

New Mexico Historical Review

Volume 17 | Number 2

Article 1

4-1-1942

Full Issue

New Mexico Historical Review

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nmhr>

Recommended Citation

New Mexico Historical Review. "Full Issue." *New Mexico Historical Review* 17, 2 (1942).
<https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nmhr/vol17/iss2/1>

This Full Issue is brought to you for free and open access by UNM Digital Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in New Mexico Historical Review by an authorized editor of UNM Digital Repository. For more information, please contact disc@unm.edu.

Office
of the Editor
New Mexico Historical Review

**NEW MEXICO
HISTORICAL REVIEW**

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

Editors

LANSING B. BLOOM

PAUL A. F. WALTER

Associates

PERCY M. BALDWIN

GEORGE P. HAMMOND

FRANK T. CHEETHAM

THEODOSIUS MEYER, O. F. M.

VOLUME XVII
1942

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO
AND
THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO

CONTENTS

NUMBER 1, JANUARY, 1942

	<i>Page</i>
Arizona's Stand on the Santa Fé Compact and the Boulder Dam Project Act. Donald R. Van Petten	1
Notes upon the Routes of Espejo and Farfán to the Mines in the Sixteenth Century	
Katharine Bartlett	21
London to Salt 'Lake City in 1866: the Diary of William Driver	Frank D. Reeve 37
Ralph Elmo McFie: from Las Cruces to Davao	
Maude McFie Bloom	64
Necrology:	P. A. F. W. 87
Mark B. Thompson; Arthur Earle Carr; William Clifford Reid; Crestus E. Little; Oliver M. Lee; LeRoy Samuel Peters	
Notes and Comments	L. B. B. 94

NUMBER 2, APRIL, 1942

Jacques Clamorgan: Colonial Promoter of the North- ern Border of New Spain	A. P. Nasatir 101
The Rev. Hiram Walter Read, Baptist Missionary	
L. B. B.	113
The Confederate Territory of Arizona, from Official Sources	F. S. Donnell 148
Book Reviews:	
Haggard (ed.), <i>Three New Mexico Chronicles</i>	
Dorothy Woodward	164
Fulton (ed.), <i>Diary and Letters of Josiah Gregg,</i> I	P. A. F. W. 165
Carroll (ed.), <i>Guádal P'a: the Journal of Lieut.</i> <i>J. W. Abert from Bent's Fort to St. Louis, 1845</i>	
L. B. B.	169
Brayer (ed.), <i>To Form a More Perfect Union</i>	
P. A. F. W.	170

	<i>Page</i>
Priest, <i>Uncle Sam's Step-Children: the Reformation of the U. S. Indian Policy, 1865-1887</i>	
Frank D. Reeve	172
Behrendt, <i>Economic Nationalism in Latin America</i>	
P. A. F. W.	174
Haggard, <i>Handbook for Translators of Spanish Historical Documents</i>	
Eleanor B. Adams	176
Notes and Comments:	
Martin Amador and Mesilla Valley history	
L. B. B.	178
The Robert E. Lee Archives	
NUMBER 3, JULY, 1942	
A Brief Biography of Prince Paul Wilhelm of Württemberg (1797-1860), with his "Account of Adventures in the Great American Desert"	
(ed.) Louis C. Butscher	181
Books in New Mexico, 1598-1680	
Eleanor B. Adams and France V. Scholes	226
Book Reviews:	
Espinosa, <i>Crusaders of the Rio Grande</i>	
P. A. F. W.	271
Hackett (ed.), <i>Pichardo's Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas</i> , III	
L. B. B.	275
Notes and Comments:	
Hugh Stephenson and the Brazito Grant.	
L. B. B.	279
NUMBER 4, OCTOBER, 1942	
Origins of the Foreign-born Population of New Mexico during the Territorial Period.	
Richard A. Greer	281
Adventuring to Santa Fé: the Book of the Muleteers	
Arthur Woodward	288
Account of Adventures in the Great American Desert by Duke Paul Wilhelm von Württemberg (concluded)	
Louis C. Butscher	294
Index	345
Errata	351

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XVII

APRIL, 1942

No. 2

JACQUES CLAMORGAN: COLONIAL PROMOTER OF THE NORTHERN BORDER OF NEW SPAIN

By A. P. NASATIR

IN DEFENSE of its vast empire in North America, Spain was forced to occupy both California and Louisiana in the latter part of the 18th century.

British aggression on the Pacific coast culminated in the Nootka Sound Controversy. This affair was part and parcel of, and intimately linked with, the Anglo-Spanish economic rivalry in the upper Mississippi and Missouri valleys. In this colony (Louisiana), rivalry between the Spaniards and the British reached its climax in intense economic warfare between rival traders of the two nations. Here on the northeastern frontier of colonial New Spain, merchants from St. Louis bore the brunt of aggression from the British posts.

Rich treasures in furs from the upper reaches of the Mississippi and Missouri valleys as well as the precious metals of New Mexico were an irresistible attraction to the enterprising British and Scotch traders from Canada. From Montreal, Detroit, Chicago, Mackinac, Prairie du Chien, and the Lake of the Woods, British merchandise was carried by resourceful British traders deep into Spanish domain. Not only were the British agents aggressive, but they carried with them desirable, superior goods. Moreover, this merchandise could be sold at a very reasonable price. British traders were also British agents who were

backed in their penetrations of Spanish territory by a trade-conscious home government. Literally hundreds of British merchants plied the rivers and streams to the west of the Mississippi. Hence the great bulk of furs extracted from the upper valleys above the Des Moines and Platte rivers found their way to the Great Lakes posts rather than to Spanish New Orleans.

In marked contrast, the profits-starved merchants of the Spanish posts were neglected, hampered and bound by the rigid stupidity of their own government. Spain never discarded paternalism in her control of the colonies. Although anxious for wealth and for domination of the Indian tribes, Spain adhered to classical mercantilism. The outmoded Spanish economic system was already crushed under a great weight of taxes, poor merchandise highly priced, involved, complicated and expensive transportation routes, a cumbersome organization and a paternalistic hierarchy. To these ills must be added the evils of nepotism, graft, inefficiency, ignorance, and shortsightedness.

In the face of such a burden, trade could survive only in an empire which was in fact a closed corporation. A rigidly enforced monopoly and strict control of the Indians were necessary features of the Spanish economic system. Down to the period of the American Revolution, Spain had been highly successful in holding the savages of her northeastern frontier to allegiance and had been able to exclude all foreigners. In fact the Spaniards took the aggressive and held a part of the Indian trade to the east of the Mississippi. When Spain, however, became involved in costly wars, she always found it necessary to withdraw support from this remote frontier. Although Louisiana was prized as a key to the wealth of New Mexico, Spain naturally forsook the defense of this exposed frontier in favor of more highly prized possessions.

Left to their own devices, the Spaniards of the Mississippi valley were unable, on account of the lack of money and merchandise, to maintain their advantage in the

struggle with the Britishers for the control of the Indians and profitable trade with them. Therefore it is not surprising to find that at the close of the American Revolution the Spanish traders had not only lost their trade east of the Mississippi river, but that as well within territory distinctly under their own jurisdiction west of the river.

Thus Spain had the difficult task of defending a long frontier line and an immense territory against an aggressive and well equipped rival. The province could expect neither troops, nor aid from the decadent court of Charles IV. Furthermore the Americans were becoming a menace to Spanish sovereignty in the tremendous surge of their westward movement, and the insidious propaganda of the French Revolution created fear throughout Spanish America. The situation of the Spaniards in the Mississippi valley was critical indeed as the last decade of the eighteenth century opened.

Under Governor Estéban Miró at New Orleans and his lieutenant at St. Louis, Manuel Pérez, half-hearted and time worn methods were applied for the relief of this desperate situation. One or two or three small forts were planned to be erected at strategic entrances used by the wily British. The idea was simply to keep the English out. But as Godoy was later very aptly to describe the situation, "you cannot lock up an open field." Intrigues with the American Westerners and counter-colonization of Americans, Germans, Flemings and even Britons failed to add any real security.

Into this dismal and desperate situation stepped the Baron de Carondelet appointed governor of Louisiana in 1791. Carondelet was a nepotistic appointee with a French accent and a female handwriting, with a fear for any slight rumor, but with a facile pen that tires the researcher who plows through the thousands of lengthy letters: in writing, Carondelet made a vain effort to arouse the Spanish government into a vigorous defense of its own empire. The genial Zenon Trudeau was appointed to the commandancy

of Upper Louisiana. Trudeau, who had many fine qualities and a fund of common sense unusual in such appointees, succeeded where others had failed miserably.

Under these two leaders, the business elements of St. Louis and New Orleans were given renewed heartening and the Spaniards assumed an aggressive role. A workable plan was needed: Spain had to act to preserve its empire. To oust the foreigners, to garner in renewed profits, to gain the friendship of the Indians, to explore the domain and carry the Spanish flag to the uttermost limits of its jurisdiction—these were the prime objectives of Lieutenant-Governor Trudeau.

Into this desperate situation stepped also an aggressive, capable, enterprising, and far-sighted promoter—Jacques Philippe Clamorgan. Clamorgan, Clarmorgan, Glenmorgan, Clenmorgan, Claimorgan, Morgan (all variations of the same name, Jacques or Santiago Clamorgan) indicate the obscurity of his birth and nationality. Furthermore, the fact that he was either born or spent his early life in Guadelupe Island and the West Indies gives some credence to the belief that he was of Portuguese stock. Quite probably he was of mixed Welsh, Portuguese, and French blood. He may have carried a trace of Negro blood as well.

Of his early life, little is known. In the present documentation he emerges into history as a merchant in the West Indies. As early as 1780 he became associated with Thompson and Company of Kingston, Jamaica, probably in the slave trade between that island and New Orleans. He was also associated with Marmillion and Company of New Orleans.

He seemed to have enjoyed a good reputation, for in the records of the court at New Orleans no doubt is indicated about collecting 2,500 dollars in debts from him even though he was out of the country at the time. He was back in Spanish Louisiana by 1783, and in the latter part of that year, or very early in 1784, he ascended to Upper Louisiana in company with his friend and associate, Francois Marmillion,

merchant of St. Louis. Clamorgan himself tells us in 1793 that he had been a resident of Illinois for more than ten years.

Because of his business acumen, past reputation, and perhaps some money, Clamorgan quickly came to be a well-known and respected merchant in the Spanish Illinois country. His interests soon spread into many parts of the upper Mississippi valley. In 1783 he was empowered to act as proxy for, and was given power of attorney for, Gabriel Cerré, of one of the best known families in St. Geneviève. Four years later he instituted court proceedings against Pierre La Coste of Michilimacinac for the sum of 15,947 livres and 14 sous. Many other financial transactions could be cited, but Clamorgan was interested in real estate as well. He purchased some property soon after settling in Upper Louisiana. This acquisition was but the beginning of his land and real estate speculation which eventually topped the million arpent figure. He early took an interest in civic affairs and made donations to, and became a warden of, the church in Ste. Geneviève.

Thus we see Jacques Clamorgan as a slave dealer, fur-trader, merchant, financier, land speculator; and although he never married, he was father of four children. He was to become known in Louisiana as a statesman, an explorer and a promoter.

Clamorgan was endowed with a tremendous imagination, together with an illusive pen and a glib tongue. His ability to put vast dreams onto paper and persuade all of their reality was envied by everyone. He was respected by all but he was not accepted socially by the aristocratic French creoles of the province. This was less a reflection upon his charming personality than upon his well-stocked harem of colored beauties. He was known to be intriguing and at times his probity was somewhat doubted. Usually he was found to be pliant and even servile, but he was accustomed to conducting great operations.

He cultivated the friendship of the important merchants

of New Orleans, Cahokia, Kashkaskia, Michilimackinac, and Montreal. He never failed to get what he wanted from the Spanish officials; if not directly, he achieved his purpose indirectly.

He was engaged in, or dreamed of engaging in, cattle-raising, salt refining, lead mining, agriculture, and he envisaged a strong and populous Spanish frontier in the Mississippi valley. He was the precursor of Lewis and Clark; he traversed Texas; and he engaged in the Santa Fé trade, long before his successors made those trails famous. This island "creole" managed his affairs in such a manner that even his enemies (and they were not few in number) could not fail to recognize his talents.

In 1793 his fellow merchants unanimously chose him as syndic to represent the merchants of St. Louis. Soon afterwards he became the driving force in the movement to restore commerce in the Spanish Illinois and to regain for the king of Spain sovereignty over the Spanish dominions in the Mississippi valley.

But of all his work Clamorgan is best known for his activities in connection with the Mississippi Company. This company was formed for the purpose of ousting the British from Spanish territory and trade; for capturing the trade with the Indians; for discovering a route to the Pacific and joining the Missouri with Mexico and California; to give Clamorgan a chance to get rich while at the same time it offered an opportunity of defending the Spanish against the onrush of the British and Americans, whom the Spanish lived in dread of; and to defend the Spanish empire on its long but undefended and unexplored northermost frontier; and to protect rich Santa Fé.

It was Clamorgan who suggested the formation of the renowned "Company of the Discoverers and Explorers of the Missouri." In addition, he persuaded a number of merchants of Illinois to take part in the company. Although he was but one of nine members of the company, it was Clamorgan who became its director and managed the bold

schemes of his fertile imagination. In carrying them out he succeeded in financially ruining not only himself but his associates.

The company sent three costly expeditions up the Missouri in an effort to drive the British from Spanish territory, develop the valuable trade of the Upper Missouri Valley, and discover a route to the Pacific Ocean. The first two efforts were complete failures. The third, headed by James Mackay and John Evans, hauled down the British flag from a small fort among the Mandans. Part of this group then began the long trek to the Pacific coast. Had they continued on their planned route they might very well have been successful. This expedition, like the first two was a financial failure. No profits accrued from any of these ventures, which fact, while not forcing Clamorgan to give up hope, melted the financial hearts of his colleagues.

Although he ruined himself in the company, Clamorgan made use of intrigue for personal gain. From the jealousies and envy of the merchants, his associates, and by cleverly rewriting the articles of incorporation of the company, he acquired all but one of the original shares. He petitioned, in the name of the company, for large land grants which were conceded. Eventually these holdings came into his hands. Whenever any individual asked the government for trades which would endanger his bold schemes, Clamorgan not only successfully opposed them but usually got the concessions for the company and for himself. Those who continued to oppose the company found themselves controlled through Clamorgan's ability to advance and furnish merchandise.

He befriended and won to his side Regis Loisel, and more important for a time at least, the wealthy British merchant, Andrew Todd. Backed by the wealth, reputation and recognized ability of Todd, Clamorgan boldly plunged ahead with his schemes. A complete monopoly of the trades of the entire Upper Mississippi valley as well as those of the Upper Missouri valley would bring him wealth and

most certainly would assure the Spanish sovereignty. Believing in this vast plan, he persuaded Todd to back him completely. He then persuaded the Spanish officials to accept Todd. Although in disrepute himself, he persuaded Governor General Carondelet to grant to Todd the exclusive trade of the Upper Mississippi along with reduced import and export duties and other commercial concessions.

Clamorgan got Carondelet to grant further exclusive grants of trade to the Missouri Company as well as a subsidy of 10,000 pesos for 100 militiamen who were to guard forts which Clamorgan envisaged as established along a great arc reaching from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean. Moreover he persuaded Carondelet to make several important exceptions to the by-laws of the company.

As a result, Todd, who as a foreigner was specifically excluded, was given an equal share in the company. Carondelet ordered that all merchandise should be purchased through Todd, while Clamorgan revised the by-laws so that he could receive a $2\frac{1}{2}\%$ commission on all transactions of the company. In addition he arranged a contract with Todd whereby he received a high commission on all goods purchased by the company. Thus despite the opposition of the other merchants of St. Louis. Clamorgan grasped into his own hands the monopoly of the Indian trade in both the Upper Missouri and Upper Mississippi valleys. To take care of these advantages and to press for more, Clamorgan reorganized his own affairs and formed "Clamorgan, Loisel and Company" which made the arrangements and asked for concessions when not permitted to, or by, the Missouri Company—Clamorgan thus acting in a dual capacity.

Clamorgan succeeded in this enterprise, in part because he appeared to be fully supported by the resources of Todd, and because the governor was most anxious to oust the British from Spanish domain and to establish a route to the Pacific coast. Needless to say, Clamorgan made the most of Mackay's and Evans' explorations.

But these dreams toppled when Todd died during the yellow fever epidemic at New Orleans in 1796. Todd's heirs and creditors besieged St. Louis and New Orleans to get all they could. They made no effort to continue Todd's enterprise nor his contracts. This was one time that Clamorgan overshot his mark. He was heavily indebted to the Briton, whose heirs and agents forced Clamorgan to the brink of bankruptcy.

Nevertheless, by sheer personality, by long flattering dreamy letters, and by visits to New Orleans, Clamorgan held on to all of the government concessions granted to the company. In fact, he gained more. He was bold enough to propose continuing efforts to defend the Spanish Empire and to discover a route to the Pacific, even in the face of financial ruin.

Clamorgan successfully opposed all of his opponents and kept them from taking advantage of his reverses. When any of his many opponents made claims against him, the results were meagre as no one would ever testify against him. He took advantage of this situation, knowing that if his creditors pressed him he would have to foreclose on his debtors and thereby ruin many of the inhabitants of St. Louis.

Hence even Trudeau supported him. This, to Clamorgan, was the cue to ask for more. He again petitioned for 10,000 pesos, 2,000 pounds of gunpowder a year, and one-half million arpents of land.

At the same time, Clamorgan owed 25,000 pesos to Todd's estate, and another 74,000 pesos to Daniel Clark of New Orleans. The latter brought suit but Clamorgan hurried to the capital and effected a settlement. An agreement was made in 1799, and Clark as well as Chouteau of St. Louis, both of whom previously opposed Clamorgan, now aided him, protected his property, and gave him financial support and credit.

