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# **NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW**

## REPRINT

**OCTOBER 1941**

GRANT FOREMAN  
ANTOINE LEROUX, NEW MEXICO GUIDE

MARION DARGAN  
NEW MEXICO'S FIGHT FOR STATEHOOD, V

LANSING B. BLOOM  
THE CORONADO-BOCANEGRA FAMILY ALLIANCE

BOOK REVIEWS

NECROLOGY

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# IN APPRECIATION

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

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

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

Donald C. Cutter  
Chairman, Editorial Board, NMHR



Cover design by Jan Carley, graphic artist, College of Education, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque.

# NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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## ANTOINE LEROUX, NEW MEXICO GUIDE

By GRANT FOREMAN

ANTOINE LEROUX was born of French Canadian parents who came to St. Louis at an early day. The dates which Leroux himself gave at different times show some discrepancy, but he seems to have been born in, or about, the year 1803.<sup>1</sup> At the age of nineteen, he was one of the young men who answered an advertisement of Sir William Henry Ashley; and he got his first acquaintance of the Far West as a member of the Ashley expedition of 1822. About two years later, perhaps by the summer of 1824, he arrived in Taos, New Mexico, and his written statement of March, 1853, shows that he regarded Taos as his home from the time of his marriage. This took place in November, 1833, as appears from the marriage register now in the Archbishopal Archive of Santa Fé.<sup>2</sup>

It would seem that Leroux soon came to be regarded as

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1. Since Ashley did not enter the fur trade until 1822, Leroux could not have been employed by him in 1820 as he wrote in the statement for Senator Benton in 1853. See below.

2. This marriage record is of such interest in several ways that its text is given in full at the close of Mr. Foreman's paper.

A tradition at Taos has it that Leroux, in later life, moved across the mountains into the Mora valley and died there. This was true of Antonio Ledoux (one of the witnesses at the marriage of Leroux). The land holding in "los valles de Santa Gertrudis de lo de Mora," attributed by Twitchell (*Spanish Archives*, I, 143, title 478) to Leroux, was really that of Ledoux. The burial record of the latter (Santa Fé, Archbishopal Archive, Book B-14, Mora, 1856-60), dated Nov. 16, 1859, shows that Ledoux was born in 1779 and was husband of Apolonia Lucero, resident of the plaza of Santa Gertrudis. Leroux's connection was in the Taos valley and is listed in Twitchell, *Spanish Archives*, I, 485, Private Land Claim No. 47.—editor.

an honored citizen of the Taos valley. This is indicated by the names of those who assisted at the marriage: Charles Bent, María Ignacia Jaramillo, Carlos Beaubien, Antonio Ledoux. Moreover, his marriage identified him with the prominent Vigil family, members of which had, in 1742, secured a land grant that took in the choicest part of the Taos valley—including the present village of Taos.<sup>3</sup> Acting as agent for the heirs, Leroux had the Santa Fé firm of Smith and Houghton<sup>4</sup> begin action for the confirming of the grant. Because of this connection, the claim is known in the records as the "Antoine Leroux Grant."<sup>5</sup> Significant also is an interlude in his engagements as guide during the year 1849. It was in September, 1849, that nineteen delegates assembled in convention at Santa Fé to prepare a territorial plan of government for New Mexico and to elect a delegate to congress. Three of the nineteen were from Taos county: Cerán St. Vrain, Father Antonio José Martínez, and Antonio Leroux.<sup>6</sup>

Leroux was one of a class of famous mountain men, celebrated as a guide and scout, and spoken of with great respect by all who knew that class of men. An early biographer of Kit Carson credited Leroux with character and talents similar to those of his subject. The partisans and friends of these early residents of Taos were wont to compare them; but, the biographer says, "It is a just tribute of praise due to both of these brave men, to say that they did not sanction by word or deed either party to the controversy. They came to appreciate each other, and as friends even felt

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3. Santa Fé, U. S. Land Office, *Land Claims Record*, vol. II, 493-507, "Antoine Leroux Grant." The original grant was made (Aug. 12, 1742) by Governor Gaspar Domingo de Mendoza on petition of Pedro Vigil de Santillana, Juan Bautista Vigil and Cristóval Vigil.

4. Probably Hugh N. Smith is meant. He had been appointed attorney general in 1846, while Joab Houghton had served as chief justice 1846-49.

5. Action was started May 21, 1857, but was delayed by a protest of the Taos Indians. They withdrew their protest in September 1861 after receiving a deed for land which they claimed; and a few days later (Oct. 5, 1861) U. S. Surveyor General A. P. Wilbar recommended confirmation of the Leroux grant; congressional approval was dated March 3, 1869.

6. Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, ii, 269, note.

elated, the one at the success of the other and vice versa . . . Their ranches were located in the same valley and in the same town where, having lived together as fast friends in life, they found their last resting place in the same graveyard."<sup>7</sup> At least the last statement is a mistake, as we shall see; but it is an interesting fact that their associates made such a comparison between Carson and Leroux.

During the Mexican War, Leroux was a faithful and efficient guide for army officers, notably for Col. Philip St. George Cooke while, in 1846, he was taking his Mormon Battalion from Santa Fé to California. Cooke acknowledged his services in terms of high praise, and spoke of him as the most sensible and experienced of guides.<sup>8</sup>

Leroux was the leader of the company of scouts attached to an expedition made by Company G of the First Dragoons, under Lieut. Joseph H. Whittlesey, that marched from Taos in March, 1849, against the Utes. During the next October, he and Kit Carson guided Maj. William N. Grier in a fruitless pursuit of the Indians who, at Point of Rocks, east of Taos, had captured Mrs. J. M. White and daughter of Virginia, after killing her husband and other members of their party.<sup>9</sup>

Leroux served as guide for Capt. Lorenzo Sitgreaves during his exploring tour from Zuñi to the Colorado River and California in 1851, and contributed much to the success of the expedition.<sup>10</sup> In San Diego in the following April, desiring to return home, he offered his services to John R. Bartlett who was engaged in surveying the Mexican boundary. Bartlett says he gladly accepted the services of the "celebrated guide" to get him through to New Mexico, and

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7. Dewitt C. Peters, *Kit Carson's Life and Adventures* (Hartford, Conn., 1874), p. 388.

8. House Executive Document No. 41, 30th Congress, 1st session, "Notes of a Military Reconnaissance," p. 416, Report of Philip St. George Cooke.

9. Blanche C. Grant, *When Old Trails Were New: the Story of Taos* (New York, 1934), pp. 158-9.

10. Report of an Expedition down the Zuñi and Colorado Rivers by Capt. L. Sitgreaves, Corps of Topographical Engineers (Washington, 1854), 32nd Congress, 2nd session, Senate Executive Document No. 59.

turned his outfit to him to organize and manage.<sup>11</sup> When they arrived at the Maricopa village on the Gila River, Bartlett says, "Leroux found a chief named Blanco who headed the Maricopa Indians in a fight in 1827 with a party of hunters and trappers from New Mexico, including Leroux, who barely escaped with their lives."<sup>12</sup>

The year 1853 was a busy one for Leroux. Senator Thomas H. Benton, though he had not been returned to congress, was immensely interested in promoting the proposed Central Railroad route from St. Louis to California. Because of the absence of Senator Benton and his son-in-law, Colonel Frémont, from congress, and also because of the divergent interest of Secretary of War Jeff Davis, attention had been attracted to the Memphis or southern route to such an extent that in congressional consideration it had acquired a great advantage over the central route. But the recent authorization by congress for examination and surveys of routes to California seemed to promise adequate consideration of the central route. Senator Benton, relying greatly on the explorations of Frémont, contributed many letters to the press in which he quoted Frémont and other explorers to demonstrate the advantage of this route through the present Colorado.

In support of Senator Benton's efforts, Leroux apparently had been induced to visit Washington, to contribute his information to the subject. His efforts took the form of an interesting account, obviously prepared at the instance of Senator Benton, which reads as follows:

At the request of Col. Benton, I, Antoine Leroux, native of St. Louis, of Missouri, and now an inhabitant of Taos, in New Mexico, do make the following statement in relation to the Pass at the head of the valley of the Del Norte, and of the country on each side of that Pass; and also, as to the best

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11. John R. Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents Connected with the United States and Mexican Boundary Commission* (New York, 1854), I, p. 206.

12. *Ibid.* Evidently this trapping party did not go through to California, for it is not one of "the four times" mentioned below by Leroux.

road from Missouri to California. And first I tell how I got acquainted with the country.<sup>13</sup>

In the year 1820 when I was in my nineteenth year,<sup>14</sup> I joined Gen. Ashley and Major Henry in an expedition of hunting and trapping to the Upper Missouri and Rocky Mountains; and after near two years in that part I went to Taos, in New Mexico, and afterwards married there,<sup>15</sup> and have made it my home ever since; and from that place I carried on the business of a beaver trapper for about fifteen years, generally on the waters of the Great Colorado of the West; and have trapped the whole country, every river, creek, and branch from the Gila to the head of the Grand River fork of the Upper Colorado, and out to the Great Salt Lake, and on the waters of Wah Satch Mountain, and out to the Virgin River, and have been four times to California, and guide to a great many American officers employed in Mexico, and know the country from New Mexico to California.

At the head of the Valley of the Del Norte there is a broad pass about eight miles wide, called by the Utah Indians Coo-cha-tope, and by the Mexican Spaniards, El Puerto, and which signifies in both languages, the *Gap*, or the *Gate*; and has been known to the Spaniards ever since they settled in New Mexico, and by the Indians always. It is made by the *Sierra San Juan*, which comes up from the south on the west side of the Del Norte and *gives out there*; and by the *Sierra Blanca*, which comes in from the east like it was going to join the San Juan, but turns off north round the head of the Arkansas and towards the Three Parks, and is eight miles wide. Here between these two mountains is the pass<sup>16</sup> which goes out level from the valley of the Del Norte (and looking like a continuation of it), which leads to the upper waters of the Great Colorado of the West. The Del Norte does not head in this pass, but in the San Juan mountains, a little south of the pass where there

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13. For a biographical account of Leroux see *Les Canadiens de L'Ouest* by Joseph Tassé (Montreal, 1878), 231 ff.

14. As noted above, the year here should read "1822." A still greater error appears in the record of a *carta de naturaleza* (naturalization paper) issued at Santa Fé on Sept. 17, 1830, to "Antonio Loruo," one of a group of French Canadians from St. Louis. With little doubt this was Antoine Leroux, but his age was given as "35"—which would place his birth in 1795.—editor.

15. Santa Fé, Archiepiscopal Archive, Book M-40, Marriages, Taos, 1823-45, ff. 4v-5r.

16. Cochetopa Pass of today.



is also a summer pass,<sup>17</sup> but none for the winter on account of the snow in it. There is a small creek in the pass<sup>18</sup> called by the same name, Coo-cha-tope, which comes out from the end of the San Juan and goes about eight miles east towards the Del Norte, but stops in a small lake, out of which a little stream gets to the Del Norte—which shows how level the country is. The pass is heavily timbered with large pine trees, and with piñon, and there may be some small oaks, but I am not certain. There is not much snow in this pass, and people go through all the winter; and when there is much snow on the mountains on the *Abiquiu* route (which is the old Spanish trail to California), the people of Taos go round this way and get into that trail in the forks of the Grand and Green rivers. There are trails through it, but after you get through there are many trails, some going to the Abiquiu road, and some up or down the country. This pass is laid down on a map I saw in the War Office made by Lieut. Parke and Mr. R. H. Kern, and is there named after me, because I gave Lieut. Parke information about it. It is the only map I have seen that shows that pass, and the best one I have seen in that part of the country, and with a little correction would be perfect. As for the country on each side of the pass, I will describe it, and on the east side first.

There is a large valley to the east, about 50 to 60 miles wide, and near 100 miles long, reaching from the Coo-cha-tope to the Taos settlements, at the Little Colorado.<sup>19</sup> The Del Norte runs through this valley, which is the widest and best valley in all New Mexico, and can hold more people than all New Mexico besides. It is all prairie except on the creeks, and on the river, and on the mountain sides, which are well wooded. It is a rich soil, and covered with good grass, and wooded on all the streams. The Spaniards called it El Valle de San Luís, and it was formerly famous for wild horses and buffaloes; and ever since Taos was settled by the Spaniards, the inhabitants drove their sheep and cattle there to winter. Before the Utah Indians became so bad, the stock, as many as 50,000 or 60,000 head of sheep and cattle have been driven there to winter, which they did well, feeding on the grass during the day, and sheltering in the woods about the shepherd's camp at night. Most of the winters, there is no snow along the foot of the mountain on the

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17. Probably Spring Pass of today, Leroux Pass on the Parke Map.

18. Again speaking of Cochetopa Pass.

19. Red River of today, 20 miles north of Taos where the San Luís valley begins.

north side of this valley, being sheltered from the north, and open to the sun to the south.

The United States have established a military post in this valley, not far from the pass of El Sangre de Cristo, and about two hundred families have gone there to live, chiefly near the fort, and raised crops there last year, and now that they have protection, the valley will soon be all settled, and will be the biggest and best part of New Mexico. About three families more were preparing to move there. The post is called Fort Massachusetts.<sup>20</sup>

This valley has several passes through the Sierra Blanca into the prairie country, on the Upper Arkansas and Kansas, the best of which is called El Sangre de Cristo, at the head of the little streams called Cuchadas, which fall into the Huerfano, a small river falling into the Arkansas not far from Bent's Fort. It is a good pass, and Bent and St. Vrain's wagons have passed through it, and it is passable the worst of winters; for Col. Beale's dragoons passed through it the same winter, and nearly the same time, that Col. Frémont went through another pass further west. The distance through these passes is not more than five miles. This is the description of the country on the east side of Coo-cha-tope Pass.

On the west side of the pass the country opens out broad and good for settlement, and for roads, and is the best watered country I ever saw out to the Wah-satch Mountains and to *Las Vegas de Santa Clara*. After that the water and grass became scarce, and the land poor. It is called a desert, though travelers find camping grounds every night, and the great cavalcades of many thousand head of horses from California to New Mexico annually pass along it. After you go through the pass at the head of Del Norte, there are many trails bearing southwest toward the great Spanish trail by Abiquiu, which they join in the forks of the Grand River and Green River (forks of the Great Colorado of the West), where it is a great beaten road, easy to follow day or night. The country is wooded on the streams with prairies between, and streams every three or five miles, as the Great Colorado here gathers its head-waters from the Wah-satch and Rocky Mountain ranges, which are covered all over with snow in the winter, and have snow upon their tops in the summer, which sends down so much water, and cool, clear and good. And this is the case generally out to the Wah-satch Moun-

20. On Utah Creek, two miles north of Fort Garland. By "Col. Beale" in the next paragraph, Leroux means Lieut.-Col. Benj. Lloyd Beall.

tain and Las Vegas de Santa Clara—a distance of near five hundred miles from the head of Del Norte. Wagons can now travel this route to California, and have done it. In the year 1837, two families named Sloover and Pope, with their wagons and two Mexicans, went from Taos that way.

Col. Frémont was looking for Coo-cha-tope Pass in the winter of 1848-9, and was near enough to have seen it, if it had not been hid by the lapping of the mountains, when his guide led him off into the mountains, instead of keeping up the dry valley, which he wished to do, and which would have taken him through easy. It was the worst winter for snow, but he could travel all the time in the valleys and passes. I was below him on the waters of the Arkansas at the same time, acting as guide to Col. Beale, who was out after the Apache Indians with a detachment of dragoons, and we heard of him at the Pueblos. He went as high as Hard Scrabble, and got corn before he crossed into the valley of San Luís, and we got corn at the Greenhorn Pueblo on the San Carlos Creek, about 50 or 60 miles below him, and heard that he had passed along, and supposed that he had gone safe through, and knew no better till he got back to Taos, when I told him how near he had been to the place he was looking for. We passed with the dragoons through the Pass El Sangre de Cristo (Blood of Christ) and got through easy, and that was the dead of winter and the greatest snow we ever had.

There is a way also up the Arkansas to get to the waters of the Great Colorado. It is by Bent's Fort, by the Pueblos and Hard Scrabble (at all which places corn and vegetables are raised), and by Witham's fishery, and at the head of the river, leaving the Three Parks to the north. Horsemen and stock can go that way. Maxwell, of Taos, drove out between four and five thousand head of sheep and cattle last summer, intending to take them to California, but went to the Great Salt Lake and sold them there.

A wagon can now go from Missouri to California through the Coo-cha-tope Pass, without crossing any mountain but the Sierra Blanca (and there have the choice of three good passes), and without crossing any swamp or large river, and nearly on a straight line all the way. only bearing a little south. And supplies of grain and cattle can be had from the Pueblos on the Upper Arkansas, and also from the Mexicans in the valley of the St. Louis, and also from the Mormons at *Ojo San José*, and at their settlement on the Nicollet river, and at Las Vegas de Santa Clara.

I have been from New Mexico to California four times, namely, the way I guided Col. Cook, the way I guided Capt. Sitgreaves, and the Salinas route, and the Abiquiu route, and of these four the one I guided Capt. Sitgreaves is, as I informed Mr. Seward,<sup>21</sup> the best and shortest from Santa Fé or Albuquerque; but from places farther north, and especially from Missouri, the Coo-cha-tope Pass is best and shortest, and has most water, grass, wood and good land on it; and has most snow, but not enough to prevent winter travelling; so that when there is much snow in the trail by Abiquiu, people from Taos go that way, as I have already said. The snow in that country is dry, and the moccasins that we wear do not get wet.

And being asked by Col. Benton to state the best way from Missouri to California, I answer: Start as the people now do, going to New Mexico, from the frontier of the State of Kansas or Independence, and for *summer* travelling go through the prairies up towards Bent's Fort, and up to the Huerfano to the Pass El Sangre de Cristo; then out by the Coo-che-tope Pass, following a trail to the great Spanish trail. The *winter* travel will be to start from the same point, but follow the Kansas River valley for the sake of the wood, and when that gives out, cross to the Arkansas, which is not far off, and level between, and follow that up for wood. The prairie is the way in the *summer*, but *winter* travelling must have the protection of woods and timber against snow-storm. And everything that I tell I can show, and would undertake to guide a party safe through with wagons now.

ANTOINE LEROUX

Senator Benton addressed a communication to the people of Missouri, incorporating Leroux's account which was published in the *Missouri Democrat*.<sup>22</sup>

When Leroux started on his return from Washington to Taos, he apparently travelled by way of St. Louis, and then by the Santa Fé Trail. Edward F. Beale was on his way from Independence to California in 1853, to assume his post as superintendent of Indian affairs, and, at a crossing of the Neosho River on the Santa Fé Trail on May 20, he over-

21. Evidently William H. Seward of Auburn, N. Y., at this time in the U. S. senate. Later, his interest in the Far West brought the purchase from Russia of Alaska, then called "Seward's Folly."—editor.

