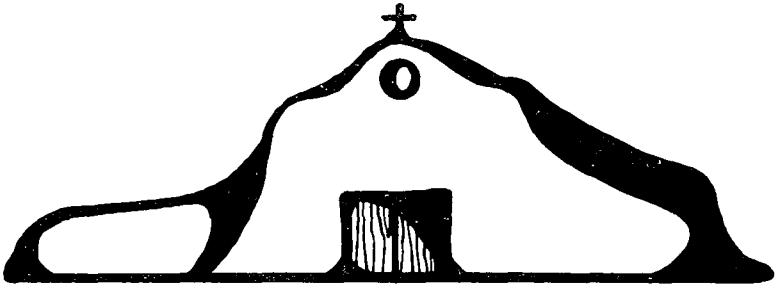
New Mexico Historical Review

Volume 17 | Number 3 Article 1

7-1-1942

Full Issue

New Mexico Historical Review



NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

REPRINT

JULY 1942

IN APPRECIATION

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

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

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

Donald C. Cutter
Chairman, Editorial Board, NMHR

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

DUKE PAUL WILHELM VON WÜRTTEMBERG
(A photograph taken with a camera of his own construction, early summer of 1844, in the wilds of southeastern Arkansas—L. C. B.)

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XVII JULY, 1942 NO. 3

A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF PRINCE PAUL WILHELM OF WÜRTTEMBERG (1797-1860)

By LOUIS C. BUTSCHER

THE WRITER is at the very outset aware of the serious handicap that the personage he is undertaking to portray in this sketch is even by name known to not more than half a dozen people, and to these only so remotely that the name spells little more than the object of a controversy that has nothing whatsoever to do with the distinguished service he has rendered to the natural sciences.

Paradoxical though this utter oblivion of the memory of the man may seem, it is quite easy of explanation. Unlike any other man known in history, he worked not for world-fame,—though he would have had glory enough had he had the slightest inclination for publicity—but solely for the joy this work gave him. Of all his vast gifts, gifts which he used worthily and well beyond almost human understanding, although utterly forgotten now, he was for the last twenty-five years of his life almost a household word in Europe and in the two Americas.

Duke Paul Wilhelm (1797-1860) was the nephew of King Friedrich I of Württemberg. The latter, recognizing his abilities at a very tender age, asked his brother, the father of the boy, to give him over into his keeping. So he was placed in the "Karl Akademie" founded by the boy's illustrious grandfather, Duke Karl Eugen (1728-93), first

purely as a military school for boys, but later imparting to it the character of a university, for which in 1792 a charter was actually granted by Emperor Joseph II.

Although the king's purpose was that of bringing up the boy in the traditions of the ancient house by giving him training for a military career, he was not slow in recognizing his other talents, and he therefore called to his court the greatest teachers in Europe, masters in the natural and physical sciences, in classical literature, in the ancient and modern languages, in philosophy, diplomacy, law, and ethics.

Chief among these was Lebret, a pupil of Gay-Lussac, Cuvier, Jussieu, and Hay. This man Lebret, of world fame, saw at once that Prince Paul was an extraordinary child, and he devoted all his personality to the winning of his love, not for himself only, but for botany and zoology foremost of all.

Paul not only read all the authors of Greece and Rome, but he acquired an intimate acquaintance of Italian, French, Spanish and English literature, and he was able to discuss their philosophies and their authors in the respective idioms.

At seventeen he was raised to the rank of colonel "a la suite," with nominal charge of the king's mounted guard. At thirty-three he received the rank of major general from Frederick II of Prussia, his kinsman (son of Frederick the Great). That same year (1830) he was invested with the then rare degrees of Doctor of Philosophy, Medicine, and Anatomy.

But eight years previous to that latter date he had decided that the military career was not for him, nor the life at the royal court. He wrote to the American government at Washington for permission to travel through the domains of the republic, his avowed purpose, he stated, being his passionate desire for more knowledge in the realms of nature.

Washington immediately replied favorably. Though President Monroe was reluctant in permitting him to travel incognito, as he had requested to do, he merely suggested that he should like to reserve judgment in the matter, in

the event that it might become actually a necessity of state to modify the agreement and to conserve the true spirit of the nation's hospitality. Moreover, unknown to the young prince, the Secretary of State issued requests to the federal, military, and civil authorities of the West to provide him with every means in their power to safeguard his movements and to accord him military guards whenever it should be deemed necessary.

The first trip, 1822-24, was on a three-master out of Hamburg to New Orleans. The voyage lasted from early October till the twentieth of December. The expedition was made with only one attendant, a hardy hunter and master of wood-craft.

After visiting the even then world-renowned Creole City, New Orleans, for two weeks, he sailed for Havana, and for a month he worked with tireless energy to study the geological, physical, social, and political characteristics of Cuba (even then known as the "Pearl of the Antilles"), and more especially of Havana and its environs.

Returning to New Orleans, on which trip he narrowly escaped from falling into the hands of an Argentinian privateer, he set out for his expedition up the Mississippi. He wrote during his leisure hours about the social and political life of New Orleans, about the trade that he compared as on a par with that of Calcutta, then the biggest trade-center of the far East; about the vari-colored picture of life on the streets, in the marts, in the clubs, the hostelries, and in the cultured home circles of the French Créoles. Their spirit of hospitality he ranked as equal to that of the Spaniards. Their tastes were of the old-world France, and therefore the last word in refinement.

New Orleans, in fact, is destined to become the city where he always seeks rest and refuge, after arduous and extended labors. He loves it as his second home. And the people of the city always accord him the most cordial welcome when he comes, as to a guest whose name has become a dear household word.

His observations about the little cities of St. Louis, Louisville, Booneville, New Franklin, and many others are worthy of being recorded in school histories. His survey of Missouri, Louisiana, the country along either bank of the Ohio, of the Mississippi as far up as St. Louis, and of the Missouri as far up as the present site of Yankton, are of vast interest. No native, and far less any foreign traveler, has ever treated the varied aspects of this territory with such clear insight, such thoroughness, and such utter frankness, and, generally, admiration. He sees far into the future of America, our own America; into its vast opportunities, its problems, its looming difficulties. He sees, at the same time, how the Anglo-Saxon of the western hemisphere is perfectly capable of solving the questions that may arise to confront them. He praises them constantly for their marvelous resourcefulness, their indomitable courage, their extraordinary intelligence and adaptability to any conditions and circumstances, and more than all for the astounding solidarity and uniformity of adherence to the principles on which their government is founded.

The founders of the republic he regarded in a light of a greatness which he was loath to accord to the historically great figures of his own continent. For a scion of a dynasty which antedated the Carlovingian (the succession of which was unbroken in direct male lineage since 1060, six years previous to the Norman Conquest) to state that for the first time in human history a people had set out on a successful basis of self-government, the glory of whose destiny was too vast to predict, was a pronouncement which no European had ever before had the magnanimity to express. To all others it had appeared to be a precarious experiment.

Prince Paul's second expedition to the New World was in 1829, two years after his marriage to a princess of the House of Turn and Taxi; and a year after the birth of their only child, Maximilian. This lasted nearly three years and embraced a thorough study and research of the organic life of the northern and central tiers of states of Mexico; of the

Rocky Mountain flora and fauna; of Texas, Colorado, and of western Kansas and Nebraska, and up the Missouri river to its sources. In the summer of 1831, three years in advance of Schoolcraft, he reached the supposed headwaters of the Mississippi, at Lake Itaska, under guidance of some Canadian voyageurs.

The next seven years he devoted to the arranging and classifying of the vast wealth of specimens, botanical, zoological, and geological, which he had collected—veritable mountains of them stored at the port of Bremen; and in the building of a magnificent museum near his ancestral palatial castle in Mergentheim, Württemburg.

Hardly had he completed this work when an invitation came to him from the then Khedive of Egypt, Mehmed Ali, to join an exploration-expedition to the upper reaches of the Nile, for the purpose of geological and ethnological research. He joined this organization as its virtual head and mapped out a territory comprising over half a million of square miles, peopled by twenty-five millions of hitherto unknown barbarous races whom he described with the exact portraiture of a trained ethnologist.

The journals concerning this trip are the only manuscripts out of a mass of nearly four thousand pages of writings which are ordered and arranged for immediate translation and publication. For this vast exploit the English were pleased to rank him with such great explorers as Livingstone, Mungo Park, and Vogel, and the Germans with the great Alexander von Humboldt. The products of his research work in the fields of natural sciences, in geology and ethnology, were of such vast importance that English scientists acclaimed him the peer of Adamson, Schimper, and Buchnell.

In 1849 he set out on his third and longest expedition, which embraced the two new continents. First he explored West Texas again, from San Antonio to the Río Bravo or Río Grande. Then he crossed again into Mexico, sailing in the spring of 1850 from Acapulco to San Pedro and up the coast

to the Sacramento. He spent a month with Johann Augustus Sutter, on whose ranch gold had been discovered two years before. There he witnessed the amazing spectacle of a concourse of tens of thousands of adventurers whom the gold-fever had urged to trek across two thousand miles of desert, every mile fraught with almost superhuman obstacles and deadly perils, to find at last, most of them, the bitter dead-sea fruits of disappointment and despair.

Returning by the Isthmus of Panama we see him again in New Orleans in early 1851. He writes successively about the vast changes this city and the other communities he had first seen in 1822 and '23 had experienced, such as Plaquemine, Cape Girardeau, Natchez and Memphis, Louisville and St. Louis. He travels up the Illinois and describes the changes which that country had undergone. St. Louis has grown from a rough border town of 5600 souls to a magnificent city of 80,000. The characterization of this and other cities up the Mississippi is of peculiar interest to both historian and lay reader.

Then he travels westward from St. Louis, penetrating as far west as South Pass, and down the Green river and across into the Mormon empire. He returns in the fall by way of the Platte and reaches St. Louis in late December.

The story of the return journey from the junction of the two Plattes is the most terrible in the annals of world explorers. His return is hailed as a miracle, for all his friends have given him up for dead. Editors of newspapers from great and small places throughout the country telegraph to him their outspoken joy over his safe return. Offers of money in large and small amounts come to him from everywhere. He becomes a modern Jason who has overcome obstacles and dangers that only a superman can live through.

The year 1852, after wintering in New Orleans, he spent in travel through every state east of the Mississippi, over practically every line of railway and by boat up and down the riverboat-systems, observing the material development of the states and their respective larger cities; not-

ing down the trend of popular feeling on the political issues of the times, in terms so impartial, so logical, so philosophical, that one is amazed at his perspicuity, judgment, and fairness. Indeed, had the great leaders of both sections of the country been guided by such a moral force as his reasonings indicated, there would never have been any division, any civil war.

In 1853 we see him in South America, exploring the headwaters of the Amazon, the Orinoco, the Magdalena, and the Río Plata. He travels through the Latin-American republics, marvels at their vast resources, at their beauteous cities and at the fine beginnings they have made as free and independent commonwealths.

He explored Patagonia and the Tierra del Fuego archipelago; then sailed up along the Chilean coast to Valparaíso, Callao, Lima and Guayaquil. The description of this expedition is interesting past all belief.

He returned again to New Orleans by way of the Isthmus. There he wintered till the early spring of 1854. The following two years were again spent in making the rounds of the states east of the Mississippi. He saw for the first time at St. Anthony Falls the infant twin cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul. New York, Buffalo, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and all the lovely cities of the South were shown to have progressed immensely since he had seen them before.

Returning to Germany in 1856, he stayed a year in his homeland, where he became during this time the recipient of honors from scientific societies from all over the civilized world.

In the spring of 1857 he again returned to the United States, and in 1858 he went on to Australia, where he explored a great portion of its southeastern section, traveled up the Murray River to the gold diggings and invaded the interior for a long distance, studying the aboriginal races. He returned to Europe by way of Ceylon, the Red Sea, Syria, and Greece.

He was a fine sketch artist, and thousands of proofs of his skill portray practically every interesting and dramatic experience of his; also of birds, reptiles, mammals. He drew in pen and ink, and there are some very fine reproductions of pencil sketches and water colors from his own hand.

Thus he sketched from memory the Indian attack at the junction of the two forks of the Platte in the fall of 1851, and that terrible experience, less than a week later, when his wagon was marooned in the quicksand in the middle of the South Platte where by a misadventure he had missed the ford, and where, surrounded by floodwater, in a veritable blizzard, he had to spend the long night all alone.

Sketches he made of small towns, now cities of Illinois, Iowa, Wisconsin; of all types of aborigines in both North and South America, of his passage through the Straits of Magellan, and of episodes of the most dramatic sort throughout his memorable travels.

From 1851, after wintering in New Orleans to recuperate from the frightful hardships he had endured during his return from the far West to St. Louis, he traveled through the United States almost continuously until his return to Germany in the fall of 1856. His descriptions of towns and cities, of the continued enormous changes in the landscapes from primeval jungle to smiling countryside, are marvels of historic retrospect, viewed from the standpoint of our times.

His observations on the colorful picture of racial admixture in the fabric of the American population and their relative adaptabilities to its institutional life; his reflections on the political issues which were becoming ever more menacingly crystallized into two distinct, hostile halves; the comparisons between the peoples of these two sides—culturally, ethically, economically—are immensely significant, their portrayal being the conclusion from an altogether impartial mind detached from all prejudice or partisan leanings which foreigners, especially the Britons, manifested in their attitudes—that were usually hostile to the North.

His travels in Australia, New Zealand and Tasmania

were cut short because matters of state called him home. Despite his brief stay the account holds the reader spellbound throughout. The people everywhere, not only in the two capital cities, Sidney and Melbourne, but in the mining camps, on the sheep and cattle ranches, even in the bush, among the many tribes of aborigines, showed him their highest marks of friendship and admiration.

Quoting from the concluding lines of a splendid eulogy that appeared in the Melbourne *Polyglot* of December, 1858, is the following appraisal of the man:

> Many of the leading literary and scientific societies of the world have not been remiss in offering their highest honors to one who has not merely protected and patronized the sciences, but who, "scorning delights to live laborious days," has devoted himself with unremitting labor and inexhaustible enthusiasm to enlarge the boundaries of human knowledge and to broaden the sphere of the unknown.

There is no parallel instance in all history where a man of royal degree has renounced the ease, the pomp, and the adulation of a magnificent court where he was held of equal rank and in equal affection with the hereditary successor, his cousin Wilhelm (king from 1816 to 1864) and the latter's son, Karl, king from 1864 to 1891.

One of his uncles, Paul I of Russia, and Paul's sons Nicholas I and Alexander I, of Russia, cousins of the prince, were extremely fond of him. Jerome Bonaparte, king of Westphalia, was an uncle of his by marriage. Queen Victoria Augusta of Prussia was his aunt; and Queen Victoria of England a second cousin by two lines. For forty-four years, during two throne successions, there was only one life between him and the royal crown.

Apropos of his extreme modesty the writer cannot refrain from relating a story illuminating the above most interesting situation.

Meeting one day on the streets of Baltimore an English peer whom he had long known on the other side of the Atlan-

tic, he was asked as they strolled about in one of the parks: "How does it seem to you, Highness, to have been for all these years, and still to be, so near to wearing the purple?"

"Lord Blank," the prince replied, "I shall be very honest with you. The thought of an eventuality that might compel me to give up my predilection for travel and exploration has been the only dark cloud in my life. On returning from any one of my extended trips that carried me far beyond the reach of civilization, I have always felt a certain apprehension, even horror, as I would open my mail, lest something untoward had befallen my cousin or my nephew; and I would kneel before God in utter relief, and render Him my deepest thanks for having preserved my illustrious relatives in good health. There has never been a night when I have not prayed that this cup may never be for my lips to taste. My life is cast in ambitions of another kind altogether. In the atmosphere of a palace I would feel like a wild thing that is imprisoned in a gilded cage. The ermine, the scepter, and the crown would be to me the emblems of a galley slave, and my heart would never cease to hunger for the vast, silent places and the simple life among free, unaffected children of nature."

The Englishman, not understanding, merely shook his head, as if in pity, much as one would who had his doubts about another's sanity.

Prince Paul had always cherished the hope that he might live long enough to attend to the supervision of the arrangement of his journals in an order suitable for their publication.

He intended to bury himself in this gigantic task immediately after his return from the final expedition embracing southern Australia and the islands of Tasmania and New Zealand, as also the even greater task, the proper arrangement and classification of all his countless store of samples out of the animal, vegetable, and mineral realms collected from the vast spaces of land and sea of Mother Earth.

But only four months later he succumbed in answer to a higher call, to set out on that final adventure "in that undiscovered country from whose bourne no traveller returns." His son Maximilian then turned the manuscripts over to the Royal State Library at the capital at Stuttgart.