With the accession of weak governors in the colony, the gains of the company were wiped out in the main.

Clamorgan's opponents began to get trades which previously had been reserved for the company. The British were greatly strengthened on the Upper Missouri and were descending as far as the Mahas. On the Mississippi, they nearly usurped the trade north of St. Louis.

Again Clamorgan descended to New Orleans, this time supported by Charles Dehault Delassus, lieutenant governor at St. Louis. Daniel Clark Jr., advanced credits and reasserted his bold schemes after a lapse of activity for some time. In order to claim a new offer of a reward, he sent Heney to discover the route to the Pacific. He was thwarted by the British on the Upper Missouri.

Stripped of everything but a measly trade privilege with the Panis republic, Clamorgan asked and obtained the exclusive trade of the Otos, Mahas, and Poncas, all speculative trades on account of the British influence and intrusions. He also received the Kansas trade which was sure and profitable. Moreover, he renewed his request for 10,000 pesos, for 100 militiamen and 2,000 pounds of gunpowder. In this he was thwarted by the intendent of Louisiana and the state of war between Spain and England, and the consequent lack of support and the usual negligence of Spain.

Soon, however, Clamorgan's competitors prevailed upon the weak-willed Governor Casa Calvo and he was again stripped of all privileges except the trade of the Panis. Again he resorted to making money by backing the efforts of others. He obtained a one-third interest in the Loisel-Heney contract and company. By this device, Clamorgan's plans for the Spanish frontier were carried on until the occupation of Louisiana by the Americans. Another thrust was made towards the Pacific and Clamorgan again descended to New Orleans to solicit the aid of the government. Conflicting exclusive grants made by favoritism of the governor and the need of arranging his business affairs also caused this descent to New Orleans.

Clamorgan returned to St. Louis carrying orders for

aid to be given to the Missouri Company and to promote its interests for resistance to British aggression. Furthermore, the company was granted the exclusive trade of the entire Missouri valley beginning with the Kansas Indians with but one exception, and that exception—to Chauvin—was probably backed by Clamorgan himself. In fact, Lieutenant-Governor Delassus was ordered explicitly to support Clamorgan as director of the company.

Clamorgan backed all experienced men in the Upper Missouri. He gave nearly 38,000 pesos in goods to Jacques D'Eglise who was to explore to the Pacific and perhaps to Santa Fé as well. Loisel and Company actually led the activities on the Upper Missouri, keeping in mind Clamorgan's schemes to establish Spanish dominion in all of that vast area; and Clamorgan, now even supported by his former enemies and competitors, used Loisel's work as a basis for acquiring more land grants from the Spanish officials.

With the advent of the American acquisition of Louisiana, Clamorgan did not stop his activities even though he no longer possessed the advantages of his intimate friendship with the government officials. Despite his earlier hatred for the Americans and despite his many enemies, he was a respected citizen. In 1804 he was appointed by Governor W. H. Harrison as one of the first judges of the common pleas and quarter sessions in St. Louis, and he rented his house to the government to be used for a jail.

However the life of a judge and a plain American citizen was not the life for this promoter *par excellence*. He continued as an active merchant but never again engaged in vast promotional schemes as he had done under the Spaniards. He could not, however, resist the lure of high profits and the speculation on which easy money devolved. Despite his advanced age he again entered into business. In 1807 Clamorgan requested and was granted an American license to trade with the Pawnee Republic, thereby giving him a ruse to enter upon his larger scheme of trade with Santa Fé. A few days later he and Manuel Lisa formed a

company and bought goods to trade on the frontiers of New Mexico. List, now interested in his larger schemes of the Missouri river trade, probably declined to continue operations with Clamorgan. Clamorgan ascended to the Platte river and entered the Pawnee villages under his trading license. He then set out for Santa Fé where he arrived with three others, a slave and four cargoes of goods. He was sent to Chihuahua but in the next year returned to Missouri, traversing Texas without difficulty and bringing back maps and other materials.

Thus this intriguing adventurer who repeatedly failed to blaze the trail later made famous by Lewis and Clark was actually the first to make a trading venture into Santa Fé and return to Missouri with his profits, however little they probably were. Old man that he was, Clamorgan did not repeat his venture. Always the promoter, he offered to the public information on the trade with Spanish New Mexico. It does not appear that he himself had any opportunity to profit from this idea.

Clamorgan fell ill and on October 30, 1814, made out his will, in which he asked first that his debts be paid and that \$150.00 be distributed to the poor. His goods were to go to his four natural children. His principal assets had dwindled to a few accounts which amounted to perhaps only six or seven hundred dollars.

At his death, Clamorgan was more than eighty years old. He had made and lost fortunes through his sheer business acumen, facile pen, and servile attitude. That he was an economic promoter *par excellence* is not to be doubted. Although never admitted to the social set of St. Louis, he looms large as an outstanding figure in the history of the northeastern frontier of New Spain. During the last decade of the Spanish regime in the Mississippi valley, this obscure, visionary island creole earned the gratitude of the decrepit, helpless Spanish government in the defense of whose frontier, Spain in no small part owed a debt of gratitude to Jacques Clamorgan. Can one be blamed for dreaming grandiose schemes?

THE REV. HIRAM WALTER READ BAPTIST MISSIONARY TO NEW MEXICO

BORN IN Jewett City, New London County, Connecticut, June 17, 1819. Hiram Walter Read,¹ was baptized into the fellowship of the Baptist Church, Oswego, New York, on March 11, 1838. He received his education at Oswego Academy and Madison (now Colgate) University, Hamilton, New York. He was ordained to the ministry and began his pastoral work at Whitewater, Wisconsin, in 1844. He was pastor and chaplain to the Wisconsin senate. During this period, he attained a reputation as a successful evangelist.

In 1849 he went to New Mexico as chaplain at Fort Marcy, and for over two years he was preaching to the

1. Perhaps the reader will join the editor in being nonplussed to find the name of this first Protestant missionary in New Mexico given as "Hiram Walter" Read. Every mention of him previously seen has given the name as "Henry W." or merely "H.W." Read (Reed). Probably Bancroft and all subsequent writers have followed W. H. Davis who, in *El Gringo* (N. Y., 1857), p. 270, calls him "Henry W." And yet, curiously enough, even Heitman, *Historical Register* (Washington, 1903), I, p. 819, shows "Henry W. Read" as chaplain at Fort Marcy, N. Mex., 16 July 1849 to 15 Mar. 1852.

The name as here given comes from genealogical as well as church records. The biographical sketch supplied with the transcripts by the Rev. Mr. Weaver (see below) was accompanied by the following list of sources consulted:

- Cathcart, W., *The Baptist Encyclopaedia* (Phila., 1881), 962-3.
- Vedder, H. C., *A Short History of the Baptists* (Phila., 1907), 238-9.
- Burrows, J. L., *American Baptist Register for 1852*, 222.
- Reed, J. W., *History of the Reed Family in Europe and America* (Boston, 1861), 533.
- Bishop, H. F., *Historical Sketch of Lisbon, Connecticut* (Brooklyn, 1903), 59-60.
- Gray, A. B., *Survey of a Railroad Route on the 32d Parallel* (Cincinnati, 1856).
- Farish, T. E., *History of Arizona*, vol. III, 196-7.
- Bancroft, H. H., *History of Arizona and New Mexico* (1888), 521-2.
- Twitchell, R. E., *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, II, 350.
- Coan, Chas. F., *A History of New Mexico* (Chicago, 1925), I, 364.
- Journals, 1st Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Arizona, 1864*: pp. 13-14, 58, 68, 102.
- Heitman, F. B., *Historical Register and Dictionary of the U. S. Army*, 819.
- Adjutant General of the Army, Prisoner of War Records.
- General Accounting Office, Old files.
- Post Office Department, Appointment Records.
- The American Baptist Home Mission Society (New York), *Home Mission Record*, 1849-52.
- The *Texas Baptist Herald* (Austin), January 15, 1885.
- The *El Paso Times*, February 8, 1895, obituary.

United States troops, to the Indians and to the Mexicans. He explored the settled parts of New Mexico and laid the foundation for Baptist mission work in all this region. It is chiefly this exploratory work which is shown by the sources here published. Later (1852-54), he was back in New Mexico again, organizing churches, locating other missionaries, and establishing schools for the Baptist denomination.

Later, he returned east where he labored for the American Baptist Home Mission Society and the American and Foreign Bible Society. For a time he lived in Virginia, near Washington, D. C. Here he founded the Columbia Baptist Church, Falls Church, Virginia, and helped in many revival services. During the Civil War, he served the United States government at Washington, in the field and in hospitals. He was taken prisoner by the Confederates at Savage Station, Virginia, on June 30, 1862, but on September 21 he was exchanged for the Reverend W. F. Broaddus of Fredericksburg, Virginia, one of the famous Baptist ministers of that day.

He assisted in the establishment of the Territorial government of Arizona (1863) and served as the first postmaster at Prescott from January 22, 1864, to May 18, 1865. He is said to have made a visit to California in 1864.

Later in 1865 he settled in Hannibal, Missouri, where he became a noted evangelist. His labors extended to eastern cities and to many of the larger towns of the country. During his ministry he baptized nearly a thousand persons and led thousands more to Christ who were baptized by others.

Few facts are known about his family. His parents were Caleb and Mary (Leffingwell) Read. Also he was twice married, but just when occurred the death of his first wife Alzina (who was with him in New Mexico) cannot be stated.

From January 1, 1880 to February 10, 1882, he was pastor of the Baptist Church at Virginia City, Nevada. At the latter date he departed to accept a missionary assignment at El Paso, Texas. He died in that frontier town on February

6, 1895, at the advanced age of seventy-five years, and his remains were buried in Concordia Cemetery.

The above meager and fragmentary sketch follows pretty closely information supplied by the Rev. Rufus W. Weaver, executive secretary of the District of Columbia Baptist Convention, and secured by the Hon. Carl Hayden, U. S. senator from Arizona. From the latter it came to our desk recently in an exchange of material, together with the group of transcripts which follow. It is at once evident that these latter also are only a fragmentary record and of a very limited period, but they will be found of considerable interest because of the composite picture which they give of New Mexico just after the American Occupation, especially at Santa Fe, Taos, and El Paso.—L. B. B.

HOME MISSION RECORD

New York, December, 1849

Our Duty to New Mexico

In our last paper we gave notice that Rev. H. W. Read has arrived at Santa Fe, in New Mexico, and has made arrangements to remain there permanently. In this number we present our readers extracts from his letter, in which he announces that fact. We believe it impossible for Christians to read them without thankfulness to God for his preservation, and a clear discernment of the Divine providence which conducted him to that city, and hedged up his way against proceeding further.

His letter is too long to be transferred entire to our columns. It presents a story of trials, hardships, and annoyances, requiring great patience and firmness; which, however, Mr. Read and his estimable wife seem to have exercised in health and sickness, and without which, at least once, they would have been left without protection in the dreary wilderness, exposed to the cruelties of hostile Indians, and destitute of adequate means of advancing or returning. But God, in whom they trusted, and whose cause it was their object to promote, raised up for them faithful and efficient friends, and conducted them safely through the dangers and afflictions of the way.

And now they are in New Mexico. The extracts alluded to show what prospects of usefulness have already dawned upon them, and what additional means and appliances are necessary—we may say, demanded, by an equally clear providence, at our hands, as God's servants—for laying the religious foundations of a State which must inevitably rise to importance, and for promoting the best interests of the thousands who now live in gross darkness and sin.

The Executive Board have sanctioned the arrangement of Mr. Read. With a population of 100,000 souls in the territory, uninstructed in Gospel truth by a single evangelical preacher, with near a thousand Americans imploring him to remain, and many Mexicans favorably disposed to study the religion he preaches, it was his and our duty to acquiesce in the overruling guidance of the Divine hand. Is it not also our privilege to rejoice in the event, as a token of Divine pleasure in the instrumentality of the Society in accomplishing his own good purpose.

Other missionaries are needed there. What is one among so many thousands? Even the Mexicans, and the very Indians, will be glad to receive them. The Pueblo Indians—"the most intelligent of the tribes"—deserve the attention of kind and faithful teachers, and doubtless would listen to those who might be sent. But the Americans, our brothers, our sons who are there, or shortly will be there—what Christian will willingly assume the responsibility of neglecting their spiritual interests?

Our missionary must not be allowed to labor alone. The circumstances under which his temporal necessities are provided for, though desirable in some respects, are unfavorable to his extending his labors as far as usual for missionaries.² There is work enough already for another in Santa Fe, and for still another in adjacent villages. Besides which he, more than most missionaries, needs counsel and support amidst the peculiar duties and trials of his station. Our Divine Master sent forth his disciples two and two, and missionary Societies should follow his example. It is hoped that at least two or three good men will be found, who will be ready to proceed at the earliest practicable moment.

But, does not this event suggest to the Baptist denomination a train of thoughts of solemn importance? Here is a field of great extent and interest, offered for their culti-

2. The editor of the *Home Mission Record* is alluding of course to Mr. Read's chaplaincy at Fort Marcy in Santa Fé.

vation. The God whom they worship and to whose service they profess to devote themselves, in answer to their prayers to be used for the promotion of his glory, deigns to present them that field, and says to them in these providences: "Go, work in my vineyard." Now shall we go? It is an honor conferred upon us. Will we receive it and act worthy of it? Are our prayers and men and money ready for the offerings which the altar of his love and condescension now invites? Too long has it been our custom to delay till others, more zealous, more faithful, outstrip us in obedience, and bear away the crown of rejoicing.

Here is a good beginning, and God has approved it by relieving us of the usual pecuniary burden of such undertakings. It encourages a continuance of our efforts. **IT CANNOT BE FOLLOWED UP EFFICIENTLY WITHOUT INCREASED SUPPORT FROM OUR FRIENDS.** Let them think of the great extension of our territory—the tens of thousands of benighted heathen and paganized Christians, now our fellow-citizens; and the many more thousands of comparatively unenlightened minds pouring in upon us from every quarter: and then let them decide of what value to them, as individuals or a Christian denomination, are their silver and gold, compared with the benefits to themselves, to their country, and to the souls of men, which the religious instruction by a few ministers of the gospel would be able to impart, by their liberal contributions, for the field which is now open and inviting their labors of love; and then let them quickly encourage the Board, to make all needful preliminary arrangements for its immediate occupancy.

HOME MISSION RECORD

Americans Leaving New Mexico—Indians Requesting Teachers

From Rev. H. W. Read, Santa Fe, April 1, 1850

A great number of our American citizens or sojourners for the time, have left recently, and among them many who usually attend public worship with us. After they left, there were so few who attended evening meetings it was thought best to discontinue them.

Full half of the officers formerly stationed here, with the troops under their command, have been ordered elsewhere. so that our congregation on the Sabbath will not average more than 25 persons. There are now but six or eight

American families in this city, and some of these will leave in a few days. Indeed, nearly all the Americans now here intend to leave the country as soon as practicable.

I am anxious to visit other parts of this country, and particularly some of the friendly tribes of Indians, to ascertain their wishes relative to measures for their improvement and to satisfy myself as to the practicability of establishing schools among them. A few days since I made known my wish to the Governor, who readily consented to give me "leave of absence" and offered to issue his order for me to make a tour of observation. By this very satisfactory arrangement, I shall be furnished with a military escort.

I am particularly anxious to visit the Zunians, about two hundred miles south-west of this. They all live in one very compact town, numbering, according to various reports, from three to five thousand. They are not a wandering tribe, but stay mostly at home and cultivate their land which is said to be very productive. Capt. Ker, the commandant of a military post, some 125 miles below this, visited them recently, and has since been here. He, as well as others who have visited them, represent them to be a very superior tribe, and their Governor is said to be a very remarkable man. He informed Capt. Ker that he was very anxious to have teachers come among his people, establish schools for their children, instruct them in mechanic arts and, in a word, to have them become Americanized. The Mochins [Moquis] are a similar class of people, living about 100 miles beyond the Zunians, but of them little is known. My intention is to look out those places where missionaries are most needed, and where their location is most practicable. I cannot now tell when I shall start on this tour, possibly not for two months, but it may be much sooner.