22. Copied in the New York *Daily Tribune*, March 16, 1853, p. 5, cols. 4-6.

took Leroux. Beale congratulated himself on his good fortune in securing the services of so experienced a guide. But Leroux seems to have been in charge of a train which he felt obliged to conduct safely over a few bad places along the route, and so was not able to join Beale at once; but he promised to overtake him in a short time.

However, when Beale arrived at Fort Atkinson, he found Leroux there under the care of the post surgeon, too ill to travel, and was obliged to proceed without him. Beale had a good deal of difficulty on his route, and in July he again called on Leroux at his home in Taos where he had recently arrived from Fort Atkinson; but again Leroux was unable to accompany him.

At this time, Capt. J. W. Gunnison, with his party organized to survey the middle railroad route on the 38th and 39th parallels, passed Fort Atkinson and Fort Bent; and subsequently, on August 13, he arrived in the vicinity of Fort Massachusetts near the more recent Fort Garland in Costilla County, Colorado. Here he sent Lieut. H. E. Beckwith and Lieut. Lawrence S. Baker to Taos, to secure the services of Leroux if possible. After a ride of over a hundred miles, they reached Taos, spoken of by Gunnison as the "headquarters of many of the most reliable and experienced of these mountain men."<sup>23</sup>

There they succeeded in engaging Leroux, subject to a prior engagement with Lieut. A. W. Whipple for later in the fall; and after thirty hours of travel, on the 19th they arrived back at Gunnison's camp. Leroux joined them the next day, and the party set out under the direction of this guide, who agreed to accompany them as far as the Spanish Trail which intersected their route in the vicinity of the present Mora in Utah. They crossed the mountain range and descended the Gunnison River; but after passing the site of the present Grand Junction to about where is now the western boundary of Colorado, Leroux was obliged to leave

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23. House Document No. 91, vol. 2, Report of Lieut. E. G. Beckwith of the Route Explored by Capt. John W. Gunnison.

them, September 25, and return to Taos, a month before the unfortunate Gunnison and some of his companions were killed by the Indians near Sevier Lake. With three companions, travelling principally by night, and relying on his skill and knowledge of the country, Leroux successfully passed through the hostile bands of Indians, and reached his home in Taos in good season to keep his engagement with Whipple.

Lieutenant A. W. Whipple, in charge of the Pacific Railroad survey along the 35th parallel, arrived at Albuquerque early in October, 1853, where they remained about a month, making their preparations for continuing the journey west to the Pacific Ocean.

Here Whipple met Leroux whom he had engaged as guide for the remainder of the journey.<sup>24</sup> Leroux's services from this time on are described in considerable detail by Lieutenant Whipple in his report. It is obvious that Leroux was relied upon greatly by Whipple, who was much impressed with the judgment and knowledge of his guide.

Antoine Leroux died at Taos in the summer of 1861, two months before the land grant which was associated with his name received favorable action by the surveyor general in Santa Fé. The brief burial record states that on August 1, 1861, burial was given to the remains of "Antonio Leroux, husband of Juana Vigil, in the nave of the parish church."<sup>25</sup> In all the burials at Taos during a period of fifteen years, including for example that of Carlos Beaubien, no one received such signal honor in his place of burial as did this old French guide and mountainman.

24. *Pacific Railway Survey Reports*, Vol. I, p. 22.

25. Santa Fé, Archiepiscopal Archive, Book B-42, Burials, Taos. 4/23/850-8/27/865, f. 453r. An interlineation by a later and very different hand is misleading.

MARRIAGE RECORD OF  
ANTONIO LEROUS AND JUANA CATARINA VIGIL

In this curacy of Taos on November 4 of the year 1833, I, the parish priest Don Antonio José Martínez, having obtained the matrimonial dispensation [required] for any stranger and transient for the benefit of Antonio Lerous, bachelor from North America, legitimate son of Antonio Lerous and Elena Josí, so that he may contract marriage with Juana Catarina Vigil, single, from the curacy of San Juan [de los Caballeros] in this Territory, legitimate daughter of Juan de Jesús Vigil and María Paula Baldes, residents of the precinct of San Fernandes: the said dispensation having been dated on October 6 just passed in the city of Santa Fé by the very Illustrious Bishop Don José Antonio Luriano de Subiría<sup>26</sup> [and] returned with the application which I sent, so that I might file it, as I did; and having admonished them (read the banns) on the 20th and 27th of the said October, which were the twenty-first and twenty-second Sundays in the order of Pentecost, and also on the first day of the present feast of All Saints, and since no kind of impediment appeared, and having read to them the said dispensation, following confession and communion, I married and blessed them *in facie Ecclesiae* (in due form of the Church). The *padrinos* (god-parents) were Charles Bent<sup>27</sup> and María Ignacia Jaramillo; attending witnesses were Don Carlos Beaubien<sup>28</sup> and Antonio Ledús, all residents of the *barrio* (ward or precinct) of San Fernandes, with the other [witnesses] who were present. The said *auto* (ceremony) was in the Church of Our Lady of Guadalupe, a chapel of this parish; and for attestation I signed it.

Antonio José Martínez (rubric)

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26. Don José Antonio Laureano Zubiría, Bishop of Durango, was making an official visit and seems to have been in New Mexico for at least three months, July-October, of 1833.

27. The original reads "Carlos Vente," but there is no mistaking the famous Charles Bent, while the second *padrino* was later to be his wife.

28. Another name which helps to make this marriage record impressive. Beaubien was one of the most prominent and influential of the "foreigners" then in New Mexico. Comment has already been made (note 2 above) regarding Antonio Ledoux (Ledus).

## NEW MEXICO'S FIGHT FOR STATEHOOD (1895-1912)

By MARION DARGAN

### V. THE SILENCING OF THE OPPOSITION AT HOME

CITIZENS of New Mexico were probably more outspoken in opposing the admission of the territory to the union in the middle of the 1890's than they were ever to be again. Less than two years after the defeat of the proposed constitution of 1890 by an overwhelming majority of the voters, leaders were already seeking to work up a boom which would crystallize sentiment in favor of statehood. Thus in February, 1892, the Las Vegas *Optic* announced that representatives of the territorial press would meet during an irrigation convention at Las Vegas "to discuss the question of statehood and to agree, if possible, on the attitude of the press of New Mexico, towards that question."<sup>1</sup> The *Optic* added: "There can be little doubt that whatever view may be adopted and pressed by the papers of the territory, that is the view which will prevail." Three months later the same newspaper asked: "Would it not be well to have statehood meetings in every county, and every town of any considerable size in each county?"<sup>2</sup> Repeating this suggestion three days later, the *Optic* added:

If we are to have any concert of action in this Territory, in favor of statehood, it is time the preliminary steps were taken. Nothing could exercise greater influence than statehood meetings all over the Territory, among the native people as well as in the Anglo-American centers. Let congress see that we want statehood, regardless of race or political differences. But time presses, and nothing is being done.<sup>3</sup>

How many meetings actually resulted from these suggestions, it is impossible to say. Certainly the action of the

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1. Las Vegas *Optic*, Feb. 26, 1892.

2. *Ibid.*, May 13, 1892.

3. *Ibid.*, May 17, 1892.



democrats in "stealing" the legislature in January, 1895, ruined all hopes of any concerted action on the part of citizens of the territory, irrespective of party affiliations. When congress met in December, however, the hope sprang to life that T. B. Catron, the new delegate, with his "brains and energy," would succeed where Antonio Joseph had failed. On January 14 of the following year, the republican territorial central committee adopted the following resolution:

*Resolved*, that we recognize that the early attainment of statehood is the matter of paramount importance to the people of New Mexico at present and insist that no partisan or personal advantage shall stand in the way of that object, of which the republican party has always been the champion, and we call on all patriotic citizens to unite in the strongest possible effort to secure this boon to our people at the earliest possible moment.<sup>4</sup>

The people, however, refused to be aroused by mere resolutions adopted by party leaders. Six years later in January, 1902, the *Denver Republican*, concluded that "the chief stumbling block in the way of the territories has been the indifference of their own residents to the question of statehood."<sup>5</sup> The claim that this attitude had disappeared by that time, however, was at least partly true. The territorial press and the politicians had worked up a popular movement to "boom" statehood. Many who had formerly been indifferent now supported the cause. Others, however, opposed the crusade—some openly, and some in secret.

Apparently, the passing of less than a decade had brought about quite a difference in the attitude of statehood workers toward their opponents. On Dec. 15, 1893, the Santa Fe *New Mexican* had said:

This is a fine country, and if anyone wants to kick generally, he or she has the privilege; but the men who are now secretly kicking on the admission of New Mexico are making a grand and grievous

4. *Ibid.*, Jan. 15, 1896.

5. *Denver Republican*, quoted in *Albuquerque Citizen*, Jan. 27, 1902.

mistake and one that will react on themselves and the territory; . . .<sup>6</sup>

This comment was prophetic of the tendencies of the time. Champions of statehood still professed to respect the rights of the "antis," but threats were already forcing the latter to fight secretly rather than in the open.

In the spring of 1901 statehood workers united to arouse popular enthusiasm to a high pitch and to put pressure on the opposition. The outstanding leader in this crusade was Bernard S. Rodey of Albuquerque, who had been elected delegate to congress the preceding year.<sup>7</sup> On assuming leadership of the statehood movement in March, 1901, Rodey gave out an interview in Washington in which he pointedly said, "Every man who doesn't want statehood is our enemy."<sup>8</sup> Economic forces at work in the middle Rio Grande valley made a push for statehood most opportune at this time, and provided a new worker for the cause. This was Dr. Nathan S. Boyd, an Englishman, who was the head of a company that was attempting to construct a dam across the Rio Grande at Elephant Butte, about 150 miles north of El Paso.<sup>9</sup> Legislation pending in congress and a proposed treaty with Mexico aroused great concern lest the right to use the waters of her principal river be taken from citizens of the territory and be conferred on the republic of Mexico and on land speculators of the El Paso area.<sup>10</sup> Accordingly, Dr. Boyd wrote the *Albuquerque Citizen*, urging that New

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6. The following editorial, quoted by the *New Mexican* from the *Eddy Citizen*, suggests that that paper had already become very intolerant toward the opposition: "No one can afford to fight the statehood proposition. It means everything to New Mexico, and the man who would put so much as a straw in its way will go on record as a traitor to himself, to his country and all its interests. Do you want to be thus branded? Do you want to be known the world over as uncouth, uneducated, a link of antediluvian days, in fact a creature uncivilized, unfit to bear the glorious title of 'an American citizen'? If so, vote against statehood." *New Mexican*, Dec. 18, 1893.

7. Rodey's personality and work for statehood will be discussed fully in the next article in this series.

8. *Farmington Hustler*, March 28, 1901.

9. Coan, Charles F., *A History of New Mexico* (Chicago, 1925), vol. II, p. 466.

10. For Governor Otero's part in defeating this treaty, see his *My Nine Years as Governor*, 1897-1906 (Albuquerque, 1940). The territorial newspapers also contain frequent references to this fight.

Mexico needed immediate statehood in order to fight the Culberson-Stephens bill and to save her waters for the use of her own farmers and ranchers.<sup>11</sup> He stated that he had persistently sought to induce the leaders of the two political parties of the territory to organize "a plan of campaign," and had tried to win over his friends, although some of them had not been convinced. He urged the editor to take up strenuously the cause of statehood, and to make it "the key note of his editorial policy. Two days after the publication of Dr. Boyd's letter, Ralph E. Twitchell contributed a letter to the *Citizen*, suggesting that friends of the movement undertake "to smoke out of their holes" those who were opposed to statehood.<sup>12</sup> The way to do this, he pointed out, would be to go to the leading business men and biggest taxpayers of the territory and ask them to endorse statehood in black and white so that it could be shown to the committee on territories and others in congress. If they refused, they would probably find out if the business prosperity which they enjoyed from relations with a people "they vilified on the quiet" would continue. The writer denounced the motives of "the antis" as selfish and narrow, and asserted that they would not dare to give the real reasons.

Apparently these suggestions led to an intensification of the movement. Certainly the territorial press was soon making a zealous campaign for statehood and against all who opposed it. The latter were described by the *Citizen* as "people who are making a fortune in the territory, and who are afraid to trust the people,"<sup>13</sup> while the *New Mexican* asked objectors the pertinent question, "If you are not for statehood, what are you for?"<sup>14</sup> The "antis" were compared to "birds of passage" who had no interest in the country and

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11. *Citizen*, April 23, 1901. The bill took its name from Senator Charles Allen Culberson and Congressman John Hall Stephens, who had introduced separate bills into the senate and the house. These were later combined into the Culberson-Stephens bill.

12. *Citizen*, April 25, 1901.

13. *Ibid.*, May 9, 1901.

14. *New Mexican*, Oct. 15, 1901.

to "the Tories of 1776 who preferred British rule."<sup>15</sup> They were said to spend their time in idle tirades against political conditions in the territory and in abusing the native people.<sup>16</sup> They were not good American citizens because they favored an imperial form of government instead of government by the people.<sup>17</sup> They should live in autocratic China or Russia, and should not be allowed to celebrate the fourth of July, since it meant nothing to them.<sup>18</sup> "Mossback" seems to have been the chief epithet hurled at the opposition. The *Journal-Democrat* declared that the best thing that could happen to the territory would be for the miserable pessimists who had been making a fortune in New Mexico, and who were lukewarm for statehood "to die and get out of the way of the wheels of progress."<sup>19</sup>

The spring and summer of 1901 found the statehood boom in full swing. In April the *Citizen* predicted:

Before the coming summer is over, the antis will be such a small minority that they will be afraid to express themselves. Our advice to the young men of this territory is, make no mistake, get on the right side: remember the world never goes back: statehood is New Mexico's destiny, and you might as well be in the band wagon when the bon fires of progress are lighted a year from next fall.<sup>20</sup>

In May the *New Mexican* said:

The enthusiasm for statehood for New Mexico is growing so among the people that it is beginning to be like it is during time of war, everybody who is not enthusiastically for it is put down as against it and treated accordingly.<sup>21</sup>

During the latter part of the summer and in the fall

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15. *Citizen*, Oct. 17, 1901.

16. *Ibid.*, July 31, 1901; Nov. 1, 1901.

17. *Journal-Democrat*, July 25, 1901.

18. *New Mexican*, July 3, 1901.

19. *Journal-Democrat*, August 30, 1901.

20. *Citizen*, April 12, 1901.

21. *New Mexican*, May 11, 1901.

the statehood press claimed remarkable success for their campaign of propaganda. In July the *New Mexican* announced:

Since the agitation for statehood began in the *New Mexican* and other papers, the few people who were inclined to be lukewarm on the question have come around, and now that they have examined the question, and know that there is absolutely no argument against it and every argument for it, the territory appears to be practically a unit on the subject. This is as it should be. There is no room for two opinions on the question as to whether or not the people in the territory shall organize a state government.<sup>22</sup>

In August the *Journal-Democrat* declared: "The few territorial papers that for a time decried statehood are keeping mum on the subject these days. Let them take off their muzzle and join in a solidly united effort to secure the desideratum."<sup>23</sup> Two months later the *New Mexican* announced significantly:

There is no longer a single newspaper that seriously opposes statehood. One after the other the Democratic and Populistic newspapers have furled their anti-statehood banners and have joined the forces that demand statehood. The people of New Mexico are emphatically a unit in demanding from congress an enabling act. Can congress do otherwise than accede to this demand?<sup>24</sup>

The press, of course, did not claim that 100 per cent of the population supported the movement. The *Citizen* claimed merely "a large majority," while the *New Mexican* declared that carefully compiled reports from all over the territory indicated that fully nine-tenths of the people favored statehood.<sup>25</sup> The Santa Fé paper admitted that a

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22. *New Mexican*, July 2, 1901.

23. *Journal-Democrat*, August 9, 1901.

24. *New Mexican*, Oct. 21, 1901.

25. *Citizen*, Nov. 20, 1901, *New Mexican*, quoted by *Journal-Democrat*, Oct. 23, 1901.

small minority would continue to "cry out" against statehood "as loudly and as strongly as it possibly can," but declared that their efforts were like those of "Mrs. Partington in trying to keep back the waters of the sea with a broom."<sup>26</sup>

The desire to unite all the citizens of the territory occasionally led to attacks on individuals. Surprisingly enough, two who were thus singled out were not only among the most prominent native leaders of the time, but were both publicly identified with the movement to secure the admission of the territory to the union. Those were Col. J. Francisco Chaves and Solomon Luna, both of Valencia county. The former had favored statehood while a delegate to congress, and had been quite active in 1889 and 1890, when he had been the president of the constitutional convention.<sup>27</sup> A man of 68 years of age in 1901, he held the position of territorial superintendent of public instruction. The latter belonged to a family that controlled the politics of Valencia county for half a century.<sup>28</sup> A good and just man who had at heart the interests of his people, he was said to be the wealthiest sheep owner in New Mexico. While he might have had any office in the territory, he was modest enough to content himself with a place on the republican national committee, which he held from 1896 until his death in 1912.

In September, 1901, the *San Marcial Bee*, an influential Republican paper, charged in an editorial that these two republican leaders "and other native friends of theirs" were "secretly knifing" the statehood cause.<sup>29</sup> The *Bee* declared that Luna feared that statehood would bring in new laws, which would force him to enumerate his vast herds of sheep on the tax rolls, and that both he and Chaves feared the

26. *New Mexican*, Oct. 30, August 26, 1901.

27. Chaves is mentioned several times in the third article of this series. See the *Review*, XV, pp. 168, 181, 182.

28. Twitchell, *op. cit.*, p. 551; vol. 5, pp. 3-4.

29. No copy of this issue of the *Bee* is available, but the editorial was reprinted in the *Journal-Democrat* and the *New Mexican* for Sept. 24, 1901. The editor of the *Bee* was a Canadian, Henry Hammond Howard, who exerted a strong influence in political circles. *History of New Mexico* (Pacific States Publishing Co., Los Angeles, 1907), vol. I, pp. 478-479.

coming in of new settlers which might reduce their own importance in New Mexico. The editorial closed with the comment that, while it was difficult to believe such rumors, "they have recently reached us from a quarter that leaves but scant hope" that the suspicions they aroused were "groundless."

Other republican papers indignantly denied these charges,<sup>30</sup> and both Chaves and Luna issued statements to the press, reminding the people of their public activities in behalf of the cause.<sup>31</sup> The *Bee* was said to have retracted its charges,<sup>32</sup> but in the spring of 1902, together with "*El Republicano* and other staunch republican newspapers of the territory," it asserted that there was "a sudden apathy" of the people toward statehood, and that this was "due to the influence of large sheep and cattle interests, the same interests that favor a lease law in order to perpetuate their holds upon the public domain to the exclusion of everyone else."<sup>33</sup> The *New Mexican* admitted that there might be truth in these charges, and called upon the opposition to come out in the open, since "Congress had the right to know whether New Mexico wants statehood or not and the men who shout for statehood at political conventions and then turn their backs upon the cause or even work against it secretly are political tricksters" who deserve contempt.