And there they lay undisturbed until late in 1928, when by merest accident the massive trunk was opened by their keeper, the archivist Friedrich Bauser. And "thereby hangs a tale."

In the course of her research labors, Doctor Grace Raymond Hebard, of the University of Wyoming, had occasion to consult the writer about some fragments of manuscripts which the latter translated for her. Then came other leaves, and finally there appeared a citation from a book "Erste Reise nach dem nördlichen Amerika in den Jahren 1822 bis '24," by Herzog Paul Wilhelm von Württemburg.

This came to the writer almost as a shock. Immediately his fancy turned back across the lapse of fifty odd years to when he used to listen to his father's stories of his boyhood days, often retold and ever arousing anew his breathless interest. The boy's father, you see, had spent his boyhood years about and within the palace portals of King Wilhelm I. The crownprince, Karl, and he were inseparable companions, a circumstance perhaps unique, or at least most rare, among the royal houses of Europe. They "thoued" each other and called each other by their Christian names, a custom to which Karl adhered until the death in 1878 of his cherished friend, the writer's father.

Prince Paul was to the two boys "the Gypsy Prince," and to both he was the epitome of everything that was wonderful. He became their Jason, their Ulysses, their Strabo and Tacitus in one. Whenever he would return from a voyage, Paul unfailingly came to the capital—his ancestral home was some thirty miles northeast of Stuttgart—to spend a few days in what to him was the greatest delight during his few leisure periods, namely, to sit by a great chimney-fire in the royal palace, assigned to him by his royal

relatives, and tell his stories to the two boys sitting at his feet like beings removed into a fairy world. "Prince and Peasant," these two rascals would drink in his magic tales of other lands. And many were their pleadings that he should take them with him on an impending expedition.

The writer's father and Karl received a number of letters with date marks from Mexico, Cairo, Buenos Aires, New Orleans, and from St. Louis. For Paul had always time, even though time was his most treasured possession, to think of bringing sunshine into the lives of others. And few, it appears, were as near to him as these two boys that were heart and soul devoted to him. Both claimed him for their common possession, and by Paul's and Karl's insistence the burgher's son had to call the prince "Onkel Paul."

It was in the heart of one who had grown a boy once more that those strange-sweet stories surged up again across the span of fifty-five years, when, all but forgotten, the name "Paul Wilhelm" came before the writer's eye with a new significance that was to absorb his closest attention for who knows how long.

Just like that boyish, adventure-loving heart of the prince it was to search out from among all the western tribes a lad who would fitly represent the European idea of the American Indian. And surely there was none to vie in mien and ambition and spirit and heredity with the boy whom Prince Paul had met that summer day in 1823 in the fur trader's yard on the hither bank of the Missouri, just across from the mouth of the Kansas, where Kansas City was to be founded. Just like him it was that he should choose this lad Baptiste for his daily companion both on this side and in the old and time-worn civilization, the European.

He had always liked the Sho-scho-ni tribe best of all, as among the cleanest, gentlest and most trustworthy of the tribes in the savage West. So it was not strange that he should be moved by a great emotion when, in August of 1850, he saw another youth of the same tribe, the tribe he liked best among all the hordes of the West, who with a

number of others of his tribe was working among a medley of Indians of the Sierras for his Swiss friend and host, Herr Sutter, in the wheatfields and on the threshing floors—it was not strange, I repeat it, that a melancholy feeling should come over him at sight of this youth who reminded him so strangely of Baptiste Charbonneau, the son of the great Sacajawea.

The fiction writer would have thought his story incomplete had he failed to bring together these two personages of epic mold, the prince and Sacajawea. It would have been a fitting consummation to a great tale. One cannot help but feel a lasting regret that the two never met. Of such an encounter it could truly have been said that royalty of the purest, bluest blood, the royalty of the Old World and of the New had each met its match.

University of Wyoming,
Laramie, Wyoming.

AN ACCOUNT OF ADVENTURES IN THE GREAT AMERICAN DESERT BY HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS, DUKE PAUL WILHELM VON WÜRTTEMBERG

It was near the middle of August, 1851, when I set out from St. Louis for Kansastown, a new settlement on the Missouri river at the mouth of the Kansas. I had returned shortly before from an extensive expedition to the upper Mississippi which had taken me to within fifty miles of Lake Itaska, the headwaters of the mighty stream.

High water and malaria-fever among my crew were the causes that had prevented me from going to Itaska which I had visited twenty-one years before with a company of French-Canadian voyageurs and half-breeds.

My major enterprise for this year was a trip across the vast wilderness of the domain between the Missouri and the great divide where the rivers flowing east and west have their common source, and to the great inland region where Brigham Young, like a new Moses, had led his people to set up a kingdom of his own.

Fear that untoward circumstances might arise to delay my return to St. Louis, and therefore the greater undertaking, to a date which would render its completion before

the beginning of winter impossible, decided me to abandon the Itaska project before it was completed.

For this same reason I refused to listen to the insistent entreaties of my host of friends at St. Louis, friends that had survived the years intervening between my former stays in that city, in 1823 and again in 1829-31, to visit them for an indeterminate period. Only by my solemn promise that nothing should prevent me from the enjoyment of such a visit after my return from the West late in the fall was I able to still their pleadings.

A number of countrymen of mine accompanied me to the wharf. These had wished to defer their adieux until the moment when the boat's captain should give the signal for all who were not passengers to leave the ship. Among these friends of mine was the Prussian consul, Mr. Angerodt, a cultured, honorable and most lovable gentleman whom I had known in Berlin.

Two travelling companions set out with me from St. Louis. One of these was a Mr. Moellhausen, a native of Berlin and a volunteer on the forthcoming expedition. I had taken him on before my departure from New Orleans. He wished to join me purely from a desire for adventure. Although I had many misgivings about his ability to withstand the hardships of such a tremendous undertaking, I was, on the other hand, so well impressed with his appearance that I did not have the heart to refuse him.

Mr. Moellhausen came from an excellent family. He had a fine and lovable personality and he won my heart at first sight. I found him to be the epitome of honor and loyalty; and in courage he was behind none I had ever known, throughout my thousands of miles of journeying through western North America. A man of broad culture despite his youth—he was scarcely twenty-five and of rarest refinement, he proved to be invaluable as a traveling companion. Moreover, he was an expert sketch-artist, an accomplishment that could not help but prove indispensable for the purpose of my trip.

Another young man, a Mr. Ziellinski, was from Dresden. I had met him in New Orleans. He, too, was full of the love for adventure, but entirely "green" in all practical matters. Against my better judgment I had yielded to his pleadings to become a member of this long journey.

Before setting out from the great capital of the splendid young commonwealth I had made purchases of everything that was needful for so long and hazardous an undertaking.

I was told that supplies of every kind were very dear in Kansastown from where I expected to set out overland.

I had to make a choice between a light and a very heavy wagon, as there was no type offered for sale between the two extremes. I felt apprehensive from the outset that the lighter, the one I chose, would not be substantial enough. On the other hand, it was out of the question to take the heavy kind as it was entirely unsuited for light and rapid travel.

As I had to provide myself with everything needful for the journey that might easily extend over distances totalling three thousand miles, it was difficult to decide on what was to be taken when the extreme load-limit must not exceed ten hundredweight.

First I purchased bedding for three single camp-beds, woolen blankets with sailcloth coverings. I equipped the three of us with stout breeches and scout-leggins and waterproof leather boots, flannel shirts and both light and heavy head coverings.

Then came the provisions. These must consist of such foodstuffs as were not perishable; coffee, tea, sugar, salt, pepper, flour, rice and bacon.

I purchased a small, compact-container for such drugs as were indispensable for a long journey. St. Louis was at that time the distributing center over a vast territory in all manner of pharmaceutical supplies.

In the next place I had to purchase a pair of light but hardy horses for the wagon and a stout saddle-horse for Mr. Moellhausen who had been a lieutenant in the Prussian cavalry service, and who was to do scouting duty during the expedition.

St. Louis was still the great outfitting emporium for all the trappers and hunters of the West, as well as for the pioneers bound for the Gold Coast of California and for Oregon. It was also the leading trade-center for firearms and for ammunition. The best quality of lead was mined in the state which was sold as far east as Pittsburg and Chicago, and throughout the South, the Southwest, and the West as well as North. Not a small part of our cargo therefore, consisted in lead and powder.

All our equipment had been delivered to the little packet-boat on the previous evening, including our personal effects.

The voyage up the Missouri lasted five days, whereas the previous ones, the one in 1823 and the other in 1830, had

consumed three weeks or longer. As may be seen from this, the ingenuity of the Americans had in the meantime developed water transportation to almost incredible perfection. Also, the conveniences on ship-board had become greatly improved.

Kansastown is quite picturesquely situated on some hills along the Kansas river near its junction with the much bigger Missouri. The main street is about thirty feet above the water level. The houses are of both baked brick and boards, the latter called "frame" houses.

It is a lively little place. Here most travellers bound for the West purchase what they require for their long overland journey. Moreover, the neighboring hordes of semi-civilized Indians buy their supplies here. These are the Delawares, Shawnees, Wyandottes, the coarser, brutal Ayowahs [Iowas], the Putowatomies and the Kansas Indians.

Nothing is more comical than the costumes of these Indians, most of whom are now breeds more or less mixed in blood. They wear their own old clothes and that of the whites in such a fantastic combination that it would reflect credit on circus-clowns to match the effect.

On the other hand, I had the pleasure of seeing a number of very pretty Indian maidens strutting about in the modish costumes of our own women. The positively charming faces of these daughters of the dusky race, with their superbly lustrous black hair, look right elegant dressed in the modes of their pale-faced sisters; far lovelier, indeed, than the negresses and quadroons who suffer actual disfigurement on account of their coarse features, thick lips and krinkly hair whenever they try to affect the modes and manners of the white race. Then, too these latter have ugly large feet and hands, whereas the Indians have pretty and shapely ones.

I cannot refrain, before setting out from this last outpost of civilization, from indulging in a brief retrospect.

As I have said, my trip up the Missouri on the modern little steamer Padukah had come to an end without any untoward happening.

I had an opportunity to see again, after the lapse of many years, the river bottoms which I had described in 1823, and again in 1830, with the changes that had taken place between those two dates.

I noted also the vanishing of the older settlements, as, for instance, of Franklin, and the bursting into flower of new ones, most important among these latter, situated along the banks of the river, being Hermann, Jefferson City, Booneville, and Glasgow. These are enjoying a constant growth on account of their favorable locations. About Hermann, the German settlers have occupied themselves with grape-culture, as I have mentioned in another place in my journal.

Farther up the stream there are the new towns of Kansas, the one of the same name as the river that empties into the Missouri; also Weston and Saint Joseph. The latter is almost entirely owned by the family Robidoux and named after Joseph Robidoux. This is a place of some importance. It is near by Blacksnake Creek where I had once had a meeting in the year 1830 with the chief of the Sac and the Fox Indians.

Kansastown is next to Independence and Westport the principal post from which wagon-trains and expeditions set out for the West to Santa Fé, Fort Laramie, Salt Lake, California, and Oregon.

It had grown frightfully hot in these latter days of August. Just when I had finished my preparations for departing there set in a series of heavy rain storms. But these failed to lower the extraordinary heat to any perceptible degree. They only tended to increase the swarms of torturing insects to an intolerable intensity.

I decided to purchase here another light wagon and a team of horses; and to load up with a further supply of provisions and ammunition, against Mr. Moellhausen's good-natured protest.

Just as one reaches the frontier of Missouri the prairie region begins—not those steppes covered with short grass typical of the higher plateau, but tall grasses and herbs, with here and there copses of low bushes, sumach and smaller kinds of oak trees.

This vast expanse is still owned for a considerable distance by Indian tribes that have been transferred there from more eastern regions through treaties with the national government.

From Westport to the Kansas River and somewhat farther westward it belongs to the Shawnees, most of whom are by this time Christianized. These have three missions on their reservations, a Presbyterian, a Baptist, and a Metho-

dist. These serve both for devotional and proselyting purposes. For the pious zeal of the Anglo-Americans is greatly concerned about the spreading of Christianity among the Redmen.

This country is immediately surrounded by other friendly, half civilized Indian tribes.

I followed along the travel route of Colonel Fremont which is even today the regular California route. In passing along the first ninety miles I had to ford many deep creeks and small wooded rivers. At the end of this leg of the journey I reached a settlement of some importance belonging to the Putowatomie Indians[1] and called Union-Town. Not far from this place I had my outfit ferried across the Kansas which at this point has a very strong current, stronger than that of the Neckar at Heilbronn.[2]

Ten miles farther on is the last settlement, a Catholic Mission, about 130 miles distant from Kansastown. Here we met a number of people mounted on mules and horses who came from California. These had made the journey in 57 days.

Here resides a titular bishop. Indian children of both sexes are cared for and instructed at this mission in both religious and secular subjects. This institution is in a fairly prosperous condition and is spreading a good influence that is felt far and wide.

From the Catholic Mission to the La Platte river it is about 240 miles, all of it a country undulating and crossed by deep brooks and small rivers.

All these waters are tributaries of the Kansas. They are adorned with forest growth, passing through an immeasurable sea of gregarious[3] grasses where one encounters very little animal life except a few birds and rodents, and quite frequently packs of prairie wolves and their far more dangerous cousins, gray and white wolves.

Among the bird life the most common to appear are the prairie chicken, the horned lark, the yellow-headed pirole and the American kite, or blue glide, closely resembling the gray hen-harner of my own country.

1. Now spelled Pottowatomie.—The Translator.

2. Heilbronn, in Northern Württemberg. It should be understood that Prince Paul wrote these journals solely for his own countrymen. The Neckar is the second-largest tributary of the Rhine from the east.—Tr.

3. The prince uses the word "gesellig" which means "sociable," flocklike, uniform, of the same kind.

The quadrupeds most frequently seen are the wolves, already mentioned, the polecat, and the badger. Also there are several species of mice. The streams are so well sheltered by tree-growth that they offer a splendid refuge for deer, prairie chickens,[4] tree turkeys, and rabbits. These, however, do not appear in great numbers until the La Platte is reached.

The streams, both large and small, are the Vermillion, Rock river, Big Blue, Little Blue, and Big Sandy. The Little Blue we followed for 80 miles or more. Occasionally some small detachments of buffaloes stray as far south-east as this stream. It is only about 25 miles from this stream to the valley of the Platte. On reaching the level bottoms of this stream at the ford, one has only 12 miles farther to go to reach Fort Kearney, where a company of 200 regular troops under the command of a captain is stationed. Eight miles away, on approaching the ford from the south, one can see the national banner floating over it quite plainly. It is on a level plain, near the edge of the hills, with the Nebraska river only a mile away. The buildings are all of wood surmounted by tall brick chimneys. Here is also a sutler's store where general merchandise and liquors are retailed. In the latter a postoffice is located. Here the traveller in the covered four-wheeled wagon and the drivers of the great wagon-trains carrying supplies to western outposts or with the destination of California or Oregon take their first rest.

I covered the distance from Kansastown in nineteen days, but had the misfortune to have one of my two wagons wrecked which could have been repaired quite easily, had not my young companion Zielinsky, felt too ill to attend to it.

Even at this early stage of my journey I had reason to repent grievously of my folly to have allowed these two inexperienced volunteers to persuade me to take them with me, instead of hiring sound and experienced men who know how to do what they are told, or even without any suggestion, and who are equal to any emergency, and inured to the tortures of the climate and the countless swarms of mosquitoes, gnats, and other noxious insects.

This post with its small military establishment is the only station between Kansastown and Fort Laramie that offers protection to travellers to and from California. The

4. Presumably willow-grouse.—Tr.

commanding officer is Captain Hottam. Aside from the officers and enlisted men there are a considerable number of employees, just the same as in other military posts.

Three miles farther on I noticed what at a distance looked something not unlike a big mole-hill. As I drew nearer I saw old brokendown wagons and the wrecks of farm-implements strewn about on the ground. Impelled by curiosity I drove up to the place and found there a circular hut compactly built of square pieces of prairie sod.

I came to the door and knocked. Invited to enter, I found the interior quite spacious. It belonged to an American who had settled down here and broken up some forty acres of ground about the time the fort was built. This ground was in a high state of cultivation, and the soil seemed to be inexhaustibly rich. From what I could observe I can aver that I have never seen its equal. Indeed it seemed to me the strangest thing that home-seekers passed by almost daily throughout the spring and summer who could not help but see the wonders in crops that this piece of ground produced with almost no work, then pass on to the western coast, two thousand miles distant, with no positive assurance that climate and soil-productiveness would be half so alluring as was what they had here right before their eyes.