NEW MEXICO

Educational Interests in Santa Fe. The Mexicans
Desire A "Collegio." Teachers Wanted. Females Can be
Very Useful

From Rev. H. W. Read, Santa Fe, Aug. 1, 1850

If you have received my last two letters, you have observed that they did not speak very encouragingly relative to the prospects of missionary labor at present in

this country. But I have endeavored to keep you advised of the state of things and prospects here, as they have appeared to me. At present I feel *somewhat encouraged*, principally on account of the greatly increased interest among the people on the subject of education. I am strongly solicited to establish an Academy or Boarding School, and to advertise accordingly. It is believed that such an institution would be sustained, that it would secure the attendance of those who, otherwise, will go to the States to obtain an English education. And now I can assure you that many of the better class of Mexicans and Spaniards exhibit a commendable pride at the idea of having such a school (or as they call it, Collegio) in their midst, and at the metropolis of their country. Some of our American population are urging me to adopt the measure, and I am not aware of any who oppose it. I have conversed with but few, comparatively, on this subject, owing to the wonderful political excitement amongst us;³ but I am fully satisfied that such a step is feasible and practicable, and ought to be taken at once. I would not hesitate a moment longer to comply with the wishes and solicitations of the people, were I situated so that I could carry them out. In the first place, Mrs. Read's health is too feeble to justify her in attempting to take even the oversight of such a household, or to render me the needed assistance in the school. Secondly, there are no boarding houses here where students could be accommodated; and if there were, such an arrangement would not suit their parents, who wish their sons and daughters to *live with my family*, justly expecting that in such a case, they would sooner become acquainted with not only our language, but our customs generally. Had I any reasonable expectation of being reinforced during the present summer and fall, I would not hesitate to commence the desired Academy at once. I am not certain, however, but I shall

3. In the summer of 1850, Santa Fé was in the throes of an attempt to effect statehood. It was a difficult time. The military commander, Col. John Munroe, had (as requested) called a constitutional convention; but when the citizenry proceeded to organize and operate as a State, Munroe admonished them that they must wait for approval from Washington. This they refused to do. "Governor" Manuel Alvarez and others challenged his authority in civil matters; the congressmen-elect left for Washington; the state legislature began its sittings. One of their enactments that summer was the creating of Socorro County, yet the statehood effort as a whole was a failure. Under the Compromise Bills worked out that fall in congress, New Mexico was made a Territory—and also her boundaries were fixed. The latter, was effected by paying Texas a good round sum for a quit-claim for her pseudo-title to all of New Mexico which lay east of the Rio Grande.

go forward, and trust Providence to send others to our aid. The aid most needed at present in the school is, a pious well-educated young lady. Who will come? Is there not at least one sister, who is willing to come even to Santa Fe to labor in this missionary field? I trust there are many. Who will furnish the means? Who is the brother? Or which is the Sunday-school or the Church who will be instrumental in blessing benighted souls in New Mexico? The principal work to be done now is to educate the young; but with their education, much moral and spiritual instruction may and should be imparted. It is an encouraging fact that the Mexican children are quick to learn. Indeed, they acquire as readily as American children do, notwithstanding all the disadvantages under which the former labor. I have at present in my school, 12 Mexican scholars, varying from 4 to 16 years of age. Some of them commenced about ten months since with the alphabet at that time. They could not speak a word in the English language. During this period they have read and spelled Webster's spelling book through twice, learned and recited the "Analysis of Sounds," "Directions for Pronouncing words," "Accent, Emphasis, and Cadence," "The Abbreviations," "Punctuation," also a good part of the "Multiplication Table," and they have learned to count and to talk in our language. Some are reading in History, and are writing beautifully, and will commence the study of Geography soon. I repeat what I have stated to you on former occasions, that schools ought to be established throughout New Mexico, at once. Who are the men and women, the philanthropists, the Christians who will engage in this work?

A Successful School Among the Mexicans

August 31st

My school presents the most encouraging of all my labors in this place. It now numbers twenty scholars, mostly Mexicans, who are making remarkable progress in their studies. Four of them have commenced Olney's Geography; six are writing beautifully; and all are doing well. As I mentioned to you in my last, I am solicited to open a boarding school, or rather a boarding house, for the accommodation of those abroad; but the feeble health of Mrs. Read prevents it just yet.

NEW MEXICO

General Remarks

1850

New Mexico and Chihuahua, which I consider here principally, because they fell under my immediate observation, are neither the richest, nor the poorest States of Mexico; but both of them have resources that never have been fully developed.

Agriculture, as we have seen, is the least promising branch of industry. The want of more water-courses, and the necessity of irrigation, are the principal causes; but nevertheless, they raise every year more than sufficient for their own consumption; the failure of crops, with starvation of the people, is less common here than in many other countries, because the regular system of irrigation itself prevents it. Besides, there are large tracts in the country fit for agriculture, but allowing no isolated settlements on account of the Indians. Another reason, too, why farming settlements make slow progress, is, the large haciendas. That independent class of small farmers who occupy the greatest part of the land in the United States is here but poorly represented and the large estates cultivate generally less ground than many smaller but independent farmers.

As a *grazing* country, both States are unsurpassed by any in the Union. Millions of stock can be raised every year in the prairies of the high table-land and in the mountains. Cattle, horses, mules, and sheep increase very fast; and if more attention were paid to the improvement of the stock, the wool of the sheep alone could be made the exchange of the greatest part of the present importation. But to accomplish that, the wild Indians, who chiefly in the last ten years have crippled all industry in stock raising, have first to be subdued.

Mining, another main resource of the country, needs to some degree, also, protection from the Indians, because valuable mines have sometimes been given up from their incursions; and other districts, rich in minerals, cannot be even explored, for the same reason.

The silver mines of the State of Chihuahua, though worked for centuries, seem to be inexhaustible. The discovery of new mines is but a common occurrence; and attracted by them, the mining population moves generally from one place to another without exhausting the old ones.

To make the mining more effectual, onerous duties and partial restrictions ought to be abolished, and sufficient capital to work them more thoroughly and extensively would soon flow into the State. New Mexico seems to be as rich in gold ore as Chihuahua is in silver; but yet, less capital and greater insecurity have prevented their being worked to a large extent.

To develop all those resources which nature has bestowed upon these two States, another condition of things is wanted than at present prevails there: a just, stable and strong government is, before all, needed, that can put down the hostile Indians, give security of person and property to all, allow free competition in all branches of industry, and will not tax the people higher than the absolute wants of the government require. Under such a government, the population as well as the produce of the country, would increase at a rapid rate; new outlets would be opened to commerce, and the people would not only become richer and more comfortable, but more enlightened, too, and more liberal.

Is there at present any prospect of such a favorable change?

The Mexicans, since their declaration of independence, have been involved in an incessant series of local and general revolutions throughout the country, which prove that republican institutions have not taken root amongst them, and that, although they have thrown off the foreign yoke, they have not learned yet to govern themselves. It could hardly be expected, too, that a people composed of two different races, who have mixed but not assimilated themselves, should, after an oppression of three centuries, at once be fit for a republic. Fanaticism alone may overthrow an old government, but it wants cool and clear heads to establish a new one adapted to the people, and a certain intellect of the whole people to maintain permanently a republic. But this wide-spread intellect does not exist yet in the mass of the Mexican populace, or they would not have been duped, as they have been for twenty years past, by the long succession of egotistical leaders, whose only aim and ambition was power and plunder; and during all these disgraceful internal revolutions, neither the general nor the local government has done anything to spread more intellect among the great mass of the people; they had neither time nor money for it, and it did partly not suit

their ambitious plans to govern a more enlightened people.

Where shall the enlightening of the masses and the stability of government now come from? I cannot help thinking that if Mexico, debilitated by the present war, should afterwards be left to itself, the renewal of its internal strifes will hurry it to its entire dissolution; and what the United States may refuse at present to take as the spoils of the war, will be offered to them in later years as a boon.

The fate of Mexico is sealed. Unable to govern itself, it will be governed by some other power; and if it should not fall into worse hands than those of the United States, it may congratulate itself, because they would respect at least its nationality, and guaranty to it what it never had before, a republican government.—

HOME MISSION RECORD

New Mexico

WHAT SHALL BE DONE FOR NEW MEXICO

From Rev. H. W. Read, Santa Fé, Nov. 30, 1851 [1850]⁴

The time *has come now* when I *must* be reinforced, or our denominational interests⁵ will be thrown into the background. My duties as chaplain are sufficient for one man, yet all the missionary labor that has been done heretofore in this country, has been required of me. As my acquaintance extends, my labor constantly increases, and has become so onerous that I am utterly unable to do all that is imperatively demanded at my hands. You are aware that the Mexicans do not possess the Bible, and indeed very few of them ever heard of such a book. But all Christians and all enlightened people know that they ought to be made acquainted with its contents. I have just commenced a system of reading which I believe will, with the Divine blessing,

4. There are several indications in this short excerpt which show that it must belong to the year 1850 instead of 1851. Perhaps there was an error in copying it for publication in the *Home Mission Record*.

5. This denominational apprehension was doubtless occasioned by the arrival earlier this year of a Methodist missionary, the Rev. E. G. Nicholson and his family. Until he returned east sometime in 1852 because of his wife's health. Mr. Nicholson seems to have found his congregation (as had Mr. Read) among the Anglos, civilian and military. Later (Nov. 10, 1853) Mr. Nicholson returned to New Mexico with two assistants who were to help in expanding the Methodist work to the Spanish-speaking population. (Harwood, Thos., *History of New Mexico Spanish and English Missions of the M. E. Church*, 1850-1910, pp. 17-49.)

result in good. My plan is this: I take my Spanish Bible and go to a house, tell the family what a choice book I have, and ask them if they would like to have me read a little of it to them. Their consent being readily obtained I proceed to read two or three chapters, and then go to another house, and so on as long as time will permit. This is the only way by which the great mass of this people can become acquainted with the Scriptures, as it is now well known here, that not more than one in two hundred can either write, read, or tell their own age. To me this kind of labor seems to be of the first importance, and there is enough of it to be done in this city alone, to occupy all the time of half a dozen devoted missionaries. Judge Houghton first suggested this kind of labor to me, and strongly recommended it. I have conversed with other intelligent gentlemen on the subject and they also approve of it.

HOME MISSION RECORD

New Mexico

Earnest Desire of the People For the Scriptures.

From Rev. H. W. Read, Santa Fe, Feb. 14, 1851.

My last Spanish Testament is gone. Some months ago I had given away all but two copies, (one for Mrs. Read and one for my own reading,) but being urged to furnish copy for a Mexican living 40 miles distant, I sent my copy to him. A few days since an intelligent American physician called to get a Testament for a poor Mexican living some 45 miles distant. The poor man sent me word that he had no money to pay for one, but that he would come all the way to Santa Fe to work for me. Who could resist such an appeal? Mrs. Read sent her Testament (the last we had) to him. The doctor assured me that so great was this man's anxiety to read the Bible, that he had often traveled a considerable distance to where there was a single though much worn copy of the Testament, and would read it for many hours together.

We are greatly encouraged by seeing an increasing desire among the people for the Scriptures. Do not fail to send me a *liberal* supply of the Scriptures in the Spanish language by the first possible opportunity. Also a very large quantity of tracts in Spanish, English, German, and some in French. I should also be glad of other religious books in Spanish.

HOME MISSION RECORD

May, 1851

Missionary Tour in New Mexico

Journal of Rev. H. W. Read, (continued from our last)⁶

[Taos], Wednesday, [January] 8th. This morning the military officers and several other gentlemen called. During the day I visited the priest⁷ and several other prominent persons, to all of whom I made known the object of my visit, and all seemed highly gratified, and promised to aid in establishing an Academy that will be both creditable and beneficial.

Thursday, 9th. Today rode through the valley south of the town, and truly it is beautiful and productive beyond any other part of New Mexico that I have yet seen. Called on two Americans, who have lived in this country for many years; they are wealthy, and will patronize the school liberally. Visited a new flouring mill, also a saw mill, objects of great interest, and sources of great wealth in this country.

Friday, 10th. This morning, in company with Judge Houghton,⁸ Esq. Cary, and Dr. McGruder, started to visit Arroyo Hondo, 12 miles north of Taos. On our way called to see the celebrated Indian Pueblo of Taos. Rode up to the house of the Governor, alighted, secured our horses, and ascended a ladder to the second story, where we were warmly greeted by his Excellency. He formerly belonged to the tribe of Kiowas, and when a child was taken prisoner by the Pueblos, with whom he has lived ever since. For many years he was their chief, but since he has become old, his people have very wisely changed his commission, and made him their governor. He has a fine intelligent countenance, and is popular with his people. By my request he took us to visit one of the *Estufas*, of which there are seven in the place. These are rooms under ground, used for Council

6. Evidently there was a first installment of this tour (from Santa Fé to Taos), published in the April issue of the *Home Mission Record*, which we do not have. That the tour was made in January 1851 we deduce from the dates here given and those of the third tour.

7. The priest alluded to here and twice below was the Rev. Antonio José Martínez. He was at that time in good standing with the Roman Catholic Church, continuing to serve as curate at Taos until May 1856.

8. From 1846 to 1851 Joab Houghton was chief justice of the territorial supreme court, and therefore judge of the First (or northern) District. After the Civil War, he was to serve again but in the Third District (1865-69).

chambers. The entrance is by a small trap door a perpendicular ladder. The chamber is about seven feet deep, circular, and some twenty feet in diameter. Here, for the first time, I saw the fire of Montezuma, which, as tradition says, he required his people to keep constantly burning until he returns again. It is a slow, smouldering fire, covered with ashes, kept in a small pit three feet square, curbed with flat stones. I asked the Governor how long it had been burning in this place; to which he replied, that he did not know, but long, long before he was born. I observed a quantity of pine wood, dry as tinder, which is kept on hand, so that in case the fire should chance to get low it can be readily revived. The greatest calamity that could befall the Pueblo would be to have the sacred fire extinguished. The men watch and tend it alternately, relieving each other daily. I am informed that whenever this fire, at any Pueblo, by any means becomes extinguished, the place is at once and forever deserted.⁹

This village contains four hundred or five hundred souls, nearly all of whom live in two enormously large houses. They are seven stories high, running back like terraces. Some of these people, on a former occasion,¹⁰ solicited me to establish a school among them. At this time I said nothing to them on the subject, neither did I make myself known to them. In the revolution of 1846, a severe battle was fought here. The warriors collected in a large adobe church, whence they could not be expelled, until our troops succeeded in getting a shell among them, the effect of which was as anticipated. One tower and one wall of the church still remain as a memorial of the dreadful massacre of the lamented Governor Bent, and fourteen of his associates. These Indians cultivate considerable land, and appear to be well supplied with the necessaries of life. Proceeded to Arroyo Hondo, passing over some good uncultivated lands, and through a small new village, the name of which I do not know. Arroyo Hondo, which signifies Low River, is aptly named. It is a small rapid stream,

9. This old yarn of Montezuma's fire makes a pretty tale and it was faithfully retold to every newcomer in New Mexico. Josiah Gregg wove it into his *Commerce of the Prairies* (1844) and countless others have followed suit. It is safe to say that the Pueblo Indian never heard of Montezuma except from the white man, and he is perfectly willing that the latter believe the tale—if said white man will leave said Indian unmolested in his secret and sacred rites.

10. This is the only reference in these fragmentary records to what was perhaps Mr. Read's first tour in New Mexico.

running through a narrow valley, several hundred feet below the table land and other streams in the vicinity. Two miles below the outlet of the stream from the mountains, resides a Mr. Quinn, an intelligent and enterprising American. Our destination was to this place. He has a huge pile of Adobes, comprising an extensive distillery, a flouring mill, blacksmith-shop, dwelling-houses, store, &c. He thinks he can secure a dozen scholars for the Academy, from his neighborhood. Returned to Taos in the evening.

Saturday, 11th. Today visited several families, all of whom are anxious to have a school established here. The priest, who by the way, is one of the most influential men in New Mexico, called on me to enquire more particularly about the school I propose to establish. He was very solicitous to know if it was the intention to teach the Protestant religion in the school. I informed him that the object in establishing an institution of learning here was to educate the children and youth of both sexes; that the course of instruction would be similar to that pursued in similar institutions in the United States. He said he was satisfied, and again promised to render me and the school all the assistance in his power. He said he would invite me to preach in his church, but their ecclesiastical regulations forbade it, besides, the house was very large, has no seats, and no means of warming it. I thanked him for his kindness, informed him that the Court-House had been offered me, when I should preach at 3 o'clock, and invited him and his people to attend.

Sunday, 12th. This morning attended mass. Many hundreds of Mexicans present, probably not one of whom understood a word that was said, as what little was read was not above a whisper and in Latin. It is not customary for the priests of this country to preach to the people, and as only about one in three hundred can read, their opportunities for instruction are very limited. At the time appointed for preaching, the house was literally crammed. The priest accepted a seat in the desk with me. The exercises were commenced by singing the missionary hymn. I preached from 2nd Cor., V:20, "Now then we are ambassadors for Christ," &c. It was an interesting occasion, and such an one as ever preached here by a protestant minister, and in the congregation were several of my own National brethren, who probably have not heard a sermon for the last

twenty or thirty years. The Lord gave me much freedom in presenting his claims, and my prayer is, that this first sown seed here will produce some fruit to the glory of his name. O! for the time to come, when the Gospel shall be preached throughout New Mexico.

Roll swiftly round, ye wheels of time,
And bring the welcome day.

HOME MISSION RECORD

June, 1851

Missionary Tour in New Mexico

Journal of Rev. H. W. Read, (continued from our last.)
Foundation For An Academy Laid

Monday morning, [January] 13th — I have just furnished Mr. Josephs (a wealthy merchant) with a plan of a School room, and quarters for a teacher's family, which he is to build by the first of July next, and the use of which he is to give for the instruction of his two little boys! I have also just given to Messrs. Wooton & Williams a plan for furnishing the school room, the lumber for which is gratuitously given by Esq. Cary. The object of my visit to this place is satisfactorily completed. The foundation for a good Academy, I trust, is permanently laid. Judge Houghton and others have rendered me valuable assistance.

9 o'clock A. M. I am now ready to commence my homeward journey. Capt. Gordon sends some soldiers to escort me through the mountains.¹¹

The Taos Valley

La Jolla,¹² Monday evening. — On leaving Taos this morning passed through a portion of the valley I had not before visited. It is apparently very productive and highly cultivated. The Taos valley within a circuit of a few miles, contains about 6000 inhabitants; and all things considered, this is one of the most promising missionary stations in all this country. There is perhaps, more intelligence, more wealth, less vice and less poverty in this section than in any other of the same extent in New Mexico. A missionary

11. This was probably Capt. Wm. H. Gordon, 3rd U. S. Infantry.

12. This "La Joya" was between Embudo and Los Luceros coming south. Another plaza of this name down the Rio Grande toward Socorro is mentioned later.

can live here at comparatively little expense, as the necessities of life are here raised in abundance, and consequently obtained at a low rate.

A Mexican's Idea of the Time Requisite for An Education

Had a safe passage through the mountains, and arrived here at 4 P. M. Put up at the house of a Mr. Val Dais.¹³ Here is a large family all uneducated. Two boys have just gone to Santa Fe to attend my school for 3 months, their parents supposing that a sufficient time for them to acquire a good education. I assured the old gentleman that it would require nearly that time to straighten their tongues, or in other words to teach them to pronounce words in our language.