Considering the pressure put on the opposition, however, it was only natural for the "antis" to resort to secret tactics at times. Whatever the attitude of the leaders named, old timers suggest with a good deal of plausibility that some of both the cattle and sheep men and the native leaders may have entertained misgivings regarding the future. Advo-

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30. The *Citizen* defended the two men as follows: "It has been the life work of Colonel Chaves to help make New Mexico a state. For a quarter of a century he has faithfully advocated statehood. Mr. Luna is a faithful worker for statehood, and will go to Washington next winter and urge the admission of the territory." *Citizen*, Sept. 23, 1901.

31. *New Mexican*, Sept. 24, 1901.

32. *Ibid.*, Sept. 30, 1901. The *Bee* later reprinted the statements issued by Chaves and Luna. *New Mexican*, Oct. 4, 1901.

33. *Ibid.*, March 11, 1902.

cates of statehood always claimed that it would bring in a rush of immigrants. The former may have feared that this increase in population would put an end to their use of the public domain, as well as raise their taxes. The latter may have feared that the native people would then lose control of New Mexico, as they had already done in Texas and California. Certainly native leaders felt some anxiety when statehood did finally come, since Luna and Larrazolo both took pains to see that clauses were inserted in the state constitution to protect their people.

The crowning effort in the statehood boom was a state convention called by Governor Otero at the request of Delegate Rodey and leaders of both parties.<sup>34</sup> It met in Albuquerque on October 15, 1901, in connection with the territorial fair. One purpose was to demonstrate to congress that the people of New Mexico were united for statehood.<sup>35</sup> Colonel Chaves, whose loyalty had recently been under fire, was introduced as "the father of the statehood movement." One of the speakers, Governor Murphy of Arizona, paid particular attention to objections heard in the territories against their admission to the union.<sup>36</sup> Resolutions were adopted presenting the claims of New Mexico and demanding action from congress. There can be little doubt that the convention served to crystallize sentiment in the territory, and to silence the opposition.

Following the convention, statehood boomers denied that the opposition at home amounted to anything. Thus two weeks later the *New Mexican* announced that it declined "to treat the attacks on the statehood movement in this territory seriously."<sup>37</sup> Frank Clancy, district attorney for the second judicial district, visited Washington in December, 1902, and expressed much the same idea. He told a reporter for the *Washington Star*:

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34. The original proclamation by Governor Otero calling the convention is in possession of the University of New Mexico. It is dated Sept. 13, 1901.

35. Quoted from the *Chama Tribune* by the *Journal-Democrat*, Aug. 30, 1901.

36. *Journal-Democrat*, Aug. 27, Oct. 5, 1901.

37. *New Mexican*, Nov. 1, 1901.



There are some foolish persons opposed to statehood, who greatly magnify their own numbers and importance when they talk at all, but they are few. The vote at the last election showed this. There always had been such people in every territory seeking admission to the union.<sup>38</sup>

On the other hand, some who favored the admission of New Mexico were quite ready to admit that they were greatly impressed by the strength of the opposition. Thus Isidoro Armijo, Jr., of La Mesa, said in a letter to the *El Paso Herald*: "It is most surprising to notice amongst those in the opposition the leading merchants, the leading bankers, the leading cattlemen, the leading men, the leading Americans."<sup>39</sup>

Much of this opposition was doubtless expressed in conversation and went unrecorded. Occasionally an "anti" might give an interview to some newspaper published outside of the territory. Or, if he happened to be an editor who was out of line with the statehood movement he would naturally use his own paper to present his arguments to his readers. But scarcely to posterity. For the most part, the newspapers of the time that have been preserved were the more progressive ones that favored statehood. Hence our information regarding the opposition is largely drawn from unfriendly sources. Unfortunately, pro-statehood editors showed little fairness toward those who differed from them. Human nature being what it is, they thought it more effective, or perhaps found it easier to belittle the motives of the opposition than to attempt an honest appraisal of their line of thought.

This being the case, we can scarcely do more than identify a few men who wrote against statehood, or whose opposition is referred to in the press. To avoid repetition,

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38. *Washington Star*. From an undated clipping in the Rodey Scrapbook, p. 26. The interview evidently took place between Dec. 3 and Dec. 10, 1902, as Clancy stated that the Beveridge report was being held for revision.

39. *El Paso Herald*, Feb. 1, 1900.

the arguments advanced by different "antis" will then be summarized together.

One of the most destructive "knockers," according to the *San Marcial Bee*, was A. A. Freeman of Carlsbad.<sup>40</sup> He was a Tennessean whom President Harrison had appointed associate justice of the territorial supreme court. As he had practiced law in Socorro after his term of office expired, the *Bee* declared "we of Socorro county know the gentleman very well." While confessing great respect for southern gentlemen of the old school, the editor described the judge as "A Moss-Covered Citizen," and denounced him as a "carpet-bagger" and a "self-seeker." In his reply Freeman defended himself by declaring that Coronado, Alvarado, Kearny, Chief Justice O'Brien and a host of others who had played a part in the history of the territory had all been "carpet baggers."<sup>41</sup> His objections to statehood were put in the form of rather striking questions. The *Bee* pronounced them "silly twaddle," but it quoted some of them at least. If Freeman advanced any more serious arguments, they are not given in the papers available. While in the East in 1900, Judge Freeman told a reporter for the *Washington Post*: "As to Statehood, there is a division of sentiment on that question, but I believe a majority of the people favor it."<sup>42</sup>

Apparently one of the most prolific sources of objections to statehood was S. M. Wharton, editor of the *White Oaks Eagle*. Unfortunately no issue of this Lincoln county weekly is available, or even a single editorial quoted in an exchange. That Wharton was an outstanding opponent of statehood, however, may be surmised from the amount of

40. Editorial from the *San Marcial Bee*, as given in unidentified press clipping in the Rodey Scrapbook, p. 97.

41. Judge Freeman's reply appeared in the form of a letter to Delegate Rodey published in the *New Mexican*, Oct. 14, 1901. In commenting on this letter, the *New Mexican* said "People are struck with the fact that Judge Freeman answers nothing. It is evident that the judge is a great pessimist in politics and judges New Mexico politics by Tennessee or Kentucky politics, in which governors are assassinated, governors legally elected are deprived of their office, men shot down for opinions sake . . ." *Ibid.*, Nov. 6, 1901.

42. *Washington Post*, Oct. 5, 1900.

newspaper space which Bernard S. Rodey used in replying to him. And, fortunately for us, the delegate did not confine himself to flinging epithets—he gave a resume of the arguments he sought to refute.<sup>43</sup>

The *Red River Prospector* showed less courtesy to J. H. Crist of Monero, Rio Arriba county, who, so the Taos county weekly stated, “has got himself interviewed in the Antonito *Ledger* and says he is opposed to statehood.”<sup>44</sup> He was reported to have declared that, if an enabling act were passed by congress, he would “go into every precinct in Taos and Rio Arriba counties and oppose the proposition of statehood.” Crist had a previous record as an “anti,” since he had been one of the speakers who had campaigned against the constitution of 1890.<sup>45</sup> Evidently he was eager to debate the issue eleven years later, but the *Prospector* refused to credit him with sincerity. Old enmities which he had aroused as a democratic politician, as the editor of the defunct *Santa Fé Sun*,<sup>46</sup> and as the district attorney who had instituted disbarment proceedings against T. B. Catron and Charlie Spiess in 1895 help to account for this attitude. At any rate, the *Prospector* was full of surmises as to his motives. The item, which appeared with the title “One of the Kind who is Fighting Statehood,” was concluded as follows:

Good, we will know from now on where to find Mr. Crist. Perhaps the gentleman is still a little sore over his defeat for the council last fall and therefore, the majority of the people are not competent for statehood. Perhaps, the gentleman knows of certain parties who oppose statehood because they are afraid they will not then be able to dodge paying their honest taxes. Then again, perhaps, the gentleman fears that if New Mexico should become a state that its population would in-

43. See *New Mexican*, *Journal-Democrat*, and *Las Vegas Record* for Sept. 21, 1901.

44. *New Mexican*, Nov. 11, 1901, quoting the *Red River Prospector*. The *Antonito Ledger* was a weekly published in Conejos county, Colo. This county is just across the Colorado line from Taos and Rio Arriba counties. No file of the paper is listed in *Gregory, Union List of Newspapers*.

45. See the *Review*, vol. XV, p. 167.

46. *Optic*, Aug. 3, 1892.

crease to such an extent that certain politicians would not have as big a pull as they now have. In fact, it is such persons who fear they cannot control wages or have a piece of the political pie, that are fighting statehood.

When one of the most prominent business men in New Mexico gave an interview opposing statehood to the *El Paso Herald*,<sup>47</sup> he was shown much greater respect. This was no less a person than Jefferson Raynolds, one of the most prominent bankers in New Mexico and a friend of William McKinley since boyhood. Indeed there is little doubt that he had been responsible for the appointment of Miguel A. Otero as governor of the territory only four years before this. Such an opponent of statehood—powerful in both financial and political circles—was not to be sneered at. Consequently pro-statehood papers such as the *New Mexican* and the *Citizen* treated him with discreet silence.

Colfax county in the northern part of the territory seems to have been a center of opposition to the statehood movement. A large proportion of its inhabitants were Anglo-Americans. From time to time there was talk of separating from the Spanish people in New Mexico, and forming a new state with its capital at Raton, or at Trinidad, Colorado. Possibly Captain T. W. Collier, a candidate for the governorship of New Mexico in 1897, was the most influential of these men. As editor of the *Raton Range*, he expressed his opposition with great regularity. Another resident who opposed statehood was M. W. Mills of Springer, who was said to be "the owner of extensive land and stock interests in Southern Colfax county." While in Kansas City, he gave an interview on the question to the *Kansas City Journal*. While the *New Mexican* admitted that he "kept within bounds" in his opposition, it declared that his arguments were "flimsy."<sup>48</sup> Hugo Seaberg, a lawyer, and Andrew Morton, a banker, were prominent among the signers of "A Petition

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47. *El Paso Herald*, Jan. 18, 1901.

48. *New Mexican*, Nov. 12, 1901.

Endorsed by Colfax County, New Mexico, Taxpayers to Be Presented to Congress," which is said to have appeared in the *Optic*. While this is a rather forceful document, statehood papers apparently ignored it, and we have no evidence that it ever reached Washington. Fortunately for us, a copy is preserved in the files of the El Paso *Herald*.<sup>49</sup>

This same paper also mentioned "Don Martin Amador, one of the wealthiest citizens of Carlsbad, New Mexico," as one of the property owners of the territory who opposed statehood because of the higher taxes which it would bring.<sup>50</sup> The *Herald* added: "It seems that the same sentiment pervades in other sections of the territory as well," and quoted a telegram the editor had received from Roswell.

The arguments of these opponents of statehood may be summarized as follows:<sup>51</sup>

Fear of democracy, or "Mexican domination."<sup>52</sup>

New Mexico is "ring ridden and boss ruled," and conditions would be worse if the bosses could control the election of the governor, judges and other officials. The change to statehood should not be made until "the corrupt ring" which governs the territory is broken.<sup>53</sup>

Statehood should be postponed until the franchise has been limited by educational qualifications.<sup>54</sup>

49. El Paso *Herald*, Jan. 19, 1901. The two sponsors named are mentioned in the letter of Isidoro Armijo, Jr.

50. *Ibid.*, Jan. 5, 1903. The *Herald* seems to have been quite interested in the opposition to the statehood movement within New Mexico. The El Paso *News*, on the other hand, is said to have published a leading article, administering "a well merited rebuke to the few papers in New Mexico that are working in opposition to statehood for the territory." *Journal-Democrat*, Aug. 30, 1901.

51. The references given are intended to be suggestive rather than exhaustive.

52. Attributed to Editor Wharton of the White Oaks *Eagle*. *Journal-Democrat*, August 30, 1901. Another citizen, R. S. Benson of Florence, N. M., also had a very poor opinion of the voters of the territory. While in the East, he explained to a reporter for the *Washington Post* that the republican party in New Mexico was "burdened with the greasers," while "the many fugitives from justice" that had congregated in the territory were almost always democrats. *Washington Post*, July 4, 1900.

53. See the anonymous letter signed "Fair Play," given at the close of this article. Also *Journal-Democrat*, Oct. 13, 1901; *Optic*, Oct. 8, 10, 1901; Santa Fe *Capital*, Jan. 10, 1903; Deming *Headlight*, July 18, 1903.

54. *Optic*, Oct. 15, 1901.

Under the territorial form of government, property is secure because everything the officials do is subject to revision by the Washington authorities. There would be far less security under a state government, since the majority of the citizens are not tax-payers and are not thoroughly imbued with the principles of free government.<sup>55</sup>

Millions of dollars have come into the territory under Governor Otero's administration, so what is to be gained by our admission to the union?<sup>56</sup>

Statehood failed to stimulate immigration to some of the newer states and it will be the same way with New Mexico.<sup>57</sup>

The maintenance of a state government will increase taxation to a burdensome degree, and will have a depressing effect on business.<sup>58</sup> Are the people going to sweat and toil any harder and enjoy their heavy taxation, merely because it will enable two excellent gentlemen like Gov. Otero and Delegate Rodey to occupy apartments at Washington as United States senators?<sup>59</sup>

Will statehood cause the falling of any more rain, or the growing of any more grass? Will it rebuild the tumbled walls of hundreds of adobe huts that mark the course of our Nile? Will sheep grow heavier wool or cows more calves?<sup>60</sup>

If a majority of the people desire statehood, then there is no reason for so much whipping in.<sup>61</sup>

The "antis" certainly had their fling in the territorial

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55. Jefferson Raynolds. *El Paso Herald*, Jan. 18, 1901. The following quotation from the *Raton Range* is given by the *Optic*, Jan. 10, 1894, and is a good illustration of this argument: "If the last New Mexico legislature is a fair example of what this Territory has and will select for its lawmakers, and we believe it was, we are of the opinion that property will be less secure under statehood than it is now. Under present conditions, congress has supervisory authority over the Territorial legislature which exercises considerable restraint over the average assembly. Remove that by making the territory a state, and can any one conceive a bill of any nature that could not have been brought through the last legislature? This is one strong reason why we doubt the advisability of statehood for New Mexico at this time."

56. Attributed to another Carlsbad paper by the *Carlsbad Argus*, June 14, 1901.

57. Attributed to Wharton by the *New Mexican*, Sept. 17, 1901.

58. *Citizen*, Jan. 27, 1902.

59. Judge Freeman. *New Mexican*, Oct. 14, 1901.

60. Attributed to Judge Freeman by the *Rio Grande Republican*, Oct. 25, 1901. This is a quotation from the *Bee*, and is available only as a press clipping in the Rodey Scrapbook, p. 97.

61. Judge Freeman. *New Mexican*, Oct. 14, 1901.

press during 1901. But their freedom of speech was soon taken from them. During the greater part of the following year there was much ground for hope that congress might pass an enabling act at any early date, and it was regarded as treason to say anything that might be capitalized by the opposition. Evidently the statehood boom hushed up most citizens of the territory who remained unconverted. In an interview which appeared in the *Citizen* for February 17, 1902, J. H. Purdy, a Santa Fé lawyer, described the situation as follows:

There is a wide divergence of opinion on the subject of statehood. The talk one hears in public places is largely for statehood, but in quiet places where men talk privately together and "heart to heart," as the phrase goes, grave doubts are expressed that the territory is ready to try self-government.

The events of the following months made men still less inclined to oppose statehood openly. The passage of a statehood bill by the house in the spring led to the coming of a senate committee to the southwest in the fall. New Mexico, as well as Arizona and Oklahoma, must seize this unprecedented opportunity to make a favorable impression on the visiting Solons. These interesting developments lie beyond the scope of the present article, and will be discussed fully later. One piece of testimony taken by the committee, however, as well as a part of the report made to the senate, is pertinent to the present discussion.

The eighty-five citizens who appeared before the committee were examined behind closed doors. Yet it is significant that only one expressed himself as being opposed to statehood. This individual, Martinez Amador, was a volunteer witness who was examined at Las Cruces. After identifying himself as a native of Mexico and a farmer, 64 years of age, he gave the following testimony:

Question—Is there any statement which you want to make to this committee?

Answer—Well, I want, if you will allow me, to make a statement about our population.

My people all belong to the Mexican race. They come from old Mexico, and I think our people is not able now to support statehood, because most of the people here is ignorant; and I do not think we are ready to support statehood yet for about ten years, until our children grow up. We got good schools now, and we send our children to school, and they doing well; but the old residents are mostly Mexicans, you know. You take them in the election time, and you take them what you call the emblem; they go by that, and they do not know who they vote for. They do not know who is on the ticket—the majority of that kind of people. As a consequence, I think there is one great fault of our people—they have not got education, the old timers; the old timers, like me. I never been in the schools, except the primary schools, you know, but I been picking up here and there to know just the little I know now, and that is about all; but I never been in the schools. My children are all well educated. They have been to school in St. Louis and they have been in the schools here. My children, they are able to support statehood and compete with the majority as far as people, you know, but the others, I am very sorry to say it, they are not able to do that.<sup>62</sup>

The committee evidently regarded this particular witness as a real find, and it was assumed that he represented accurately the inarticulate class to which he belonged. Special attention was called to his testimony in the following section of the report made to the senate:

#### MANY NEW MEXICANS AGAINST STATEHOOD

In conclusion, the truth must be stated that many New Mexicans do not want statehood. The testimony of Martinez Amador, a Mexican farmer, who (unsubpoenaed and unasked, because unknown to us) sought out the committee at Las Cruces, and who impressed every member with his sincerity, wisdom, and truthfulness, proves this.

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62. 57th Congress, 2nd Session, *Senate Documents*, No. 36, vol. 5 (Government Printing Office, 1902), p. 105.



The testimony is pathetic as it is convincing, and we call to it particular attention.

The committee is further convinced that this opposition to statehood for New Mexico is by no means confined to this simple Mexican farmer and the great class for whom he spoke. It is true that no other rancher, farmer, or merchant appeared before the committee to the same effect; but the committee has sound reasons for believing that large numbers of them are earnestly against the proposition of New Mexican statehood. It is not believed that any advocate of New Mexican statehood competent to speak will testify, under oath, that there is unanimity in favor of the proposition even among the most substantial business men, farmers and cattlemen of the Territory.