The uniformity of the soil was astounding. It was black as coal, and entirely free from stones. The man had a young negress who seemed half idiotic, to keep house for him. Everything was very neat and inviting, and the host assured us that she was an excellent cook.

He asked us to walk over his farm with him while the young woman prepared the noon meal which he insisted that we should share with him, and which there was little need for urging that we accept as we were nearly famished.

He took us to a thirty-acre field of maize that was the most marvelous sight I have ever seen. The stalks were over eight feet tall and dark green. On nearly every one there were from 2 to 3 large ears. It was like walking through a forest to pass between the rows, a strange but very pleasant odor was noticeable, characteristic, the man explained, of ripe corn.

He also had several acres in potatoes that were in bloom. Such a field of potatoes I have never beheld. It is unbelievable to one who could not see this with his own eyes and not realize what an enormous wealth of food lay there in the ground.

Then he had a large garden of vegetables from which he supplied the tables of the officers at the fort and also many travellers that drove past. To all of these, fresh vegetables were a godsend. In the garden he had also berries of several kinds, but said that he never had time to pick any.

He also told me that he could store the corn on the ground after husking and that it would keep sound throughout the winter and spring, when he disposed of it to the home-seekers at enormous prices.

Asked why he had not been caught in the gold-fever rush, he laughed and said that the forty acres he had were the surest gold-mine of all, because they would never "pinch" out.

"Why, stranger," he said, "this valley for five hundred miles from the Missouri west is a garden spot. All of the land is exactly as good as mine!"

When we returned to the cabin, the meal was ready. It consisted of bacon, potatoes, eggs, biscuits, coffee and fresh butter. A feast for the gods! For the first time in almost a month were we actually seated at a table and on chairs!

The half-crazy negro girl made us laugh almost constantly with her grinning, her singing of funny negro melodies, and with all sorts of monkey-shines which, so her master told us, were never alike.

"That young hussy is a nachural born entertainer," he chuckled. "I never can git lonesome heah. The soldiers comes out here and spends Sunday afternoons and takes dinners with me jist to git entertainment. And they pays me mighty well too!"

Then he regaled us with a big dipper full of butter milk. But when I offered to pay him for his hospitality, he was genuinely offended.

"You are my guest and a fine gintleman. And so is your pardner. When you come back, remember that this heah latch-string is all you need to pull. It will open the doh for you-uns and asshuah you of welcome!"

After a drive of about ten miles we saw the first buffalo. It was lying along the river bank in the tall grass. But soon after that we saw whole herds of them passing quite unconcernedly by our camp.

That same evening we met a wagon-train from Fort Laramie with the captain of which I visited till late in the night. He gave me a sketch of the wagon road out to Cali-

fornia, and especially across the great Sierra Nevada through which I had travelled the previous year from the head-waters of the Sacramento to where it ran out into detached, low mountain-groups, then beyond, where the Cascades rose up, as far as Mount Rainier.

This weather-beaten man of nondescript age told me a number of hair-breadth escapes from hostile Indians which impressed my companions exceedingly.

The La Platte is here dotted with innumerable little islands covered with copses of willows and with young poplars. The water has at this season almost disappeared in the sand. Only tiny little streams like silvery threads, strung loosely, trickled down the more than mile-wide bed. One of these ran along the left bank which we now followed for about a hundred miles, where the south-fork, the Padukah, makes the junction with its bigger mate. Bison herds were seen at most every hour of the day now.

Here is a ford about 20 miles below the junction of the two streams and we forded it on the morning after our arrival successfully. From here on, the way winds along a low plain, similar to the one we had followed from Fort Kearney, and it is bordered by a continuous chain of low hills, to the place where it issues from the rocky cordilleras of New Spain,[5] some three hundred miles farther west. They rise within a few miles of each other. The north-fork describes a huge semi-circle, some 700 miles in length, before this union with the smaller sister is effected.

Here begin the peculiar tertiary formations of lime-rock which, with few interruptions, encircling the Rocky Mountains in grotesque shapes, extend as far as the Missouri river.

The grass is gradually appearing shorter, but much more nutritious, due, I suppose, to the dry climate which here resembles that of northern Africa. But, as if in contradiction to what had been told me about the aridity of that region, we had several days, of continuous rains and violent windstorms.

We were compelled to wring out the water from our rugs and bed covers before we spread them out on the

5. The territory south of lat. 42° and west of long. 100 (Greenwich) until the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, 1848, was Mexican territory. Hence Prince Paul's reference to the Rocky Mountains as being the "Pedrosa (Rocky) Cordillera de Nueva España" is the correct one as referring to the Rocky Mountains.—The Translator.

ground for our beds. There was a severe drop in the temperature, from 86 to 37° Fahr.

There were plenty of little wolves along the way now, and were never out of sight of antelopes.

On September 24 I killed a huge buffalo bull that had come to within 200 paces of our camp. We did not break up camp until we had cooked a goodly supply of its meat. This consumed several hours of precious time, for the wood was wet and would not burn briskly.

After following the Padukah for about eighty miles we came to the ford which at this time was dry. From here we must turn north across the divide to the north-fork, a distance of about 35 miles.

At the ford there was a veritable city of covered wagons, tents, and buggies drawn by horses and mules; also several ox-teams. At intervals of half an hour a new train could be seen lumbering down the hillslope half a mile away.

Besides these groups of migrant people, bound either for the Pacific Slope or homeward toward the States, there was a large body of cavalry camped at this point commanded by Colonel Leavenworth.

As I, too, am a cavalry officer[6] I felt drawn to make an effort at becoming acquainted with that distinguished Indian fighter, and it was long after midnight before the colonel and his fellow officers were inclined to let me retire to my own camp.

About twenty miles from the ford across the Padukah, the wagontrail makes a sudden and almost sheer descent into a deep gulch. This is some ten miles in length, extending into the North Fork. The bed of this gulch consists of fine deep sand. The walls are mountain-high and girded at the crest by a layer of rim-rock. This is perpendicular and about sixty feet from the crest to the upper edge of the talus below. It is only broken enough in one place to permit a wagon along a most hazardous passage to pass down. The sides up to the rimrock are densely grown over with scrub cedars and ash-trees. From these latter this colossal rift in the earth is by the Americans called Ash-Hollow, and Creux des Frères (Hollow of the Brothers) by the Canadian French.

The level plains of the prairies across the divide, where the grass is now everywhere very short, are formed mostly

6. Prince Paul in 1834 had the rank of Major General conferred upon him by order of Frederick William IV of Prussia. The latter was a kinsman of his.—The Tr.

of a very firm sandy loam which during the dry season is hard as a threshing floor. The hills and valleys are criss-crossed by innumberable paths made by the buffaloes that are found here at this season in incredibly great numbers. These paths point out definitely the direction in which the huge animals travel, far northward in the spring, and starting southward again in the early fall so as to reach the country of the Red River before the severe winter season arrives.

The approach to this vast abrupt depression is not even suspected until one arrives at its very edges. There is no place within twenty-five miles in either direction from this pass where one can safely descend down to the river. Nor is there any other place, except at the mouth of this gulch, where it is safe to ford the North Platte for fifty miles or more in either direction.

Just as we neared the edge we heard the sound of a bugle issuing from far down the causeway. A company of infantry was marching up. It was strung out in twos for quite a distance down the gorge, and following them were a number of light covered wagons. Still farther down appeared the van of a wagon-train that was emerging from the green of the trees and shrubs far below, in a serpentine movement, slow, deliberate, like a huge python that needs to have no fear of any creature. It seemed endless. At certain periods it would halt to give the horses a breathing spell.

At last they reached the upper level where they stopped long enough to prepare the noon meal and to permit the horses to graze and rest.

They were bound for Kansastown where they expected to change their cargoes of hides and furs and to stay there till the following spring.

The drivers were rough of speech, but really very fine—at least, as I found out later from my talk with them.

The view from the crest of the rimrock is of an enchanting beauty. There was a haze in the air that was not mist. In Germany, when the atmosphere is like this, it is called "Old women's summer." In spite of this one could apparently look into immeasurable distances, and the nearby objects were grotesquely magnified.

In the train with the soldiers travelled also men without uniform, some of whom were driving milch cows, others the baggage wagons of the military unit. The gentlemanly officers relished the luxury of fresh milk and butter. It

perhaps compensated them for the rigors of a soldier's life in a savage country. It is downright incredible what a mass of baggage often accompanies such military movements.

Hardly had we reached the bank of the North Fork and made camp, when a Sioux Indian came along, giving us to understand that Mr. G. Choteau was coming toward us from up the river and would arrive very shortly.

And so it was. There were a number of Indians whom he was taking to Washington. An old acquaintance of mine, a man of great renown throughout the West, accompanied them. This was the Indian scout Fitz-Patrick. I was overjoyed to see this lovable old huntsman of the Rocky Mountains again.

The Indians were Cheyennes, trim, neat figures, with the features characteristic of their race, narrow, thin, aquiline, their carriage proud and self-reliant. They are splendid horsemen and hunters.

From the ford the way now leads up along the north bank of the river. The south bank is bordered by steep rock-walls and fantastic shapes of tertiary rock, to which I have already alluded, whereas the opposite bank runs out into undulating, grass-covered hills of a firm soil. Dry creeks and two small streams, both called Horse Creek, empty into the Platte river along its course here. Some sixty miles farther up-stream from this wild region there begin to appear groups of hilly formation of exceedingly picturesque aspect. These are covered with a thick layer of clay, and, insofar as their outer appearance is concerned, they have not their equal on our entire planet.

To this group belongs the far-famed Chimney Rock (La Cheminée) and the equally noted Scott's Bluffs. John C. Frémont and Dr. Preiss have not been guilty of any exaggeration in their respective descriptions of these colossal wonders of nature; and when one bears in mind that this Chimney Rock was at one time at least 100 feet taller and its girth many times greater—as the height of the mountain ruins in the vicinity shows,—then it is clear that it belongs beyond contradiction to the wonders of the globe, to behold which is alone worth a journey to this western country.

The Scott's Bluffs are also a most peculiar group, in the form of a vast oval which, toward the north, slopes down to the La Platte. It encloses a perfectly level plain some ten miles broad at its widest.

In the southwest and the northwest it is encircled by other mountainous forms which have precipitous walls pierced in many places by deep, somber gulches crowned with rim-rock, perpendicular and of dizzying height. These mountain-like bluffs have wondrous shapes: cones, towers, castles, all in bewildering disorder that invests the whole stupendous amphitheater with a savageness that is eerie even when the sun does shine. At gray dawn and at late eventide the effect is positively terrifying. These mountain shapes are partly grown over with copses of conifers and dense brushwood.

From the northern crest of the Bluffs, which at their loftiest point must be in excess of 2000 feet above the vast basin they encircle, one can glimpse here and there the saw-tooth-shaped sky-line, in the west, of the snow-clad Rocky Mountains, dimly outlined like phantom shapes; also the Black Hills in the north, and very clearly the vast cone of Laramie Peak which must have an altitude of 9000 feet above sea-level.[7]

This huge mountain, standing out from the main range in imposing grandeur, is covered on the crest, on the east and the north, through the greater part of the year with ice and snow, whereas on the sides facing the west and the south it is clad in a somber black, as seen from a great distance. This is owing to the tremendous growth of conifers that clothe it from the base to the summit.

The steep canyons that radiate from its slopes are also grown over with giant pines and spruces, while the mountain brooks that are fed from the snows meander through exquisite grassy dells and vales to the plain below. The vast slopes are natural game refuges where huge herds of elk, deer, and antelope find food and shelter. Here, too, is regnant the giant grizzly bear. The panther, too, and the wolf and the lynx find ample prey there the whole year round.

I arrived in Scott's Bluffs on October 1. Nearby is Fort John, one of the trading posts of the American Fur Trading Company. Here I was most cordially welcomed by my old friend, Major Tripp, who is in sole charge of this important establishment. I was also overjoyed at meeting again my beloved and reverend old friend, the missionary Père de Smet.

7. It is more nearly 11,000 feet above sea-level. Owing to the fact that no surveys had been made by the national government at that time, it was impossible for any one to make adequate estimates of the altitudes.—The Translator.

There were a great number of leather tents close by, along a little brook that issues from a gorge some distance back from the establishment. These sheltered a body of Ogallalas, a tribe related to the Sioux nation. This branch of the Sioux are composed of very good-looking, cleanly people, but their women could most truthfully be called beautiful.

To be sure, they were wrapped only in their blankets or their buffalo robes. But the faces were free from grease and paint. Their hair was black as night, long and well-combed. They were overloaded with rings, necklaces of bead-work and of rattles from rattle snakes. Their foot-wear consisted of the finest of moccasins in which they seemed to take a delight, parading about and showing them off with child-like pride.

A young Indian had just come in with three slain antelopes hanging from his led-horse.

The names of the more important of the tribe of Ogallalas were White Horse, or Shunka-Kanskas; Little Cotton-Tail, or Mastinka; Red Feather, or Loupée Touta.

Of the Cheyennes the following were most prominent: White Antelope, or Takshaka; He-Who-Walks-in-the-Clouds, or Makpiah-Iapathe.

Of the Arapahoes: Bird's head, or Kalapah.

I visited in the leather tents of different families in company with the interpreter from the fort. There I found some very pretty young women and maidens. The little papooses were neat and all was very clean and orderly inside their little habitations.

The males go out as far as the Rocky Mountains during the winter season in order to hunt and trap. The furry animals are very numerous. These are the badger, beaver, otter, fox, big gray wolf, prairie wolf, and polecat.

More rare is the panther, a very large and ferocious feline. Early in the autumn the fur of the black bear, the cinnamon, and the grizzly is superb. These latter are slain as much for their flesh as for their coats.

Just before the buffaloes turn southward, when their furry coats are at their best, the hunters slay uncounted hundreds of these. Their hides they tan, as they do the elk's, deer's, and antelope's, with the brains from the same carcass. This is a process that has never been successfully imitated by the whites. The flesh of the buffaloes is salted and dried in enormous quantities, and this food constitutes their main dependence until the following spring.

October 3 we left the hospitable roof of Major Tripp and travelled up the La Platte along the California route. The valley is honey-combed with prairie-dog holes. These are ground-squirrels, of the gopher family, very pretty little animals that are common all over the higher prairie country. In the approaches toward the higher plateau regions, these share their domicile, a quite roomy space far underground and safe from larger predatory foes, but not from weasels and minks, with the cotton-tail rabbit, the ground-owl, and even the rattle snake, though, to be sure, the latter comes quite uninvited. Presumably these vipers are attracted by the warm fur of their bedfellows.

As the weather was very warm these serpents still stayed out in the open during the day and often even at night. They are very dangerous reptiles, though it must be admitted in fairness that they invariably give warning, ominous warning, with their rattles before they attack.

We invariably stopped up all the holes in the vicinity of every new camping place. But in spite of this precaution I found one curled up atop of my bed one morning.

Gradually the trail rises until the Great Sierra appears in all its glory, and on the afternoon of the fourth we reached, quite fortunately, the cabin of Jean Bourdeau, for the weather had changed since morning and the rain was falling in torrents, accompanied by blasts of wind of almost cyclonic fury. It was indeed a great boon to have found such opportune shelter. Even our horses were taken to comfortable stables.

There were a number of Indians in the big log-house. A celebrated Sioux chieftain of gigantic stature, called Great Man or Hans-Ka, was ensconsed in a home-made easy-chair, with his pipe constantly aglow. An Ogallala chief, of the Cul-Brûlé tribe, was a fellow of commanding figure. His name was Buffalo Tail, or Tatanga-sin-té.

This old fellow had a droll appearance. He was naked save for a short apron, a pair of moccasins and an old cap that had once upon a time been the headgear of a cavalry officer. Whenever this fellow went outside he would throw a shabby old buffalo robe over his shoulders.

How childish these warriors of the West can appear, at other times so majestic in their pride and courage! Against this caricature of an Indian, what a contrast the superb figures of the males present in the barbaric splendor of their tribal costumes!

These Sioux and all their related tribes wear their hair long, on the foretop in two braids which hang down over the temples. Into these braids are woven pieces of red flannel cloth ornamented with the beadwork.

Add to this brass rings from 4 to 5 inches in diameter, which hang suspended from their ears, a number of smaller rings as big as bracelets, and buttons and spangles braided into their black hair, with a neckpiece, in addition, into which are worked porcelain buttons and small, colored rods, and you may have some idea of the picturesque effect that a group of males, stalwart as these, present in a vast, silent, savage wilderness over which they still hold sway almost without protest or dispute on the part of the white intruders.

Whenever they are sitting around idly they like to carry an eagle's or a crane's wing in their hand in addition to their pipe.