Education Unnecessary For Girls.

My host kindly invited me to attend a Fandango to which his family were going, and seemed somewhat surprised that I should decline. But I told him I preferred to spend the evening in telling him the importance and benefits of educating his children. He admitted that it was well to educate the boys, but education was unnecessary for the girls; pointing to his wife as an illustration, saying that "she knows nothing." Before the subject was dismissed he promised to send two of his daughters to school next summer.

I am satisfied that it is only necessary to present the subject of education properly to this people to have them see the importance of it. Here also a school ought to be established.

Fortunate Escape From a Mad Dog.

Tuesday morning. Jan. 14th. — Resumed my journey at 9 o'clock, reached Canada at 11, fed and rested my horse for an hour, and again started for home.¹⁴ Had not gone more than a mile when a large rabid dog made a furious attack upon me and my horse, but we succeeded in out-running him until I could bring a holster pistol to bear upon him, which put an end to his career. Reached home at 3

13. Correct phonetically, but the Spanish name is Valdez.

14. His stop was at Santa Cruz de la Cañada, the second oldest Spanish plaza of New Mexico, better known today as "Santa Cruz."

P. M. thankful to my heavenly Father for his kind watch and care over me and my precious wife during my absence.

HOME MISSION RECORD

Rev. Mr. Read's Third Tour

(Extracts from a Journal of a missionary tour through portions of New Mexico, Old Mexico and Texas, by Rev. H. W. Read, Chaplain U. S. Army, and missionary of the American Baptist Home Mission Society, dated May 1, 1851.)

The Forward March

Under orders from Col. Munro,¹⁵ left Santa Fe on Tuesday P. M., March 4th [1851], in company with Maj. Hagner,¹⁶ his clerk, servant, and an escort of six men. I was mounted on my horse, gun in hand, a brace of pistols in the holsters on my saddle, wore a broad-brimmed white wool hat, short beaver-overcoat, buckskin pantaloons, and thick boots. For the first few miles the snow and mud made traveling difficult. Our course Southerly. Reached Delgado's Rancho at 5 P. M., where we obtained lodgings. Distance 16 miles.

Narrow Escapes

This evening came near being shot by the careless discharge of a gun in the hands of a soldier. Thankful for the gracious preservation of my life. The well known "Delgado's Rancho" is an old delapidated pile of adobes, at present occupied only by peones or Mexican slaves.

Wednesday morning half-past 7 o'clock, as we were preparing to start Maj. Hagner was accidentally shot, providentially, however, not much injured; the ball grazed his hand, passed through his coat, vest, and shirt on his right side, hence through the carriage, leaving no farther traces of its course. The wounded hand being dressed we proceeded on our way, thinking and talking of the protection of providence, also resolving to be more cautious in future.

15. At this time, John Munroe was major 2nd U. S. Artillery, but he had been brevetted "Colonel" in the Mexican War. When Chaplain Read arrived in July 1849, Col. John M. Washington was serving as both civil and military governor, but in October 1849 he was succeeded by Colonel Munroe. The latter served in the civil capacity until James S. Calhoun took over on March 3, 1851; and Munroe continued as military commander until relieved by Col. E. V. Sumner in July.

16. John Randall Hagner was major, Paymaster Dept., 1850-56.

* * * Reached Algodonis (cotton wood) at 3 P. M., in a tremendous storm of wind and dust.¹⁷ Distance 25 miles. Put up at a Mexican house, there being no American family in the place. Population 300, mostly very poor.

Thursday 6, rose early, very cold. The valley on which we shall travel most of the way on this tour, at this place is some three miles wide, easily irrigated; but the indolence of the people is always likely to prevent them from obtaining the comforts of life. A few beans, a little corn, a good deal of tobacco, and large quantities of red peppers comprise their principal stock of provisions. And this is true of all the poorer class of Mexicans. Resumed our journey at eight and a half o'clock. For a few miles but little land cultivated.

Better Management

Six miles from Algodonis, came to Bernalillo, the prettiest place I have yet seen in New Mexico. It contains some 300 souls, and is famous for its superior grapes and peaches. The houses are good, the garden walls high and capped with cactus to prevent the depredations of thieves with which this country abounds. — Passed through the small Pueblo of San Dia. These people are very industrious, and gain a good livelihood by agriculture. Arrived at Albuquerque at 2 P. M. Put up with Capt. Ker, who showed me so much kindness when crossing the "Plains" nearly two years since.¹⁸ Took tea, and spent the evening at Mr. West's. Enjoyed a precious season of social worship.

Friday 7th, detained here today; Maj. Hagner paid the troops. This is one of the most important places in New Mexico. It contains about 1500 inhabitants, is a military post, and several American families reside here, and on the whole it bids fair to become a place of great importance. The inconvenience of hauling wood 18 miles is not considered very great. The principal productions of the country together with grapes and peaches, do extremely well here.

Trouble Apprehended

Saturday 8th, resumed our journey at 8 A. M. Forded the river, and started toward Cibolletta. But before leaving

17. Delgado's Ranch and Algodones were regular stopping-places for travelers going south. In 1855, W. W. H. Davis made the same stops when en route from Santa Fé to Fort Defiance (*El Gringo*, 389).

18. Croghan Ker at this time was captain 2nd U. S. Dragoons. He resigned his commission Nov. 10, 1851.

the river filled our water casks and canteens, as we shall probably find no water for the next two days. — As this is a more dangerous part of the journey our escort is doubled. We have a baggage wagon and a carriage or ambulance. Capt. Dodge, son of Gen. Dodge, of Wisconsin, whom we met at this place accompanied us.^{18a} For fifteen miles the road runs through a sand desert, rendering the traveling slow and difficult. The general face of the country is undulating, producing grass but is destitute of water. Eighteen miles from A. crossed the Rio Puerco, (Muddy River), which is now dry. Six miles farther on reached the "timber," which is only a clump of cedar bushes and a few small trees. Here we encamped.

We were now in the range of the Nabajoës. Kept a strong guard and a large fire all night. I slept on the ground, or rather tried to sleep, but could not on account of the cold, and the incessant howling of the wolves.

Sunday 9th, regretted the necessity of traveling today, but could not avoid it, as I am traveling in company with others whose affairs I cannot control. * * * * *

Unpleasant Neighbors

Late in the evening came to some small settlements, the people of which cultivate small quantities of land bordering a small muddy stream, the name of which I did not learn. Two or three springs of good water in the vicinity. Here the people are liable at any moment to be robbed of their property or their families by the warlike Nabajoës, and for their security they have many little stone forts, where a watch is kept most of the summer season when their stock is grazing, and I observed two or three very small villages located in the tops of the rocks, the houses not only having rocks for their foundations, but built of and among rocks. At sundown reached Cibolletta where we were kindly received and hospitably entertained by the officers stationed here.

Monday 10th, visited the few Americans and a few Mexicans of this place, and learned that this town contains some 300 souls, besides the troops, of which there are two

18a. Henry Linn Dodge was not a captain in the U. S. Army but of a Volunteer Company which participated in the Navajo campaign under Colonel Washington, in the field from Santa Fe August 16 to September 23, 1849. His father, Henry Dodge of Wisconsin, and a brother, Augustus Caesar Dodge of Iowa, were both serving in the U. S. Senate. (Annie H. Abel, ed., *Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun*, pp. 38, 334).

companies. The post is commanded by Col. Chandler. The other officers consist of one Captain, one Physician and two Lieutenants. Three of the officers have families with them.

This place is located far up among the mountains of the Nabajo country, and is not worth what it costs the Government to protect it for one month.

A Truly Pitiable Condition

The people are ignorant and indolent in the extreme. The commanding officer assured me that whenever one of his mules died numbers of these people would collect and strip off all the flesh for food.

Tuesday 11th, detained today, and as there is but little interest here, especially to one who has no time to waste, the hours dragged heavily. A famous half-tamed Nabajo Chief named Sandoval, who resides in this vicinity, came into town today to sell some captives of his own nation which he has recently took prisoners.—He sold one young man of 18 years of age for thirty (30) dollars. * * *¹⁹

Friday, 14th, passed on and put up at Tome. Distance 16 miles. Tome is a small dilapidated village, most of the houses fast going to decay. Formerly vast herds of cattle were raised here, as there is much good grazing land and plenty of water, but the Indians have robbed the inhabitants until they are miserably poor.

Trying To Do Good

Went out to distribute tracts, saw about fifty women on their knees on the street, responding "Amen," as an old man recited some prayer. I observed that at short distances small crosses were placed in the ground; around these the women knelt while the prayer was repeated, then all rose and proceeded to the next. In this way they traversed the whole town. Gave a man a tract, which he soon sent back, being afraid to keep it. Spent the evening in reading the Testament to a group of people.

Saturday 15th, started at 8 o'clock. For several miles there is but little land under cultivation. Most of the people in this vicinity appear to be be very poor.

19. The section here omitted (for March 12-13) would show that the party turned back from Cebolleta, for we next find them at the little old plaza of Tomé which is in the Rio Grande valley, about twenty-three miles below Albuquerque.

Encouragement to Labor

Passed some small villages and reached La Jolla, (La Hoyah,—The Hole) at sundown.²⁰ Put up with a Mexican, there being no American in town. Immediately commenced distributing tracts to such as could read, and scores of persons followed me from house to house, and persons were running from every part of the town either to get a tract or to hear me read. One man showed his gratitude for a tract. I had given one to his son who could read, by offering me a dollar for "Esta buen librito"—That good little book. Spent the latter part of the evening with the family of an intelligent aged Mexican. Read to them the third chapter of John's Gospel. When I had finished it, the old man desired to read. He then read the fourth and part of the fifth chapters, often pausing to praise the book, and to express his delight at having the privilege of holding for the first time in his life, the Bible in his hands, and reading a portion of it. He entreated me to leave it with him, but I was obliged to refuse him, telling him at the same time, that it was all I had, but that I had friends in the States who would send me a great many in a few months, when I would send him one. This exhibits the desire of many Mexicans to obtain and become acquainted with the Scriptures. I hope that Christians in the States will send me enough to supply this Territory.

Sunday 16th, obliged to travel a few miles today. Had expected to reach Socorro last evening. Passed through Limita [Lemitar], a thriving town of some 300 souls. Gen. Armijo, formerly Governor of New Mexico resides here. This place is situated in a most beautiful portion of the valley. Arrived at Socorro at 2 P. M. Distance 20 miles.

Monday 17th, called on several of the most influential persons in town, and all seemed interested in the success of my present mission.

Mormons in New Mexico

Visited several Mormons who are on their way to the "sure land of promised rest and safety,"—The Colorado. They seem to be a simple-hearted ingenuous people.—Their prophet, in whom they have formerly reposed implicit con-

20. From Tomé, they were following down the *camino real* on the east side of the Rio Grande. This "La Joya" was about two-thirds of the way to Socorro—but that place was on the west side, and they seem to have crossed over at Lemitar. Mr. Read's translation is at fault, for La Joya means "the jewel."

fidence, and his father have purchased a large farm, and located near Socorro.²¹

A Mexican Military Friend

Tuesday 18th, in company with Dr. Hammond, visited Parida, a small town 4 miles distant, and thence proceeded to Limita and called on Gen. Armijo.²² The Gen. is about 50 years of age, large size, sociable and communicative, and is altogether the most enlightened Mexican that I have met.

He has possessed himself of most of the ancient histories which are translated into the Spanish language, and these he has read and even studied. He appears to be very anxious to secure the good will of the Americans, especially as he is not liked by the Mexicans. By invitation we dined with the General. All the furniture of the table was massive silver.

HOME MISSION RECORD

September, 1851

Rev. Mr. Read's Third Tour, No. 2

A Rich Valley

Wednesday 19th, left Socorro at 10 A. M. The whole valley in this vicinity is very fertile, producing most of the grain and fruits of the country. Grapes and peaches are raised in great abundance. Indeed this is one of the very best portions of New Mexico. Fifteen miles below is Bigs' Rancho, where government stock is pastured. At this point the valley is ten or twelve miles wide. Wild geese and ducks are very abundant. Ten miles further on again struck the river, where we encamped. Here is a beautiful meadow bottom with much large timber. It is called Val Verde, (Greenvale).

Thursday 20th. left camp at 8 o'clock, crossed the river and after a ride of ten or twelve miles reached a grove of timber, and where all persons traveling this way halt to feed, rest and obtain a supply of wood and water before entering the Jornada. This camping ground is called Fra

21. Could these have been stragglers from the Mormon Battalion of 1846? Davis, previously cited, stayed overnight in Socorro with an ex-Mormon (*op. cit.*, 365.) The reference to their prophet and "his father" is unintelligible.

22. This was Don Manuel Armijo, last governor under the Mexican regime. Of him also Davis has quite a little to say. Parida was east of the river and a little upstream. From there he crossed again to the west side and upstream to Lemitar.

El Guingo. 362-3

Cristobal. Arrived at this place at noon; halted until 4 P. M. Our watercasks filled and wood taken in, we resumed our journey at four.

The Jornada (pronounced Hornada)

For the first five miles the road leads up a gradual ascent, afterwards the land is slightly undulating. The road is remarkably good. Indeed, I could scarcely realize that this was the dreaded "Journey of the Dead" as the name of this prairie signifies. Had a large escort, half of whom rode in advance, the remainder after the waggons. Traveled until we reached the Alaman, (so called after some Germans who were murdered here some years since) and encamped, having made 40 miles since four P. M. It was now half past twelve o'clock. The Jornada (Hornada) is usually traveled in the night, as there is less danger from the Indians and because water is seldom found here. The night was very cold. Indeed, I am informed that during the hottest weather the nights on this desert are quite cool.

Friday 21st, a delightful morning; the sun shining as cheerfully upon this terrible desert-waste as though it was habitable and inhabited. During the whole of this day, the road has been as good as the best McAdamized roads in the States. Saw no live animals except a wolf in full chase after a rabbit, and a few birds. During the afternoon passed the Point of Rocks, the most dangerous part of the road, inasmuch as the rocks afford a shelter for Indians close by the roadside, and also an opportunity to retreat over the hills where it would be next to impossible to follow them. Every great thoroughfare in this country has its noted point of rocks, and travelers should be on their guard in approaching them, as Indians may be secreted so as to betray no evidence of their vicinity. At this place we met a solitary foot passenger going to Socorro; said he was not afraid, that he was anxious to go and could not wait for company. He had a blanket, a loaf of bread, a canteen of water, a flask of whiskey, brace of pistols and a heavy walking club.

Three miles farther on are the Ponds of Perillo, (Ponds of Peril,) so called from their dangerous proximity to the point of rocks.²³ No water in them. Twenty-two miles far-

23. This placename should be spelled "Perrillo" and means "little dog." The name derives from an historical incident of 1598 when Don Juan de Oñate and the first colonists were coming north. At this point on the Jornada when they were in desperate need of water, a small dog returned to camp with muddied paws. They backtrailed him and found the waterholes.

ther on, brought us once more to the river, and to the end of the Jornada. This camping ground is called Roblero. Arrived here at four P. M., having been just twenty-four hours on the desert. Distance ninety miles. The journey of the dead, as the name given to this desert signified, is a misnomer. From many accounts which I had heard of it, I expected to see graves and human bones scattered along the whole distance, but on the contrary, there are but three graves, nor did I see a single human bone. Neither are there half as many carcasses of animals on the whole route as I have frequently noticed in a distance of two miles in the vicinity of Santa Fé. And this is not so barren a desert as has been represented. Nearly the whole distance there is a luxuriant growth of grass, which indicates a naturally good soil, and would produce abundantly could it be watered. Several varieties of Cactus, a species of Maguey, the Soap plant, and some other shrubbery are very abundant and grow to a great size.²⁴ Halted for half an hour, and then started for Doña Ana, 8 miles distant where we arrived at eight o'clock P. M. Capt. Buford kindly invited me to accept a room at his quarters.²⁵ Glad to sleep in a house again.

This is comparatively a new town, containing some 200 souls. It is a military post, commanded by Maj. Shepherd.²⁶ There is much fine land in the vicinity, and considerable timber.

Public Worship, the First Sermon

Sunday 23d, arrangements having been made for public worship, at ten A. M., the officers, the two companies of soldiers, all the Americans, and several Mexicans assembled, when I tried to preach to them the Gospel. Also read the 4th chapter of John both in English and in Spanish. Capt B

24. It may be of interest to note that a large stretch of the country here described has for some years past been a reserve of the U. S. National Forest.

25. Abraham Buford was lieut., 1st U. S. Dragoons, but had been brevetted "Captain" for distinguished service in the Mexican War. In the Civil War he was on the Confederate side as a brigadier general.

26. Oliver Lathrop Shepherd was capt., 3rd U. S. Infantry, but was brevetted "Major" for service in the Mexican War. In the Civil War he was to distinguish himself on the Union side. Six months later (September 1851), this post was abandoned, the troops being moved south to the Bracito grant and used in the building of Fort Fillmore. (Maude McFie [Bloom], "*A History of Mesilla Valley*," unpublished thesis, 1903, State College.)

Also among these colonists was one Pedro Robledo of 60 years and four sons. The father died on the way and was buried at the last camping place (coming north) before the trail entered the Jornada. Records of both these incidents may be found in *Colección de documentos inéditos. . de Indias*, xvi, 247-8.

informed me that this was the first sermon ever preached in Doña Ana. I trust it will not be the last.

A Good Land to Be Possessed

Half past 1 P. M., left D. A. The valley for ten miles is broad and fertile. Wood, water and grass abundant. Drove fifteen miles and encamped on a beautiful bottom where we found a new unoccupied house, of which we took peaceable possession for the night. Much timber here.