It is the further belief of the committee that a large portion of the people are indifferent to and ignorant of the question. (Testimony of Martinez Amador, p. 105). If it be said that they voted in favor of it, the answer is that nothing is easier than to appeal to a people like the native New Mexican with a statement that there is something which he has not (and which will be of value to him) in order to make him desire it, without understanding in the least just what it is that he is deprived of. It is a cheap and familiar device, formerly used in our own States, but now happily abandoned before the enlightenment and independence of civic action which comes with increased education and highly developed civilization. If it be said that this argument is not sound, the answer is that the people have more than once rejected a constitution for statehood.<sup>63</sup>

Little did this Spanish-American citizen realize, when he gave his testimony, that ten years would really pass before New Mexico was admitted to the union. He never lived to see the day. In a little over three months he was dead. His widow wrote Senator Beveridge:

I doubt not but what the disease that carried him off was brought on by the constant worry and

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63. 57th Congress, 2nd Session *Senate Reports*, No. 2206, vol. 1 (Government Printing Office, 1902), part 1, pp. 29-30.

mental strain caused by those who declared themselves his bitter enemies, for the truthful testimony rendered unsolicited by him to the commission of which you were a prominent member.<sup>64</sup>

Meanwhile all hopes had been lost that the fifty-seventh congress would admit any of the southwestern territories.<sup>65</sup> Five or six months later the *Journal-Democrat* printed an anonymous letter signed "FAIR PLAY." At any other time, it would probably have been suppressed, but at the moment the editor probably decided that it would do no harm. Consequently it appeared as follows:

#### THE OTHER SIDE

*A Citizen of New Mexico Who Has No Enthusiasm for  
the Cause of Statehood*

Editor Journal-Democrat

In Sunday's issue of the Journal-Democrat  
there appeared the following editorial paragraph:  
"There never was a fight made for the rights of

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64. Mrs. Martinez Amador to Senator Beveridge, March 20, 1903. Amador died Feb. 27, 1903. The *Washington Post*, a strong champion of the admission of the southwestern territories, evidently referred to him in the following "anecdote":

"Senator Beveridge is charged with causing an aged farmer down near Las Cruces to receiving a terrible beating.

"When the statehood subcommittee went through 'that neck of the woods' they tarried to take testimony. Some witnesses had been subpoenaed. Others pressed forward in the grand cause. Close to the door was an aged farmer, who eyed the 'senator men' from Washington in wonderment.

"See that that old duffer don't get a chance to testify," said one of the busy New Mexican workers to an official of the subcommittee. 'He's cranky,' which Pickwickian observation was accompanied with a wise wink and a slight tapping of the head.

"However, when the Indiana Senator asked if anyone else wished to be heard, the aged farmer, who told the Senators he was born in old Mexico, pressed forward. There was nothing to do but let him talk. He launched into a diatribe against Statehood.

"The incident has been brought fresh to mind since Congress took a recess by a report from Las Cruces that when the old farmer returned to his domicile his good wife met him at the threshold and administered a sound beating. The neighbors took it up, siding with the Amazon, and there have been veritable hot times for that aged Mexican around his own hacienda." *Ibid.*, Jan. 5, 1903.

65. The Durango (Colo.) *Evening Herald* for Jan. 15, 1903, referred to secret opposition within New Mexico as follows: "It is reported that certain New Mexico officials, while outwardly working for statehood, are secretly opposing admission, as it would cost them their positions. Such policy does not reflect much credit on the honor of the aforesaid individuals."

the people, where the people themselves apart from the press, did so little to help their own cause along, as the people of New Mexico have done for themselves in the statehood fight."

The reason for this apathy on the part of the people is so obvious that it is strange you did not complete the statement by adding: for the reason that statehood is not wanted by the people. That is the logical conclusion of the paragraph, and also the real sentiment of the voters in the territory, aside from a small number of politicians and their parasites who see in statehood greater opportunity for plunder than under a form of government where national supervision interposes some restraint, no matter how ephemeral or fictitious that restraint is.

It is true that for three years past the noise made by statehood agitators has been louder than ever before, yet the fact remains that the demand for admission to the union has not come from the solid, conservative element of the people. The "fight made for the rights of a people" has been made by the press of the territory and not by the people, as it should have been, and will have to be, before statehood will be granted. The editors of New Mexico are, as a rule, bright men, and it is strange they have been so easily hoodwinked into misrepresenting the opinions and desires of the voters on this subject. If a canvass were made of the territory and the opinion of each man secured—not an opinion for publication, but the honest wish given in confidence—there would be little or no more cock-sure editorial writing concerning the demand made by the people for statehood.

The reason for the failure of the people to grow enthusiastic over statehood is easily found.

Bernalillo is not the only county in the territory where public affairs are conducted by a ring, the boss or bosses of which look upon the public office as a "private snap." There are so many others that New Mexico is ring ridden and boss ruled. Rumor even goes so far as to insinuate that should a fearless man go to Santa Fé and institute an investigation into territorial affairs the jar of dodging stunts would loosen the foundation

of the capitol, and that building would no longer be a safe place of meeting for New Mexico's marvelous legislatures. The thinking portion of New Mexico's business men, ranchers, and miners, reason something after the following manner:

If, under a territorial form of government, such conditions obtain, what would they be if all supervision and restraint were removed, and the bosses could control the election of the governor, district judges, and all other officials? A question, by the way, which ought to make Delegate Rodey take a second thought for once on the statehood question, and cause territorial editors to cease bemoaning the fate of disfranchised thousands.

In many places it has been assumed that those opposed to statehood are few in number because they have not been vociferous in their opposition. While this silence—except in numerous instances where quiet work has been done in Washington—had had the effect of giving apparent unanimity to the “hollering” of the delegate and press of the territory, it has been caused and secured by the brutal methods adopted by the senatorial toga hunters and political bosses to prevent disaster overtaking their ambitions, and not from any desire on the part of the people for statehood. Men have no desire to be publicly denounced as traitors, snakes-in-the-grass or carpet-baggers, no matter what the source of denunciation may be, and the fear of such malicious vilification keeps hundreds quiet who would openly oppose statehood were there fair treatment accorded those honest in their doubt as to the advisability of the proposed change. However, the silence thus procured is as fatal in the end as open hostility.

The fact that corrupt commonwealths are already states is no argument for the admission of another rotten member into the union, although the statehood boomers would have it appear so. Under honest conditions and honorable officials the people of New Mexico would welcome the admission of the territory as a state, but until such time as good government leagues can bring about much needed and desired changes, and examples be made of plunderers, boodlers, and bribe-givers and takers as

will assure honest and equal enforcement of law, they are willing to live under a territorial form of government.

If the editors of New Mexico really desire help from the people in securing statehood, there is one way to secure that assistance; let them join hands in a fight for honesty in public life; for the election of none but men of fitness, ability and integrity to office, and when that has been accomplished there will be no difficulty encountered in securing individual statehood for New Mexico.

FAIR PLAY <sup>66</sup>

While the statehood boom at the beginning of the century failed to bring about the passage of an enabling act by congress, it did much to accomplish one thing. The opposition within the territory was largely suppressed, although the *Deming Headlight*, true to its old traditions, continued to publish editorials on "Why Statehood Is Not Wanted by the Intelligent People of New Mexico." Meanwhile a new phase of the movement developed during which it was proposed to admit Arizona and New Mexico as one state. During the decade that passed before congress finally conferred separate statehood on the territories, citizens of New Mexico frequently expressed themselves as opposed to "joint statehood." Almost invariably, however, they explained that they favored statehood, but were opposed to a union with Arizona. The present study then closes with the year 1903, as during the remaining nine years of the territorial period there is little available evidence of the kind of opposition we have been considering.

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66. *Journal-Democrat*, August 18, 1903.

67. *Deming Headlight*, June 27, 1903. The *Headlight* declared "Many of our people feel grateful to Teddy for beating statehood, but as he did this work under cover, there is no special reason for special demonstration of this feeling of gratitude." *Ibid.*, April 11, 1903. When the *Citizen* appealed to the people of Luna county to rebuke the *Headlight* for its opposition to Statehood, that paper assured editor Hughes "four fifths of the voters of Luna county are opposed to your statehood schemes." *Ibid.*, Sept. 19, 1903.

## THE CORONADO-BOCANEGRA FAMILY ALLIANCE

By LANSING B. BLOOM

AS THE first white man who entered and explored the country of the Pueblo Indians, Don Francisco Vázquez de Coronado will always be a figure of great historic interest in our Southwest. He and his army left the land of Cíbola after spending two winters in this region but they left behind them among the natives a first acquaintance with manners and customs very different from their own. On the other hand Coronado and his men, back again in "the land of Christians," forgot much of the hardships they had experienced and started a tradition of "the new country" (as it was popularly called) which was to endure through the next half century until colonization began.

During our search in 1938-39 at the Archivo de Indias in Sevilla for documents relating to Vázquez de Coronado, we came across a curious paragraph in a letter of 1563 to the king which revealed a close alliance between Coronado's family and that of Hernan Pérez de Bocanegra.<sup>1</sup> This clue led to other "Bocanegra" documents and so to a rather curious bridging of that half century of New Mexico history which lay between its discovery by Coronado and its first colonizing by Don Juan de Oñate.

Francisco Morales was *relator* of the Audiencia in Mexico City. He had come to the Indies in 1537, and in his old age it was his predilection to keep the king informed of conditions and events in the colonies. In this closely written, six-page letter of May 17, 1563, he discusses various cases of *encomenderos* who (in his opinion) have acquired their holdings contrary to law—holdings which properly should revert to the crown.

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1. AGI, Mexico 97, LBB title 528a. The references thus cited are to photostatic copies in the Coronado Library, University of New Mexico. The Spanish text of this letter may be found also in *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Ibero-América*, I, 357-368.

The treasurer Alonso de Estrada (who served as governor of New Spain while Hernán Cortés was absent) gave one daughter in marriage to Jorge de Alvarado; and a son of the same name had inherited very rich properties including the *repartimiento* of his father. And Morales continues:

Moreover the same treasurer and governor, Alonso de Estrada, left another daughter who was married to Francisco Vázquez Coronado, whom Don Antonio de Mendoza brought from Spain; and although she was the wife of a governor of New Galicia and daughter of a governor of New Spain, they gave her a *repartimiento* called Tlapa and its subjects, the revenue of which is worth 3,000 pesos [a year], and notwithstanding this, Don Antonio de Mendoza gave to Francisco Vázquez the Indians, an allotment worth more than 5,000 pesos, which had belonged to Juan de Burgos, and although Your Majesty did not wish to approve that encomienda since it was by way of withdrawal [by Burgos],<sup>2</sup> yet these two allotments have been, and are being held, one by the daughter of Francisco Vázquez and her husband Bernaldino de Bocanegra, and the other by Doña Beatriz,<sup>3</sup> all contrary to law and both allotments belonging [of rights] to Your Majesty for the reasons stated.

Moreover Hernán Pérez de Bocanegra, father of Bernaldino, has another rich allotment which, without his being a *conquistador*, former governors turned over to him by release [of the previous owner], and he has a second son named Nuño de Chávez who married a second daughter of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado and they all claim that he [Nuño] must succeed to the Indians and allotment of his father, and [there is] a third son of the above said who married a third daughter of Francisco Vázquez. They claim, and have made an agreement and contract that he [the third son] should succeed to the pueblo and allotment of Tlapa, though all three of the allotments have been and are for the said reasons [properties] of the royal crown and no one of

2. Burgos petitioned Viceroy Mendoza for permission to surrender this encomienda in favor of Vázquez Coronado; on 14 October 1536 Mendoza approved and gave the permission asked, subject to approval by the king. *Indice de documentos de Nueva España* (Mexico 1932), IV, p. 594. Morales was not aware that the transfer was confirmed by a royal cedula. AGI, Mexico 1088, libro C-3, LBB title 800.

As to Tlapa above, Morales is corroborated by a listing of encomiendas drawn up in 1560. Paso y Troncoso, *Epistolario de Nueva España*, IX, p. 36.

3. Estrada's second daughter, widow of Vázquez Coronado.

them [the claimants] can have, possess, nor inherit them by the death of anyone of the owners.<sup>4</sup>

The fact that three sons of a single family married three daughters of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado was enough to fix our attention on this Bocanegra family as a possible lead for the finding of more information about Coronado himself. And as the search in the Archive continued, various Bocanegra documents were photographed for later study.

It now appears that, as Vázquez Coronado had come to Mexico City in 1535 in the train of Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza, so Hernán Pérez de Bocanegra had arrived nine years earlier (1526) in company with Luís Ponce de León.<sup>5</sup> Those who knew him testified that Ponce treated Pérez as a relative, a tie further indicated by the name of Pérez' third son.

Ponce de León died the next year, and the treasurer Alonso de Estrada who shortly became acting governor, thought so highly of Pérez that he made him an *alcalde mayor*.<sup>6</sup> In 1529, Pérez married Doña Beatriz Pacheco, daughter of a *conquistador*, Francisco de Chaves.<sup>7</sup>

We find Pérez as one of the two *alcaldes ordinarios* of Mexico City in 1537; the cabildo made him one of the two *alcaldes de mesta* the next year while Vázquez Coronado secured the office of one of the four new aldermen when this was resigned in his favor by its original holder, Francisco de Santa Cruz.<sup>8</sup> It appears that there were sixteen aldermen altogether, half of whom were appointed by the king and the others by the governor or viceroy. The office secured by Coronado belonged to the former class, and his title was con-

4. Nevertheless Tlapa seems to have remained in the family at least to the fourth generation. Dorrantes de Carranza, *Sumaria relación de las cosas de la Nueva España* (Mexico 1902), p. 285, tells us that a "Don Alvaro has the encomienda of Tesapa which belonged to his great-grandfather the Governor Francisco Vázquez de Coronado." "Tesapa" was evidently a misprint or a misreading for "Tlapa."

5. AGI, Mexico 97, LBB title 526, "Facultad a Hernán Pérez de Bocanegra para fundar mayorazgo en la Ciudad de Mejico."

6. *Ibid.*, testimony of Bernaldino de Castillo.

7. *Ibid.*, testimony of Antonio de Olívez. See also F. A. de Icaza, *Conquistadores y Pobladores de Nueva España*, No. 435.

8. Cavo, *Los Tres Siglos de Mejico* (Mejico, 1852), pp. 23, 38, 39.



firmed by the king in the following document, dated at Toledo on March 29, 1539.<sup>9</sup>

Don Carlos, by the grace of God always august Emperor [and] King of Germany; Doña Juana his mother and the same Don Carlos, by the same grace, Kings of Castile, of León, of Aragón, of the Two Sicilies, of Jerusalem, &c, &c.

In order to do benefit and favor to you, Francisco Vázquez Coronado, recognizing your sufficiency and ability and the services which you have done for us and which we hope that you will do for us in the future, and in some return and remuneration therefor, it is our favor and good will that, now and henceforth so far as it be our pleasure, you be our *Regidor* (alderman) of the City of Mexico in New Spain in place of, and by the resignation of the said office made in your favor by, Francisco de Santa Cruz, *regidor* of the said City. For he so besought us by a petition and resignation which he sent, signed by his name and notarized by a public scrivener. And do you use the said office in the matters and things thereto pertaining, and by this our letter or by a copy of it signed by a notary public we command the council, court and regidores, knights, squires, officials and [all] good men in the said City that, together in their *cabildo* and *ayuntamiento* according to their usage and custom, they take and receive from you, the said Francisco Vázquez de Coronado the oath and avowal which is required in such a case and [which] you must make; and when this has been done by you, that they have, receive, and hold you for our *Regidor* of the said City in place of the said Francisco de Santa Cruz, and that they proceed with you in the said office in the matters and things thereto pertaining and that they accord to you, and see that you are accorded, all the rights and salaries

9. AGI, Mexico 1841, LBB title 515, ff. 3v-5r.

A. S. Aiton in his "Later Career of Coronado" (*American Historical Review*, XXX, 298-304) seems unaware of these two classes of *regidores*, and also of the fact that a *real provisión* could be, and often was, issued by a viceroy as if he were the king himself. Dr. Aiton brings out the interesting fact that, on the viceroy's request, Coronado was seated as a *regidor* by the *cabildo* at their meeting on June 14, 1538, but this simply means that they recognized that the king's appointee had renounced the office in favor of Coronado. The *Actas de Cabildo*, as printed in 1859 and quoted by Aiton, have an error in date. As appears by the document here given, the king's confirmation of the transfer was dated at Toledo on March 29, 1539 (not March 21). From the same source, Dr. Aiton notes that the king's confirmation reached the *cabildo* on October 13, 1539. Coronado may have accompanied Fray Marcos de Niza on his return to Mexico, arriving there late in August after the friar's famous journey to the "Seven Cities of Cibola."

and other things pertaining to the said office, and safeguard to you, and see that you are safeguarded in all the honors, favors, grants, franks and liberties, preeminences, prerogatives and immunities, and all the other things and each one of them which, by reason of the said office, you ought to have and enjoy and [which] must be safeguarded for you according as was done for our other *regidores* in the said City, fully well and completely in such manner that you may not lack anything, and that in [the office] nor in any part of it they do not place for you, nor allow to be placed, any embargo or obstacle.

Wherefore by this present [letter] we receive you, and hold you for received to the said office and to the use and exercise thereof, and we give you power and authority to use and exercise it in case that by them or by any one of them you should not be received therein. We are making you the said grant with the proviso that you are not now a crown cleric and if at some future time it should appear that you are or had been such, by this mere fact without any other decision or pronouncement you have lost and do lose the said office. Likewise it is provided that you have to appear, and do appear, with this our letter in the *cabildo* of the said City within fifteen months of the date thereof, and if you should absent yourself from the said City for eight months without our permit (unless you are away on matters of our service or on matters decided by the city) likewise you have lost the said office. Do not the one nor the other in any manner.

Given in the City of Toledo on the 29th of March, 1539. I the King. (And I, Juan de Samano, secretary of their Caesarean and Catholic Majesties, caused it to be written at their order &c.)

And endorsed on His Majesty's *real provisión* were the following names and signatures: Doctor Beltrán; Licenciante Juares de Carvajal; Doctor Bernal; Licenciante Gutierrez Velásquez. Recorded [by] Juan de Paredes for the Chancellor Blas de Saavedra &c.

The archive from which we are quoting gives not only the above record of how the *regimiento* came to Coronado, but immediately following we learn how he in turn passed the office on to the betrothed of his eldest daughter who was then about fifteen years of age.<sup>10</sup>

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10. In 1554 Bernaldino de Bocanegra was about twenty-two years old.