Their dogs are trained for the harness. Their horses draw the lodge pole sleds, often 18 to 20 feet long. On these they pack several hundred pounds of stuff—the sugar loaf shaped family tent, robes, and covers for the beds, provisions, pots and kettles, the little papooses and even grown-up maidens and ancient squaws alike.

These savages are very fond of colored cloth-goods. They have a great predilection for sugar, coffee, rice and Welsh corn. They are nowise interested in agricultural pursuits. Therefore, farm products are the most important staples of trade among them.

They wear aprons and short drawers, preferably of green color, and woolen blankets of the same color. These latter frequently displace the buffalo-robe, especially among the squaws. At night the males disrobe entirely no matter what the season may be.

October 5 we arrived at Fort Laramie. The main building is square and of huge size. It is built of sundried bricks, or adobes, after the fashion of the Mexicans. This is surrounded by dwelling houses and barracks in which the officers and privates, respectively, are lodged.

It was Sunday. I could not, therefore, pay my respects to the commanding officer, Colonel Tott, to whom I had a letter of identification from the Department of War. So I crossed the Laramie river for a visit with an old friend of mine, a French Canadian, Monterévier by name, whom I used to know in the Rocky Mountains twenty years before.

This man, although surrounded by Sioux lodges, is devoted to the growing of maize and garden vegetables as well as small fruit. He also has a fine orchard. He is carrying on a fur-trade on a small scale in company with another man, Richards by name. While visiting Monterévier I met Lord Fitz-Williams, a daring traveller and globe-trotter, with whom I spent several hours in delightful talk. He is unspoiled by high rank and fame, urbane, entertaining, fitting into any level of society with the ease of a nature's gentleman and citizen of the world.

From this vantage-point I was able to enjoy a fine view of the fort, in which a parade was just then in progress. Everybody was in gala dress. Quite stirring was the sound of trumpets, fifes, and drums.

This establishment is quartering several hundred men. It is kept scrupulously clean. On the north side are spacious, quadrangular parade grounds. It is, moreover, the last of the outposts of the governmental and military authority along the route from Kansas town to Sacramento City, California, and the Dalles, Oregon. Therefore the key of communication between the East and the West.

On Monterévier's farm there were a great many Ogallala Sioux. At this time they were in friendly accord with the whites. Only a few years before, however, Colonel Frémont had ample occasion to lodge grievous complaints against them with the Department of War.

Mr. Moellhausen attempted to sketch a few of these Indians. But though we used a number of strategems, the undertaking ended in failure. There is a deep-seated superstition among these children of nature that any who submit to being portrayed are irrevocably doomed to die within a few days thereafter.

Far back from the front range, of which Laramie Peak is the most noteworthy landmark, rise the Wind River Mountains. In the extreme northwest are the lofty peaks of the three Titans,[8] called the Triple Snow Peaks. These are covered with perpetual ice and snow, perhaps the loftiest mountains in all the scenery of the North-American Alps. Between, and farther south, are the Three Knobs. And to the southwest the mountains of Medicine Bow and the Sierra Madre, both of imposing grandeur. All these I had visited in 1830-1831.

8. The Grand Tetons.—The Tr.

Beyond these giant ranges however, the Rocky Mountains slope off sharply, a slanting plateau connecting them with the far western Sierra Nevada and the Cascades and with the waters of the Columbia and the Gila, or Green River, which latter courses through the South Pass toward the Sea of Cortez, or Mar Vermejo.

Southward are the enormous sierras of the Mexican Andes and the Sangre de Cristo whose towering peaks seem as if they dominated the world.

The most important domain in the vast wilderness of sand and stone and barren crags, almost oceanic in extent, is the region surrounding the salt-lakes of Utah. This is a veritable oasis, freshened with the waters of lovely, picturesque mountain ranges of comparatively low elevation. It is, indeed, a most welcome interruption in that rough and utterly inhospitable desert waste. It lies about half-way between the junction of the two Plattes and the Sierra Nevada.

The people were led westward, through untold miseries and hardships, by their peerless leader, the Apostle Brigham Young. Nothing short of an unfaltering faith and devotion could have impelled them to undertake such a journey across uncharted savage distances infested by hundreds of tribes of hostile Indians. Only the spirit of a Moses with the personification of such high qualities as sincerity, gentleness, patience, courage, perseverance and deathless faith, was able to induce this gentle, industrious folk to leave the fleshpots of Illinois and Missouri and to follow their leader into an unknown land, from which, once started on the journey, there could be no returning. There is human stuff in this empire that will be one day sung in an epic great enough to dim the glory of all the songs of antiquity.

This sect has been criticized most severely by the press of North America. It has been stigmatized for heresy and rebellion. Thus were in a like manner branded those first settlers of the bleak Atlantic Coast, because they refused to live a spiritual life in accordance[9] with that inner voice, Conscience.

Who is there to judge? Who is right? Those heroes of the Mayflower were heretics in the judgment of orthodox ecclesiasticism. A few generations later there were others who dared to differ from Puritan orthodoxy, and these in turn were persecuted as creatures more abhorrent than the pagan savage.

9. For "in accordance" read "at variance."—Ed.

Time will vindicate these stout-hearted pilgrims. Already they have established a theocracy far more sincere than any yet founded. Their zeal, devotion and self-sacrificing nature they have proven. Amidst the vast desert, a thousand miles from all civilization, they have set up an orderly government. They have broken up the soil of the desert and have in truth made it "to blossom as the rose." They welcome the stranger to their hearthstone with genuine hospitality. They have instituted schools. They live in sobriety. They have reclaimed a large territory unproductive since the beginning of time, and their toil yields a hundredfold in return for their industry and thrift.

With respect to these stout-hearted pioneers, their attitude is of a far gentler Christian spirit than was the Puritan Fathers'. They do not wage a war of aggression. They plan no campaign of extermination. Most of the Indian tribes they have pacified, though, when hostility is implacable they do not lack in Spartan courage to compel them to conform to the laws of a civilized commonwealth.

I looked over the country adjacent to Fort Laramie for the purpose of studying some tribes of Indians which, somehow, I had missed on former travels. I am therefore indicating those tribes which roam over the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains with reference to their attitude of friendship or hostility, as the case may be, toward the whites.

Along the North Fork of the La Platte, I should say as far as the Laramie, there live two Dakotah tribes, the Ogallala Sioux and the Culs Brûlés—people who burn their buttocks—who are now disposed to be friendly, but who at one time had an evil reputation.

Southward as far as the South Fork, the Padukah,[10] are the Cheyennes, generally speaking a squalid, thievish tribe.

South of the Padukah and far up into the foothills of the Front Range roam the Arapahoes. These are really a splendid people and in friendly accord with the Anglo-Americans.

South of these are the Icarellis who take their name from a certain fabric they weave called Ica-ra.[10a] These are an off-shoot of the blood-thirsty Apaches, or wild tribe of the newly acquired Mexican provinces. These Icarellis are for the most part irreconcilably hostile against the whites, showing mercy to none.

10. The South Platte, as it was called in later years.—The. Tr.

10a. These are better known as the Jicarilla Apaches, and their *jícara* baskets. —Ed.

The Kiowas, too, are a treacherous, vagabond tribe, and as cowardly as they are murderous.

The Crows are, on the other hand, a fine stock of people, tall of stature and martial,[11] but well-disposed toward the federal government.

Last of those I have learned to know by having been among them are the Utes. These are treacherous, cowardly savages, attacking only when they far outnumber the white settlers. They have murdered many whites in wholesale massacres, having wiped out several American settlements in their lust for shedding blood. Their habitat is the southwest, on the upper waters of the Las Animas and the Rio Grande.

These Indians traverse all the regions of the Far West that I have visited in 1830-31 and in 1851, and I have had ample opportunity for the study of a number of individuals of all these tribes which I have characterized.

I must say that, although a contact with most of the tribes in their wigwams, or when they come to the trading posts of the fur-dealers to trade and barter, is quite free from danger, nevertheless it is a risky affair to encounter a band of them when they are out on the warpath.

Among the doubtful and hostile tribes the lone traveller's doom is almost invariably sealed if he happens to fall into their hands while they are out on a scouting trip or a raid. Even if he should be turned loose, which is an almost unheard of occurrence, they will first strip him of all his belongings, and then subject him to torture and even disfigurement.

About the beginning of October I had concluded my journey of explorations as far westward as I had originally planned, and without a day's delay for the sake of rest I started on my return to civilization. But I found to my great disappointment that I had to make a longer stay than I had intended, both at the settlement of the fur-trading company at Fort John and at that of my friends of thirty years' standing, the Brothers Robidoux at Scotts Bluff.

11. The Crows, a very numerous tribe, roamed in the early eighties from the northeast border of Colorado for a hundred miles or more northward of the Cheyenne. By that time they had degenerated into a more cowardly, slothful, filthy state, utterly repulsive in their bodily habits and held in contempt by the whites. This was undoubtedly due to their dependence on government bounty.—The Tr.

One reason was that the purchase of new horses and the exchange of my lighter wagon for a stronger, more dependable one, consumed much more time than I had counted on.[12]

The other was my concern over Mr. Moellhausen's health. That gentleman had been well and strong until about the time of our departure from Fort Kearney. He had been at all times a most willing and useful helper. Then he succumbed, as do most all young people who have lived cleanly, to an attack of intermittent fever. I say again that I had cause to regret that I did not take in his stead a stout, clever French-Canadian.

These may have plenty of faults, yet, on the other hand, they can be very useful. Owing to their vast experience in outdoor life and travel they are equal to any circumstance which may arise. They are accustomed to unquestioned obedience. They are born travellers and their sense as pathfinders is almost uncanny. They are the natural friends of the Indian tribes, having signs and tokens by means of which they at once meet a fraternal welcome among the savages. They are the best hunters whether on the plains or in the mountains, and they have not their equal in providing shelter and comfort in any kind of weather. The selection of suitable camp-sites, the cooking of meals, the care of provisions, especially fresh meats, all these matters can be left to them entirely.

Perhaps the most important quality is their almost uncanny ability in the handling of horses. They drive carefully, watching with unerring instinct over the condition of their bodies, their limbs, their feet. Their first care when reaching camp is for them. They manage to cover vastly greater distances than the unexperienced driver, and at the same time they keep them in far better condition. For these and a hundred other reasons these sons of the old voyageurs are unequalled.

On account of the delays I have mentioned our return journey was retarded a full fortnight. It was with good reason, therefore, that I was looking forward with considerable apprehension to the countless hazards to which travel in winter was exposed from now on, perhaps with death itself in the path.

12. The prince had collected a vast amount of specimens of the flora and fauna, one of the main reasons for the expedition, the transportation of which to the Missouri river required a considerably larger vehicle than the one with which he set out for the West.—The Tr.

More than all did I dread what might befall Mr. Moellhausen in his weakened condition. And, indeed, all these somber fears were to become fulfilled. The return journey proved to be from the very first a series of terrible hardships, sufferings, and misfortunes. On the very day of our departure from Fort John it was our misfortune to have our front axle broken in two as we were driving up a steep slope. I rode back to Major Tripp and he sent out several men. These lost their way and did not find Moellhausen's camp till late in the night. Then I had to send a man with the broken axle to Mr. Robidoux, and the latter's blacksmith was able to repair the damage quickly and in a most workmanlike manner.

We continued our journey, after a full day's delay, down the narrow valley of the La Platte, leaving Chimney Rock far behind us. The way led through sand-dunes, hills and across fine, grassy plains, until we reached the groups of chalk bluffs, formations that extend westward to the very littoral of California, just as they are clearly traceable from here along the entire length eastward to the junction of the La Platte with Missouri.

The ascent over the mountain pass of Ash Hollow was bound up with almost insurmountable difficulties. Our team was too light for the load it had to pull up the steep incline. One of the pair became dispirited and would not pull. Instead, it reared up on its hindquarters and fell over backwards, and it was only because of its weight as it lay prostrate that the wagon was not hurled hundreds of feet down the abysmal rock-wall. When we had blocked the rear wheels securely, we made the refractory animal loose from the wagon and replaced it with the led-mule. Even then we found it necessary to fasten a rope-end to the wagon tongue, and with the other tied to the pommel of the saddle, Mr. Moellhausen spurred his horse so that it kept the cable taut. Major Tripp had advised us to resort to this expedient in the even that we would have any trouble in getting up this pass that was the dread of all wagoners eastward-bound.

It was not until late that evening that we reached the Padukah, or South Fork. This river was now running a great volume of water, its bed fully a mile in width. The ford leads straight across, there being a sign post, with a white flag attached at opposite bank. But this in the growing darkness was scarcely visible. If we missed the straight course, there was danger of encountering quicksand; or what would be as bad, we would not be able to get out of the

river, once we had arrived at the south bank, as this is steep and some six or seven feet high above the water-line.

(Paul Wilhelm touches on the mishap that befell the travellers here in only a few phrases. He merely states that the wagon stuck fast in mid-stream and that it was finally pulled out to the south bank by the driver of the mail-coach which happened to overtake the two the following forenoon.

(He refers the reader, instead, to the graphic account written by Moellhausen, which is here reproduced.)

M. Baldwin Moellhausen, distinguished writer, was born January 27, 1825, at Bonn, Germany. He undertook three expeditions through the United States, two for scientific purposes. These undoubtedly were not a little suggested to his imaginative soul through prospects of high adventure.

During the second, he was employed as topographer and draftsman on an expedition in charge of Lieutenant Whipple, U. S. A., in a work undertaken by the National Government to determine the best route for the prospective Union Pacific from the Missouri river to the Pacific coast.

After returning to his native country from his third expedition, he settled down in Berlin (1886) where he resided continually until his death in 1905.

He was a prolific and popular writer. Nearly all his work consisted in novels, about 150 of them. These invariably appeared first in *Monatsschriften*, or monthly magazines. A great many of his books and articles deal of the social and political life in the United States, and of travel accounts. The novels are based on the colonial life of our West and Southwest. His memoirs comprise eight volumes.

Of his American novels, *The Mormon Maid* is perhaps his outstanding work. This was published in 1864. *Western Travels*, 4 volumes, was published in 1873. In 1890 appeared *The Ferryman on the Canadian*, a stirring story.

The only criticism is on the score of their great length, in which respect he outdid even Dickens. Nevertheless, the descriptive matter is invaluable as reflecting the viewpoint of an unbiased, brilliant, and impartial critic whose admiration for the American people, its manners, customs, its

achievements, its institutions, its unparalleled solidarity, its institutional life from the executive mansion at Washington down to the simple justice of the peace in the smallest village, was genuine and in evidence in everything he has written that pertains to Anglo-Saxon America.

A number of the German writers of the eighties and nineties have yielded him high praise. Magazine articles have discussed his works, and at least two of these have gone so far as to state that the mantle of Gustav Freytag had fallen on his shoulders.

THE TRANSLATOR.

ACCOUNT OF AN ADVENTURE IN THE GREAT AMERICAN DESERT AS TOLD BY MR. MOELLHAUSEN, COMPANION TO PRINCE PAUL OF WÜRTTEMBERG

The Adventure that befell us, states the duke's companion, happened on our return journey from Fort Laramie.

Duke Paul Wilhelm rarely employed more than one or at most two companions on his travels. On this expedition he started out with two, a Mr. Zielinské, whom he lost early on the outward trip, and my unworthy self.

It is an incomprehensible thing to me that this man was unable to follow and overtake us.[1] However, when I state that this otherwise most excellent young man was fully as inexperienced as I myself—"a greenhorn," as the duke called us often in a spirit of goodnatured raillery—and as unfit as I to make a practical decision on any problem involving a little common sense, then it would be unnecessary to speculate any further about this happening.

The duke is a man of an intellectuality far beyond ordinary comprehension. But his weak point is impulsiveness. His courage is so boundless that it often approaches downright madness itself. In spite of his early bringing-up at one of the most exclusive royal courts in Christendom he is utterly democratic and considerate in all his dealings with others.

1. It is fully as incomprehensible that Paul Wilhelm should so unfeelingly have proceeded on his way without making any effort to turn back and make a search for him. For it was like a death-warrant to one so inexperienced to be left to his fate in a country infested by murderous Indians and wild animals. Moreover, if he even were able to escape death from tooth and claw he must eventually die of hunger.—The Tr.

What assistance I was able to render on an expedition of such a magnitude may easily be guessed at when I say that this was my first break-away from civilization for even a single day. Unused to rough fare, long travel in the saddle, heat, poisonous insects that fly or crawl and give one not a moment's surcease, to lying on the ground with the stars for my canopy, or black clouds pouring down water not in drops but in dipperfuls—I grew with every advancing mile more homesick, more hopeless of any prospect that we would ever return alive to tell about this.