Tuesday 25th, started at 7 o'clock. Passed hundreds and hundreds of acres of choice land which might be cultivated but for the Apache Indians who roam over this region.²⁷ At half past 10, passed the famous battle ground where Col. Doniphan had a skirmish with some Mexican lancers.²⁸ No land under cultivation for forty miles. Passed Fronteras, or White's Rancho, 9 miles from El Paso. Here the valley terminates. The road follows a serpentine course over and among the hills for seven miles. The river is compressed into a narrow passage between high bluffs; and thus the river literally passes through the mountains—hence the name El Paso—or The Pass. Just after emerging from the hills, passed an American-fashioned stone house—the first I have seen in this country. Near by, Mr. Hart is erecting a stone flouring and saw mill.²⁹ There is probably no mill for sawing lumber between this place and Santa Fe, a distance of nearly 300 miles.

HOME MISSION RECORD

New Mexico Stretching Forth the Hand to God

From Mrs. Alzina A. J. Read, Santa Fé, March 28th [1851]

We feel, dear brother, that we cannot give up this country, and we feel an increasing confidence that God's own hand has pointed us, as a denomination, to this portion of his vineyard, in a manner too signal to be disregarded. And that this is so, we think none can doubt who remember the past history of the country;—the little interest that was felt for it among Christians of all denominations, who were sending missionaries to all other parts of the inhabited

27. This is an impression of the famous Mesilla Valley as it was in 1851.

28. The battle of Brazito occurred on Christmas Day, 1846.

29. These were the residence and mill of Judge Simeon Hart, but what Mr. Read means by "American-fashioned" is not clear. Davis called it "a large Spanish-built house." (*op. cit.*, 376).

world, and yet not one among them all for benighted New Mexico. Simultaneously with California it became a part of our beloved United States, and while the attention of many was directed towards California, and ministers of all denominations were inquiring their duty relative to that field, who, O! who thus felt for New Mexico Whose heart, fired with love to God and immortal souls, exclaimed, "Here am I, send me" to preach the unsearchable riches of Christ to the 100,000 benighted, superstitious, and worse than Pagans, in that wretched land? And even we who are here, our friends know, would perchance never have turned our attention hither, but for the strange and unexpected providences which diverted us from our anticipated field, and here detained us in a manner which seemed to say, "Thus far and no further shalt thou go." And yet our rebellious hearts felt almost to say, "Not so, Lord." California was our destined home, and there we desired to labor. We have sometimes felt that for *this* our trials here were all deserved: and if so we bless our Father for them, for those very trials have endeared the country to us, and we rejoice that though all unworthy, we have been permitted, as we humbly trust, to do some little for the cause of the Savior here. We feel ourselves identified with the interests of the country, but we desire assistance, and *need* some pious, devoted brethren and sisters to come to our aid. The people know nothing of the denominational difference existing in the States, but I am told they have learned that there is a difference between the three ministers here,³⁰ and they think Mr. Read is the most correct because he is a Baptist—supposing him to be more particularly a follower of John the Baptist; and they seem to expect that all other clergymen and teachers will be the same.

When we first commenced labor here we were told by Col. Washington, and many others who were, from long residence in the country able to judge of our prospects of success with this people, that our work must be emphatically "a work of faith," that we must not expect to see immediate results if ever, but must be content to labor to prepare the way for others. But after our school had been only nine months in operation, some of these same people visited it with Col. Washington, when they remarked that when we

30. The two ministers besides her husband to whom Mrs. Read thus alludes were the Rev. E. G. Nicholson, Methodist, who came in 1850 and (probably) the Rev. William G. Kephart who was commissioned as a Presbyterian missionary for New Mexico that same year but just when he arrived seems not to be known.

commenced, they did not think that "three years of unremitting toil" would have effected what they there saw, and yet what they then witnessed was very little compared to what is now apparent. I mention this to show you that we are not entirely without hope of accomplishing *something* even here. The people are said to be a jealous people; I do not know but they are, they assuredly have had enough to make them jealous of Americans, but their confidence once obtained, they are trusting to a fault; and a wise, judicious teacher will soon acquire an almost unlimited influence over them, so that they will readily, nay eagerly, listen to his instruction and preaching. Now wherever Mr. Read preaches they flock to hear him in crowds, and priests often attend also when they expect to be able to understand. At first they were suspicious of our tracts and books, but now they seek for them often with great anxiety, and many, very many are almost daily importuning us to send to you for Bibles. I say *you*, because they understand there is such a society laboring for their benefit. Since my husband has been absent, or for the last five or six weeks, we have received more calls by such than during our entire residence in the country. Saturday is the day for those who live at great distances to come to town, to remain during the Sabbath and our fine spring weather permits many to come, and they sometimes fill my house, asking for Bibles, books and tracts, and desiring to converse about our religion; and although many doubtless are influenced by curiosity, some recently have evinced a deep interest. Last Saturday morning they commenced very early to call, and before 10 a. m. I distributed more than three dozen Spanish tracts, many of them for the most distant parts of New Mexico. Seated on the floor, a motley group, covered by their variegated "*serapes*," their heads shaded by their broad brimmed "*sombreros*," some of them neat and clean, but many of them filthy in the extreme, jabbering their barbarous Spanish (their language is so corrupted as to be hardly understood by good Castilian scholars.) I could but feel, while looking at them, that they were as verily heathen as earth contains. And yet they all have immortal souls, and I doubt not that some of the priceless jewels that cluster around the Savior's glory, will be called from among this now *degraded* people. O how this thought encourages me to lose sight of, or look beyond, their present wretchedness, and keeping the vision of faith fixed only on their future redemption and glory, labor only to

promote them. Some came to see if our Bibles, which we told them some time ago, we hoped to obtain, had arrived, and when I told them no, they wished me to read some for them which they could remember, and tell their friends at home.

Yesterday one of the most influential men of the country, formerly a governor of this place, and long an officer of rank in the Mexican army, came with another of the same class³¹ to obtain books, and sitting down, he read a tract aloud, often exclaiming *good*. He wished to engage five Bibles to send into the lower country. We are greatly embarrassed for want of Bibles. When people come a great distance for them, we are pained to be obliged to refuse them, especially at the thought that they will perhaps never come again, or be willing to receive them. It is so short time since they have been willing to take them, that we would like to supply every one "Not *knowing* which will prosper, this or that," but praying and hoping that God will bless some. We do hope that some Bibles will be sent us at the earliest possible date.

HOME MISSION RECORD

October, 1851

Rev. Mr. Read's Third Tour, No. 3

El Passo

One mile and a half brought us to El Passo. This is a military post commanded by Major Van Horne.³²

Wednesday, 26th.—All this day occupied in making observations and inquiries relative to the establishment of an Academy and Boarding School at this place. El Passo, on the American side of the river is called Franklin. Formerly it was only a single rancho which is now occupied by the troops. Two or three other small buildings have since been erected, so that it is but a very small place. But the proprietor informed me that he is now making arrangements to build extensively this season.³³ He is to lay out a regular

31. Perhaps some reader can suggest the identity of these two gentlemen.

32. Jefferson Van Horne was captain, 3rd U. S. Infantry, but brevetted "Major" for service in the Mexican War. He died Sept. 28, 1857.

33. According to Owen White (*Out of the Desert: The Historical Romance of El Paso*, 43), Franklin Coontz was appointed postmaster in 1852 for the stage-station which had been located at his ranch. He was given the privilege of naming the office—and he modestly gave it his own name "Franklin." But here is evidence that the name was in use a year earlier, and "the proprietor" was planning to lay out a regular town!

Mr. Read's account needs some clarifying. Emerging from the gorge, he found

town and offer good inducements for settlers to locate there. It will doubtless be a place of much importance ere long. By the recent adjustment of the boundary between Texas and New Mexico, this place is in Texas. It is a military post, and probably will long remain so. There are two companies stationed here. Mrs. Lieut. Wilkins is the only American lady here.³⁴ The climate is delightful. Fruit, such as grapes, pears, peaches, quinces, apples, apricots, and some figs are abundant. In company with Dr. Stone, visited El Paso, on the Mexican side of the river. This is a beautiful place. The town extends several miles, and appears like one continuous, highly cultivated garden. This is the port of entry from New Mexico and northern Texas. I called on the priest Ramond Ortiz, who figured largely during Doniphan's campaign in this country.³⁵ He is, as he has been represented an intelligent, shrewd man, and exerts a greater influence than any other man in the State of Chihuahua. In the afternoon recrossed the river and in company with Major Van Horne, called on Mr. McGoffin, to whom I had a letter of introduction,

34. John Darragh Wilkins was 2nd lieut., 3rd U. S. Infantry, brevetted "1st Lieut." for gallant service in Mexico.

35. Padre Ramón Ortiz and Manuel Armendáriz were the two commissioners sent by the Mexican government in 1849, after the loss of New Mexico to the United States, to encourage and aid Mexican citizens to migrate to Old Mexico. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 472-3.

himself at Hart's mill. About a mile from there (and where the Mills Building stands today) was Coontz' Rancho; and a long half-mile farther was Magoffinville (though Read does not use this name), the residence and buildings of James W. Magoffin. Then another mile east (down the valley) was a large ranch belonging to Hugh Stephenson.

In 1848, a detachment of the 1st U. S. Dragoons under Maj. Benjamin Beall arrived at the Coontz ranch and camped there for some months. Maj. D. B. Sanger (*The Story of Fort Bliss*, 8) states that after the War Department created (Sept. 14, 1848) the military post of "El Paso," four companies and regimental headquarters of the 3rd U. S. Infantry arrived under Maj. Van Horne and got temporary quarters at Magoffinville. But J. R. Bartlett, in his *Personal Narrative of Explorations, 1850-3*, says that the military post was at the Coontz ranch for about three years under Maj. Van Horne; and in his account the Rev. Mr. Read seems to corroborate this as of March 1851.

Perhaps Mr. Read thought that the name "Franklin" included both the Magoffin and the Coontz places, but Owen White (*op. cit.*, 42) remarks: "A man undertaking to make the trip from Coontz' Rancho to Magoffinville did so at the imminent risk of losing his scalp in the middle of what is now San Antonio street."

We might add that the name "Franklin" continued in use until 1859 and survives even today in "Franklin Mountain." The more appropriate "El Paso" gradually (from 1858) supplanted "Franklin" and in 1873 became the corporate name.

also on Mr. Stevenson.³⁶ These men are perhaps 50 years of age, have lived in this country about 25 years, have large families and are wealthy.—They will do much towards aiding our plans.

San Elesario

Thursday, 27th—Today went to San Elesario, in Texas, a distance of 25 miles. This is the most southern station of the 9th military department. It is commanded by Capt. Johns.³⁷ It is situated on an island, about 40 lineal [miles] long, and averaging 5 or 6 wide.³⁸ Went down on the Mexican side some 12 miles. Nearly all the way the land is highly cultivated, and produces abundantly. After crossing the river to the island, found the soil about the same as in Mexico. Passed through the towns of Isleta and Socorro. The first contains about 200 inhabitants, the other twice as many. At Socorro, 4 men were recently convicted of murder and hung—all on one tree.

The town of Presidio de San Elesario (Fort of St. Elia-sor) contains some 500 souls. It is a beautiful place. This too, appears like a large garden. The same fruits are found here as at El Paso. Property here is very cheap.

The Banner of the Cross Unfurled

Lord's Day, March 30th—Having returned to El Paso

36. Hugh Stephenson was of German descent and his wife was Mexican. He had been in the country so long that the natives did not regard him as an "American." His name and that of a son Horace were associated for many years with an old Spanish mine in the Organ Mts. east of Las Cruces, best known in mining history as the "Stephenson," or (after the Civil War) as the "Stephenson-Bennett."

We are told (Maude McFie, *op. cit.*) that Stephenson acquired a two-thirds interest in the Bracito Grant, he taking the part lying to the north. It would be interesting to know what it cost him, for in 1851 he leased a square mile of it to the federal government for twenty years for the astonishing sum of \$200,000.00! (*ibid.*) This was for the establishing of Fort Fillmore, mentioned in a previous note.

After the Civil War, the federal authorities tried, through the New Mexico courts, to confiscate the properties of a number of ex-Confederates. Suit was instituted in 1865 against Stephenson for his Bracito property and mines in the Organ Mts. But, like Simeon Hart, he was a resident of El Paso and such confiscations were later (1868) reversed by the U. S. Supreme Court. (*v. Tittmann*, in *N. M. Hist. Rev.*, iv, 140-3.)

37. William Brooke Johns, capt. 3rd U. S. Infantry, distinguished himself in the Mexican War. His name was dropped at the outbreak of the Civil War.

38. The missing word seems to be "miles." Old San Elceario (modern Elizario) was located on the south side of the river, but through the centuries—and even decades—the changing stream-bed has changed the local geography for many a town.

J. R. Bartlett gave the length of the island as twenty miles; and said that on it also were the towns of Isleta and Socorro.

a day or two since, Major Van Horne made arrangements for public service on the military plaza, (there being no house large enough,) and I gladly embraced the opportunity of unfurling the banner of the cross for the first time in this place. The assembly was large, and consisted of all the officers, soldiers, (two companies,) American and Mexican citizens from both sides of the river. It was an interesting, and I trust a profitable season.

The Homeward Journey

The object of my visit to this part of the country is now accomplished, and I feel anxious to return to my home as soon as practicable, to relieve my faithful and feeble wife of the onerous duties which devolve upon her in my absence.

Wednesday, April 2nd—Left El Paso 31st, at 9 A. M., and reached Doña Ana at 3 P. M., which place we again left at 9 A. M. Went to the river, 8 miles, and halted for the day previous to entering upon the Jornada. At 4 P. M., again entered the desert, passed the point of rocks in safety, though long after dark. Traveled until 1 o'clock, and encamped, having made about 50 miles.

Thursday, 3d—Started at 7. Saw a large flock of antelopes, and during the day, saw several droves, but all very wild. Reached Fra Cristobal at 4 P. M., and encamped. Thus have we twice passed the Jornada in safety.

Saturday, 5th—Arrived at Socorro at 11, A. M.

Labors of Another Sabbath

Lord's Day, 6th—Had an opportunity to preach to a large audience. Many Mexicans present. All paid good attention.

Monday, 7th—Left Socorro at half-past 10 A. M. Traveled about 25 miles and encamped in a grove opposite La Jolla. This is considered one of the most dangerous places on the road.

Wednesday, 9th—Reached Albuquerque at noon—Leaving my traveling companions here, at half-past six, in the evening, I resumed my journey alone. Rode to Algodonis, 25 miles, and after an hour's search, found some corn for my horse, a piece of bread for myself, and staid until daylight.

Thursday, 10th—Today I ascended an almost impass-

sable mountain, even for goats,³⁹ and finally, after a ride of 40 miles reached home at 5 P. M. grateful, I trust, to find my dear wife in usual health. I have been absent 38 days, traveled 960 miles, and I trust have laid the foundation for much good to the people of New Mexico.

HOME MISSION RECORD

November, 1851

Rev. H. W. Read

A letter has reached us from Rev. H. W. Read, our missionary to New Mexico, dated Council Grove, I. T., Oct. 19th. He is returning with Mrs. Read, the state of whose health requires a few months residence in some Eastern State. She suffered much during the journey from Santa Fe, and Mr. Read also was quite ill for several days. It was Mr. Read's intention, at the time of writing, to spend a day or two at the Shawnee Mission station, then proceed directly to St. Louis and from thence, as soon as consistent, to this city. He will, probably, remain in New York a few weeks, and spend the winter in visiting the churches in the Atlantic States.

On the 14th October, Mr. Read had the happiness of meeting our missionaries, Rev. J. M. Shaw,⁴⁰ and wife, near Fort Mackey, on the Arkansas river, traveling in company with an ox train. They had been a month on the road, and expected it would require about another month to reach Santa Fe. They were in good health. A young lady, who left the State of New York, to accompany them as a teacher, was compelled on account of sickness, to abandon the journey, and intended to remain during the winter, at the Shawnee Mission Station.

39. He was heading back to Santa Fé by the most direct route. Evidently there was an old trail up that stiff climb where, years later, a roadway was dug out—known to history as Old La Bajada.

40. Probably the Rev. Mr. Shaw went directly to Socorro, although Davis did not mention him there in 1855. He was living in Socorro in 1873,—and stated that at the outbreak of the Civil War all Baptist missionaries had been withdrawn from New Mexico. Also in 1880 he sold to the Presbyterians in Socorro the church edifice which was built on his land. Possibly he was the "John M. Shaw" who served as an Indian agent at the Southern Apache Agency in 1874-76.

HOME MISSION RECORD

December, 1851

Rev. H. W. Read

We are much gratified in being able to announce the arrival in the city, of Rev. H. W. Read, our missionary to New Mexico. He is accompanied by Mrs. Read, whose health we are happy to say, is much improved by the journey. They will remain a few weeks in this city, and then extend their visits as far as possible among the churches of the Eastern States, till Spring, when, after a tour at the West, they will probably return to their field, accompanied, we hope, by several missionaries and teachers.

Mrs. Read has consented to address assemblies of ladies, when consistent with her health, on the moral and social character and condition of the females of New Mexico. From the statements already communicated by Mr. and Mrs. Read, we presume that a visit from them will be appreciated by the churches generally.

Efficient operations in favor of that interesting field are demanded of us immediately. As a denomination, we are solemnly responsible for the moral and religious character that may be given to the New Mexicans. Such a character they will doubtless speedily receive from some source, and in the exercise of which, as our fellow citizens, (for such now they are,) there are interests at stake which should excite our utmost Christian charity and zeal, and prompt us to exertions that may, with God's blessing, prove a real blessing to them and to our country.