Sacred Caesarean Catholic Majesty:

I, Francisco Vázquez Coronado, citizen and *regidor* of the great City of Mexico in New Spain, state that Your Majesty was pleased to make me the grant of the said *regimiento* of the said City of Mexico, in which I have served Your Majesty but at present I cannot do so as I desire, by reason of the infirmities from which I am suffering; wherefor I am renouncing the said *regimiento* in favor of Bernaldino de Bocanegra, citizen of the said city, who is a well known *caballero hidalgo* and an able and sufficient person who can exercise [that office] in the service of Your Majesty. Therefor I pray your Majesty to be pleased to grant him the said *regimiento* and in the meantime that Your Majesty might not be so pleased I am retaining [the office] myself, to continue serving Your Majesty therein according as I should and am obligated to do, and I so grant it [the *regimiento*] as stated. In the said City of Mexico, before Pedro de Salazar, one of the notaries public of that city, on the 21st of June in the year of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ 1554. And I signed it with my name, there being present as witnesses Gonçalo Nuño and Rodrigo Bezerra notary of His Majesty and Alonso de Medina, they being in the said City of Mexico.

And the said Francisco Vázquez de Coronado declared and said that the said Bernaldino de Bocanegra was betrothed with Doña Ysabel de Luxán, legitimate daughter of him and of Doña Beatriz de Estrada his legitimate wife. (witnesses, the above named) (signed) Francisco Vázquez de Coronado. Certified by me, Pedro de Salazar, notary public; and I Pedro de Salazar, one of the notaries public for His Majesty in this said City of Mexico, who was present and who know the grantor, affixed my seal in testimony of truth. Pedro de Salazar, notary public.

From the archive in which the above two documents were embodied we learn the following facts: that Coronado continued to serve as *regidor* until his death which occurred in Mexico City on September 22, 1554; that on November 9, Hernán Pérez de Bocanegra (Bernaldino's father) began steps to secure royal confirmation of the *regimiento* for his son—but that this had not been effected up to April 22, 1557. It appears also that the marriage of Bernaldino and Doña Isabel was not consummated until after Coronado's death, yet they had been married some time before April 1557.

The immediate occasion for this document, however, was the fact that young Bocanegra, in April 1557, had been condemned by the Audiencia to five years of exile from Mexico; three years from the court and city of Mexico and its environs and two years more of exile from all of New Spain, for having killed Juan Ponce de León.<sup>11</sup> Don Bernaldino sent a "power of attorney" to Luis Alfonso de Estrada<sup>12</sup> and to his sister Doña Leonor Ponce de León,<sup>13</sup> both of them residents in Castile. He charged them (either or both) with two matters: (1) to get the sentence of banishment removed by the king; and (2) to secure from the king confirmation as *regidor* in succession to his father-in-law—or if by chance that office had now been given to another, that he be given another *regimiento* in the same body.

As the first matter involved an alleged crime, doubtless it had to be taken up first, and doubtless it was handled successfully; at least, three years later, the young blade was back in Mexico City.

The second matter was brought to the king's attention by Estrada in Valladolid on January 7, 1558, and a notation shows that it was referred to the Council of the Indies for advice. The principal document in this case is a *probanza* started by the father before the Audiencia of Mexico on November 9, 1554, less than two months after Coronado's death. Following the regular procedure in such matters, Don Hernán submitted a list of twelve questions to be asked each of the witnesses whom he offered. The first questions were to show whether the witnesses knew or had known, the parents, and that Bernaldino and Isabel were of legitimate birth; then they were to answer:

(6) Whether they knew that the said Francisco Váz-

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11. Icaza, *op. cit.*, No. 205, lists a Juan Ponce de León, *conquistador*, as of about the year 1551, who may be the one who met violent death. No details are given, but the family name suggests some relationship.

12. Evidently a powerful relative of his young wife. Coronado's father-in-law had been the well known Alonso de Estrada.

13. Widow of Don Alonso de Montemayor. When he wrote the letter, Bocanegra was in Çacajuca (Zacatula?) already in exile it would seem.

quez de Coronado, deceased, was a prominent *caballero hidalgo*, a very distinguished person in New Spain and governor of New Galicia, and had given very distinguished service for His Majesty in the discovery of Cíbola, where he had gone as captain-general and in many other commissions in the service of His Majesty and [that] the said Doña Beatriz de Estrada is legitimate daughter of Alonso de Estrada who was governor for His Majesty in this New Spain.

(7) Do they know that the said Governor Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, for many years and until he died, was a *regidor* for His Majesty.

(8) Do they know that the said Francisco Vázquez de Coronado died and passed from this present life on the night of a Saturday which was accounted the 22nd day of September of this year of '54 and do his witnesses so know because they saw him dead and buried.

The concluding questions were to establish the distinguished rank and services of Hernán Pérez; also that his son was betrothed with Doña Isabel and was a *caballero* 22 years old, well esteemed and of good judgment and understanding, and well qualified (if the king so pleased) to assume the office formerly held by Coronado.

This document had been concluded in December 1554 and no reason is shown for the delay of over three years which followed. But the efforts of Bernaldino's agent in 1558 must have been successful in this matter also, for in our next records he is a *regidor*.

In 1561, the father, Hernán Pérez de Bocanegra was seeking royal permission to create a *mayorazgo* from his properties both in New Spain and Old Spain,—an entailed estate for his "oldest son" and the corresponding heir in each later generation. Because of the connections shown between the Coronado and Bocanegra families and because this is a good example of such a procedure, an analysis and partial translation is here given.<sup>14</sup>

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14. AGI, Mexico 97, LBB title 526: "Facultad a Hernán Pérez de Bocanegra para fundar mayorazgo en la Ciudad de Méjico." A complete translation would run to a hundred pages.

Authority to Hernán Pérez de Bocanegra for founding a *mayorazgo* in the City of Mexico.

This *expediente* consists of four parts: (1) the brief petition addressed by Bocanegra and his wife to the king, accompanied by (2) the *Información de officio*, taken before a designated member of the Audiencia of Mexico; (3) the *información de parte* (which in procedure came before that *de officio*); and (4) the brief favorable recommendation by the Audiencia to the king.

1. Royal Caesarean Majesty:

Hernán Pérez Bocanegra and Doña Beatriz Pacheco his wife, residents of the City of Mexico and among the early settlers of the said province, state that they have served Your Majesty as good and loyal subjects in every way that has offered in that Kingdom for more than twenty years until now, as Your Majesty will see by certain testimonials and informations which they present; and it is thus that, to keep their [services] in memory and so that their successors may better serve Your Majesty, they wish to entail their goods and property—both those which they have and may have in Spain as in New Spain, and from them to create a *mayorazgo* for Bernaldino Pacheco de Bocanegra, alderman of the said City of Mexico and their son, and (in case of his default) for some other of their sons or descendants; and since in them [the petitioners] there are present the requisite qualities for such a matter—as will appear from the said informations—wherefor they ask and pray Your Majesty to show them grace in ordering that they be given the said permission and authority in the form and manner usual when Your Majesty orders the issuing of such permits and as have been given to other residents of that city and province, so that they may make the said entail and *mayorazgo* of all their said properties, or of such part of them as they wish, for the said Bernaldino Pacheco de Bocanegra or in case he is unavailable for whichever other son or heir they may select, notwithstanding that they may have other sons and heirs. And in this Your Majesty will do them favor. (rubric)

Turning this leaf, we find the following record made after the papers reached Spain, a record in four different handwritings:

(endorsed): "Hernán Pérez Bocanegra and Doña Beatriz Pacheco"//

(again:) "To Sr. Doctor Francisco Hernández"//

(again:) "Give it to him" (*désela*)//

(again:) "Let the authority be sent to him in the accustomed form to make a *mayorazgo* of his properties."<sup>15</sup>

2. Information *de oficio* taken in the royal audiencia of New Spain as to the quality and merits of Hernán Pérez de Bocanegra. To be brought before His Majesty in his Council of the Indies.

In the City of Mexico on April 20 of the year 1562, the señores president and judges of the Audiencia of New Spain being in session (*en el acuerdo*) attended by me, Pedro de Requena, scribe of the chamber in the said Royal Audiencia, they said that, on behalf of Hernán Pérez de Bocanegra, resident of the said City of Mexico, it has been asked that an information be received as to the quality and merits of his person and of the fact that he is a *caballero*, an *hijodalgo*, and that he has served His Majesty in these parts on all occasions which have offered as his good vassal, and that he has his house peopled with his wife and many children, and also has, and generally has had, in his house many persons of nobility and quality, and his Spanish *criados*, arms, and horses for the service of His Majesty, all in great abundance; and that from having so many expenses and small revenue he cannot maintain himself according to his quality. And so of all this he intends to advise His Majesty so that he may make him remunerative grants, and it has been ordered that the said information [*de parte*] be received. And since moreover this Royal Audiencia has been directed to take an information *de oficio* for the better determining of what therein may appear, they ordered that the said *información de oficio* be received before the judge Doctor Villanueva, and that it

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15. These endorsements are understandable if we visualize the procedure. Neither the king himself nor his Council of the Indies could give immediate attention to all the many and voluminous documents which were continuously coming in from all of Spain's colonies. Such a document as this, therefore, would on receipt at the court, be referred first to a *relator* or perhaps (as here) to one member of the Council; the former would prepare a digest or summary for the convenience of the Council, the latter would go further—reporting back with his own opinion or recommendations. The king's decision is indicated by "Give it to him"; and the last endorsement was routine—to make that decision effective.

be brought, upon completion, before the Audiencia for the giving of their *parecer*. And so it was ordered. Pedro de Requena, clerk.

Following this preamble, record follows immediately (in a different handwriting) of the *información de oficio* which was begun four days later (April 24, 1562). But it will be best to follow the actual procedure by turning next to the 3rd part of the record. Here we find that Bocanegra had given his "power of attorney" to his son Bernaldino more than ten months earlier (7 June 1561); and it was the latter who brought the case before the Audiencia and arranged for the *información de parte*, submitting the list of questions to be asked and witnesses to testify on their behalf. This part of the *probança* begins with a similar but shorter preamble:

3. In the City of Mexico on April 20 of the year 1562, the president and judges of the Royal Audiencia of New Spain being in session, and I, Pedro de Requena, clerk of the chamber being present, appeared Bernaldino Pacheco de Bocanegra, resident and alderman of the said City of Mexico, in the name of Hernán Pérez de Bocanegra his father, resident of the said city, and presented a petition with certain questions and the *poder* which he had from his father, their tenor being as follows:

(text of the *poder* or "power of attorney" follows in the usual verbose and legal form, dated at Mexico City on 7 June 1561, and certified by Pedro Sánchez dela Fuente, *escribano*. Next is the list of questions to be propounded:)

Very puissant señor

I, Hernán Pérez de Bocanegra, resident of this City of Mexico, state that it is in accord with my right to inform Your royal person of how I am a *caballero* well known and *hijodalgo* of house and land, known according to the *fuero* of Spain, and [also] how I have served, and the time I have employed in serving, the royal crown of Castille, so that I may be given some remunerative grants. Wherefore I ask and pray Your Highness that an *información* thereof be received from me before one of your judges (the *fiscal* being



present) and that the witnesses be examined by the following questions:

1. Let them be asked first whether they know Hernán Pérez de Bocanegra and how long have they resided in New Spain. Let them state what they know.

2. Do they know that the said Hernán Pérez came to New Spain thirty six years ago a little more or less, together and in company with Luys Ponce de León who was your first governor of this New Spain.<sup>16</sup>

3. Do they know that the said Hernán Pérez from the said time until now has continuously had and maintained many arms and horses, and many *caballeros hijosdalgo* and persons of other qualities so that they should remain in the service of His Majesty in the pacifying of this land, in which he has spent a great sum and many thousands of gold pesos from his own goods and property. Let them state what they know.

4. Do they know that the said Hernán Pérez in the conquests and pacifying of New Galicia and Jalisco was engaged with his arms and horses, and served as captain well and loyally and no one excelled him in the service of His Majesty, and he spent on his own expenses and equipment a large amount of money supporting soldiers in the war. Let them say what they know.

5. Do they know that, at the time when the Indians of Jalisco took refuge in the cliffs and rose in revolt against the Spaniards and against the royal crown of Castille twenty years ago a little more or less, the said Hernán Pérez de Bocanegra set out from this city of Mexico with the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza of good memory, designated and appointed captain of cavalry and served in the said pacification as a good knight and captain and expended of his own property a large amount of money. Let them state what they know.

6. Do they know that, at the time when the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza of good memory had men of war enlisted here in New Spain to send to Peru to succor the Maestro dela Gasca against Gonzalo de Pizarro and against the soldiers of the rebellion about fourteen years ago a little more or less, the said viceroy was sending his son Don Francisco de Mendoza with the post of captain general and the

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16. As already noted, the third son of Hernán Pérez had the same name as this "first governor" of New Spain.

said Hernán Pérez de Bocanegra was appointed by the said viceroy as captain of cavalry, in which all the people were enlisted and outfitted in a very splendid way together with two of his sons and, although the expedition was not carried out, he expended many thousands of pesos. Let them state what they know.

7. In what is indicated in the questions before this one, do the witnesses know, and believe, and hold it for certain, that the said Hernán Pérez de Bocanegra will have spent and been able to spend 50,000 *castellanos*. Let them say what they know.

8. Do they know whether it is thirty three years more or less since the said Hernán Pérez de Bocanegra married according to the law of the holy Mother Church with Doña Beatriz Pacheco his wife<sup>17</sup> and during their married life they have begotten and had many legitimate children, of whom at present six survive, and they have served His Majesty as opportunity has offered; that they have been and they are very ready and well equipped with many and very good horses and arms to be and do likewise whenever opportunity to serve may offer.

9. Do they know that the said Hernán Pérez is a well-known *caballero* and *hijodalgo* of house and land, native of Córdova, legitimate descendant of very noted *caballeros* and titled lords and has been treated as such and is and has been had and held in general respect in this New Spain and in the kingdoms of Castille.

10. Do they know that the said Hernán Pérez Bocanegra merits the granting of *mercedes*, which will be well employed on him and on his said sons.

11. Do they know that [all] the above and every item thereof is public and notorious.

The petitioner closes with a request that, after the *información* has been taken, he be given a certified copy of it and of the *parecer* of the audiencia with which he may bring the matter before His Majesty and the Council of the Indies: and the scrivener Juan López then certified (Mexico, 20 April 1562) that Bocanegra had presented the above

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17. Doña Beatriz was daughter of Francisco de Chávez and of Doña Leonor Cabrera de Sosa his wife who was a lady in waiting of Queen Juana of Portugal. Dorantes de Carranza, *op. cit.*, 284.

petition before him so that it might be brought before the audiencia.

The said petition and *interrogatorio* of questions having been presented [in the audiencia] and the said president and judges having seen them, they said that they were ordering, and did order, that, with that judge officiating whose weekly turn it was, His Majesty's attorney should take and receive the said *información*. And they so ordered. Pedro de Requena.

The record then indicates (as of April 20—the same day on which Bocanegra presented his petition) that the “muy magnífico señor Doctor Villanueva” should have taken this *información*; but he was busy on matters “convenient to the king's service and the execution of justice” and therefore directed a king's scrivener, Juan López Tavera, to conduct the questioning of Bocanegra's witnesses. López qualified on the 22nd before the *fiscal* of the Audiencia, Doctor Sedeño; and next day the hearing was held.

The first three witnesses questioned were Cristóbal de Oñate, Pero Nuñez, and Gonçalo Gomes. Their testimony was a routine affirming of the facts propounded in the *interrogatorio*, but some supplementary details of interest may be gleaned.

Oñate at this time was about sixty years of age and was not a relative of Hernán Pérez Bocanegra. The latter and Luís Ponce de León, who had been first governor of New Spain, “treated each other like cousins.”

Pero Nuñez had known Hernán Pérez from his infancy “in his father's home in the city of Córdoba and in the villa of Marchena,” and knew that he had come to New Spain thirty-five or thirty-six years ago—because he himself had come in his company; and Nuñez was now about eighty-six years old. Both of them came with Luís Ponce de León when the latter was sent as governor of New Spain; and Ponce and Pérez acted like relatives and were so regarded. He was present at the marriage of Pérez with Doña Beatriz Pacheco in Mexico City about thirty-three years ago; also he knew his parents and his grandparents both paternal and maternal, and knew that they were closely related to the Duque de Arcos and the Conde de Palma and to other chief nobility of

Córdoba, because this witness was a *criado* of the Marqués de Caliz and of the Duque de Arcos who succeeded in the *señorio* and (who) had much dealings and friendship with his grandparents both paternal and maternal, so he knew that [Pérez] was related to the Duque de Arcos and to the Conde de Palma and to many principal knights of Córdoba. Moreover Pérez was reared as a relation in the house of the Duque de Arcos, well treated by him and by his wife Doña Isabel Pacheco. Other *criados* in the house of the Duque de Arcos were his brothers Alonso Hernández de León and Luys Ponce de León. Any *merced* by His Majesty to Pérez and his sons would be well placed.

Gonçalo Gomes was about sixty-five years old and was not related to Pérez whom he had known for about thirty-five years, since he arrived from Castile. The witness had participated in the pacifying of Jalisco and testified to the good services of Pérez as a Captain of cavalry. He knew that Pérez had been married in Mexico with Doña Beatriz Pacheco at the time stated and they had had many children, of whom he (Pérez) had three sons in this city and had sent to Spain two others and Doña Leonor, widow of Don Alonso de Montemayor (who is in Castilla if she is alive), besides other children who have died. The two sons who are in Spain, as is well known, are studying at Salamanca so as to serve His Majesty as *caballeros* and *letrados*.

Continuing the *información de parte* and acting for his father, Bernaldino de Bocanegra, next offered as witnesses Bernaldino del Castillo, García Alonso, Pedro de Solís, and Antonio de Carvajal, who were all duly sworn.

Castillo was about 60 years old, had been a page of the Duque de Arcos and had known Hernán Pérez for about forty years. He was neither his relative nor an enemy. After the death of Ponce de León and while Alonso de Estrada was governor of this land,<sup>18</sup> the latter appointed Pérez *alcalde mayor* because of the great confidence he reposed in him.<sup>19</sup>

18. Luís Ponce de León, with whom Hernán Pérez had come to Mexico and for whom his third son was named, had served as "first governor" for only a short time. He died in July 1526 and Licenciado Marcos de Aguilar became acting governor; but he also died within a few months and the treasurer, Alonso de Estrada succeeded him. He served as governor from March 1527 until the first *audiencia* arrived the following year.

19. This appointment of Pérez has not been noticed elsewhere. It is not in Cavo, *op. cit.*

García Alonso was about forty-eight years old, and had known Pérez for about forty years. He had known Bernaldino de Bocanegra, father of Hernán Pérez, who was regarded as a relative of the Duque de Arcos.

Pero de Solís was more than sixty years old and had known Pérez for about thirty years and was not related to him. Ponce de León had treated Pérez as a relative.

Antonio de Carvajal was about sixty years old and had known Hernán Pérez since he came to New Spain with Luys Ponce de León. He regarded them as relatives, and held Pérez to be "a good Christian and servant of His Majesty."