On the other hand, the duke was everything that we were not. He fitted into any situation, not merely in Spartan fortitude, but rejoicing in his matchless strength that gloried in being pitted against hardships which I deemed insuperable, in dangers from which I shrank with horror. Yet in all our relations, which must have tried his patience often enough, he never gave the least hint at any time because of my lack of spirit.

Although I was daily stricken by a violent chill followed by a burning fever, I did my best to show to this man that I was not losing heart. Indeed, after simulating a courage that I was far from feeling during a long series of suffering, I came at last to taste a certain delight, brief of duration at first, but gradually lengthening, in my ability to look cheerful, and as a reward to receive an approving glance from the duke, as if he were beginning to have hopes that I might turn out to grow into a real man after all.

Perhaps this new spirit which I perceived coming to the surface, wholly unsuspicious of its existence within me in any form, grew out of the indifference with which I viewed the future. For, try as I would, I could not imagine that we would ever return alive to our own kindred. This feeling of desperation never left me, though I was careful to conceal it from the duke. But out of it grew a certain abandon, a recklessness, at first a surprise to me but to which I became accustomed. Indeed, this mental change in a subtle way lightened my labors which had seemed so hard before, and this had become especially obvious during the past several days. The ride up Ash Hollow Pass would have been an impossible feat for me only a little while before. It required a herculean will to continue going on and on, after the total exhaustion that had resulted from the ascent. The jog of my horse seemed to jab me like a knife-thrust at every step. But for all that I would not for my life have stopped short of the day's alloted destination. There was a fierce

exhilaration that surged up continually within me at the realization of this newly-born power. Gone were my ills, those devastating chills and fevers, as something unclean that could no longer have room in my new state.

In spite of the stiff pace at which we had been travelling, twilight had already set in when we reached the banks of the Padukah.[2]

My proposal to strike camp on the north bank the duke rejected for the very good reason that there was not a vestige of grass for our exhausted animals on that side of the river, whereas there was an abundance on the south side.

Consequently, there was nothing for me to do but to ride ahead of the wagon into the river. The rapidly increasing darkness soon blotted out from view the signal post on the opposite end of the ford. Everything went well enough until we reached the middle of the stream. Whether it was that I had missed the ford or because the horses stood still for a moment, to rest from the unspeakably hard pull and strain, I cannot say. In short, as I looked back I saw that the wheels had sunk so deep into the quicksand that only the wagon-box remained above the water. The horses, struggle and tug though they did with all their strength, were not able to budge the load an inch.

We were caught in a sorry plight. In addition to the black darkness a fine, icy-cold drizzle set in. But we did not waste a moment's time in further useless attempts to extricate the wagon. From my saddle I unhitched the team. The duke handed me a hatchet and an Indian-made leather tent, in which were wrapped the tent poles and stakes, whereupon I looked for a way out of the flood water. He himself decided, in spite of the danger that the wagon might disappear entirely in the treacherous sand, or that it might be washed down the river with his vast store of treasures consisting of countless specimens of the flora and fauna, and also geological specimens collected on an expedition of more than one thousand miles across the western wilderness. But not until he had helped me with the horses to the opposite river bank. Then he waded back to the marooned wagon which he was only able to find because its white covers gleamed faintly through the blackness of the night.

It must have been a terrible journey through the cold, rushing waves that were beating waist-high against his body. But, as just mentioned, all his collections and notes

2. The earlier name for the South Platte River.—The Tr.

taken on the expedition of more than a thousand miles outward and return were in that wagon, and he could not endure the thought of having them lost or ruined.

As soon as I had reached the south bank of the river, I unharnessed the horses and turned them loose. Then I looked back for a sign of the duke and the wagon. But the night was pitch-black, and even only a few feet away all was indistinguishable.

The rain was falling in fine drops, but very thickly. All connection between us was cut off. Indeed, due to the howling wind and the roar of the waves we could not even call to one another with any expectation of being heard.

The cold wind that swept across the terrible gloom of the waters blew through my wet clothing and cut like a thousand sharp knives. This roused me out of my sombre reveries. I wrapped myself in the leather tent, and gripping in my right hand the handle of my only weapon, a hatchet, I fell asleep despite rain, cold, and hunger. . . .

It had already begun to dawn when I awoke. The sky was clear, and the prospect of sunshine cheered me. My first glance was across toward the river. To my exceeding joy I noticed that the wagon was still where I had left it the evening before.

My second glance was for the horses. These, too, were still in sight, quietly grazing a short distance from me. I now turned my attention to my own predicament. Though it was not raining any longer, to be sure, yet a cold, damp north wind was whistling from across the river which chilled me to the marrow. In order to get warm, I drew the leather cover tightly together, leaving only a slight opening for my eyes. Then I attempted to fall asleep again. But sleep would not come again. Now while I was thus stretched out on the ground, I cast my eyes into the distance up along the river bank. As I gazed intently, I had the impression of seeing something moving over the perfectly level plain. It was not a deception. This something was apparently moving toward me. For some time I was uncertain. Was it wolves, or buffaloes, or even Indians? At last I made out that they were mounted men. There could now be no longer any doubt that they were Indians. With terror did I now realize in what a helpless situation we were, and how absolutely we were in their power.

What was left for me to do but to look on mutely while they were making off with our horses? We even had to feel in luck if they spared our lives, or, what would be nearly as

bad, if they robbed us of all our belongings and left us to our misery.

All this was in my mind as I was observing the half dozen Cheyenne warriors without changing my position in the least. Suddenly a troop of riders swooped down from the same direction. I counted eleven or twelve braves that raced down upon me. At a distance of about thirty paces they suddenly reined in their horses and looked toward me quite intently. They must have espied the wagon from afar, and they at once began to gesticulate and to point toward it.

I cannot deny that the blood almost stopped coursing through my veins from terror, but I deemed it wise to resort to a stratagem. In order that they would not shoot me from a distance, I feigned sleep, at the same time gripping my hatchet tightly in my hand. The sharp eyes of the savages, however, were not long in discovering that my sleep was a pretense. For when I opened one of my eyes ever so slightly to blink toward them, one of the savage warriors broke into boisterous laughter. Then he pointed toward me nonchalantly and leaped down from his horse.

I arose quickly and walked toward the wild figures, at the same time extending toward him my hand in token of peace. It encouraged me somewhat to find that each in turn responded with a like pressure. They also seemed to understand perfectly my purpose of entreaty that they should assist me in dragging our wagon out of the water. They appeared even to pledge me their aid, but expressed at the same time the wish that I regale them with a cup of coffee and with plenty of sugar before starting out on their task.

Inasmuch as this was an unmistakable demand, no choice was left to me save compliance. So I asked for a horse to ride to the wagon where I found the duke quite comfortably settled on the board seat, a far cry from his present condition to a ducal throne that was his rightful due. As I could not decide on what was best to do under the circumstances, I appealed to him for advice. He frowned and lapsed for a moment in a brown study.

While he reflected I was noticing that he had transformed the little shelter into a formidable fortress. All about him in plain view lay a shotgun, a double-barreled rifle, a horse pistol, and a Colt's revolver. Evidently he was not inclined to surrender his property without a fight, even if it cost his life. Unerring shot that he was, he was prepared to kill every member of the party long before they could reach the wagon.

I told him about my terms of our agreement with the Indians, and he deemed this fair and conformable to the circumstances in which we were placed. He handed me coffee and sugar, and the coffee-pot. Then, as I started back for the south bank he shouted after me: "Do not trust any of these fellows! Be constantly on your guard!"

When I arrived where the savages were there was a brisk fire burning. They had gathered quite a supply of dry buffalo dung which is almost impermeable to rain. In a jiffy everything was ready, for there is no one so skillful in manipulating the cooking over an open fire as the Indian. Moreover, they were helpful and obliging, since it appeared to their own advantage to be so in the present instance. So when they began to feel the need of the shelter of a tent and saw mine lying on the ground and found that the poles and stakes were in the wagon, one of them rode out to the duke and demanded them in my name. The duke very obligingly granted their wish.

With practiced hand these unwelcome and rather insolent guests then put up the tent over the fire, and in a very short time I was sitting in the narrow space with my unbidden guests.

It was a blissful feeling to thaw out after the long hours of shivering from the bitter cold. This was enhanced when I inhaled the aroma of the steaming coffee. The pipe of peace was now passed around within the tent and was then handed to the other warriors outside that were also crowded together around a fire. It went the round again before the coffee was ready to serve. All seemed delighted with the taste of the black-brown beverage, and another potful was cooked.

Then I insisted that they should fulfill their part of the agreement. These rascals gave me to understand, however, in terms that were little else than veiled taunts, that it was still too early to think of anything of the kind. They insisted that I bring to each of them one handful of coffee and two of sugar from the wagon, a demand which our entire supply was not sufficient to make good.

I promised, however, to do my best once the wagon was out of the river. This proposal did not seem in the least to their taste. All of them settled down into a state of imperturable calm. When they perceived my rising displeasure, they consoled me by passing the pipe to me a number of times, out of my regular term.

Flattering though this proof of honor might have

seemed, it did not allay my suspicions in the least. For with a strange insistence the duke's words of warning rang in my ears: "Place no trust in the word of an Indian!"

Had we not been so many hundred miles from the nearest settlement I might have had some appreciation of the comical side of the situation that confronted me. Here I was sitting in my own tent in the manner of a none-too-welcome guest, in the midst of this horde of savages, drinking my own coffee and warming my half-frozen body while the duke was waiting in mid-stream, his patience tried to the utmost over the endless delay.

Twice, to be sure, I had made the attempt to send a large dipper full of the hot life-giving liquid to him. Both times the errand was assumed with the most convincing obligingness, but carried out only insofar that the messenger arose and passed the coffee down his own throat with every sign of exceeding relish, returning the empty vessel with a friendly ingratiating gesture.

All this impudence and coarse lack of consideration, I must confess, turned my ill humor into a kind of desperation. For I was utterly helpless. There was no escape from my predicament. The next time the pipe was offered I repulsed it angrily. But they only laughed over my fit of temper, instead of taking it as an affront.

Now I stepped outside, repeating my demands with unmistakable sternness. This occasioned a shifting among the fellows who had been crouching together on the wet earth. But the only satisfaction I drew from this show of anger was to see one of them creep into the tent. Just before he disappeared to take the place I had vacated, he looked back at me with a mocking smile.

This was more than I could bear. I was so embittered that I turned loose a flood of abuse. I reviled them as a pack of thieves and cutthroats in English, in French, and in German. For throughout this palaver not a word was exchanged between us that either they or I understood. Indeed, what there was of mutual understanding was entirely by way of the sign-language.

My only satisfaction over the result of my invective was that several smiled or nodded as if in applause, the best proof that they had not understood a word.

Only once had I a fleeting notion that my German was understood, for one of the savages endeavored to repeat with the most ludicrous stress the word "Flegel"[3] which I had

3. Boorish fellow.

thrust at him in particular. But to my chagrin I saw that it was only the odd sound of the word that had caught his fancy and that he endeavored to memorize it through repetition.

I now uttered curses upon the river, the prairie, and all the Indian pack, both individually and collectively. Half-crazed I then looked across toward the wagon in my utter perplexity.

Suddenly my eyes caught sight of a horseman who appeared on the near hill-slope across the river just as if he had stepped out of nothingness. Soon a number of others bobbed up out of the same direction. At last, to my inexpressible delight, came a wagon drawn by six mules. This I immediately recognized as the government postchaise from Fort Laramie escorted by American soldiers.

As by an electric shock all became changed within me. My low spirits vanished. Never had I seen a fellow more courageous than I was at this moment, now that I knew that help from people of my own race was nigh.

I ran up to the tent, tore open the flap and gave the rascals within to understand beyond all doubt that they had to clear out. When they showed no disposition to comply promptly I made a speech, loud and bellicose and all in the tongue in which alone could do justice to my feelings, the German. It ran about in this wise: "If you red rabble do not get out of this tent I shall cut down the tent poles and bury your vile carcasses underneath, then set fire to it so you will all burn to cinders and all memory of your rotten existence may be blotted out forever."

Though the redskins did not understand what I had said they guessed its meaning from the upraised hatchet in my hand. Perhaps it was more on account of my sudden boldness that they suspected that something unusual was in the air. At least I saw that, one after another, the unbidden guests were crawling from the smoky quarters.

It was my first heroic gesture among the Indians. Proudly I looked down upon the savage horde which bowed obediently to my will. Like so many another hero of a moment I thought to myself: "If only some artist of genius were here to sketch me in this magnificent pose!" But deep within me was the far more fervent wish to be back among the comforts and fleshpots and security of civilization.

When the Indians caught sight of the little caravan across the river, they rushed to their horses in order to earn

the reward I had offered them for bringing the wagon to firm ground. But I turned down their assistance, and the same answer was made to the headman by the duke who had in the meantime crossed and joined the group.

(Here ends the account from Moellhausen; and now Paul Wilhelm takes up the thread of the story again as we read it from his journals.)

(To be concluded)

BOOKS IN NEW MEXICO, 1598-1680

By ELEANOR B. ADAMS
and FRANCE V. SCHOLES

DURING the past few years interest in the intellectual history of the Spanish colonies has grown rapidly. One manifestation of this interest is the increasing number of studies on the book trade and the importation and distribution of books, especially in the major colonies and centers of population such as Mexico and Peru. These have already refuted the conventional notion that the scientific, philosophical and literary works current in Spain and Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were seldom available in or even permitted to enter the colonies.[1] But it is equally important, perhaps even more important, to know what books reached the outlying areas which did not enjoy the same facilities for formal academic training as were to be found in the richer and more populous districts. On the frontier the dissemination of ideas and the degree of intellectual enlightenment necessarily depended in great measure upon the kind of books imported and circulated and their influence upon the people who owned them, and through them, upon others. The unlettered, of course, formed the major part of the population. Those who owned books in large or small

1. F. Rodríguez Marín *El "Quijote" y Don Quijote en América* (Madrid, 1911); [F. Fernández del Castillo, ed.], *Libros y libreros en el siglo XVI* (México, 1914); [E. O'Gorman, ed.], "Bibliotecas y librerías coloniales, 1585-1694," *Boletín del Archivo General de la Nación*, X (1939), 661-1006; I. A. Leonard, *Romances of Chivalry in the Spanish Indies with some Registros of Shipments of Books to the Spanish Colonies* (Berkeley, 1933); ———, "A Shipment of 'Comedias' to the Indies," *Hispanic Review*, II (1934), 39-50; ———, "Notes on Lope de Vega's Works in the Spanish Indies," *Hispanic Review*, VI (1938), 277-293; ———, "Don Quijote and the Book Trade in Lima, 1606," *Hispanic Review*, VIII (1940), 285-304; ———, "Los libros en el inventario de bienes de don Pedro de Peralta de Barnuevo," *Boletín Bibliográfico . . . de la Universidad Mayor de San Marcos de Lima*, Año XIV (1941), 1-7; ———, "Best Sellers of the Lima Book Trade, 1583," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXII (1942), 5-33; O. H. Green and I. A. Leonard, "On the Mexican Booktrade in 1600: A Chapter in Cultural History," *Hispanic Review*, IX (1941), 1-40; J. Torre Revello, *El libro, la imprenta y el periodismo en América durante la dominación española* (Buenos Aires, 1940).

numbers were few, but what books there were reached the people in some form, by loan to those who could read, or, more indirectly, by the conversation and discussions of those who had read them, colored inevitably by their personal reactions and interpretations.

This was the case in New Mexico in the seventeenth century. As the northernmost outpost of Spain in North America, it was an isolated frontier colony cut off from the rest of New Spain by vast stretches of territory inhabited by hostile Indian tribes. Since it possessed but few easily exploitable resources, its economic importance was small and it attracted relatively few colonists. Not many of those who came had enjoyed much, if any, academic training. A certain number of mission schools were founded within the province, especially during the first three or four decades after the establishment of the colony, for the purpose of teaching the elements of Christian doctrine and rudiments of reading and writing. No formal education beyond this existed.

Information concerning books that were brought to New Mexico prior to the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 consists of scattered incidental references in various contemporary sources, citations of works which are found in documents dealing with the never-ending Church-State controversy, and a few lists of volumes in the possession of certain provincial governors. Additional data may have been recorded in private papers and in the local Franciscan archives as part of inventories of church and convent furnishings, but these records, along with the provincial governmental archive, were destroyed in 1680. As might be expected, most of the books were in the possession of the Franciscan friars and the provincial governors. Undoubtedly the colonists owned more books than are noted in the contemporary sources that have been preserved, but the number was not large in any case.

In the appendix we have compiled a list of references to books, usually in the form or phraseology employed in the

documents. Most of the references and citations give incomplete or inexact data concerning author, title, or both. In such cases identification of author and title has been made, in so far as this was possible on the basis of the bibliographic facilities at our disposal. Numbers used in the text in connection with authors or titles refer to items listed by the same number in the appendix.