HOME MISSION RECORD

January, 1852

Mr. and Mrs. Read's Visit

Everybody knows that we have expressed deep interest in the moral and religious interests of New Mexico ever since it became territory of the United States. We saw it lying in wickedness, and gross darkness covering the people. We saw them groping, stumbling, falling, dying amidst that darkness, and longed for their deliverance. We caught the glimmer of the single ray of light shot by Divine providence among them from the Sun of righteousness, and we allowed

ourselves to hope. As other rays have fallen we have thanked God and taken courage. The visit of Brother and Sister Read has strengthened us, and diffused hope and courage in reference to that people among our churches in this city. The statements made by Bro. Read to the churches, and those of Sister Read to the females who have thronged to hear her, concerning the social, moral and religious condition of our fellow-citizens of New Mexico, have awakened an interest for them which we think must be productive of their future benefit.

We are glad of the coming of these friends among us, and are glad that they will have an opportunity to extend their visit to other cities. We need not bespeak the attention of churches on whom they may call; that will naturally follow where they speak. But as it will be impossible for them to visit all, we shall sincerely congratulate all who may enjoy an opportunity to listen to them.

* * * * *

Rev. H. W. Read, returned missionary from New Mexico, will proceed in a few days to Philadelphia, for the purpose of addressing the churches of that city, upon the subject of missions in his adopted Territory. He will be accompanied by his wife, who will also address assemblies of ladies, on the same subject, undoubtedly, much to their edification and profit.

Rev. J. S. Ladd, our Collecting Agent, will also accompany them, and remain a few weeks, for the purpose of making the annual collections, for our Society, usual in that city, at this time of the year.

THE CONFEDERATE TERRITORY OF ARIZONA,
AS COMPILED FROM OFFICIAL SOURCES,

By F. S. DONNELL

THE TERRITORY of New Mexico was formed under an act of congress passed September 9th, 1850, and included in its boundaries part of the lands transferred by Mexico to the United States after the Mexican War and part of the territory ceded by Texas in 1850. Its northern boundary was described as running west from the 103rd degree of longitude and the 38th degree of latitude to the summit of the Sierra Madre, thence south with the crest of said mountains to the 37th parallel, thence west to the boundary line of California. Its southern boundary followed the boundary line of the Republic of Mexico east to the Rio Grande, thence along the 32nd parallel to the 103rd degree of longitude.

This territory was enlarged on August 4th, 1854, by the addition of the Gadsden purchase; and it was reduced by the formation of Colorado Territory in 1861, which took away all lands north of the 37th parallel, and of Arizona Territory in 1863 which took all west of the 109th degree of longitude, leaving the boundaries as they exist today.

The territory covered such a large area and means of communication were so difficult that many differences arose between the old settlers in the northern part and some of the new comers in the south and southwest. Those in the south claimed that they did not have a fair representation in the government at Santa Fé; that Taos, Rio Arriba and Santa Fé counties so manipulated the elections that it was not even worth while to send a representative to the legislature at Santa Fé to represent Doña Ana and "Arizona."

On August 29th, 1856, a convention was held at Tucson and a resolution was passed to send a memorial to congress urging the organization of a separate territory of Arizona,

and Nathan P. Cook was sent to Washington as a delegate to work for the passage of such a bill. The committee on territories reported against it because of the limited population included in the proposed area.

President Buchanan in his message to congress in December 1857 recommended a territorial government for Arizona, "incorporating with it such portions of New Mexico as they may deem expedient." He also advocated the building of a railroad from the western boundary of Texas, on the Rio Grande, to a point on the Gulf of California, a distance of 470 miles.

In his second annual message, December 6, 1858, he said: "The population of that territory (Arizona) numbering as is alleged, more than 10,000 souls, are practically without a government, without laws, and without any regular administration of justice. Murder and other crimes are committed with impunity. This state of things calls loudly for redress, and I therefore repeat my recommendation for the establishment of a Territorial government over Arizona." In the same message, commenting on the situation in the Mexican states of Chihuahua and Sonora, he said "the local governments of these states are perfectly helpless and are kept in a state of constant alarm by the Indians. A state of anarchy and violence prevails throughout that distant frontier. For this reason the settlement of Arizona is arrested. . . . I can imagine no possible remedy for these evils and no mode of restoring law and order on that remote and unsettled frontier but for the Government of the United States to assume a temporary protectorate over the northern portions of Chihuahua and Sonora and to establish military posts within the same; and this I earnestly recommend to Congress. This protection may be withdrawn as soon as local governments shall be established in these Mexican States capable of performing their duties to the United States, restraining the lawless, and preserving peace along the border." In this message he again called

attention to the need and great value of a railroad to reach California.

In his third annual message (December 19, 1859) he once more recommended the establishment of a territorial government for Arizona and to establish one or more military posts across the Mexican line in Sonora and Chihuahua.

In April 1860, another convention, composed of thirty-one delegates was held at Tucson to organize the territory of Arizona. This was to include all of New Mexico south of latitude 33°40' and was divided into four counties, Doña Ana, Mesilla, Ewell and Castle Dome.

James A. Lucas was president of this convention and Granville H. Oury (who was a member of the New Mexico legislature in 1857, and in January 1862 was sent as a delegate from the Territory of Arizona to the Confederate congress at Richmond) was secretary.

On March 16, 1861, a convention was held at Mesilla at which James A. Lucas was the presiding officer, and resolutions were passed repudiating the United States and attaching themselves to the Confederate States. The sixth resolution passed by this convention read as follows: "Resolved, That we will not recognize the present Black Republican administration, and that we will resist any officers appointed to this territory by said administration with whatever means in our power."¹

All of this friction between the northern and southern parts of New Mexico greatly encouraged the Confederate government at Richmond to believe that if an army were sent to the Rio Grande they would have no trouble in capturing the country and opening the way for an outlet on the Gulf of California through the Mexican State of Sonora; and when this was accomplished they would be in a good position to join with the many southern sympathizers in California in an effort to capture California for the south.

In July 1861 Jefferson Davis authorized General H. H.

1. Official Records Civil War, Ser. 1, IV, p. 39.

Sibley, who had resigned his position in the Union Army and joined the Confederate forces, to proceed at once to Texas and organize a force to capture New Mexico, and in case he succeeded in doing this he was instructed to organize a military government of the Territory, the details of which were to be submitted to Davis at the earliest possible moment.

General Sibley organized his force and established headquarters at Fort Bliss, Texas, gathering supplies and ammunition here for his attack upon New Mexico. While waiting here for more troops to arrive he very much feared that the Union forces would try to capture the fort and felt that he could not hold it with the men he had, hence he tried to block such a move by getting as many of his former friends as possible among the Union officers to desert and join with him. Colonel W. W. Loring had been in command of the Department of New Mexico until he was succeeded by General Canby when he sent in his resignation. Before it was accepted and while still in the service, General Sibley wrote him the following letter from El Paso:²

El Paso, Texas, June 12, 1861

Col. W. W. Loring

My Dear Loring:

We are at last under the glorious banner of the Confederate States of America. It was indeed a glorious sensation of protection, hope, and pride. Though its folds were modest and unpretending, the emblem was still there. Van Dorn is in command at San Antonio. He has ordered four companies of Texas troops to garrison this post. They cannot be expected to reach here, however, before the 1st proximo. Meantime, Colonel Magoffin, Judge Hart, and Crosby are much exercised and concerned on account of the present public stores here in their present unguarded condition.

There are full supplies of subsistence and ammunition here for two or more companies for twelve months. The loss of these supplies by capture or destruction would occasion serious embarrassment to the cause. Meanwhile you may, by delaying your own departure a week or two,

2. *Official Records*, Ser. 1, Vol IV, p. 55.

add much to the security of this property.—Should you be relieved from your command too soon to prevent an attempt on the part of your successor to re-capture, by a coup-de-main, the property here, send a notice by extraordinary express to Judge Hart. Your seat in the stage may at the same time be engaged.

Movements are in contemplation from this direction which I am not at liberty to disclose. You will arrive here in time for everything and to hear everything. My love to those who love me.

Faithfully yours,

H. H. SIBLEY.

On the night of July 23, 1861, Colonel John R. Baylor with 258 men marched up the valley from El Paso to make a surprise attack on Fort Fillmore, near Las Cruces, which was held by a force of about 700 men under command of Major Isaac Lynde. On the morning of the 25th there was some fighting at Mesilla, with a few killed and wounded on each side. On the 26th Major Lynde gave orders to abandon the fort and planned to join the Union forces at Fort Stanton. Colonel Baylor overtook Major Lynde's command near San Augustine Springs and without risking a battle or even consulting with his officers he surrendered his entire force to Colonel Baylor. For this action Major Lynde was tried by court martial and on November 25, 1861, by order of President Lincoln he was dismissed from the army.³

The surrender of Major Lynde's force left the entire southern part of the territory in complete control of the Confederates and on August 1, 1861, Colonel Baylor issued a proclamation taking possession of the country in the name and behalf of the Confederate States of America and appointing himself the first governor. For other offices he selected James A. Lucas, secretary; M. H. McWillis (who afterwards was elected as delegate from the Territory of Arizona to the Confederate Congress, taking his seat March 11, 1862) as attorney general; E. Augorsteen, treasurer;

3. *Official Records*, Ser. 1, Vol. IV, p. 15.

George M. Frazier, marshal; Frank Higgins, probate judge, of the First Judicial District; L. W. Greek, justice of peace for Doña Ana county; M. A. Verimindi, justice of peace, 4th precinct, Mesilla; Henry L. Dexter, justice of peace, La Mesa; M. M. Steinthal, justice of peace, Pinos Altos; and C. Lanches, justice of peace, San Tomás.

At least one of these officials took office at once, as the court records of Doña Ana County show that on August 8, 1861 Frank Higgins presided at probate judge, the first entry in the record book being:

The Confederate States of America

The Territory of Arizona
County of Doña Ana

August 8, 1861

This day met the Honl. the Probate Court of the above named county, Present Frank Higgins Esqr. Probate Judge, Charles A. Hoppin, clerk of the District Court & ex officio Clerk of the Probate Court and John A. Roberts Sheriff. The Judge and Sheriff holding their Commissions from Lt. Col. John R. Baylor, Commanding the Military Forces of the Confederate States in said Territory and Acting Governor of the same.

Two regular terms of this court were held in September and December of 1861, and several special terms. Frank Higgins served as judge until January 1862, when he was succeeded by John Peter Deus, who resigned in June 1862.⁴

In a report made by Colonel Baylor on August 8, 1861, to General Earl Van Dorn commanding the Department of Texas, he stated:

I have established a provisional government for the Territory of Arizona, and made the appointments to fill offices necessary to enforce the laws. I have proclaimed myself governor, have authorized the raising of four companies to hold the Territory and afford protection to the citizens.

The vast mineral resources of Arizona, in addition to its affording an outlet to the Pacific, make its acquisition a

4. Two very interesting accounts of the proceedings of this court have been published in the *New Mexico Historical Review*, one by Edward D. Tittman, in Vol. III, Page 347, and the other by Charles S. Walker, Jr., in Vol. IV, page 253.

matter of some importance to our government, and now that I have taken possession of the Territory, I trust a force sufficient to occupy and hold it will be sent by the government, under some competent man.

I have acted in all matters relating to the acquisition of Arizona entirely upon my own responsibility, and can only refer the matter, through you for the approval of the Government.⁵

Evidently Col. Baylor and his military government did not get the support of the native population which he expected. General Canby, in command of the Union forces at Santa Fé, in a letter written to Headquarters at St. Louis, said:

The people of the Territory, with few exceptions, I believe are loyal but they are apathetic in disposition, and will adopt any measures that may be necessary for the defense of their Territory with great tardiness, looking with greater concern to their private, and often petty interests, and delaying or defeating the objects of the Government by their personal or political quarrels.⁶

On October 25, 1861, Colonel Baylor wrote to General Sibley asking for reinforcements, saying that Colonel Canby was marching down the valley with a force of 2,500 men and that he would have to abandon the country. He stated that "The Mexican population are decidedly Northern in sentiment, and avail themselves of the first opportunity to rob us or join the enemy. Nothing but a strong force will keep them quiet."⁷

He stated that he was being kept posted on the movements of the northern troops by Messrs. Phillips and Battle of Santa Fé and that they are "gentlemen well known as men of veracity."⁸

Colonel Baylor was very anxious to secure the assistance of the many Southern men living in California and on

5. *Official Reports*, Ser. 1, Vol. IV, p. 23.

6. *Official Records*, Ser. 1, Vol. IV, p. 65.

7. *Official Records*, Ser. 1, Vol. IV, p. 132.

8. *Official Records*, Ser. 1, Vol. IV, p. 133.

November 2, 1861, he wrote to Major S. B. Davis:

California is on the eve of a revolution. There are many Southern men there who would cheerfully join us if they could get to us, and they could come well armed and mounted. Another thing I take the liberty of suggesting is, that a force be placed in western Arizona, to watch the landing of United States troops at Guaymas, that they may not pass through Sonora to invade us. I am reliably informed that the Government of Mexico has sent orders to the governor of Sonora to allow the passage of United States troops through that State, and agents are in Sonora buying corn and supplies for the United States troops.⁹

On receipt of Colonel Baylor's letter of October 25th, General Sibley left San Antonio on November 18th for El Paso with the reinforcements asked for, and under General Orders No. 10 dated at Fort Bliss, December 14, 1861, he assumed command of all the forces in the Territory of New Mexico and Arizona. On December 20th he issued the following proclamation:¹⁰

PROCLAMATION OF BRIG. GEN. H. H. SIBLEY TO THE PEOPLE OF NEW MEXICO

An army under my command enters New Mexico to take possession of it in the name and for the benefit of the Confederate States. By geographical position, by similarity of institutions, by commercial interests, and by future destinies New Mexico pertains to the Confederacy.

Upon the peaceful people of New Mexico the Confederate States wage no war. To them we come as friends, to re-establish a governmental connection agreeable and advantageous both to them and to us; to liberate them from the yoke of a military despotism erected by usurpers upon the ruins of the former free institutions of the United States; to relieve them from the iniquitous taxes and exactions imposed upon them by that usurpation; to insure and to revere their religion, and to restore their civil and political liberties.

The existing war is one most wickedly waged by the

9. *Official Records*, Ser. 1, Vol. IV, p. 149.

10. *Official Records*, Ser. 1, Vol. IV, p. 89.

United States upon the Confederate States for the subjugation and oppression of the latter by force of arms. It has already failed. Victory has crowned the arms of the Confederate States wherever an encounter worthy of being called a battle has been joined. Witness the capture in the Mesilla Valley of the whole force of the enemy by scarcely half their number.

The army under my command is ample to seize and to maintain possession of New Mexico against any force which the enemy now has or is able to place within its limits. It is my purpose to accomplish this object without injury to the peaceful people of the country. Follow, then, quietly your peaceful avocations and from my forces you have nothing to fear. Your persons, your families and your property shall be secure and safe. Such forage and supplies as my army shall require will be purchased in open market and paid for at fair price. If destroyed or removed to prevent me from availing myself of them, those who co-operate with our enemies will be treated accordingly, and must prepare to share their fate.

When the authority of the Confederate States shall be established in New Mexico, a government of your best men, to be conducted upon principles with which you are familiar and to which you are attached, will be inaugurated. Your religious, civil, and political rights and liberties will be re-established and maintained sacred and intact. In the meantime, by virtue of the powers vested in me by the President and Government of the Confederate States I abrogate and abolish the law of the United States levying taxes upon the people of New Mexico.

To my old comrades in arms, still in the ranks of the usurpers of their Government and liberties, I appeal in the name of former friendship; drop at once the arms which degrade you into the tools of tyrants, renounce their service, and array yourselves under the colors of justice and freedom. I am empowered to receive you into the services of the Confederate States; the officers upon their commissions, the men upon their enlistments. By every principle of law and morality you are exonerated from service in the ranks of our enemies. You never engaged in the service of one portion of the old Union to fight against another portion, who, so far from being your enemies, have ever been your best friends. In the sight of God and man, you are justified

in renouncing a service iniquitous in itself and in which you never engaged.

Done at headquarters of the Army of New Mexico by me this 20th day of December A. D. 1861.

H. H. SIBLEY
Brigadier General Army C. S.

On the same day General Sibley issued an order that Col. John R. Baylor was to continue as civil and military Governor of the Territory of Arizona.

In a report to Jefferson Davis under date of December 14, 1861, J. P. Benjamin, secretary of war, stated that:

The population of Arizona is almost unanimously desirous of the annexation of that Territory to the Confederate States. The United States troops there, routed and put to flight by the expedition under the command of Col. John R. Baylor, had at one time abandoned the country. Under these circumstances Colonel Baylor, after satisfying himself of the wishes of the inhabitants, proceeded upon his own responsibility to assume the military government of the Territory of Arizona.

All the proceedings of Col. Baylor appear to have been marked by prudence, energy and sagacity, and to be deserving of high praise. The result of his action has been the securing to the Confederacy of a portion of the territory formerly common to all the States but now forming a natural appendage to our Confederate States, opening a pathway to the Pacific and guaranteeing Western Texas from the dangers incident to allowing the Indian tribes in that extensive territory to remain under foreign influence. Since his success in expelling the Federal troops and taking peaceful possession of the Territory an effort has been made by the United States to disturb the tranquility of the inhabitants by sending a force of about 2,500 men, under Colonel Canby, who at the last advices was marching toward the headquarters of Colonel Baylor at Doña Ana.