(Certification of the above copy was made on May 8, 1562.)

Turning back now to the second part of the "*facultad*," following the preamble already given,<sup>20</sup> the *información de oficio* continues:

After the above in the said City of Mexico on the 24th day of April of this said year (1562), for *información* regarding the above said, by order of the said Sr. Doctor Villanueva, *oidor* of this Royal Audiencia, oath was taken and received in legal form, by God and by Holy Mary and by the words of the Holy Gospels and by the sign of the cross on which each one placed his right hand, from the *Maestro* Bustamante and from Antonio de Olívez and Gonçalo Gómez Castillejo and from Luís de Godoy and Bernardino de Albórniz, *alcaide* of the Royal arsenals of the city; each of whom promised to state truly what they might know as to the questions asked them, and that which each stated and declared secretly and by himself is the following.<sup>21</sup>

Bernaldino de Albórniz had known Hernán Pérez from the time when he arrived in New Spain with Luys Ponce de León. He confirmed the facts alleged about the campaign in Nueva Galicia and Jalisco; the maintaining in his house of knights and others equipped at large expense to himself; his expense incurred for the intended expedition against Gonçalo Pizarro. Within three years after coming to New Spain he had married Doña Beatriz Pacheco, and they had

20. As there noted, the following text is in a handwriting different from that of the preamble.

21. The record here is not by question and answer but by a statement of what each witness testified. Even so, it is legal and verbose and it is best to brief it.

six sons <sup>22</sup> who were equipped and ready with their arms and horses to serve His Majesty. He regarded Hernán Pérez as a well known *caballero hijodalgo* and had never heard it questioned that he was of very illustrious blood, native of Córdoba, and one of the chief nobility of that city. He deemed him well worthy of royal favor.

On April 27, oath was taken from Juan Beços who also had known Pérez for thirty-six years since he arrived with Ponce de León. His testimony was similar to that of the other witnesses; and he thought that Pérez might well have spent 50,000 pesos on his house and armed retinue. He knew of his marriage with Doña Beatriz Pacheco thirty-three years earlier, and that he had six grown sons ready always to serve their king.

On April 28, oath was taken from *Francisco de Olmos* a conquistador and resident of Mexico City whose testimony was similar to that of preceding witnesses. Hernán Pérez had arrived with Ponce de León about thirty-five years before, and his house was frequented by many caballeros and others whom Pérez kept prepared for the king's service, etc., etc. He was more than sixty years of age and not related to Pérez.

*Martín López*, conquistador and resident, also of about sixty years, next testified on the same day and with no significant variation in detail; and was followed by *Diego Gutiérrez*, another resident, "more than 42 yrs. of age," who had known Hernán Pérez for twenty-three years. Testimony of the latter, therefore, was partly from hearsay and added nothing of importance.

The next witness (apparently on the same day) was Maestro Blas de Bustamante, fifty-five years old, who had known Hernán Pérez for thirty-three years. His testimony also, as recorded, adds no details.

Antonio de Olívez, conquistador and resident of Mexico next testified, fifty-six years of age, he had known Hernán Pérez for about thirty-five years since he arrived with Ponce de León. He knew that Hernán Pérez had married Doña Beatriz Pacheco, daughter of Francisco de

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22. This was doubtless true at the time of this testimony. Dorantes, *op. cit.*, p. 285, lists as the fourth son "Don Joan Pacheco who died without succession." Another explanation is suggested by the testimony of Olívez, below, which refers to Leonor's husband, Alonso de Montemayor.

The witnesses in the information *de parte* speak of only five sons, two of whom were studying at Salamanca. But these two were to be back in Mexico in time to become involved in the conspiracy of 1566. See below.

Chavez,<sup>23</sup> a highly honored *caballero* and native of Trujillo (in Spain). Children of this marriage were Bernaldino de Bocanegra, "resident and *regidor* of this city," Nuño de Chavez, and Luys Ponce de León, and Doña Leonor de Bocanegra, and two others whose names the witness did not then recall; and Doña Leonor married Don Alonso de Montemayor. He agrees with preceding witnesses that any favor shown Hernán Pérez and his sons by the king would be well placed.

The last two witnesses in this *ynformación de oficio* were heard on May 3. They were Angel de Villafañe (more than fifty years old, not related but he had known Pérez for more than fifty years) and Gómez Castillejo (also more than fifty years old, not related, but had known Pérez for more than forty years).

On May 8, 1562, a copy of the entire *probanza* was completed for the use of Hernán Pérez de Bocanegra, and a certification of its correctness was added at the close of each hearing, *de parte* and *de oficio*. This was in compliance with the petitioner's request already noted.

The fourth and closing part of this *expediente* is a brief *parecer* of the Audiencia:

#### [4. Opinion of the Court]

Sacred Caesarean Majesty:

Upon petition of Hernán Pérez de Bocanegra resident of this City of Mexico, an *información* was received in this Royal Audiencia as to the quality and merits of his person so that he might come before Your Majesty with it and ask for certain favors and remunerations. According as Your Majesty has commanded, this *de oficio* was received, by which are shown his quality and merits. Hernán Pérez de Bocanegra is had and held to be a *caballero hijodalgo* and he is so treated. He is married, having wife and married children.<sup>24</sup> His home is well supplied with arms and horses. He holds in *encomienda* for Your Majesty the town of

23. Francisco A. de Icaza, *Diccionario autobiográfico de conquistadores y pobladores de Nueva España* (Madrid 1923), I, p. 227, gives data regarding Francisco de Chaves as of about the year 1550. Of three marriageable daughters, only one was married—and she with Bocanegra. The "seven grandchildren" therefore were hers.

24. Coronado's three daughters must all have been married while still in their teens; and Bocanegra's daughter Leonor was already a widow in 1557.

Acámbaro and its subjects. He is in need. In view of his quality, the *merced* which Your Majesty may be pleased to order given to him has room in his person.

don Luys	Doctor	el doctor	el doctor	el doctor
de Velasco	Çorita	Villalobos	Horozco	Villanueva

The king's favorable decision was endorsed, as we have already noted, on the first leaf of the *expediente* by the laconic phrase "*Désele*" (Let it be given him); and the last endorsement indicated that this order was fulfilled. There is nothing in this entire document or in any endorsement on it to show when the *facultad* was actually issued, but from another Bocanegra document to which we now turn we learn that the *facultad* to Don Hernán was dated November 8, 1562, and the *mayorazgo* was formally established on October 11, 1564.

Strange as it may seem, it was hardly two years after Don Bernaldino had solemnly knelt and kissed the hands of his parents, upon receiving from them title to the *mayorazgo*, when he was trying to get from the king permission to transfer his estate to the home land by disposing of his entailed properties in New Spain. Again we have a document,<sup>25</sup> a complete translation of which would run to a hundred pages, but at no place in it do we find the explanation for this extraordinary procedure.

This we must find elsewhere, but a clue is given by the initial petition which appears in this document. Bernaldino's first petition was referred, as was customary, to a member of the Council of the Indies for his opinion; and this Licenciado Zorrilla endorsed his disapproval: "There are no grounds for giving him the permission which he asks. February 28, 1567. Lic<sup>do</sup> Çorilla."

Now this date falls in the midst of the furore which centered around the person of the second Marqués del Valle, oldest son and heir of Hernán Cortés, the conqueror of Mexico, and whose mother also was a daughter of Moctezuma.

25. AGI, Mexico 99, LEB title 538: "Bernardino Pacheco de Bocanegra, sobre que se le dé facultad para vender los bienes vinculados que tiene en Mexico."



In the preceding July, this Martín Cortés and two younger brothers had been arrested under charges of high treason. The alleged conspiracy was that Don Martín and his friends had plotted to set up a new monarchy with him as king, and the encomenderos were to have their allotments of natives in perpetuity.<sup>26</sup> Three weeks later two Avila brothers who were regarded as chief conspirators were beheaded,<sup>27</sup> and meanwhile a considerable number of other most prominent citizens were under arrest and suffered various penalties.<sup>28</sup> One author names sixteen specifically, and five of of the sixteen are Bernardino Pacheco de Bocanegra, Nuño de Chávez, Luís Ponce de León, Fernando de Córdova, and Francisco Pacheco—the five sons of Don Hernán Pérez de Bocanegra!<sup>29</sup>

This gives understanding to the fact that Bernaldino was in Spain in February 1567, and that he says in his petition: "As is known to Your Highness, the judges who went under commission to the said city (Mexico) condemned me to perpetual exile from the Indies and brought me a prisoner to these kingdoms"—reason enough, surely, for wanting to

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26. For more than twenty years, it had been the persistent policy of the Spanish monarchs to take back "under the crown" all of these *repartimientos* possible, and the result was much hard feeling and intense dissatisfaction of the aggrieved *encomenderos*.

27. One of the two who were put to the torture and whose heads were picketed atop a public building was Alonso de Avila. Since he had married a daughter of Alonso de Estrada, he was a brother of Coronado's widow, and uncle of the three Coronado daughters.

28. Early in January, 1568, one of two who were publicly disgraced, hanged, and quartered was named Cristóbal de Oñate. Because of his name, some have confused him with the former lieutenant-governor of Nueva Galicia under Guzmán and later Coronado, and father of the first governor of New Mexico. (e. g., H. I. Priestley, *The Mexican Nation*, 94) This is a mistake, because the one who was put to the torture and executed in 1568 was called "el joven" to distinguish him from the other. (Riva Palacio, *México a través de los siglos*, II, 394, note.) Under repeated torture, he "confessed" many things which, true or false, were used against his associates; perhaps for this reason his family ceased any mention of him. He is said to have been a relative of the other—we have an idea that he was a son of that Cristóbal's brother Juan (an uncle of the New Mexico governor)—but we have no documentary proof.

29. Cavo, *Los tres siglos de Méjico* (Mexico 1852), p. 56, citing Torquemada, *Monarchia indiana*.

move the *mayorazgo* if allowed to do so, and also, as he said, to bring Doña Isabel de Luxán, his wife, from Mexico.

Doubtless Doña Isabel did join her husband in Spain and it would be interesting to know whether they left any direct descendants of Francisco Vázquez de Coronado in that country; at least, they faded out of New World records.<sup>30</sup> As to the *mayorazgo*, after the rebuff in Madrid in February 1567, Don Bernaldino proceeded to get, through an agent in Mexico City, a notarized record of the properties in New Spain which had been entailed and the long detailed restrictions under which Don Hernán and his wife had created the *mayorazgo*.<sup>31</sup> With this record in hand, Don Bernaldino made another effort early in May 1573 to get permission to transfer his *mayorazgo* to Spain, but without avail.<sup>32</sup> An order from the king (at San Lorenzo el Real, 15 May 1573) to the Audiencia in Mexico directed that the mother and Don Nuño be notified of what Bernaldino wanted. That body on 27 February 1574 read and endorsed the king's order; the mother's approval was recorded at "the mines of Guanajuato on 11 December 1574," and that of Nuño de Chávez in Mexico City on 5 February 1575!

30. Historians have accepted without question the statement of Dorantes de Carranza in 1604 (*Sumaria Relación de las Cosas de la Nueva España* (Mexico 1902), pp. 279, 284) that this couple had no children. See most recently, for example, Paul A. Jones, *Coronado and Quivira* (ed. 1937), pp. 190-1, and Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, p. 3.

31. This took the form of an *información*, showing initial date of Dec. 22, 1569, and it makes up the bulk of the document last cited above, AGI, Mexico 99, LBB title 538.

32. His second petition is at the front of the entire document (without date), followed by his first (original) petition. The endorsements show the following sequence of action in Madrid:

- (1) "Let those interested in the *mayorazgo* be summoned. Madrid, 6 May 1573. Licenciado Vanegas."
- (2) In Madrid on 20 May 1573, a notarized statement of their approval of the proposed sale of estate properties in New Spain was signed by Lujs Ponce de León, Fernando Bocanegra de Córdoba, Francisco Pacheco, and Doña Leonor Ponce de León.
- (3) On May 25, Vanegas recommended (to the Council of the Indies) "that what they ask is not allowable; and as has been ordered, let the others interested in the *mayorazgo* be cited. Madrid 25 May 1573. Licenciado Vanegas." This referred, of course, to the mother and the one remaining brother, both in Mexico City.

What reasons there were for such procrastination we do not know. Final notations show that the report finally reached Madrid on 19 October 1575 and was "placed with the (papers of the) *mayorazgo*." Nearly nine years after Bernaldino first made his petition, apparently this was the net result.

Whether or not this oldest Bocanegra son died childless, if he could dispose of his entailed properties in America, the view is doubtless correct that these properties came to the second brother, Don Nuño. As described when the *mayorazgo* was created in October 1564,<sup>33</sup> the properties included:

(1) "the principal houses of our residence which we have and possess in the said city of Mexico, in the plaza of the monastery of Sancto Domingo which adjoin on one side the houses of Christobal de Oñate<sup>34</sup> and at the rear the houses of Gonçalo de Salazar<sup>35</sup> and in front and on one side the two royal streets because it is on a corner."

(2) "the enclosed estate which we have and possess in Apaxeo and the River with all the pastures and springs, both those acquired by grant and by purchase; also the sheep ranches which are within the said enclosure and the ranch site at the source of the River of Apaxeo, and the mills and houses and gardens which we have there and in the cattle ranch which belonged to Juan Pacheco and in the ranch of the little fountain which belonged to Martín Zofre and the lands belonging to the said ranch."<sup>36</sup>

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33. AGI, Mexico 99, LBB title 538.

34. Already mentioned for his services in Nueva Galicia; one of the four famous discoverers of the Zacatecas mines.

35. Native of Granada in Spain, who had come to New Spain in 1523 as *factor* of His Majesty, and who later served as a *regidor* and in other capacities. Listed as a conquistador in Icaza, *op. cit.*, I, 189, No. 368.

36. Text of the grant titles (both to Pérez and to those from whom he bought) are in AGI, Mexico 99, LBB title 538, and show dates 30 October 1543, 20 August 1543, 20 June 1541, 9 October 1556, 7 June 1546.

From this point in our study of the Coronado-Bocanegra alliance, it is difficult to distinguish the fortunes of the two families—nor is it necessary to do so. As one result of the tragic events entrained by the Marqués del Valle conspiracy in 1566, the entire Bocanegra family was driven from America except the widowed mother and the one son Nuño; while in the family of Francisco Vásquez de Coronado we know of no succession except through the wife of this Nuño de Chávez.

The site of the Vásquez Coronado residence in Mexico City has been identified as on the south side of the old plaza known as the "Volador." As the National Palace faces west on the Zócalo, anyone who wishes today can easily see where Coronado's house stood by walking around the south flank of the Palace and looking across the Volador plaza.<sup>37</sup>

The Bocanegra residence must not be confused with that of Coronado; as described above, it was on the plaza of Santo Domingo three blocks north from the Zócalo. Today the site is identified as the corner of Santo Domingo and Perpetua streets and facing west on the plaza.<sup>38</sup>

In this Bocanegra residence, doubtless, Nuño de Chávez had been reared and there is little doubt also that he later took it over as a part of the *mayorazgo*, by default, as it were, of his oldest brother.

Of interest also is the identifying of Nuño with the other part of the *mayorazgo*, the vast estate in the Guajuato region. We are told<sup>39</sup> that "Don Nuño de Chaves Pacheco de Córdoba y Bocanegra" was the third "Señor de los Apaseos." As the original grant to "Apaseo" was made

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37. Paul A. Jones, *Coronado and Quivira*, pp. 192, 197, shows the Coronado location on an old map and by a modern photograph. This author credits his chapter "The Coronado Genealogy" to a Mexican scholar, Luis L. de la Barra, Jr., who found the data for him.

38. The church of Santo Domingo which faces the same plaza on the north dates only from the eighteenth century, yet it marks the burial place of Coronado and doubtless other members of these two families—because it was built directly over the original church which had sunk completely below the surface. Naturally Coronado's bones went with it. Jones, *op. cit.* Chapter VI.

39. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 193, based on Barra.

in 1543 by Viceroy Mendoza to Hernán Pérez de Bocanegra, he would be the first "Señor" of that grant (with subsequent additions by grant or purchase), and Bernaldino would be the second. Contemporary evidence is given us by Dorantes de Carranza who wrote in 1604 that the father Hernán Pérez "had in *encomienda* the pueblos of Acámbaro and Apaseo, which his grandson possesses today."<sup>40</sup> Since each of these two towns became the head of a *partido* in the State of Guanajuato, the grandfather's "enclosed estate" above described can be thought of as being as large as "two counties."<sup>41</sup>

The "grandson" mentioned above by Dorantes was Don Francisco Pacheco de Córdova y Bocanegra who, the very next year (1605), was petitioning the king for four favors: "(1) 10,000 pesos of revenue for life in unallotted Indians, and that among them be included the Encomienda of the towns of Acámbaro which he now has in the third generation. (2) a title of Marquis or Count for his *mayorazgo* of Apaseo, and [that] of Adelantado for life of the province of New Galicia.<sup>42</sup> (3) a habit of the Order of Santiago. (4) that His Majesty employ him in his Royal House, and in the governorships and presidencies of the Indies."<sup>43</sup>

40. Dorantes, *op. cit.*, p. 284.

41. Pérez Hernández, *Diccionario geográfico . . . de la República Mexicana* (Mexico 1874), I, p. 528, describes Apaseo as "a *partido* of the department of Celaya, in the State of Guanajuato, which includes the *villa* of the same name and the towns of Apaseo el Alto, San Bartolo Ixtla, and San Pedro Tenango." In the same volume, p. 26, Acámbaro is described as "a *villa*, head of its municipality and *partido*, in the department of Celaya, State of Guanajuato; it was "on the bank of the copious River Lerma."

42. Instead of being satisfied with being known as "fourth Señor of Apaseo," he wanted a genuine title of nobility. His claim to the honorary title "Adelantado" was evidently based on the services of his maternal grandfather, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado—of whom he has more to say presently.

43. AGI, Mexico 124, LBB title 172. This is a twelve-page document, a "brief" apparently of a very voluminous and much documented petition, prepared in Mexico City and sent to an agent in Spain who should bring it before the Council of the Indies. In Spain the brief, or summarized draft, was printed and this copy was legalized by the signature at the end of Licenciado Alfonso Fernández de Castro, who also affixed his rubric at the foot of each printed leaf. It is now separated from any accompanying papers, but so validated it is of interest for the picture it gives of the third generation of the two families.