The Franciscan friars constituted the most learned group in the province. A considerable number had been educated in Spain, where they had entered the Order before going out to the New World. Most of the others had been trained in the colleges and seminaries of Mexico City, Puebla, or other educational centers of New Spain. Several had achieved some prominence in the Order before entering the New Mexico mission field; others were rewarded by promotion or preferment after their years of service in the province. Fray Tomás Manso, who served for years as director of the mission supply caravans, was elevated to the see of Nicaragua, and according to tradition Fray Alonso de Benavides became archbishop of Goa. Fray Francisco de Ayeta, who played such a prominent role in local affairs both before and after the Pueblo Revolt, was appointed special representative of all the Franciscan provinces of New Spain at the royal court. But no less worthy of mention as intellectual leaders in New Mexico are men like Fray Esteban de Perea, Fray Juan de Salas, Fray Cristóbal de Quirós, and Fray Antonio de Ibargaray—to note only a few—who spent the best years of their lives in the province.

The friars who accompanied the Oñate expedition were undoubtedly the owners of most of the books taken to New Mexico when the province was founded, but unfortunately the documents relating to the expedition contain no lists describing the kind of books they had. It may be assumed that most of the books were bibles, breviaries, missals, and ecclesiastical treatises of various descriptions, but the inventories, if we had them, would probably reveal that some

of the friars brought with them classics of Latin and Spanish literature and a few volumes on medicine, science or pseudo-science, and other mundane subjects. The earliest documentary evidence concerning books imported by the Franciscans is found in the treasury accounts of the first three decades of the seventeenth century, which sometimes record in considerable detail the kind of supplies purchased at royal expense for friars sent out to the province and for those already serving in the missions. The book items refer, however, only to the purchase of brevaries, missals, and choir books of various kinds. (See appendix, items 1-10). Works of non-liturgical character were apparently privately owned, or were supplied at the expense of the Order for convent libraries.

It would be interesting to know what books were brought to New Mexico by Fray Esteban de Perea, Fray Juan de Salas, Fray Alonso de Benavides, and other leaders in the early missionary history of the province, but the documents record no information on this point. The only reference we have to a book owned by one of the early friars relates to a work on astrology said to be the property of the lay brother Fray Alonso de San Juan, who came to New Mexico before the end of the Oñate period and took an active part in mission affairs for some thirty years. In 1626, when Benavides was investigating conditions in the province, a certain Lucas de Figueroa gave the following testimony:[2]

> He states and solemnly declares that about a year ago, having entered the house of a Mexican Indian called Pancho Bolon, a smith in this Villa [of Santa Fe], he found there a book of astrology and secrets of nature and of other strange things. Since the aforesaid Indian did not know how to read, this declarant asked for the loan of it and took it from him. He kept it about five or six

2. The record of Benavides' investigation is found in Archivo General de la Nación, México (cited hereafter as A. G. M.), Inquisición, tomo 356. For a secondary account of the investigation and the causes which prompted it, see F. V. Scholes, "The First Decade of the Inquisition in New Mexico," New Mex. Hist. Rev., X (1935), 195-241, and *Church and State in New Mexico, 1610-1650* (Albuquerque, 1937), Ch. III.

> months, at the end of which time Fray Alonso de San Juan, lay brother of St. Francis in this Custody, carried it off, saying that it was his. During the time that this declarant had it, he found in it the account of the planets at all hours,prognosticating according to the nature of each planet the aspect and character of the persons who were born under each planet, foretelling how long they might live and certain future events in the course of their lives. He did this once on the basis of the time of her birth as told to him by a woman of this Villa called Ana Ortiz, and he informed her that apparently she had had an illness, according to what the influences of her sign indicated for her. She replied that this was true and that she had had it at the time he named. He also told her that she would be very fecund. In the same way he prophesied the birth of a child, daughter of Francisco de Almazán, a resident of this place, foretelling several events which were to befall him, and other similar things. And although it is true that this seemed to him to be proper curiosity and he manifested it as such, he always believed and understood that everything was subject to the will of God and made this clear to all those with whom he dealt.

These remarks illustrate the influence that a book of esoteric character might have on a relatively unlettered colonist. Figueroa's confession was undoubtedly prompted by knowledge that Benavides, who was acting under authority as Commissary of the Holy Office, was inquiring into the prevalence of superstition, and it was this factor that was responsible for the witness' final affirmation that all things were subject to God's will and that he had emphasized this point in the prognostications he had made.

The convent libraries, made up of books received or inherited from private owners and works purchased at the expense of the Order for general use, constituted the most important collections at the disposal of the friars. Each mission must have had a few books, but the most extensive collections were undoubtedly those kept at the convent of Santo Domingo, ecclesiastical capital of the province, and at

the convent of Santa Fe. The inventories of these collections, which once comprised part of the Franciscan archives, are irretrievably lost, but fortunately we have other records which provide considerable evidence concerning their contents.

The most important source of information is a series of opinions and letters written by Fray Juan de Vidania *c.* 1640-1641 at the time of a bitter controversy between Governor Luis de Rosas and the Franciscans. This controversy was precipitated by numerous incidents involving the authority of the custodian as local head of the church, questions of ecclesiastical immunity and privilege, and similar problems. At the height of the dispute the province was divided into two hostile camps. The convent at Santa Fe was closed, and all of the friars in residence there, except Vidania and a lay brother, who were staunch supporters of the governor, were expelled from the Villa. Most of the friars and a group of colonists who espoused their cause assembled at Santo Domingo, whence the custodian, Fray Juan de Salas, fulminated excommunications against Rosas and his Franciscan allies. In a series of opinions, drafted at the request of the governor, Vidania formulated arguments to support Rosas' actions and to challenge the validity of the prelate's edicts. These views were also reiterated in letters to Salas and other friars.[3]

In these papers Vidania cited numerous authorities in such a way that it may be inferred that in most cases he had their writings at hand for reference. The documents not only contain many verbatim quotations but have numerous marginal notes giving author, brief title, or both, and frequently the volume, chapter, section, or other appropriate subdivisions of works cited to support arguments in the text. Some of the books that he used may have been in the library or archive of the Casa Real, but most of them are of

3. Vidania's opinions and letters are found in A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 595. For an extensive account of Rosas' controversy with the friars, see Scholes, *Church and State*, Chs. V, VI.

such character that they probably belonged to the library of the Santa Fe convent.

Among the works quoted or cited we find Aristotle's *Topics* (13), Caesar's *Gallic Wars* (20), and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (36). The Church Fathers are represented by St. Augustine's work, *Contra Faustum Manichaeum* (43). The documents also contain references to St. Ambrose and St. Gregory, but it is difficult to determine whether Vidania had their writings at hand, or used references to them in other works. St. Thomas Aquinas' *Summa* (44) is cited several times.

Justinian (27) appears two or three times, and there are numerous references to the *Nueva Recopilación* and to special royal cedulas and ordinances. Villadiego's *Instrucción política* (55) and Hevia Bolaños' *Curia philipica* (26), which deal with Spanish civil procedure and administration, are cited, but it is interesting to note that Solórzano and Castillo de Bobadilla are not mentioned. Politico-moralistic writing is represented by Fray Juan Márquez' *Gobernador christiano* (30).

There are numerous citations to the Decretals and other parts of the *Corpus juris canonici,* the decrees of the Council of Trent, and various papal bulls. The references to jurists and canonists cover a rather wide range. The Italians are represented by Baldo (16), Bartolus (17), Bellarmine (19), Cajetan (21), Panormitanus (37), and Silvestro Mazzolini (48). Among the Spaniards we find Soto (49, 50), Suárez (51), Covarrubias (22), the celebrated Azpilcueta Navarro (32), and others of lesser renown. The *Quaestiones regulares* (41) of the Portuguese Franciscan Fray Manuel Rodríguez and his *Adiciones* to his treatise on the Bull of the Crusade (40) are referred to again and again. Finally, we have several citations to Fray Juan Focher (24), Fray Alonso de la Veracruz (54), and Fray Juan Bautista (18), well known for their services in Mexico in the sixteenth century.

This is not the place to analyze Vidania's interpretations of canon law and his use or misuse of the authorities he quoted or cited. Only a trained canonist would be qualified for such a task. It will be interesting, however, to note what his brother Franciscans thought of his learning, and what he, in turn, thought of his critics. In a letter to the Franciscan Commissary General of New Spain, one of the friars wrote:

> This said Fray Juan de Vidania was the fountain head and teacher of this conspiracy. He is false in everything, and for the Latin solecisms in the letter he wrote Your Reverence alone, he deserved to be deprived of the service of the altar and divine office. And for the falseness with which he cites the sacred canons and holy scripture, he should be deprived forever of the opportunity to read sacred canons and holy scripture, since he has so falsely applied what he reads.[4]

Vidania's contempt for his critics is reflected in all of his writings, but especially in one of his letters which illustrates his power of sarcasm, and, incidentally, provides interesting side lights on his acquaintance with books and authors. Referring to a certain friar who was especially active in challenging the validity of his propositions, he said:

> This grammarian . . . is so ignorant that he has not even read the *Categories* or *Predicaments* of Aristotle, or the *Perihermenias* and *Topics*, or even the common-places of Cicero. And so he frequents the haunts of the vulgar and unlettered . . . composing syllogisms to make it seem that what I have done was fallacious and sophistries of little substance. . . . What an ignoramus I am, for I believed that one could not know these things without knowing the philosophers! . . . In vain I pondered the commentaries of the philosophers, and without reason did my teacher guide me through the cate-

4. Fray Bartolomé Romero to the Commissary General of New Spain, October 4, 1641. Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla (cited hereafter as A. G. I.), Patronato, leg. 244, exp. 7.

> gories of Porphyry [5] to the logic of Aristotle! And, leaving aside these humane branches of study, in vain and without cause did I have for my masters in holy theology the most learned Valencia [6] and the greatly renowned Leiva,[7] not to mention others! The erudition of my teachers and continual meditation from my early youth up to my present age upon the lesson to be found in various branches of moral and scholastic learning and evangelical discourse has availed me nothing. There, indeed, have we found a perfect and whole man without his having been taught by anyone. This must be some divine spirit or fantastic deity who surpasses and conquers Tully in eloquence, Aristotle in arguments, Plato in wisdom, and Aristarchus in erudition.

This outburst illustrates the invective power of Vidania's pen and explains, in part, why Governor Rosas valued him as an ally.

In the end Vidania suffered disgrace for his defense of Rosas and his disobedience to the custodian's decrees. A formal investigation of his conduct was made in 1641, after Rosas had been removed from office, and he was sent to Mexico City for trial by the Holy Office. One source states that he escaped during the journey to New Spain;[8] another records that he was finally punished *(penitenciado)*.[9]

The documents relating to the Church-State controversies of the 1660's also contain some information concerning books in the possession of the friars, but it adds very little

5. Porphyry's *Isagoge*, or Introduction to the Categories of Aristotle, was translated into Latin by Boethius and had great influence upon the development of scholasticism. Among the works of Father Pedro de Fonseca, a famous Portuguese Jesuit theologian of the sixteenth century, whose philosophical writings were widely disseminated and reached many editions, is a treatise called *In Isagogem Porphyrii*. Domingo de Soto also wrote a treatise *In porphyrii Isagogen Aristotelis*, Venice, 1552.

6. Possibly Father Gregorio de Valencia, a prominent Jesuit theologian of the second half of the sixteenth century. He was sent to Germany to teach theology and to work against the influence of Luther, and later summoned to Rome by Clement VIII. He died in Naples in 1603. He was the author of both controversial and scholastic works.

7. Probably Diego Covarrubias y Leiva (1512-1577), the eminent Spanish theologian and jurist, professor of canon law and author of books on a wide range of subjects.

8. A. G. I., Patronato, leg. 244, exp. 7.

9. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 629, exp. 2.

to the data found in the Vidania papers. We find numerous references to the decrees of the Council of Trent and to various papal bulls, especially the *Omnimoda* of Adrian VI on which the custodians based their authority as ecclesiastical judges ordinary, but citations to canonists are rare. In a petition defending his jurisdiction as ecclesiastical judge, the vice-custodian, Fray García de San Francisco, cited Baldo, Navarro, and Panormitanus.[10] We also have an account of a theological dispute at the Santa Fe convent during which a volume by the canonist Fray Manuel Rodríguez was taken down and consulted to settle a point at issue.[11] All of these writers are cited in the Vidania papers and these later references to them serve as additional evidence that Rosas' advocate had his authorities at hand. The only references to works not previously mentioned relate to three books apparently owned by Fray Nicolás de Freitas, director of the Santa Fe convent in 1622-1663, and Fray Felipe de la Cruz, a lay brother resident at the convent of Santo Domingo in 1662.[12] (See appendix, nos. 57-59.)

Finally, the journal of Governor Diego de Vargas concerning the reconquest of New Mexico records the discovery of certain books that had undoubtedly been kept in the convents of the Zuñi area. On November 10, 1692, he arrived at Corn Mountain, on the top of which the Indians of the pueblo of Alona then were living. The following day he ascended the rock, and in one of the rooms of the pueblo he found various ecclesiastical ornaments and seventeen books. With one exception, a volume of Quevedo's works, they were of religious character.[13] (See appendix, nos. 60-76.)

In the documentary sources for the period prior to 1659, we have noted only three references to books in the possession of provincial governors. The first tells of a work en-

10. This petition, dated in July, 1660, is found in A. G. M., Papeles de Bienes Nacionales, leg. 1214, exp. 6.

11. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 507.

12. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomos 507, 587.

13. A. G. I., Guadalajara, leg. 139. Passage translated in J. M. Espinosa, *First Expedition of Vargas into New Mexico, 1692* (Albuquerque, 1940), 199-203.

titled *Práctica criminal eclesiástica* (77) owned by Governor Pedro de Peralta (1610-1614).[14] His possession of a book of this kind fits in with statements made by Vidania in his opinions in defense of Rosas to the effect that Peralta was a *bachiller* and that he had been trained in canon law *(bien entendido y graduado en canones)*.[15] Peralta's term of office was characterized by a violent controversy with the Franciscan prelate, Fray Isidro Ordóñez, who was bold enough to arrest the governor and hold him in jail for several months.[16] Subsequent to the arrest Ordóñez and Fray Luis De Tirado, minister at the Santa Fe convent, ransacked Peralta's papers and personal effects, and Tirado kept the book noted above.

The second reference relates to books in the hands of Governor Juan de Eulate (1618-1625). Governor Eulate, like Peralta, was involved in controversy with the friars, who accused him, among other things, of asserting authority over the local prelate, even in spiritual affairs, and of propositions contrary to the Faith. Eulate's attitude toward ecclesiastical authority was inspired in part by an exaggerated notion of his authority as representative of the king, and by disputes with the friars concerning the general direction of Indian affairs. The erroneous propostions ascribed to him were the result of his fondness for theological dispute and his delight in shocking his listeners by proclaiming scandalous and unorthodox views.[17] It is obvious that he had more than ordinary interest in doctrinal matters and politico-ecclesiastical problems and it is not surprising, therefore, to find references to his ownership of ecclesiastical books. Unfortunately, the sources do not record their titles, and only one author is noted—the Portuguese canonist, Fray Manuel Rodríguez.[18]

14. *Relacion verdadera q. el p.e predicador fr. Fran.co Perez guerta de la orden de S.t fran.co guardian del convento de galisteo hiço al R.mo Comiss. Gen.l de la dha. orden de la nueba esp.a* . . . . 1617? A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 316.

15. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 595.

16. See Scholes, *Church and State*, Ch. II.

17. *Ibid.*, Ch. III.

18. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 356.

In 1656 Juan Manso de Contreras, brother of Fray Tomás Manso who successfully directed the mission supply service for a quarter-century, became governor, and he served the average three-year term. His successor, Governor Bernardo López de Mendizábal, conducted his *residencia* with considerable severity and held him in jail until the summer of 1660 when he was able to escape to Mexico City. Among the effects which he left behind in his cell in the Casa de Cabildo in Santa Fe was a book entitled *Jornadas para el cielo* (79),[19] one of the numerous devotional works of the popular Franciscan preacher, Fray Cristóbal de Moreno.

Such is the information at hand concerning books owned by governors who served prior to 1659. The paucity of the data is undoubtedly explained by the character of the available documentary sources for this period, which deal mostly with special incidents or special phases of administration, in which references to books in the possession of provincial governors would be only incidental. Except for Manso we have no inventories or lists of the property and personal effects of the dozen or more persons who held office, and even in Manso's case the list is obviously incomplete.