In organizing a more permanent Territorial government for Arizona, with its present expanded boundaries, I beg to suggest that the population is of so mixed a character, and the number of inhabitants educated in representative institutions is so limited, that it would scarcely be practicable to maintain social order and insure the execution

of the laws by an elective government. Some system analogous in its nature to that adopted for the government of the Orleans Territory by the act of March 26, 1804, seems to be much better adapted at least for the present, to this Territory; and its extent of surface is so great that Congress may, perhaps, deem it proper further to imitate the example set in the act above recited by dividing it into two governments.¹¹

On January 17, 1862, a letter to Colonel Canby from El Paso said:

General Sibley and staff arrived in El Paso about a month ago. The troops are badly provisioned and armed, they have no money, and their paper is only taken by the merchants, not by the Mexicans. The Mexican population are much opposed to them, also at Mesilla and Doña Ana. Irisana and Ambugo goods at Mesilla have been confiscated, and that is the order of the day. S. Hart has done more to aid and assist them than the balance of the capitalists have, and has gone so far as to give a list of the principal capitalists in New Mexico, to confiscate their property, and that is their aim.¹²

On February 21, 1862, a correspondent of R. L. Robertson, United States consul at Mazatlan, Mexico, wrote regarding the conditions around El Paso:

The Texans are badly armed and short of provisions. Flour and beef is all they have; coffee and bacon they have none. They have acted about El Paso in such a manner as to enrage the whole community against them. All Mexicans are down on them. The officers have no control over them, and they do just as they please, and you know what men off a long trip please to do. Blankets, onions, wine and everything they can lay their hands on they carry off.¹³

On January 18, 1862, the Confederate Congress passed an act to organize the Territory of Arizona, the northern boundary being the 34th parallel, which runs a few miles south of the town of Socorro; Texas on the east, the Colorado River on the west, and the boundary of Mexico on

11. *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. 1, p. 791.

12. *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. 1, p. 89.

13. *Official Records*, Vol. 50, Part 1, p. 1012.

the south. The governor was to be appointed by the president of the Confederacy for a term of six years, with a salary of \$1,500 as governor, and \$500 as commissioner of Indian affairs. The legislature was to consist of a council of thirteen members and a house of representatives of thirteen for the first year, which might be increased from time to time as the population increased, but the whole number was not to exceed thirty-nine.

All legislative proceedings were to be conducted in the English language. The congress of the Confederate States reserved the right at any time to change, modify or annul any law passed by the legislature, also to pass for the people of the Territory any law which it might deem expedient or necessary and proper. The act also provided for slavery.

No member of the legislature could hold, or be appointed to, any office which was created or the salary of which had been increased while he was a member, either during the term for which he was elected or for one year after its expiration. The members of the legislature were to receive \$4.00 per day and \$4.00 for every 20 miles of travel in going to and returning from sessions, the mileage being estimated according to the nearest usually traveled route.

To defray the contingent expenses of the Territory an appropriation of \$1,000 was authorized. The seat of government was designated to be at La Mesilla. One delegate to the Confederate congress at Richmond was provided for, with a salary of \$8.00 a day and mileage at the rate of ten cents per mile.

On February 14, 1862, a proclamation was issued by President Jefferson Davis declaring this act to be in full force and effect.¹⁴

On March 13, 1862, President Davis sent the following names to the senate to be confirmed as officers of the new Territory of Arizona; John R. Baylor, of Arizona, gover-

14. *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. 1, pp. 853, 859, 930.

nor; Robert Josselyn, of Mississippi, secretary; Alexander M. Jackson, of New Mexico, chief justice; Columbus Upson, of Texas, associate justice; Russel Howard, of Arizona, attorney; and Samuel J. Jones of Arizona, marshal.¹⁵

The first delegate in congress to represent the Territory was Granville H. Oury, who was recognized as such January 18, 1862, the day on which the act admitting the territory was passed; and on March 11, 1862, he was succeeded by Marcus H. McWillie, the attorney general of the Territory under the military government of Colonel Baylor. He served until the end of the Confederate government in 1865.¹⁶

The organization of the Territory of Arizona was only a part of a much larger plan of the Confederates which contemplated adding the Mexican states of Chihuahua and Sonora to the Confederacy, thus obtaining control, not only of a rich mineral country, but of a seaport on the Gulf of California. In February 1862, General Sibley sent a force of 100 cavalry commanded by Captain Hunter to capture Tucson, which he did on February 28th. With these troops he sent Colonel James Reily on a mission to Governor Pesqueira of Sonora to try and arrange with him for the free entry of troops and supplies at Guaymas. In this, however, he was not successful, as Governor Pesqueira was in sympathy with the North, and refused to enter into any deal with the Confederates. Had he done so there might have been an entirely different outcome to the control of the southwest and California.

Tucson did not long remain in Confederate hands, for on May 20th, 1862, when the first of the California Volunteers under command of Colonel J. R. West reached there, they found that Captain Hunter and his troops had abandoned the town and were in full retreat to the Rio Grande.¹⁷

15. *Official Records*, Vol. 50, Part 1, p. 925.

16. *Official Records*, Ser. IV, Vol. 3, pp. 1187, 1189, 1191.

17. *Official Records*, Vol. 50, Part 1, pp. 944, 1031, 1088.

This victory was followed up by the famous march of the California Volunteers, 1,400 strong under General James H. Carleton (later appointed to command the Department of New Mexico, with headquarters at Santa Fe) to drive the Confederates out of New Mexico.

The advanced column under Colonel Frye reached the Rio Grande at Fort Thorn (north of the present town of Hatch) on July 4th, 1862, and for the first time since the surrender of Fort Fillmore by Major Lynde the Stars and Stripes floated again on the lower Rio Grande.

As soon as the arrival of these troops was known, the Confederates made a hasty flight, abandoning Mesilla, Las Cruces, Franklin and all points in New Mexico, and the dream of a new Southern state and an outlet to the Pacific for the Confederacy was shattered.

A very clear idea of the general conditions in the new Territory of Arizona is given in a letter from Colonel William Steele, commanding the Confederate forces at El Paso, to General S. Cooper, adjutant general at Richmond, written July 12, 1862, in which he said:¹⁸

General: Having recently abandoned the Territory of Arizona, and being on the point of starting with my whole command for San Antonio, I deem it advisable to give you a brief statement of the various causes that have compelled me to this step. Of the strength of the force with which I was expected to hold the Territory—about 400 men—you will be able to form a just estimate from the within field report. After General Sibley had withdrawn from the country the greater portion of his command, the Mexican population, justly thinking our tenure very frail and uncertain, showed great unwillingness to sell property of any sort for Confederate paper, which would of course be valueless to them should I be compelled to retire, which was at any time probable; and as I was without specie with which to make purchases, I was obliged to seize upon such supplies as were required for the subsistence of the troops and such means of transportation as would enable me to move my command whenever the necessity might arise for so doing.

18. *Official Records*, Vol. 50, Part 2, p. 21.

This occasioned so much ill feeling on the part of the Mexicans that in many instances armed resistance was offered to foraging parties acting under my orders, and in the various skirmishes which took place one captain and several men of my regiment were killed by them. Besides this, the troops with me were so disgusted with the campaign and so anxious to return to Texas that in one or two instances they were on the point of open mutiny, and threatened to take the matter in their own hands unless they were speedily marched back to San Antonio.

In the meantime the forces from California, about 1,500 strong, were steadily approaching, and on the 6th day of July their advance was at Fort Thorn, on the Rio Grande. Troops from Fort Craig had been seen the day previous moving toward the same point. Knowing this, and that the enemy, after leaving competent garrisons behind, would be able to bring 3,000 troops against me, independent of a recent re-enforcement which they received—of 500 men—from Pike's Peak, and 250 more with six rifle cannon, who escorted the paymaster from Kansas, the necessity of moving my force became imperative. I was then at Fort Fillmore, with but little ammunition, and notwithstanding the efforts I had made, with very inadequate means of transportation. I, however, abandoned the Territory on the 8th of July and marched for Fort Bliss, at which point I now am. As soon as this move had been determined on, the sale was ordered of all public property at Fort Bliss which was too bulky for or not worth transportation. This sale was held for specie and breadstuffs. The specie was turned over to the general hospital which I was compelled to leave at Franklin. There was besides a considerable quantity of stores that could not be sold and which were too weighty for transportation, such as horse and mule shoes, cannon, ammunition, tents &c.

To conclude, I am now about to start for San Antonio with very limited means of transportation, and insufficient supply of breadstuff and beef, depending on the contingency of meeting provisions forwarded from San Antonio, and with troops in many instances almost naked. The General hospital at Franklin under the charge of Doctor Southworth, has been provided with \$830.00 in specie and credit to a larger amount with parties in Mexico. This I submit to

you as a true representation of the condition of affairs in this country.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
Wm. Steele
Colonel, Commanding

On August 14, 1862, General Carleton, who by that time had reached the Rio Grande and taken command, issued General Orders No. 15 in which he stated:¹⁹

The people may now rest assured that the era of anarchy and misrule—when there was no protection to life or property, when the wealthy were robbed and oppressed, when all were insulted and maltreated, and when there was no respect for age or sex, has passed away; that now under the sacred banner of our country all may claim and shall receive their just rights. Therefore let the burden of anxiety be lifted from their hearts, and once more pursue their avocations with cheerfulness, and with the full confidence that the protection which now shelters them from injustice will always be stronger in proportion as they shall be powerless to protect themselves.

19. *Official Records*, Vol. 50, Part 1, p. 44.

BOOK REVIEWS

Three New Mexico Chronicles: The Exposición of Don Pedro Bautista Pino, 1812; the Ojeada of Lic. Antonio Barreiro, 1832; and the additions of Don José Agustín de Escudero, 1849. Translation and notes, by H. Bailey Carroll and J. Villasana Haggard. (The Quivira Society, Vol. XI, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1942. Pp. xxxi+342, illustrations, glossary. Facsimile of the original edition of Don Pedro Baptista Pino's *Exposición*; facsimile of the original edition of Lic. Antonio Barreiro's *Ojeada sobre Nuevo-Mexico*. Index. \$10.00).

Another notable volume marks the high standards of the Quivira Society under the editorship of George P. Hammond. This, the eleventh volume, (volume ten is yet to appear), is a translation of three 19th century chronicles of New Mexico. The original book was discovered first by the translators, H. Bailey Carroll and J. Villasana Haggard, in a private collection. Upon investigation they found additional copies in the Latin-American library of the University of Texas and in the Bancroft Library of the University of California. The Pino report and the Barreiro *Ojeada* have long been recognized by historians as, perhaps, the most valuable sources upon the history of New Mexico in this period. So, it is most gratifying to have this material made easily available.

Don Pedro Bautista Pino presented the first of the three chronicles as a report to the Cortes in Spain when he represented New Mexico there in 1810. It was published in Cádiz in 1812. The *Ojeada* by Barreiro was published in Puebla, Mexico, in 1832. The latter was republished with the final notes by Escudero, bringing the material up to the date of publication in Mexico, 1849.

In the Editor's Introduction, Mr. Hammond gives brief sketches of the three co-authors and calls attention to the clever acrostic in Pino's report (*vide* facsimile, Ap-

pendix, 252-253) by which Juan López Cancelada identified himself and pretty well established the responsibility for the literary form of the Pino report.

Aside from the introductory chapter on discovery, settlement, and early history of the colony (in which there are some curious and interesting 19th century errors fully explained in the notes), the chronicles deal with conditions in 19th century New Mexico. The geographical situation, land ownership and economic problems, political affairs, church, administration of justice, questions of public taxes, the military, census, education, natural resources, trade, and Indians show the completeness of the review.

Something of the skill of the translation may be judged by consulting the facsimiles of the original report and the *Ojeada* which are reproduced in half-tones in the Appendix, although the 1849 edition is the one from which the translators worked. One of the most valuable parts of the book is the editor's notes. There are some fifty pages which identify and explain items in careful and painstaking detail, adding a wealth of documentation. The glossary completes the identification and a full index closes the volume.

With such careful editing one finds continued accuracy; only minor queries occur such as the extensive note on *varas* being placed after the second appearance of the word (p. 26) when it first occurred on p. 23.

This volume is distinguished not only by its excellent scholarship but also by its beautiful title page, fine illustrations and binding. It is a book which brings delight to the bibliophile and collector, as well as joy to the historian.

Dorothy Woodward.

University of New Mexico

Diary and Letters of Josiah Gregg. Edited by Maurice G. Fulton, with an introduction by Paul Horgan. (Norman: Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 1941. xvii—413 pp., maps and illustrations, two appendices, index. \$3.50.)

It being easier to point out mistakes than it is to avoid

making them, this review will refrain from mentioning obvious typographical errors, occasional lapses in syntax and inconsistencies in historical references, due no doubt, to hasty proof reading, but which in no way detract from the value or interest of the contribution to historical and biographical knowledge. The dedication of this well printed volume indicates the source of the material: "To Claude Hardwicke, grand-nephew of Josiah Gregg, who safeguarded his ancestor's papers in the hope of their adequate publication, and to his widow, Antoinette Hardwicke, who with loyal persistency has helped to achieve that aim."

The book is the first of two volumes. It covers the portions of the diaries and letters of Josiah Gregg between his final retirement from the Santa Fé trade in 1840, and the severance in 1847 of his connection with General Wool's campaign in the Mexican War. The second volume is to present Gregg "as an observer of the Battle of Buena Vista, a practicing physician in Saltillo, a visitor to the city of Mexico, the leader of a scientific expedition westward to Mazatlan." From this port Gregg migrated to California and the Northwest for further adventure and exploration.

Fulton believes that the publication of this material will give a new perspective of Gregg and a truer realization "of how gifted he was in observing, wherever he went, the country and its people and how naturally and unartificially he expressed his impressions."

As an introduction, Paul Horgan contributes a biographical sketch. Horgan, who has made himself a name as a novelist and student of New Mexico history, takes the sparse biographical data and spins them into a vivid presentation of a living figure against a colorful background of pioneer days and adventure. It is a masterpiece of writing, worth-while American literature. Unfortunately, it is not to be completed until the second volume is published. In other words, it is left hanging in mid-air at a most interesting turning point in Gregg's career. As to Horgan's method, it is best explained in his own words: "It is a small enough

bone by which to reconstruct a social skeleton; but by its reference to idle habit and family propriety, it somehow makes a ghost of a life."

It is not until page 43, that Part I of the Book is reached. It is Gregg's diary of his "Last Return from Santa Fe" and covers details of the trip to Van Buren, Ark., over a partly new route. With a caravan of forty-seven men, twenty-eight wagons, 200 mules, and two to three hundred sheep, the journey began at Santa Fé on February 25, 1840. Arrival at Van Buren was on April 22, almost two months later. A fight with Pawnees on Trujillo creek was one of the thrilling incidents recorded, but most of the diary is given to geographical description which would identify the route and landmarks to the present day.

Part II describes a "Trip into Texas," June 1841 to June 1842, to find new business opportunities. It is cotton country between the Arkansas and Red rivers which he describes with close attention to flora, fauna and physical features. Incidentally he dwells on social conditions. Writing of the country around Clarksville: "As to society, it is rather bad yet. There are a few planters of some wealth, but the proportion is very small, and although most of these, being of backwoods raising, they live in the plainest and coarsest style. And unfortunately for the country too, there are a great many persons scattered in different parts of ill fame, and correspondent conduct. The people of this vicinity have been endeavoring lately to strike terror to the miscreants of the country, by the exercise of Lynch's law—whipping some, and hanging some three or four others." Gregg went as far as Nacogdoches and Shreveport in Louisiana, abandoning, however, a proposed trip to New Orleans and returning home to accept a contract to resurvey the town of Van Buren for which he "was to receive \$900 Arkansas money, and assistants and all things furnished." He formed a commercial partnership with his brother John and George C. Pickett, but directed his main

effort to writing a book about his experiences of a nine years' residence in New Mexico.

This adventuring in authorship resulted in the publication of the classic *Commerce of the Prairies* through which Gregg became best known. Part III and the diary from January 1843 to December 1844 are devoted to the incidents and transactions with publishers. Outstanding was his friendship with John Bigelow who was of great assistance in bringing out the first edition of 2000 copies; in fact so much so that authorship was erroneously ascribed to him by some contemporaries.

From authorship, Gregg turned to medical studies, a period covered by his diary from February 1845 to May 1846. It was, no doubt, because of protracted illness that Gregg decided to go to Louisville to attend medical lectures. Included in this Part IV are a number of letters to Bigelow and other correspondence with fac-simile reproduction of a page from the diary and a broadside prepared by Gregg to advertise *Commerce of the Prairies*.

Parts V and VI are somewhat startling accounts of the Arkansas Volunteers in their invasion of Mexico during the War with Mexico. It was a bizarre military expedition in which Gregg was extremely critical of commanding officers and the conduct of the war. Of San Antonio he writes: "I did not expect to see so poor and wretched looking a place. * * * The streets are dirty, crooked, and narrow—no sort of pavement nor even sidewalks; I believe none of the streets have even names." Gregg, in describing "grama" grass of northern Mexico in which New Mexico was included at that time, points out "that animals winter upon it without other feed," and predicts that therefore the country will be fine for pasturing. He tells of cattle being so abundant "that they are said to have been sold as low as 50 cents to a dollar per head."

"Visits to Monterrey and Saltillo" during the winter of 1846-1847 form a colorful last chapter of the volume. Appendices include "Memorabilia in Letters" in which there

are found biographical data, and the text of an oration delivered by Gregg at Jonesborough, Missouri, on the 4th of July, 1829, when he was only twenty years old. The Index, while not comprehensive, is useful to the student. All in all, the book is not only a necessity for every historical library but is so entertaining that it should be also of interest to the general reader, young or old.—P.A.F.W.

Guádal P'a: The Journal of Lieut. J. W. Abert, from Bent's Fort to St. Louis in 1845. Edited by H. Bailey Carroll. (Canyon, Texas; The PanHandle-Plains Historical Society, 1941. 121 pp., portrait, map, index. \$3.50.)

In his opening pages (3-7) the editor introduces the reader to the biographical record of Lieutenant Abert and to the little known record of his exploration of the Canadian River,—the Kiowa name for which he makes use of for his title.