The brief continues:

There are *informaciones de oficio* and *de parte*, [received] in the Audiencia of Mexico before Licenciante Pedro Xuarez de Longoria in the year 1605 and done according to what is required by the royal cédulas [showing] that the suppliant is the legitimate and only son of Nuño de Chávez Pacheco de Córdova y Bocanegra and of Doña Marina Vásquez de Coronado, his wife; paternal grandson of Captain General Hernán Pérez de Bocanegra y Córdova, and of Doña Beatriz Pacheco his wife; maternal grandson of the Governor and Captain General Francisco Vásquez de Coronado, and of Doña Beatriz de Estrada his wife;

Maternal great grandson of Alfonso de Estrada Governor and Captain General of New Spain.

A page of text then summarizes the services of Hernán Pérez; three pages, those of Vásquez Coronado; one page, those of Estrada; five and a half pages, those of the suppliant himself. At the end we read:

At foja 1, there is a testimonial by the treasury officials of Mexico, given by order of the Audiencia on 14 October 1605 in which they certify that, down to the date of the testimonial, neither to Hernán Pérez, nor to Nuño de Chavez, nor to Vásquez de Coronado, nor to Governor Estrada, nor to Doña Beatriz de Estrada (his parents and paternal and maternal grandparents), nor to the suppliant himself, has any grant or gratification been paid from the treasury of Mexico by His Majesty nor by the viceroys nor by the Audiencia.

There is a *parecer* from the Viceroy and Audiencia of Mexico (dated) 10 November 1605. Letters from the Viceroy, Cabildo and City of Mexico should be read; and [those] from the Church of Mexico, and the City of Los Angeles (Puebla). And there are letters for His Majesty in which private individuals testify to the said services and beg that [the king] honor and reward the suppliant, so that other faithful and good vassals may be encouraged to serve him as the suppliant has done.

The petition from which we are quoting was written in 1605 when the *Tierra Nueva*, "the new country" which Coronado and his followers had found in 1540-42 had been rediscovered and now, renamed "New Mexico," was being

colonized permanently. Repeatedly during the half century after the Coronado expedition, Spaniards had besought the king for royal favors as reward for services which they or a father or grandfather or a wife's relative had given in "the land of Cíbola." It is possible that we today are unduly impressed by the bitter disappointment voiced by some of Coronado's contemporaries and by the depreciation voiced by some of his modern critics. Of course the following statement of his services was gotten together in 1605 by a scion of the Coronado-Bocanegra family alliance, but yet as we read it, we can remember that it is merely a summarized account based on the legal, formal questioning of witnesses under oath.

Services of the Governor and Captain General Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, maternal grandfather of the suppliant. By the said *informaciones* it appears:

That he was Governor and Captain General of the Provinces of New Galicia and Guadalajara, and Compostela from the year 1539 until an Audiencia was placed there which succeeded him in the government. At foja 55, it so appears from the title [issued] in Toledo on 18 April 1539.<sup>44</sup>

Further that the time of his government was consumed in conquering and pacifying the Provinces and the rebellion of Suchipila [Xochipila], and that of Guaxathlan, and Iocotlan [Xocotlan] and their Provinces, and it was consumed in pacifying completely the second rebellion of Xalisco where (before the said Governor went to that assignment) His Majesty had had very great expense.<sup>45</sup>

In person he conquered the Provinces of the Tecolquines, Calacanes, and that of Chiametla and the Valley of Coronado (to which he gave his own name).

With very great expense from his own estate and con-

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44. The "foja" (leaf) citations here and below were for convenience in referring from the brief to the larger document which was being summarized—and which we do not have.

Again we must distinguish between a provisional appointment by the viceroy and a confirmatory appointment by the king. Actually Coronado had been serving as governor of Nueva Galicia for about nine months before he could have received this title of 18 April 1539; but in addressing the king in 1605, the grandson would have the tact to cite the king's title to Coronado rather than the viceroy's earlier provisional one.

45. The type-setter in Spain had trouble with unfamiliar names of Indian towns.

tinuous toil of his own person and good planning and strategy he brought the Provinces under the Royal Crown. In the battles which he had, many times he came out badly wounded, even to the point of death.

He peopled the said Provinces with cities and *villas* of Spaniards. He distributed encomiendas of Indians among the Conquerors and settlers with fairness and disinterest.

By his order were discovered many silver mines in the said Provinces in which His Majesty and the Royal fifths have been, and are, well profited. Putting the said mines (such as those of Compostela, Chimaltitlan, Xocotlan, and Chiametla, and the other places and camps which are maintained even to the present day) in good order and neatness, serving as a very faithful and important vassal of His Majesty.

The Emperor our lord [Charles V] in a letter written to the said Governor on 21 June 1540 (see foja 66) thanks him for his services and commands him to continue them, and says that he is pleased and under obligation for the work he has done and the care he has taken, and is taking, in the pacifying and settling of those provinces, and in the good treatment of the natives who live in them and he charges him so to continue.

(It appears further) that after having effected the said conquests and pacifications, while still in the said office of Governor, he was entrusted by the order of His Majesty with the discovery and conquest of the "new country" and the Kingdoms of Acuz (Hawikúh), Zívola, Matlatlan (Marata), and Tontintlac (Totonteac), for which [undertaking] His Majesty sent a cedula to the Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza that it should be taken away from the Marqués del Valle, Don Hernando Cortéz, to whom this conquest had been committed and it was given to the said Governor Francisco Vázquez de Coronado who was named Captain General of the conquest.

It is shown by the *provisión* (foja 57) given him by Don Carlos (Charles V) etc., with an account of the whole matter and insertion of the cedula by which the said conquest was taken from the Marqués del Valle and given to the said Francisco Vázquez de Coronado on 6 January 1540.<sup>46</sup>

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46. This briefing would be intelligible to the Council of the Indies, but it is not so for the general reader. The *provisión* here credited to the king himself was actually a *real provisión* issued by the viceroy at Mechuacan on 6 January 1540.



(It appears further) that he made the said journey at the head of the most brilliant army that has gone out from New Spain, with very great cost and expense, and many retainers (*criados*), prominent *caballeros*, horses, weapons, supplies, and many herds [of stock], going more than a thousand leagues overland with great expense, privations, and personal toil. He conquered the Province of Corazones where he founded with Spaniards the villa of San Gerónimo.

He conquered the valleys and plains of Señora [Sonora], and in the battle which he had there, many of his army were killed, and he came out wounded even to the point of death.<sup>47</sup> By that route he discovered the land of Florida.<sup>48</sup> From the labors and wounds which he suffered in the said conquests and discoveries, he became gravely sick, but he had done and executed at great personal expense what is stated and all that His Majesty had commissioned and ordered him to do, and had placed under His Majesty's dominion what he conquered and had performed very great and considerable services. After his return to Mexico, from the continuous labors and from the infirmities which the said journey brought on, he died within a very short time, leaving his daughters very poor because of the great expenditures he had made.

There is an *información de parte* (foja 59) in Mexico before Doctor Antonio Rodríguez de Quesada, *oidor* (judge) of Mexico, in the year 1545, which contains in general the expenses which he incurred in the said conquests and journeys, and the witnesses say that at the time that he made the [one to Cíbola] he had much revenue from Indians in encomienda and much inherited property of his own and of his wife which at the said time was very rich and produc-

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47. This is somewhat overdone; also the grandson seems to have the fight at Hawikúh taking place down in Sonora.

48. While out on the "plains of Cíbola," the Spaniards heard through the natives of other white men to the east, and inferred that they were the expedition of Hernando de Soto exploring Florida. Long after the year 1605, maps showed Florida and New Mexico as spanning the continent—representing Spanish territorial claims which rested back on the Soto and Coronado expeditions.

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Hammond and Rey, *op. cit.*, pp. 6, 83-86, state the matter correctly but give only part of the text, with the *real cédula* of 17 April 1535 in a footnote. There are complete copies in AGI, Justicia 336, 339, and 1021 (LBB titles 2, 4, and 5); also it has been published by A. S. Aiton (*Hispanic American Historical Review*, XX [Feb., 1940], pp. 83-87), but his foreword to the text is more confusing than helpful. The viceroy did not have to wait for a *real provisión*, as he himself could issue one—and here did so.

tive, and after his return from the said conquests and journeys he was poor and in want, from having spent more than 50,000 ducats and they (the witnesses) were astonished that His Majesty had not rewarded his great services, if he had been informed about them.

From the said *informaciones de parte* and *de oficio* it appears that, having and possessing in New Spain the Indians (*pueblos* is meant) of Aguatlan, Cacatlan, Xalamezquitlan, Xalacingo, Teguacan, Quicincue and Guatlan<sup>49</sup> with their inhabitants, which brought in a large amount of revenue, the Royal audiencia took them away from him and restored them to the Royal Crown on the grounds that he had been governor in the Province where he had some of the said pueblos, although when he was given title for the said conquests, he was assured that they would not be taken away from him nor removed at any time; and although Juan Vázquez de Coronado, *Commendador* of Cubillas, brother of the said governor,<sup>50</sup> secured an executive order that they should be returned to him, they were not returned, because at the time when the said order arrived, he was dead,<sup>51</sup> so that they have not been returned to him nor to his daughter, Doña María Vázquez de Coronado, mother of the suppliant who is his only grandson.

49. The typesetter made a sorry mess in "reading copy" on the names of the Indian towns. For any who may be interested, we quote from Coronado's petition when, only a few months before his death, he was still trying to recover his encomienda rights. He states that he had had

"la mytad de los pueblos de *Aguacatlan* y *Xala* con sus estancias y sujetos, y la mytad de las estancias de *Myzquytlan* y *Guaxacatlan* que son en el valle de *guaxacatlan* con sus estancias y sujetos como lo vno y lo otro todo entero lo tenia Franco de Villegas difunto y la mytad de los pueblos y estancias de *tepuznacan* y *myzquytlan* y *amazaque* y *amatlan* con sus sujetos como lo tenya Albaro de Braçamonte y el pueblo de *quyncique* con los yndios *chichimecas* otomyes questan en su comarca . . ." AGI, Justicia 336, LBB title 2: "Francisco Vázquez Coronado con el fiscal sobre ciertos yndios" (1553-4).

50. Francisco Vázquez de Coronado was the second of four brothers, the oldest being Gonzalo Vázquez de Coronado, and the other two had each the name Juan Vázquez de Coronado. Of these one was Adelantado of Costa Rica and the other was the brother here mentioned. He was "Comendador of the military order of San Juan" and was also called "Comendador de Cubillas." While residing on his encomienda at that place in León, the king summoned him to the command of four vessels under Don Juan of Austria, with whom he fought in some naval battle—evidently that of Lepanto (7 October 1572). AGI, Indiferente 1240, LBB title 37a.

51. An endorsement at the beginning of AGI, Justicia 336, title 2, shows that this Coronado *plieto* was received in Spain on 22 March 1554, which was exactly six months before Coronado's death. It is interesting to know that restitution of his holdings was ordered, even if this was not realized.

In the title as Captain General which was given him for the said conquests (foja 58), he is assured and promised in the name of His Majesty that, because he was going to serve as stated, the Indians whom he had in *encomienda* either in New Spain or elsewhere would not be taken away from him at any time. It is shown that he was despoiled of all the said Indians and they have not been restored.

There is a royal cedula (foja 64) which was given him on 29 September 1550 so that the said Indians should be returned to him, and it does not appear that they have been returned. The suppliant reduces the matter to asking a favor and "arrears in rent" (so as not to carry on a lawsuit with His Majesty), together with the rest of the services of the said Governor and his other grandparents, and his own services; and asks in recompense the favors which he has expressed.

The Emperor our lord in a letter of 21 June 1540 (foja 66) thanks him for the work he had done in the conquests he had made and for his other services, and [said] that he appreciated the care he was taking and had taken in the conquests and in the pacifying of the rest of the Provinces, and his good treatment of the natives, and he says that he had learned from letters of the Viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza, that, in his [the king's] name, he [Mendoza] had sent him [Coronado] as Captain General of the other conquests and settlements of the country which Fray Marcos de Niza discovered,<sup>52</sup> by which he felt content because he hoped that, with his [Coronado's] going, Our Lord would be well served and the Royal Crown increased and that, through his industry, that country would be placed under the yoke of the Royal lordship and he would bring the natives here to a knowledge of our holy Catholic Faith, and he enjoins him that, with all prudence and good order, he labor to effect this.<sup>53</sup>

Many witnesses tell (foja 27) how he returned from the conquests and how they received him in Mexico [City], and one of them relates that, when he returned from the

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52. The king is referring, of course, to the viceroy's *real provisión* of 6 January 1540.

53. Unfortunately we do not have the complete original text of this letter from the king to Coronado of 21 June 1540. However, it can be seen that it was not in reply to the letter from the Viceroy to the king on 17 April 1540. (Hammond and Rey, *Narratives of the Coronado Expedition*, 156-161.) But in that letter, notice Mendoza's citation from an earlier letter which he had written on "the last of February." This one also is missing.

said conquests and discoveries after having completed their conquest and pacification, the Viceroy don Antonio de Mendoza and the Audiencia went out to receive him with the same solemnity and style in which viceroys are received, thus showing their appreciation of what he had discovered and conquered.<sup>54</sup>

[It appears also] that Doña Marina Vásquez de Coronado, mother of the petitioner, has inherited any benefit from the services of her said father, because, of the three daughters whom he left, two died without leaving succession and there is no other descendent except the said Doña Marina Vásquez de Coronado, mother of the petitioner; she is suffering from great want, both because of the expenses incurred by her said father and because the Indians whom her father had in *encomienda* have not been restored to her, and those of Cuçamala and Tenango which he had, have also been taken away, and she has no others, and the said services [of her father] are today still unrewarded. Her son, the said Don Francisco Pacheco, is keeping and supporting her out of the small revenue which he has.

We do not know what favors, if any, were gotten by this scion of the Coronado and Bocanegra families. As an individual he is a matter of minor importance, although it is interesting to speculate that through his descendants the blood of the Coronado family may, later, have returned to his "Tierra Nueva" and be concealed today under the name of "Chávez" or some other ancestral name. But more important is the fact that we cannot dip into these old records of Coronado, his contemporaries and heirs, without ourselves, in some small degree at least, getting back into their times and facing the problems and hardships of life as they had to face them. A correct understanding of their times gives a more correct evaluating of the conquistadores and their accomplishments.

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54. This is rather different from the story of Suárez de Peralta that, when Coronado came to kiss the viceroy's hand, "he found him very sad."

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Western America: The Exploration, Settlement, and Development of the Region Beyond the Mississippi.* By LeRoy R. Hafen and Carl Coke Rister. (Prentice-Hall, Inc., New York, 1941. Pp. xxvi, 698, bibliography, illustrations, index.)

Professors Hafen and Rister have written a new textbook in Western history, one obviously intended to accompany a course specializing in the history of the western United States. There are thirty-five chapters, each followed by a select bibliography, and there is an index. The whole volume includes more than seven hundred pages.

The authors state that it was their purpose to treat primarily the "exploration, settlement, and development of the trans-Mississippi West," and this plan should be borne in mind in evaluating their work. For example, the first four chapters are "concerned with the achievements of the Spaniards and the French in establishing themselves in the Southwest, on the Pacific Coast, and in the Mississippi Valley," but, of course, no one would expect a very complete study of the beginnings of Spanish and French exploration and colonization in America in such limited space, in addition to the later achievements of these nations in the trans-Mississippi West. As a consequence, the volume contains only the most cursory reference to the early Spanish and French activities in the New World, and, in fact, the same is true of the exploration and colonization by the English along the Atlantic seaboard. In this latter case, the authors assume that their readers are already familiar with English settlement in America before 1763, and therefore their story emphasizes the period of expansion across the United States beginning with the settlement of the trans-Appalachian region.

From this point on, the authors follow consistently the

path of westward expansion, dealing with the Old Southwest, the Old Northwest, the Louisiana region, the fur trade, Oregon, Santa Fé trail, Texas, the Mexican war, California, Mormon settlement, and, in the period following the Civil war, the sod-house frontier, mining frontier, overland communication and transportation, the Indian question, coming of the railroads, range cattle and sheep industries, new states, outlawry and vigilance committees, and evolution of Western culture.

It is clear that Professors Hafen and Rister have attempted to bring the story to about 1890, when the frontier had, in a sense, ceased to exist.

It is difficult to criticize a text book, for individual needs and points of view differ where such a great variety of subject matter is concerned. Bearing in mind the limitations set by the author, the book is well proportioned, the style is good, and the format excellent. It is written in narrative form, without the familiar box heads common to text books, and, as a matter of Western American history, is a contribution to the literature of the subject.

GEORGE P. HAMMOND

*The University of New Mexico*

*Colorado, The Centennial State.* By Percy Stanley Fritz.  
(New York: Prentice-Hall, 1941. 518 pp., maps and illustrations. \$5.00.)

This publishing house has given us another of their excellent series of State histories. The press work is very commendable with one exception: why must we be imposed upon by books which are needlessly *heavy*? The stock used in this volume is so thick that it balances Caughey's *California* (by the same house), although the latter is a third larger. Either is a burden which consciously irritates the reader.

For a one-volume history, Dr. Fritz has made a very reasonable allotment of his space. Statehood (from 1876)

occupies the last half, following three much shorter "Parts" devoted to background, the pioneer period (1581-61), and the territorial period (1861-76). On the whole, the selected bibliographies at the end of the chapters seem very satisfactory, although some important titles of the last few years are not found. Nevertheless there are various mistakes as to fact or interpretation which suggest a lack of acquaintance with studies of much longer standing. When shall we learn to avail ourselves of friendly criticism *before* we rush into print?

In other reviews of this book we have seen corrections offered, touching the territorial and statehood periods, e. g., by Geo. L. Anderson in *The Colorado Magazine* of last March, pp. 77-78. We offer some observations as to earlier times. The chapter on "The Indians" is a good portrayal of that subject, but we might expect at least reference to "Folsom Man" (p. 19), while the suggestion that any of Coronado's army saw, or heard of the cliff ruins is absurd (p. 20). The "Army of the West" under Kearny in 1846 numbered, not 250, but 1,558 men; and Price was not with him but followed with a second division of 1,700 men (pp. 48-49).

We are told (p. 53) that "Indian names slightly overshadow the Spanish in Colorado," seven counties, e. g., have Indian names. But the names of the state itself and of *nineteen* counties are Spanish! And why should the some 60,000 Spanish-American citizens of Colorado be affronted by the term "Mexicans" (p. 69)? It would be on a par for them to call Dr. Fritz a "German."