The two immediate successors of Manso were Bernardo López de Mendizábal (1659-1661) and Diego de Peñalosa (1661-1664). These men became involved in prolonged controversy with the friars and were eventually tried by the Holy Office of the Inquisition. López' wife, Doña Teresa de Aguilera y Roche, also stood trial before the tribunal.[20] The records of these cases and the prolonged litigation over the property of the defendants constitute the most important block of sources at present available on the history of New Mexico prior to the Pueblo Revolt, and they throw a flood of light on every phase of social life in the province. The papers contain detailed inventories of the property and personal

19. A. G. M., Tierras, tomo 3286.

20. For a lengthy account of the administrations of López de Mendizábal and Peñalosa, see Scholes, *Troublous Times in New Mexico, 1659-1670* (Albuquerque, 1942), Chs. II-X.

effects of the two governors, including numerous books of various kinds.

Bernardo López de Mendizábal was a native of the province of Chietla in New Spain. He received an academic education in the Jesuit colleges of Mexico City and Puebla, and in the Royal University where he studied arts and canon law. After spending a few years in the galleon service, he went to Cartagena where one of his cousins was bishop. At the latter's request he prepared to enter the priesthood, but finally abandoned this vocation and married the daughter of the local governor. His wife, Doña Teresa de Aguilera y Roche, was a native of Italy, where her father had held an administrative post before his transfer to Cartagena. Her mother was an Irish woman who had been reared in the household of the Marqués de Santa Cruz in Spain. Eventually López returned to Mexico where he held office as *alcalde mayor*, first in the province of San Juan de los Llanos, and later at Guaiacocotla. In 1658 the viceroy, Duque de Alburquerque, named him governor and captain general of New Mexico.

From the beginning of his term of office López antagonized both the Franciscan friars and many of the soldier-colonists. He introduced innovations in the system of Indian labor, increasing the wage scale for household servants and farm laborers and reducing the number of Indians in service at the missions. Instead of supporting the friars in their campaign against Indian ceremonial dances, he authorized the public performance of these pagan ceremonies in all of the pueblos. He also called into question the authority of the custodian as ecclesiastical judge ordinary, and in the summer of 1660 actually forbade the prelate to exercise such authority pending a decision by the viceroy on the subject. Resentment against López' governmental policies was accentuated by his personal conduct, negligence in the observance of his religious obligations, and by tactless remarks which many persons regarded as bordering on unorthodoxy and heresy. The gossipmongering servants at the Casa Real

made things worse by reporting incidents which many persons professed to regard as evidence that both the governor and his wife were practicing Jews.

The friars sent lengthy reports to Mexico City, and in 1661 López was replaced as governor by Diego de Peñalosa. The *residencia* proceedings which Peñalosa conducted were unduly severe, and at times were characterized by fraud. In the midst of the trial ex-governor Manso returned bearing edicts of the *audiencia* calling for a review of his own *residencia* and settlement of claims he had made against López. To satisfy these claims, part of López' property was embargoed, and in the inventories made at the time we find the first references to books in his possession. (See appendix, nos. 80-87.) The books and other property were placed in deposit with a local citizen, and there is evidence that that part of these goods, including most of the books, were later taken over by Peñalosa.[21]

The complaints against López filed by the friars had also been referred to the Holy Office, and in the spring of 1662 the tribunal issued orders to arrest him and his wife, Doña Teresa. Execution of these decrees was carried out on August 26, 1662, by Fray Alonso de Posada, the local prelate and commissary of the Inquisition. The property remaining in López' hands was embargoed in the name of the Inquisition, and elaborate inventories were made preparatory to shipment of the property to Mexico City. In these lists and in copies later filed during litigation in the viceregal capital, we have additional lists of books belonging to the governor and Doña Teresa.[22] (See appendix, nos. 88-103.) Additional evidence concerning their book holdings is also found in the lists of personal effects in their possession when they entered the jail of the Inquisition, and in numerous inci-

21. Record of the property embargoed to satisfy Manso's claims appears in A. G. M., Tierras, tomos 3268, 3286.

22. The lists of goods, including books, embargoed by Posada after the arrest of López and his wife appear in A. G. M., Tierras, tomo 3283.

dental references and passages in the trial proceedings.[23] (See appendix, nos. 104-107.)

The lists of their books show an extremely large proportion of religious and didactic works. In spite of the accusations that they neglected their religious duties and were even suspect in the Faith, Doña Teresa, at least, seems to have been devout enough after her own fashion. She excused their irregularity in attendance at mass on the grounds of illness and the fact that she was unaccustomed to the severity of the New Mexico climate. Their critics made a particular point of an incident which took place while the procession was passing the Casa Real on Good Friday, 1661, accusing them of disrespect for the religious ceremony. Their replies are in essential agreement. Both state that they were ill, and she adds that she was reading aloud to him "the passion of Our Lord," while he identifies the book as Fonseca, *Discursos morales para las ferias de la Cuaresma* (82). They alleged the same reason for their absence from the reading of an Edict of the Faith, and in reply to the criticism on this point and to the charge that she had never been known to show particular devotion to any saint, Doña Teresa more than once went into considerable detail on the subject of her favorite devotions, the *cofradías* to which she belonged, and the devotions and bulls pertaining to them which she used. She listed among her favorite prayers those in the *Perfecto Cristiano* (106), and this book was one of the three she had with her when she was admitted to the jail of the Inquisition in April, 1663. In November of the same year, at one of her audiences before the tribunal, she asked to be allowed to have this work.

It is interesting to note that an edict of the Holy Office to withdraw from circulation certain litanies, books, and other things was read in Santa Fe during López' stay in New Mexico. He and his wife were present, and she testifies as follows:

---

23. The trial proceedings of López are found in A. G. M., Inquisición, tomos 587, 593, and 594. The *proceso* against Doña Teresa is in *Ibid.*, tomo 596.

> And in addition, when Fray Diego de Santander read the first edicts, I handed over to him the Office of the Pure and Immaculate Conception of Our Lady and that of the Glorious Patriarch St. Joseph, and some Litanies of the Most Sweet and Lovely Mother of God, and the Memorial of the five greatest sorrows of the Most Holy Virgin, because all these were among those which the edict of this Holy Tribunal ordered taken up; and as a faithful and Catholic Christian, obedient to its commands, I was the first to give them up, although they had been among my particular devotions.

She also claimed that she had been in the habit of reading devotions to her attendants and presented them with extra copies of certain ones which she happened to have. Apparently they had also brought almanacs with them, for Doña Teresa remarked that in case of doubt as to whether a certain day was a Church feast, the guardian would send to ask them to look at their *calendarios*.

In his testimony concerning López' conduct on the way to Mexico City, Fray Salvador de Guerra says that he was told by a certain lay brother, Fray Felipe de la Cruz, who had the task of bringing food to the prisoners during their stay at the convent of Santo Domingo, that Don Bernardo had asked him for a spiritual book to read. Fray Felipe brought him Molina's *De oración* (59), but said that López was not satisfied with it and asked him to find a *libro de romances* because Molina was to spiritual for him. In his defense López contradicted this, saying that he read the book two or three times and kept it until the day he left Santo Domingo without asking for another, "nor did he scorn it; indeed he loved it because it affected him deeply."

Although the number of secular books listed as the property of Don Bernardo and Doña Teresa is not large, they had some of the outstanding and most influential works current at the time. In general there was no occasion to cite them in the controversies, accusations, and replies recorded in the documents, but it seems likely that they were read

and enjoyed, for unless they suited the needs and taste of their owners, there would have been little point in carrying them on the long and arduous journey to New Mexico.

The practical usefulness of certain items, such as a book on surgery (90) and Argüello's treatise on public documents (100) makes further comment on them unnecessary; and since there is evidence that the works of Nebrija, especially the grammar and vocabularies, were popular among educated persons in the colonies and were imported in large numbers, it is not surprising to find that López owned his Latin vocabulary (87). The possession of such historical works as a life of Philip the Prudent (92) and the chronicle of the Augustinian Order in New Spain (97) is in keeping with López' interests as a widely travelled man who had held military and administrative posts of various kinds. The same is true of a book in Latin called the *Prince* (86). Although other books, including Machiavelli's famous work, fit the description given, it may have been Saavedra Fajardo's *Empresas*. A copy of this turns up later in Peñalosa's possession (129) and there is ample evidence that he kept such of López' books as took his fancy. In fact he probably acquired some of the volumes which are listed only among his property when he ransacked López' residence on different occasions, and he may even have taken books kept for reference in the library or archive of the Casa Real at the time when he carried off a large part of the local archive. Saavedra Fajardo's brilliant work enjoyed great popularity, and in view of Peñalosa's literary tastes, as shown by the inventories of his books, especially his predilection for Gracián, it is likely that this book would have appealed to him if he found it among López' belongings. López owned another book dealing with the same general subject, which was among his personal effects when he was brought to the jail of the Holy Office in Mexico City. This was Fray Juan Márquez *Gobernador Christiano* (107), one of the many Spanish works written to refute Machiavelli's *Prince* by setting forth the virtues of the ideal Christian monarch.

The López inventories show only four books designed more for amusement than instruction. One of these was Cervantes' *Don Quijote* (81). Unfortunately, we have only the single reference to it at the time it was embargoed by Peñalosa's order in July, 1662. There is no further record of what happened to it, but it is likely that it remained in New Mexico. Espinel's *Marcos de Obregón* (94) and a book of *Comedias* by different authors (99) were taken to Mexico City with the rest of the property embargoed by order of the Holy Office, and they were eventually returned to Doña Teresa.

Only one of the four, Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* (104), is mentioned other than in the inventories. Doña Teresa had a copy of this in Italian, which had been given to her by her father, and her reading of it gave rise to much speculation and suspicion. It is unlikely that her fondness for it would have aroused so much comment if her critics in their ignorance had not seized the opportunity to ascribe the worst possible motives to her obvious enjoyment of a book concerning the contents of which they had only her word to go on. Although she told at least one of her accusers that it was in Italian and concerned love, they professed to believe that because of her character and conduct it was sure to contain "English heresies" and that she must be a heretic too. It is not difficult to understand why Doña Teresa inspired suspicion and dislike on the part of the citizens of Santa Fe, for in that rough and isolated frontier community she must have seemed a very exotic personality. A fine lady by birth and upbringing, well travelled, apparently educated above the average according to the standard of the time, she made no attempt to conceal her impatience with the follies and ignorance of her servants and neighbors. They, in turn, could hardly have been expected not to resent her superiority and strange ways, especially since she used little tact in her relationships with them. Many of the accusations against her and her husband were based on modes of life so foreign to local custom that they were believed to be Jewish rites.

Her reading of a book in a tongue unknown to them was merely one item in a long list of actions misunderstood and criticized because they were out of the common in that place and time. Nevertheless these accusations were incorporated in the formal charges against her, and her replies not only throw light upon conditions in New Mexico but reflect her own knowledge and opinions concerning the value and standing of what she read.

Her principal reason for reading Ariosto was to practice the Italian language which she had learned as a child, and her father had given her the book so that she would not forget it.

> But the said book contains nothing against our Holy Faith but only what the books called romances of chivalry usually contain: enchantments and wars. And sometimes she could not help laughing when she was reading those things.

On another occasion she wrote:

> If the book had been evil, [my father] would not have permitted me to read it, nor would he have done so, for he was a very good Christian. And this book, according to what I heard from him and other persons, has been translated into our Castilian language, like the Petrarch, of which it is a companion volume although the style is different.

It is quite clear that it never entered her head that the book in itself might be frowned upon as improper reading for good Catholics, let alone that it might actually be forbidden. This may serve as some commentary on how dead the letter of the laws forbidding the exportation to the New World of romances of chivalry and similar fiction was, even though clerical opinion in Spain itself tended to consider such works dangerous to the morals of the majority because of inability to distinguish facts from fiction. Moreover, this aspect of the matter did not come up in her hearings before the tribunal of the Inquisition. The fiscal's charge was founded, not upon the identity of the book as the *Orlando furioso,* but

upon the statements of witnesses concerning the probable heretical nature of a book in an unknown tongue which they had seen Doña Teresa read. He added that the charge could not be dismissed until "it is proved what the book is and it is examined and found to contain no tainted doctrines condemned by our Mother the Church." To this she replied as follows:

> She said that the book referred to in the charge can only be the one she has already mentioned . . . , that it is current and widely read in both Italy and Spain by persons who understand it, for at the beginning of each chapter there is a statement called the allegory which says that only the good is to be taken from it and not the bad; and it inculcates great morality and good doctrine; and God help the witness who had such suspicions.

Later on, written statements which she made in her defense show the influence of her lawyer. In them she reiterates her declaration that the book was "the works of Ariosto, which are not condemned;" and qualifies the testimony of her accusers as "not testifying but jumping to a rash conclusion and injuring me." Then she goes on to say:

> But the chief thing is that in order to be able to proceed with this charge, it was absolutely necessary to prove what this book was and that it was heretical or condemned, because owning and reading books, even though they may be in a foreign language, for the Italian, or Tuscan, language is not unintelligible or unknown as the charge says, are not prohibited but regularly allowed and permitted. The witness was under obligation to say that it was a forbidden book and the charge should have been based on this condition and proof of it, for to presume such a thing is a violation of law, which regularly allows books. And no book is assumed to be forbidden unless proof is offered, especially in this kingdom where the vigilance of this Holy Tribunal is so astute in the examination and expurgation of books and in withdrawing from circulation those which should not be current. . . . And it is not the obligation of the accused, but of the

> plaintiff, who is the fiscal, to prove that it is forbidden, because even if forbidden books are found in anyone's possession, it is necessary to prove two things in order to give origin to presumption of heresy: first, that the books are by a heretical author; second, that the person who has them knows this. Moreover, there is still a dispute among the doctors as to whether the presumption which arises from this is valid. But in this case there can be none, nor any motive for suspicion or surprise that, knowing the Italian language, I should have a book in it, nor is it my fault that the servants who saw me read are ignorant.

Here the matter rested, for in December, 1664, the proceedings against her were suspended and some of her own and her husband's property, including the books taken by the Holy Office (see appendix nos. 88-103) was returned to her. Don Bernardo had died in prison on September 16, 1664, before his case was settled. Some years later, in April, 1671, a sentence absolving him was pronounced by the Inquisitors, and his remains were transferred to the convent of Santo Domingo in Mexico City for ecclesiastical burial.

Diego de Peñalosa, the successor of López de Mendizábal as governor of New Mexico, was an adventurer who had an eventful career in various parts of the New World and later in London and Paris. A native of Lima, he spent his youth in that city and in La Paz, where his family had property holdings and enjoyed a certain local prestige. He was tutored by one of his uncles who was in holy orders, and later studied "grammar and rhetoric" with the Jesuits in Lima. His public career began as *regidor* of La Paz, and when only eighteen years of age he served as *procurador* of that city in litigation before the *audiencia* of Charcas. Later on, while serving as *alcalde provincial* of the *Santa Hermandad* in the La Paz area, serious complaints were filed against him and he was summoned before the viceroy in Lima. To escape arrest he took refuge in the Augustinian college, and a short time later his friends put him on board

a vessel for Panama. From there he travelled to Nicaragua and spent some time with the bishop, who was his uncle. From Nicaragua he went to Mexico, where he held office as an *alcalde mayor*, and in 1660 he was appointed to the governorship of New Mexico.

His chief aim as head of the provincial government was personal profit and gain, and in pursuing this end he did not hesitate to employ fraud or misuse the authority of his office. He took advantage of his position as judge of *residencia* to acquire a large amount of property belonging to López, and when he learned that the latter was about to be arrested on orders from the Holy Office, he seized more of his belongings. Father Posada, as agent of the Holy Office, demanded return of López' property, but Peñalosa refused to comply and hurriedly sent off a large part of it for sale in Parral. The prelate acted with dispatch and had the goods embargoed at Parral before they could be sold. This action aroused Peñalosa to bitter anger and hostility against the prelate, which resulted in strained relations during the spring and summer of 1663. In the autumn the situation was aggravated by the fact that Peñalosa gave orders for the seizure of a colonist who had taken refuge in ecclesiastical sanctuary. Posada made repeated demands for the return of the prisoner, and was ready to impose excommunication if the governor failed to comply. Peñalosa now resorted to violent measures, arrested the prelate, and prepared to expel him from the province. But he finally backed down and negotiated a peaceful settlement of the issue.

During these hectic months he had also aroused considerable resentment in other ways. He made extravagant statements concerning the nature and extent of his authority as governor, and allegedly made scurrilous remarks about the prelate and the tribunal of the Holy Office. Friar and colonist alike were scandalized by a certain levity which characterized his conversation on religious topics, by his coarseness of speech, and the brazen manner in which he flaunted certain phases of his personal conduct. Realizing

that his position had become untenable and desirous of disposing of such property of López as still remained in his hands, he left for New Spain early in 1664, before his successor arrived.

