, vol. 271 (1926), p. 432.

39. Simpson, "The Anglo Revolution in New Mexico."

40. Cornelio Vigil dealt primarily with the Sangre de Cristo grant in Colorado and New Mexico; Donaciano Vigil with the Los Trigos and Pecos Pueblo grants; Domingo Fernández with the E. W. Eaton grant; Tomás C. de Baca with the Las Vegas grant and the so-called 'Baca floats'; Manuel Martínez with the Tierra Amarilla grant, and Juan Vigil y Alarid and Simon Delgado with land around Santa Fe.