The brief section on "Spanish Exploration" (pp. 58-69) is perhaps the most mediocre of the book. The author repeats the old mistake that the "land of Cibola" was named from the buffalo; he is unfamiliar with the terms of the contract given to Soto; the alleged quotation (59-60) is not found in Castañeda's account, nor was the review of Coronado's army held on Easter Sunday. Coronado was traveling southeast (not northeast) prior to sending his main

army back to Tiguex; Santa Fé was not founded in 1609 nor by Oñate, nor did Oñate secure "129 soldiers to protect the colonists"—the heads of families themselves were the soldiers. Neither Coronado nor Oñate was the complete failure indicated: the one laid the foundation of vast Spanish territorial rights, the other began permanent occupation. As to Vargas, we have the remarkable statement that he "regained the land but not the Indians." The Escalante expedition is not understood as one detail of the Spanish plan to integrate the widely separated parts of the enormous Spanish borderlands, also the Anza route of 1774 from Sonora to California is overlooked. Spanish names are misspelled (Melgares, Alencaster) and a petty officer at Santa Fé is confused with Salcedo in Chihuahua (p. 77). As to poor old Lalande, it was shown years ago that he asked leave to depart but was restrained by the Spanish authorities.

Fortunately, as the author carries his narrative into the nineteenth century he is on historical ground which has been well worked, and his text is rich, informative and well presented. The illustrations are very good, but for some reason there is no list of them.—L. B. B.

*Government Handout: A Study in the Administration of the Public Lands, 1875-1891.* By Harold Hathaway Dunham (Edwards Bros., Inc., Ann Arbor, Mich. 1941. Index and Bibliography. 364 pp.)

The title indicates that the author approached his subject with a definite slant. He sets out to prove that what other historians might designate as development was in fact exploitation; that, in the main, the growth and progress of the West was rooted in disregard of public rights and welfare. What others might ascribe to inefficiency and mistakes in administration which under our form of government are often unavoidable, to the author becomes the evidence of bribery and perversion.



In analyzing the actions and motives of high officials, from the Supreme Court and members of Congress, down to the employes of the General Land Office, the author follows a trail which to him proves iniquity in the application of the federal land laws. Of the late U. S. Senator Teller, while he was secretary of the interior, it is written, for instance: "Unfortunately he had aligned himself with the predatory interests which did not care for the proper solution for those needs." and again: "He adopted some of the most pernicious rules and practices ever credited to a Secretary." Yet the writer admits: "In all fairness to the Secretary, however, it should be observed that many of his reports sound sincere in seeking revision of particular laws," and again: "Secretary Teller should be credited for urging a solution of survey and forfeiture problems."

The most flagrant exhibit of the author's apparent bias is his treatment of the Maxwell Land Grant litigation. An entire chapter is devoted to it under the heading "The Maxwell Land Grant Fraud." In it, Dunham sets his opinion against the judgment of the United States Supreme Court and reflects upon the character of men who were the soul of honor and to whom New Mexico, in fact the entire Southwest and even the entire Nation, owes a debt of gratitude. He credits the Democrats with reforms resulting "from their efforts to check corruption in New Mexico," although he admits that "one effort for improvement was undertaken by President Hayes when he appointed General Lew Wallace governor with instructions to leave no stone unturned in achieving order." He disputes Historian Ralph E. Twitchell's account of partisan machinations in New Mexico during the Cleveland administration, and upholds the record of Surveyor General Julian who, because of his prejudices, newspaper reports, and actions, "helped to make New Mexico a by-word for land law violations." Of these Twitchell in his *Leading Facts of New Mexican History* remarked: "An assault on land titles to lands in New Mexico was inaugurated which, for virulence of action and incapa-

city of management," had never been equaled. It can be further stated that the government could not convict the alleged guilty. One of the most noted of these cases was that brought against the late Colonel Max Frost, proprietor and editor of the *Santa Fe New Mexican*, whose criticism of Julian and the administration subjected him to the fury of partisan persecution.

Dunham's approach to the discussion of the Maxwell Land Grant matter is as follows: "Influence in the land department is evident in Secretary Teller's rulings and in Commissioner Williamson's action for the Maxwell grant patent. On the whole, bribery at least in a direct form, seems to have been unnecessary for obtaining favorable action. Lax enforcement, liberal interpretations and biased and reversed rulings gave predatory interests all they could wish." In a biographical sketch of Lucien Maxwell, the founder and first president of the First National Bank of Santa Fé, the author says that Maxwell bought out the interest of the Beaubien children by "paying not more than \$3,500 for each share," and "a close friend of Maxwell's reported that in 1866 the latter was willing to sell the entire 'rancho' for \$75,000." Maxwell finally sold for ten times that amount. The author further impugns the motives of Stephen B. Elkins, and of W. W. Griffin, both of whom succeeded Maxwell as presidents of the First National Bank, Griffin having surveyed the grant and John Elkins, brother of Stephen, having been on Griffin's bond. Chief Justice L. Bradford Prince, later governor and president of New Mexico Historical Society, is referred to as "a member of the Santa Fe Ring," who "three seconds before midnight . . . signed the decree of foreclosure to complete what seemed like a rascally piece of judicial legerdemain."

Despite the decision of Judge Brewer in favor of the Maxwell Grant claimants, the case was taken up to the United States Supreme Court. Judge Brewer had said in concluding his opinion: "I leave the case with the final observation by the government with all the means and facili-

ties at its command, the officers of the Government (deputy surveyors and the surveyor general) and the claimants stand without a stain upon the rectitude of their conduct, and the boundaries of the grant as finally surveyed and patented, if not absolutely accurate and correct are at least shown to be as nearly so as any known testimony can determine."

Reprehensible to the last degree is the author's dictum that the Hon. Frank Springer, as upright, unselfish and patriotic a citizen as New Mexico has ever honored, "was guilty of false statements, that he contradicted himself materially, ignored important points and skillfully confused the question of boundaries." Yet, Dunham admits: "Mr. Frank Springer of New Mexico, presented the main argument for the Maxwell Company. He denied that there had been any fraud; he upheld the accuracy of the surveys, defended the claim against limitations of the Mexican law and made a strong plea for a finality to attacks on the company's rights and property. His points were careful, clever and bold to a high degree—thoroughly able. It is said that he received the thanks of the Court for the ability with which he presented his case." The U. S. Supreme Court denied a rehearing and from then on, began an era of development of the grant which had cost the owners an estimated \$12,000,000, that ushered in the growth and prosperity of what is now Colfax county, a development otherwise unattainable. There was more litigation but the Maxwell Grant company won in every instance.

Dunham has brought together a mass of official data and current comments on federal land matters which prove his indefatigable industry as a research student. His literary style runs easily and makes the formidable volume quite readable. While recognizing his bias and his evident eagerness to prove his theme that the disposal of the public lands was a scandalous "Government Handout," the volume may be considered a noteworthy exposition of a very important but controversial historical subject.—P. A. F. W.

## NECROLOGY

### REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON HISTORY AND NECROLOGY OF THE NEW MEXICO BAR ASSOCIATION, SANTA FÉ, NEW MEXICO, OCTOBER 9, 1941

EVENTFUL have been the days since the last annual meeting of the New Mexico Bar Association. The fate, not only of nations, but virtually of civilization, has rested in the hands of men of the legal profession. From the president of the United States down to minor key positions in the public service, members of the bar have made the decisions determining the trend of events. New Mexico lawyers, too, have been called to service in the Army, the Navy, and in civil life to coöperate in the nation's task of defense against forces which threaten the American way of life. It is gratifying that Secretary Herbert B. Gerhart is now publishing periodically a bulletin which gives a running, concise account of activities of members of the New Mexico Bar, which will enable the future historian to write the record of present day history of the New Mexico Bar Association.

Death, the inevitable consequence of living, has again made inroads on our membership during the past year, and as a tribute to those who have gone before, these brief biographical sketches are attached:

#### *George W. Hay*

Death came to District Judge George W. Hay of Silver City on the evening of January 7, this year, while he and Mrs. Hay were visiting in Pasadena, California. They were crossing Colorado Street, just outside of the city limits, near the auto-court where they were guests, when an automobile struck the judge and his dog, carrying them 94 feet on the bumper before the car came to a stop. Sheriff's officers said the automobile was driven by one Kenneth Slavin, aged nineteen, of Pasadena, who testified that he was driv-

ing at a lawful speed and had not seen Judge Hay crossing the street.

George William Hay was born in Somerset, Pennsylvania, on September 9, 1890, and there found his last resting place. He attended Valparaiso University, Indiana, receiving the B.S. and LL.B. degrees. He practiced law in Kokomo, Indiana, 1916-1917. The latter year he entered the army, serving overseas with the 89th Infantry Division as lieutenant, being cited for gallantry in action. Discharged on April 12, 1919, he came as a patient to the Veterans' Hospital at Fort Bayard, Grant County, in 1920.

Regaining his health, Judge Hay established himself in Silver City in the practice of his profession in 1924. Elected as a democrat to the bench of the Sixth Judicial District in 1930, he was serving his second term at the time of his death.

Judge Hay had no children, but is survived by his widow, Cecilia T. Balch of O'Neill, Nebraska. He was a member of the Presbyterian Church, the American Legion, the Military Order of the World War, the Elks, the Thirty-second Degree Masons, and the New Mexico Bar Association.

Funeral services were conducted by the Reverend Fred Darley in the District Court room at Silver City. Burial was at Somerset, Pennsylvania.

#### *Charles A. Reynolds*

On the same day that death came to Judge George W. Hay, another veteran member of the New Mexico Bar, Colonel Charles A. Reynolds, answered the last summons at the age of eight-five years. His had been an adventurous career, which took him far afield and brought him fame. He served during the Spanish American War and was captain in the 31st Infantry in the Philippines. There, he became governor of the Province of Albay, where he inaugurated a road building program. A large bridge constructed on the Legaske-Ligao Road bears his name. He answered

the call of the Colors again during the last World War, attaining the rank of colonel. After the War, he took up the practice of law in Roswell and later in Albuquerque. There, Colonel Reynolds was a familiar figure at gatherings of veterans. When seen on the streets, he was generally accompanied by his dog, Dixie, who when more than fifteen years old, preceded his master in death by six months. Colonel Reynolds gave specific directions that the dog's collar be buried with him and it was laid on the breast of the military uniform in which he was buried.

*Claude T. Smith*

Another War veteran, member of the New Mexico Bar, died at the Veteran's Hospital in Albuquerque on June 8 of this year. Claude T. Smith, at one time assistant district attorney for San Juan County, was in command of the 120th Aero Squadron overseas after a tour of duty as first lieutenant at the second Leon Springs Training Camp.

Smith was a graduate of Western Maryland College and was admitted to practice in Maryland. He was city attorney at Westminster, Maryland, and examiner of equity causes of Carroll County, Maryland. Moving to Oklahoma, he served as county attorney for Beaver County, Oklahoma, and as a member of the democratic state committee from 1912 until the War in 1917.

Broken in health, he homesteaded in San Juan County, taught school, and then resumed practice of law, opening an office over the Citizens' Bank at Aztec.

*George C. Lougee*

After a residence of thirty years in New Mexico, George C. Lougee, a member of the New Mexico Bar for twenty years, died at his home in Albuquerque, on Tuesday

Lougee was born in Hampden, Maine, fifty-five years ago, where he prepared himself to teach school. While principal of the public schools in Santa Fé, and later superintendent of schools at Socorro, he read law, and while asso-

ciated with the state department of education, was admitted to the New Mexico Bar. He served as assistant district attorney, being a law partner of A. A. Sedillo. Later, he became an assistant attorney general of the State.

Mr. Lougee was a member of the Masonic Lodge at Jefferson, Maine; of the Scottish Rite Consistory at Santa Fé, and the Lawyers Club at Albuquerque. He was never married. The only surviving relative is a cousin, Mrs. Eva Fowler of Hampden, Maine.

Burial took place in Fairview Park Cemetery, Reverend C. Leslie Curtice and Temple Lodge of Masons officiating.

### *Harry Lee Patton*

Death came to Judge Harry Lee Patton at his home in Clovis, New Mexico, in the early morning of Sunday, June 29, 1941, the result of a stroke suffered thirty minutes before. He had been in ill health for several years, but had heard cases in court and visited friends on the Friday and Saturday preceding his passing.

Harry Lee Patton was born at Pea Ridge in Benton County, Arkansas, on June 19, 1875, the son of Captain William F. Patton and Nannie C. Patton, *née* Perkins. He received his education in the common schools and in a college in his home town of Bentonville, Arkansas. For his life work, he chose the legal profession and was admitted to the practice of law in the year 1896 at the age of twenty-one years. In the same year, he was elected to the Arkansas state legislature, serving two terms in that office.

He was married to Miss Lillian H. Carnahan on November 2, 1899. To this marriage were born three children, Perkins LeFevre, Lillian Elizabeth, now Mrs. Edwin Hobbs, and William Henry. His son Perkins LeFevre Patton died in 1934.

In 1906 he moved from Arkansas to Texico, New Mexico, where he practiced his profession for several years, removing to Clovis, New Mexico, in 1911, where he has

since resided. He was elected to the office of attorney general of the State of New Mexico in 1916, and served his state in that capacity for one term, thereafter returning to the city of Clovis. In the practice of his profession, he was associated at various times with U. S. Circuit Judge Samuel G. Bratton, U. S. Senator Carl A. Hatch, and his son Perkins L. Patton. He was appointed to the office of district judge in 1929 to fill out an unexpired term of Judge Carl A. Hatch, and was elected to the office in 1930 and again in 1936. He was serving in that capacity at the time of his death.

In addition to his son, William Henry Patton of Washington, D. C., and his daughter, Mrs. Edwin Hobbs of Melrose, New Mexico, he is survived by five grandchildren, Nancy Jane Hobbs, Harry Lee Patton, James Winton Patton, Perkins LeFevre Patton, and Peter Carnahan Patton; one brother, W. E. Patton and one sister, Miss Anna Patton, both of Bentonville, Arkansas; and his widow Mrs. Harry L. Patton of Clovis.

Judge Patton in early boyhood united with the Presbyterian Church and was subsequently ordained a ruling elder, serving as such for many years.

Funeral services were held at the Charles V. Steed Memorial Chapel at Clovis by the Reverend A. J. Luck of the Tucumcari Presbyterian Church, assisted by the Reverend Clyde Barton of the First Presbyterian Church of Clovis. Burial was in the Clovis cemetery beside the grave of his late son, Perkins L. Patton.

#### *Charles C. Gilbert*

After long illness, Attorney Charles C. Gilbert died at Hot Springs, Sierra County, on Wednesday, March 26, 1941, at the age of sixty-two years. Born at Hackett, Sebastian County, Arkansas, on January 14, 1879, the son of Franklin M. Gilbert, a Civil War veteran, and his wife, Mary Frances Inman Gilbert, he attended the public schools before moving to Oklahoma and thence to Roswell, New



Mexico, in 1897, where he was employed by the El Capitan Land and Cattle Company. Later he engaged in well drilling, putting down a deep well for the Santa Fé Central Railroad, which employed him thereafter as a brakeman on the run from Torrance to Santa Fé.

Gilbert had read law in the office of James S. Arnett of Oklahoma, and resumed his study in the offices of Judge W. W. Gatewood, Judge G. A. Richardson, and Attorney U. S. Bateman at Roswell, being admitted to the New Mexico Bar in 1912, at the age of thirty-three. That year he entered into a partnership with Attorney O. O. Askren, this partnership being dissolved in 1915. Active as a democrat, he became a member of the state central committee and served as an alderman on the Roswell City Council.

In 1938, Gilbert moved to Hot Springs, New Mexico, continuing in the practice of law. He was a member of the Fraternal Order of Eagles, and Woodmen of the World. On September 3, 1910, he was married to Kate G. Moffitt, a daughter of John Moffitt, and contracted a second marriage with Elma Fresquez, both surviving him, together with the children of the first marriage, J. Charles Gilbert of Roswell, Gatewood Gilbert of Kansas City, and Mrs. R. D. Haire of Denver. Reverend Father Dold of the Hot Springs Catholic Church conducted the funeral service.

Respectfully submitted,

PAUL A. F. WALTER, *Chairman*

Committee on History and Necrology  
of the New Mexico Bar Association.

*Enoch L. Enloe*

Dr. Enloe, former president of Silver City Teachers College (1914-19), died on January 20 last, at his home in Socorro. He was 74 years old and had been retired for the last six years.

The educator was born Nov. 23, 1865, at Hickory Hill, Mo. He was educated in the public schools of Missouri and was graduated from the Kansas State Normal School at Emporia. For four years he was superintendent of schools at Columbus, Kan., and was president of the South-eastern Kansas Teachers Association. Later he moved to Colorado and became principal of the Columbian School at Trinidad.

Dr. Enloe came to New Mexico in 1904 as principal of the new normal training school at Silver City. For ten years he was teacher in that institution and for five years president. In the Normal in 1906 he started the first summer school in New Mexico, beginning with an enrollment of eighteen students. In 1912 he was named member of the State Board of Education and served more than twelve years, being chairman of the board for six years. He was the author of the teacher certification system of the state.

In 1920 he was elected superintendent of the Socorro schools and served there until 1928. He taught in the Bernalillo schools seven years ago. Dr. Endoe lived in Albuquerque several times, in 1920, and while he was teaching at Bernalillo. At one time he served as justice of the peace in Albuquerque. His wife died in 1934, and he had lived in Socorro since 1936.

Funeral services were held in Socorro and burial was in Sunset Memorial Park in Albuquerque.— *Albuquerque Morning Journal*.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

*Meaning of "Jicara."*—Under date of August 15, our always interested and interesting fellow member, Mrs. Barbara Aitken, writes from Broughton, England:

I have just been enjoying a particularly good number of the REVIEW. In Mr. Kelly's concluding installment a trifling correction might be made—p. 158, where *como una jicara* is translated as "a cupful." Altho' *jicara* in Spain and in Mexico is used of a gourd mounted as a chocolate-cup, and by extension, of other cups (so that *dar una jicara* means "to give poison to someone in a cup of chocolate"), in New Mexico Spanish it has also the meaning "basket." The shallow Apache baskets are always called *jicaras* by the Santa Clara Indians, and I always understood that the Jicarilla Apaches were so called from their basket making. "A basketful of corn" makes sense.

It was Mrs. Aitken who, a few years ago, secured for our Society from the Blackmore estate in England our important "Blackmore Papers" which relate to New Mexico land grants.

*September meeting.*—At the regular meeting of the Society on September 16, the following constitutional amendment was recommended by the executive council for adoption at the October meeting:

That Article IV of the constitution be amended so as to read:

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

The program for the evening was the showing of four sound movies which had been sent to Mr. Bloom by Miss Irene Wright of the division of cultural relations, in the

department of state, Washington. Miss Wright and her mother were living in Sevilla, Spain, when Mr. and Mrs. Bloom were there in 1928-29, and Miss Wright visited the University campus in May while on a good-will tour for the state department.

The films were of Brazil, Peru, Chile, and the Argentine, each fifteen minutes in length, and were exceptionally well planned to give a portrayal of typical scenes: landscape, occupations, population types, and family home life. The meeting was held in the Women's Board Room of the Art Museum which was packed with a capacity crowd of about two hundred.

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(INCORPORATED)

*Organized December 26, 1859*

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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.

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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.

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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.

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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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