In the late summer of 1845, when Capt. J. C. Frémont was at Bent's Fort on his third western exploration. Lieutenant Abert was detached from the main expedition and given orders to cross by Raton Pass and get on the headwaters of the Canadian—which stream he was to explore eastward to its junction with the Arkansas River between Fort Gibson and Fort Smith. Mr. Carroll tells us that the original manuscript is now in the National Archive, but he seems to have worked from the text as first published in the Senate Documents.

Not all will agree with the editor that this journal is more important than Abert's later *Report of his examination of New Mexico 1846-7*; or that there is any significance in his use of mules. He had four wagons, and naturally he would use mules—but he had saddle horses along also. Abert does give interesting notes and comments regarding the Kiowa Indians; and very interesting also is the "back-stage" view we are afforded of the existing feud relations between Comanches and Texans.

In the printing of this book throughout, there was an unfortunate carelessness at the Press in the spreading of the ink. The editing and proof reading have been especially good.—L. B. B.

To Form a More Perfect Union.—The Lives of Charles and Mary Clarke from their letters 1847-71. By Herbert O. Brayer. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1941. 233 pp., Illustrated.)

Dedicated to Dr. George P. Hammond of the University of New Mexico, this recently published volume presents, in letters of Charles Francis Clarke and his widow, an intimate picture of life on the western frontier from 1847-1871. Divided into period chapters by the author, each is prefaced by a vivid summary of the events and other high lights of the years covered. The result is a most entertaining as well as informative American history, lucidly written and of literary merit.

Charles Francis Clarke, when twenty years old, ran away from his home at Henstead in Suffolk county, England. It is through his English eyes that the American scene is first presented. In his letters home, the transformation into a patriotic American can be discerned. These letters were made available to the author by Miss Florence Clarke of Toadlena, N. M. The first one was sent from Milwaukee, Wis., October 3, 1847. "I am very sorry at having left England" writes Clarke. "Why I left I know not." He was soon to get over the spell of homesickness. "The railroads here are very slow and very rough never going above 15 miles an hour," he remarks in this first missive. As to prices he says "You may buy a good cow here for 10 dollars, a pair of oxen for 40, a pair of excellent horses for 100, a wagon for 50—wheat now is worth 75 cents a bushel; and a laborer will earn 1 dollar a day or his board and lodging and 10 dollars a month." Whiskey was quoted at 30 cents a gallon. "My board and lodging at an Hotel cost me 2 dollars a week. A single man can live

very comfortably for 2 to 300 dollars a year. The legal interest allowed in this Territory is 12 per cent, but I have let several sums out on good landed security at 20 per cent and you can frequently obtain 50, money being very scarce."

Clarke enlisted in the United States Army in 1848 and was ordered to proceed to Mexico City as a paymaster. He sailed down the Mississippi to New Orleans and thence to Vera Cruz. Near Puebla the American troops were attacked several times by guerrilla bands which were easily repulsed.

Clarke apparently had become a lawyer and on his return to Milwaukee after being discharged from the Army, negotiated a law partnership. However, "Law here is a very poor business. It seems to be the principal aim of the legislature in framing the laws of the State to injure the lawyer as much as possible. It requires a good business to be worth 400 to 500 dollars a year while a laborer gets from one to two dollars a day." Clarke therefore accepted a clerkship with the American Fur Company at \$25 a month and board. In 1849 he re-enlisted in the U. S. Army. His pay was \$8 a month with rations and clothing, which he wrote to his father "is quite sufficient." September 29th, 1852, finds him at Fort Massachusetts in New Mexico, a picture of which is one of the illustrations of the book. Three weeks were spent at Fort Union from where the route was via Taos. In "several places the mountains were so rugged and steep that we had to take out the mules and let the carriage down with ropes," he reports and then remarks: "The appearance of the inhabitants of New Mexico is not at all prepossessing to a stranger. They are a mixture between the Spaniards and Indians and possess all the vices and but few of the virtues of both races. The houses are built of sun-dried brick and are anything but neat looking. Agriculture is at a very low ebb and the climate is so dry that in order to secure a certain crop the land has to be irrigated. The only thing in favour of the country is its remarkably healthy climate." On April 25, 1853, he writes his father

from Fort Massachusetts: "It is seriously recommended by the military governor and several other distinguished individuals to abandon New Mexico altogether to the Indians, withdrawing both the Civil and Military authorities, it being retained only at an immense cost to the government and actually bringing in nothing at all in return. In fact they do not export a single article to the United States or anywhere else. Wagons coming to this country with manufactured goods going back empty for want of freight." At Cantonment Burgwin, 80 miles further south, conditions were more agreeable, according to Clarke: "The land is very rich and climate fine. . . . Labour, such as it is, is very cheap. You can hire a Mexican for 25 cents per diem, and buy an able-bodied peon for about thirty dollars." Here Clarke came in contact with Ceran St. Vrain who is now very wealthy, owning and carrying on three large grist mills, several stores and many leagues of land."

As is apparent from these quotations, Brayer has edited a most fascinating series of letters and with his scholarly comments and introductions to each chapter has made an important contribution to the historical knowledge of the beginnings of the conquest of the West.—P. A. F. W.

Uncle Sam's Stepchildren: The reformation of United States Indian Policy, 1865-1887. By Loring Benson Priest. (Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, 1942. 310 pages with index. \$3.75).

Dr. Priest has developed this intensive study of the Indian problem topically under four headings: four unsuccessful efforts at reform, the rise of interest in Indian reform, destruction of the old Indian system, and formulation of the new Indian policy. The four unsuccessful efforts at reform were: the policy of concentration of Indians on a few large reservations; the attempt of the war department to wrest control of the Indians from the interior department; the church nomination of Indian agents, which did not improve conditions in the service; and the crea-

tion of the Board of Indian Commissioners, which soon fell under the domination of the interior department. At the same time the old policies were being modified: the treaty system was abandoned officially in 1871, and annuities were slowly diverted from knick-knacks and subsistence supplies to the purchase of farm equipment and educational facilities. The final change was the Dawes Act of 1887, intended to break up the communal system of land holding and make possible the assimilation of the Indian.

The reviewer has been hoping that continued study of the Indian problem would reveal a more favorable picture of just treatment of the red man by the white man, but this study presents the usual story of selfish motives and confusion in dealing with the natives. The trader, the cattleman, the squaw man, the partisan politician, the railroad corporation, and even the churchman was too often motivated by self-interest. The Indian might incidentally be benefited, but progress toward that goal was slow and painful compared with the returns to the white men who administered to or had close contact with these wards of the nation.

Outside of a few minor errors, the author has made a worthy contribution to the literature on the subject, and after a method far superior to much of the writing that exists. If the story is painful to read, it is at least based on authentic sources of information and not pure imagination or sentimentalism. There is no formal bibliography, but the footnotes at the end of the book reveal an extensive use of printed source material and some use of manuscripts.

A final chapter summarizing and interpreting the period covered by the study would have been useful to the reader because of the many threads in the story. Instead, the author has written a brief account of the failure of the Dawes Act which really lies outside the scope of this work. He terms this failure "the disastrous history of America's first systematic effort to provide for Indian welfare," a heady statement in view of his intention "to discuss con-

troversial issues impartially" because "of current disagreements."

Such a chapter would have been difficult since the subject can almost be called "confusion worse confounded." This is revealed in some conflicting generalizations: concentration was defeated by local opposition on page 7, but by Western settlers and Eastern philanthropists on page 17. "The average layman was not interested in the Indian problem," (p. 30); "While most Americans were extremely critical . . . , " (p. 36). "While Catholics could expect little sympathy from government officials . . . " (p. 35), "most government officials were disposed to treat the Catholics fairly . . . " (p. 35).

The discussion of Navajo police on page 139 might be modified a bit. A force of 100 men was actually organized in 1872 and served for a year at a wage of \$7.00 per month. They were disbanded on the recommendation of Agent Hall, Army's successor.

Frank D. Reeve

Economic Nationalism in Latin America. By Richard F. Behrendt. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1941. Pp. 24.)

The first of a proposed series of short papers, under the general title of *Inter-Americana*, it presents a rather incisive analysis of factors which have been, and to some extent still are, barriers to complete understanding between the United States and the so-called Latin-American republics. No one could be better qualified to discuss this situation, perhaps, than Dr. Behrendt, assistant professor of Inter-American affairs at the University of New Mexico. Of European birth and training, he was professor of economics and sociology, dean of the faculty of social sciences and economic adviser to the government of the Republic of Panama for five years; assistant director of the Pan American Good Neighbor Forum, co-editor of *Pan American Forum* and *Foro Panamericano*, and lecturer in economics and Latin American affairs in Chicago.

At the onset, the writer makes it clear that "it is

inaccurate, and sometimes unfair, to refer to Latin America as if it were a unit. Immense differences in economic, social and cultural conditions can be found among the various countries and even certain regions within the same country." The discussion, therefore, confines itself to a certain extent to problems common to all nations of Latin America.

It is made evident that growing nationalism has widened the gap into a gulf, separating the nations of the Americas, not only politically, but also economically. Despite the infiltration of European capital and industry, the people of the Americas demand and advocate "the restriction and even final elimination of the economic activities of foreigners. Obstacles in the way of economic independence are formidable. There is political unrest, for instance. Says the writer: "Most educated people depend on the government for making a living through public offices. * * * They exercise a tremendous strain on the public treasuries." Then there "is the discrepancy between the broad masses of the population, among whom a very low standard of living and scarcity of formal education prevails, and a relatively small group of large land owners and military and political key personages." The trend toward socialism is apparent, in fact, decisive, for to attain the nationalistic aims, it is the government which must take the place of the foreign investors as "there does not exist yet a sufficiently broad and potent class of capitalists."

In conclusion, Professor Behrendt urges intelligent cooperation between the United States and its neighbors to the south. "Otherwise, 'el capitalismo yanqui' will find the sociological tide in most Latin American countries turning against it more strongly every day." For the present, it is sought to buy good will rather than to earn it and "there is great danger in approaching an understanding of Latin America by means of night club attractions, tourist propaganda and Hollywood productions."

The study is an important contribution by the School of Inter-American Affairs of the University of New Mexico, which is being ably organized by Dr. Joaquín Ortega,

recently called from the University of Wisconsin, to strengthen the important influence which the University of New Mexico has already attained in the field of Latin American relations.—P.A.F.W.

Handbook for Translators of Spanish Historical Documents. By J. Villasana Haggard. Assisted by Malcolm Dallas McLean. Archives Collection, University of Texas. (Oklahoma City, 1941. Pp. 198.)

This volume serves the useful purpose of bringing together various aids, hitherto dealt with only in widely scattered works, for the benefit of persons interested in reading and translating documents in the Spanish language. It must be remembered, however, that Spanish historical documents relating to the colonies deal with such a wide area and so many varied problems that it is impossible to lay down a single set of rules which will prove satisfactory in all cases. Thorough knowledge of the languages involved is only the first step. The translator must have a sound general acquaintance with the background of the material with which he is working, or the active collaboration of someone who does. Very often it is essential to consult specialists in other fields. A handbook such as this can spare us a certain amount of the initial drudgery, but the long slow work of solving the problems which each document presents cannot be avoided.

In general Mr. Haggard's theory of translation is sound, if a bit too arbitrary. Undoubtedly there are some who will disagree with his rules for transcription. In many cases it is advisable to transcribe documents exactly as they stand, but in preparing documents for publication there is much to be said for modernizing spelling and punctuation for the benefit of those who may be interested in different phases of the material presented and yet have insufficient knowledge of the peculiarities of earlier Spanish phraseology and spelling to read them with ease, or even to interpret them accurately, when they are left in their original form. If the editor is not competent to modernize, it is open to doubt whether he is competent to transcribe.

Unfortunately the *Handbook* contains serious errors in both palaeography and translation. The original of the first sample translation is so obscure that it would be impossible to make a definite translation without the aid of related documents to clarify the situation. Undoubtedly Mr. Haggard had access to such. Other translations are at fault because of misunderstanding of Spanish legal procedure and points of civil and canon law. In certain cases the transcriptions are incorrect, e. g., *Fr. A. archopo. Mex. Conqt.* for *Fr. A. archieps. (archiepiscopus) Mexicanus; Hos.º App.º* (translated as "Apostolic Hospitaller") for *Not.º App.º* (Apostolic Notary); and in Appendix B, Specimens number 17 and 18, attributed to Muñoz y Rivero, contain outstanding errors in transcription.

The lists of stock Spanish words, phrases, and expressions with their English equivalents are of interest but must be used with caution since many of these expressions have other meanings of equal importance and frequency. These lists contain a large number of Southwestern terms and should be particularly helpful to those interested in that field. Certainly it would be almost impossible to compile a comprehensive list of expressions of this kind, for they are ~~indefinite~~ and vary exceedingly according to place, period, and subject under discussion. Such specialized terms as those describing caste are to be found in works like Nicolás León's *Las castas de México Colonial o Nueva España* (México, 1924). The interpretation of legal terms requires extreme care and the works of specialists must be consulted.

infinite

The sections dealing with weights and measures and monetary values have definite value. It is to be regretted, however, that a table of Spanish monetary values in terms of one another was not included.

An excellent, though not exhaustive, bibliography is appended.

Eleanor B. Adams

Division of Historical Research
Carnegie Institution of Washington

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Martín Amador and Mesilla Valley history.—Last fall during the annual observance of the Fiesta de la Frontera, one of the local papers carried a feature article regarding Don Martín Amador and a “combination plow” which he invented fifty years ago.

It seems that on January 19, 1892, he was issued a patent for what was, in effect, a forerunner of the modern cultivator. As described in newspaper clippings of that time, it was “a miracle of simple ingenuity and works like a charm. The need for an implement with which to cut to pieces the matted roots of alfalfa has long been felt, and the problem has been successfully solved by the genius of our fellow townsman, Don Martín Amador. The implement consists of a pair of low truck wheels, to the axle of which is attached a frame-work of four parallel, horizontal bars to which the plows are made fast. Underneath the tongue a chain works its whole length, and passes over a roller at its front end.

“To this same frame-work may be attached the knives for cutting the perpendicular walls, the 18-inch plows for cleaning the dirt out of an acequia, the plows for throwing up acequia and cotton borders; a gang of 7- or 8-inch plows for loosening up, and a scraper for throwing up borders.”

In reply to an inquiry from New York, he was said to have asked \$100,000 for a half-interest. Some weeks later he was reported to have refused a cash offer of \$70,000 and to be planning himself to start a small factory at Las Cruces. This did not materialize and the patent seems to have lapsed many years ago. Though it brought Don Martín no financial return, it did bring him honors and distinction—even from a scientific body in far-away Paris.

Martín Amador was born on November 11, 1839, in the city of Paso del Norte (the Juárez of today). He came to Brazito at the age of nine, settling at Fort Fillmore,—per-

haps from its beginning in September 1851. He remained at the post for about eight years, and during this time he learned to read and write English.

The first silver mining in the Organ Mountains is said to date from about 1819 and was done by Don Antonio García of Paso del Norte. The ore taken out was brought on burros to a crude smelting furnace near the site of the later Fort Fillmore. Whether these properties were acquired by Hugh Stephenson is not known, but W. W. H. Davis (*El Gringo*, 374) stopped in 1853 for a look at the Stephenson furnace near Fort Fillmore; also in or about 1856 Martín Amador entered Stephenson's employ—report says as “manager.”

When the Civil War broke out, he returned to his native Mexico. At that time he was twenty-one years of age, and a family tradition has it that he was much disturbed because the young lady whom he wanted to marry was also being courted by another young caballero—who later was to be governor of the State of Chihuahua. But young Amador was successful in winning the hand of Doña Refugio Ruiz, and in 1863 (after the Confederates had been driven out of the valley) he returned with her and settled in Las Cruces. Four children of this marriage are still living: Mrs. Clotilde Terrazas, widow of the late Antonio Terrazas, Mrs. Emilia García, widow of the late Jesús García, and Frank Amador,—all of Las Cruces; and Juan Amador of El Paso. *[died Mar. 11, aet. 79.]*

In fact, the name “Amador” has long been associated with the Mesilla Valley. Don Martín himself was active in civic affairs, serving a term as probate judge and another time being appointed a deputy U. S. marshal. Old-timers associate the name with his business in drygoods and groceries; and in the horse-and-buggy days the Amador Livery stables were well patronized. And everyone in Cruces knows the old Amador Hotel, which must now be about seventy years old and is still serving the public. Perhaps it is of interest to recall that, when the railroad came

through in the early '80's and the county-seat was brought back from La Mesilla across the old river-bed, several terms of the district court were held in the Amador Hotel—until the new court-house was ready in 1884. If anyone wants to recover some atmosphere of the long ago, may he find it possible to visit occasionally some place which enshrines the past like this old hostelry in Las Cruces.—L. B. B.

Robert E. Lee Archives.—The board of trustees of Washington and Lee University has recently established the Robert E. Lee Archives as a division of the new Cyrus Hall McCormick Library. It is proposed to make the school which Washington endowed and to which Lee gave the last five years of his life a national repository of source material concerning the entire life of Robert E. Lee. Washington and Lee already owns four thousand manuscript items concerning Lee's life, and its collection of Lee books, pamphlets, and pictures is large. The most improved methods of cataloging manuscripts have been adopted.

To aid in this work a national advisory committee of prominent scholars and public men is being formed. Dr. W. G. Bean is chairman of the local committee, and Dr. Allen W. Moger of the history faculty has been made Lee archivist. He will attempt to locate and secure other original manuscripts, photostats, and copies of original Lee items. It is particularly hoped that the numerous admirers of General Lee who possess individual letters to or from him will realize that the Robert E. Lee Archives at Lexington, Virginia, is the appropriate place where they will be preserved for posterity.