Reports of Peñalosa's activities had already reached the Holy Office, and these were supplemented by a mass of testimony later submitted by Father Posada. An order for Peñalosa's arrest was issued by the Inquisition on June 16, 1665, and the next day he entered the jail of the tribunal. His property was placed under embargo and detailed inventories were made of the furniture, clothing, arms, and other personal effects found in his residence in Mexico City. The lists include many books on a wide range of subjects. (See appendix, nos. 108-151.) Although some of these may have been purchased after his return to Mexico City, it may be assumed that he had many of them with him in New Mexico. Some of the volumes (117, 122, 129, 150) had formerly belonged to López de Mendizábal, and the list probably contained others that he had taken on various occasions when he seized López' property. In any case he had a larger library than López. In addition to the property listed in the inventories, he made a statement concerning things which he had given as security to various persons in Mexico City. One item says that a certain Diego de Rojas held "many books and other things."

Like López and his wife, Peñalosa had in his possession a fairly large number of strictly devotional works, some of which he undoubtedly had taken from them, but the remainder of his library was more varied and extensive. The collection includes moral and political philosophy and satire, a miscellaneous collection of historical works, some books on theology and law, a treatise on horsemanship, Nebrija's grammar and vocabulary, an *Estilo de Cartas,* an *Arte poética* and Gracián's treatise on rhetoric, plus one pastoral and one picaresque novel and a volume of *Comedias.*

The lists indicate an especially strong interest in politico-moral philosophy. We have already mentioned the possibility that his copy of Saavedra Fajardo's *Empresas políticas*

(129), which was dedicated to Prince Baltasar Carlos and dealt with the education and obligations of a prince, had originally belonged to López de Mendizábal. Whether it was acquired in this way or in more legitimate fashion, it fits in with one of the largest single sections of Peñalosa's library. He owned almost all of the works of the Aragonese Jesuit, Father Baltasar Gracián, including the *Héroe* (111), the *Discreto* (112), the *Oráculo Manual* (113), the *Político* (127), and his masterpiece, the *Criticón* (110), all of which exalt the virtues of the outstanding individual at the expense of the common herd. The cruel satire of Quevedo, two of whose books are listed (143, 147), is also impregnated with scorn of the vulgar. Less important works belonging to the same general category are Núñez de Castro's *Séneca impugnado de Séneca* (135) and López de Vega's *Heráclito y Demócrito* (136), which is in the form of dialogues between a courtier and a philosopher. One of the two books by Zabaleta, *El día de fiesta* (124), consists of satirical sketches of life in Madrid, and his *Errores celebrados* (141) contains maxims, witty sayings, etc. There is also a translation from the Italian called *Letras humanas* (145).

The historical works he owned fall into two groups. His career as a public official in the Indies explains his ownership of such items as Torquemada's *Monarquía Indiana* (119), Vargas Machuca's *Milicia Indiana* (116), and less general works such as a chronicle of Mechoacán (115) and Villagrá's *History of New Mexico* (125). In addition to these, he had a volume called *Viaje del Infante Cardenal* by Aedo y Gallart (137), and a translation of Count Mayolino Bisaccioni's *Civil Wars of England* (134). Apparently he was much interested in the latter, for it was among the books he asked for while he was a prisoner in the jail of the Holy Office, describing it as "the imprisonment and death of the King of England at the hands of the Parliament." Perhaps he was vain enough to draw some comparison with his own situation.

Both Peñalosa and López dabbled in literary composi-

tion. Most of it, according to the documentary sources, was in the form of poetical satire against the clergy. Unfortunately, none of these efforts are preserved in the records of their trials, and there is no way of judging how talented they were in this direction, but we may assume that Peñalosa made use of his treatises on poetry and rhetoric and similar works.

Apparently Peñalosa had done enough reading on ecclesiastical subjects and canon law to feel that he was qualified to argue with the local clergy on points of doctrine and ceremonial, as well as to insist upon having his own way in matters involving civil and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. He aroused great resentment on both counts. In a petition to Peñalosa's successor, Governor Miranda, Father Posada said that the former governor's procedure could not be excused on the ground of ignorance since he had aquired sufficient knowledge and experience in judicial posts of responsibility to know better. Another indignant friar, Bernardo López de Cobarrubias, testifying against Peñalosa at the convent of Santo Domingo in January, 1664, spoke his mind in no uncertain fashion:

> Item, the declarant asks this Holy Tribunal to take from the said Don Diego de Peñalosa all the books he has, both moral and expositive, because he is too much inclined to censure the priest's manner of saying the mass, whether it is good or bad, and whether he performs the ceremonies well or badly. . . And let him be asked how he understands matters of morality having to do with cases of conscience, because he sets himself up as a synodalist desirous of examining the priests, his purpose being to mock and scoff at their persons and at what they know or do not know.

In another connection, with regard to some rather dubious documents found among Peñalosa's papers, the Inquisitors took pains to set him straight on the subject of forbidden reading:

> They also told him that he was not to read papers or books that did not carry the approval of the Holy Mother Church, the place where they were written or printed, the name of the printer or scribe, the author's name, and authorization.

From time to time during his imprisonment Peñalosa requested permission to have certain books. These petitions were usually unsuccessful, and it is possible that part of the reason lies in the foregoing. Shortly after he was admitted to the jail he asked for the *Horas del oficio de Nuestra Señora* (108) and Saavedra's *Empresas políticas*. This request was denied, and a little over a week later he tried again, asking for the *Sermons* of Nájera (123), with no greater success. About a year later, in July, 1666, a second request for the *Empresas* was ignored. In September, 1667, no action was taken on a note to the tribunal in which he asked to be allowed to have the *Heráclito y Demócrito* and the "Imprisonment and death of the King of England" already referred to, but about three months later the rather pathetic appeal for "a book to read" was finally granted and the tribunal said that he might have a "spiritual book."

The sentence of the court was pronounced on February 3, 1668. He was subjected to a heavy fine, perpetual ineligibility for military and political office, and banishment from New Spain and the West Indies. On the following day he took part in an *auto de fe* and made formal abjuration of his errors. Toward the end of the year he set sail from Veracruz, apparently for Spain, but several months later he turned up in England where he tried to obtain support for an attack on the Spanish Indies. Failing in his efforts, he moved on to Paris where he continued his intrigues against the Spanish Crown. He died in France in 1687.

In addition to books privately owned, the provincial governors had the use of volumes kept in the library or archive of the Casa Real in Santa Fe. By virtue of their office the governors served as superior judges in civil and criminal cases affecting the secular jurisdiction, and it was

necessary to have on hand legal and administrative treatises for reference in the conduct of judicial business. As already noted, some of the works cited by Vidania in his defense of Rosas may have been in the archive of the Casa Real. In 1663, during the dispute over violation of ecclesiastical sanctuary, Peñalosa wrote a letter to Father Posada in which he cited various authorities (155-159). One was the *Summa* of Silvestro Mazzolini, also cited by Vidania in 1640. In his testimony before the Holy Office, Peñalosa also mentioned the *Curia philípica* (152), Solórzano's *Política Indiana* (153), and a treatise on procedure by Monterroso (154), all of which had apparently been at his disposal in Santa Fe.[24]

The documentary sources at present available record few references to books owned by soldiers and colonists. The lists of personal effects of members of the Oñate expedition reveal that Capt. Alonso de Quesada had "seven books on secular and religious subjects," and that Juan del Caso Baraona, an enlisted soldier, owned "five medical books by recognized authorities."[25] A document of 1636, giving an inventory of the property of a certain Francisco Gómez de Torres, deceased, lists a "volume of devotional papers."[26] Francisco de Anaya Almazán, who served as secretary of government and war for several governors, was the owner of a copy of the *Curia philípica*.[27] Such, in brief, is the record for the period prior to 1660.

In 1662 four New Mexico soldiers—Cristóbal de Anaya Almazán (son of Francisco), Diego Romero, Nicolás de Aguilar, and Francisco Gómez Robledo—were arrested by the commissary of the Holy Office and sent to Mexico City for trial.[28] The lists of personal effects in their possession

24. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 507.

25. A. G. I., México, leg. 25. Apparently Juan del Caso had more than an ordinary layman's interest in medicine, for he also had various kinds of medications and a few surgical instruments. He may have been a barber-surgeon.

26. Biblioteca Nacional, México, leg. 1, doc. 8.

27. Trial proceedings in the case of Cristóbal de Anaya Almazán, A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 586.

28. See Scholes, *Troublous Times*, Ch. VIII.

at the time of their entry into the jail of the Inquisition show that the first three had one or more books. As might be expected, they were all of religious character, such as catechisms and books of prayers and devotions. (See appendix, nos. 164-170). It is interesting to note that Nicolás de Aguilar, who had three books, including a copy of the Gospels, later told the Inquisitors "that he could not read or write, that only now was he learning his letters."[29]

The trial proceedings indicate that in some circles in New Mexico there had been considerable debate on doctrinal matters, especially with regard to the spiritual relationship contracted by the priest, the baptized, and the sponsors as a result of the sacrament of baptism. The principal charge against Anaya was that he had denied the teachings of the Church on this point, and both Romero and Gómez were accused of similar views, although the major charges against them were of another character. In testimony before the tribunal both Anaya and Romero admitted that they had expressed erroneous views concerning spiritual relationships, but alleged that their ideas had been derived from certain books (authors and titles not given). Romero, for example, told the court that he had had no deliberate intention of opposing the teachings of the Church, but had "misunderstood" what he had read on the subject. His excuse probably had some validity, for according to his own testimony "he could read and write but very little and badly."[30] But the Inquisitors had little patience with these excuses, as is evidenced in their denunciation of Anaya for "going about on his own authority, introducing himself as a learned doctor, and engaging in disputes on matters that were not for him to decide."[31] The sentence of the court in Anaya's case called for public abjuration of his errors before his fellow citizens in New Mexico. Romero, who was found guilty on other charges as well as the one discussed above, was banished from the province.

29. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 512.
30. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 586.
31. Scholes, *Troublous Times*, 190.

Despite the punishment meted out to these offenders, the colonists continued to engage in dispute on doctrinal matters and to read theological books which they were ill prepared to interpret or understand. In 1669 Fray Juan Bernal, commissary of the Holy Office, wrote to the Inquisitors as follows:

> I consider it an extremely undesirable thing that certain laymen of this kingdom should have in their houses *Summas de Theologia Moral,* because they do not understand what they read in the Summas or grasp the meaning as they should because of the manner in which the summarists express it by question and interrogatory, which these readers take for affirmation. . . . Fray Diego Parraga has told me that it was a shame that certain secular persons of this province had Summas, because, being ignorant people, they wanted to be taken for men of knowledge, learned and well read, saying in their ignorance things offensive to pious ears, which they justify by the Summas, and the reason is that they do not understand them.[32]

The interest in theological questions, illustrated by these remarks and by the proceedings against Anaya and Romero, is not surprising. New Mexico was a mission province, in which the conversion and indoctrination of the Indians was supposed to be the most important objective of governmental policy and administration, and it was inevitable that religious matters should have formed an important topic of discussion in all circles. The friars, inspired by zeal to teach the Indians and give them an understanding of basic religious truths and dogmas, naturally kept a watchful eye on the colonists, and challenged ideas and practices that might undermine the loyalty of the Indians to the new ways. Conscious of the supreme importance of their mission, they were also quick to defend the privileges and immunities of ecclesiastical status and the jurisdictional authority of the Church. On the other hand, the missionary program fre-

32. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 583, exp. 3.

quently ran counter to the interests of the governors and colonists, giving rise to the unseemly disputes and controversies which characterized the history of the province during this period. Thus it was unavoidable that the colonists should display considerable interest in all manner of religious questions. Not content to accept the pronouncements of the friars on such subjects, they tried to form their own judgments on the basis of such books and tracts as were available. Unfortunately, they lacked the specialized training and education necessary for the proper interpretation of the books they read.

Bernal's remarks, quoted above, constitute an interesting commentary on the general situation in New Mexico, but they have even wider significance as an indication of the kind of books regarded as especially dangerous by the tribunal of the Holy Office. The Inquisitors, charged with the duty of keeping watch over books that circulated in the colonies, were chiefly concerned about works of a doctrinal character which might be misconstrued by the unlearned and inspire unorthodox views. In denouncing the misuse of the *Summas de theologia* in New Mexico, Bernal gave expression to this basic attitude toward books and their readers, a point which is also illustrated by the nature of the books Doña Teresa de Aguilera gave up when the edict against prohibited reading was published in Santa Fe in 1662.

APPENDIX

I

BOOKS OWNED OR USED BY THE FRANCISCANS

A. *Entries in the Treasury Accounts Recording Purchase of Liturgical Books for the New Mexico Friars. 1609-1628.*[1]

(1) Por nuebe brebiarios a diez pesos cada uno—XC pesos. (Purchased in 1609.)

(2) A Diego Riuero, librero, quatro cientos y ochenta pessos y quatro tomines, los trecientos y treinta pesos dellos por seis libros grandes sanctorales de canto a cinquenta y cinco pessos cada vno, y los ciento y cinquenta pessos y quatro tomines restantes por siete misales grandes del nueuo reçado a veintiun pesos y quatro tomines—CCCCLXXX pesos IIII tomines. (Purchased in 1611.)

(3) Por onze breuiarios de los reformados con oficios de S.^{t} fran.^{co} en nueue pesos cada uno—XCIX pesos. (Purchased in 1625.)

(4) Por onze misales de los nueuamente reformados enquadernados a quince pesos cada vno—CLXV. *(Id.)*

(5) Por cinco libros manuales a doze reales cada uno—VII pesos IIII tomines. *(Id.)*

(6) Por cinco libros antifonarios conpuestos por Fray Geronimo Çiruelo de la Orden de San Francisco en un cuerpo—XL pesos. *(Id.)*

(7) Por cinco libros santorales de misas y visperas a quarenta pesos cada uno—CC pesos. *(Id.)*

(8) Por onçe libros de canto santorales a quarenta pesos cada uno —CCCCXL pesos. (Purchased in 1628.)

(9) Por diez y ocho misales grandes a XVIII pesos cada uno—CCCXXIIII pesos. *(Id.)*

(10) Por diez y ocho breuiarios de los buenos a once pesos cada uno—CXCVIII pesos. *(Id.)*

---

1. Compiled from the treasury accounts in A. G. I., Contaduría, legs. 711-728. Detailed accounts of purchases of supplies for the New Mexico missions are not recorded subsequent to 1628. After that date lump sum payments were made in accordance with an agreement negotiated in 1631 by the treasury officials and the Order. Although this defined in detail the kind and amount of supplies to be provided each triennium, actual purchase of the supplies was left to the *procurador* of the Order. The agreement provided, however, that each friar going to New Mexico for the first time should receive "one missal with the office of the Order" and a breviary, and that three books of chants should be provided for every five friars sent to the province. Cf. F. V. Scholes, "The Supply Service of the New Mexican Missions in the Seventeenth Century," New Mex. Hist. Rev., V (1930), 96-113.

B. *Fray Alonso de San Juan. 1626.*[2]

(11) Un libro de astrologia y secretos naturales y cosas curiosas. [Not identified.]

C. *Citations to Books and Authors in the Opinions and Letters of Fray Juan de Vidania, c. 1640-1641.*[3]

(12) Frat. Joseph Angles, in Flores Theol. [Fray José Anglés, *Flores theologicarum quaestionum*, Salamanca, 1575-76, and later editions. Commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard.]

(13) Aristo. de locis topicis; Aristoles. la regla topica. [Probably Aristotle's *Topics.*]

(14) Armila, ver.º apelatio n. 67. [Not identified.]

(15) Avila, de censuris ecles. [Padre Esteban de Avila, *De censuris ecclesiasticis tractatus*, Lyons, 1608, and later editions.]

(16) Baldo. [Reference to the Italian jurist P. Baldo.]

(17) Bartolus. [Reference to the celebrated Italian jurist.]

(18) p. fr. Ju.º 2. p. f. 383; fr. Ju.º Ba.ª 2. p. f. 261. [Fray Juan Bautista, *Advertencias para confesores de naturales.* Primera parte, Segunda parte, México, 1600, 1601.]

(19) Velarmino, de doctrina xp.ⁿª [Refers to one of the Spanish versions of Cardinal Robert Bellarmine's *Dichiarazione più copiosa della dottrina cristiana*, 1598.]

(20) Jul. Ces. de bello gal. L. 4. [J. Caesar, *De bello gallico.*]

(21) Cayetano. [Reference to Cardinal Tomaso de Vío, known as Cajetan because of the place of his birth.]

(22) Cobaru.ˢ [Probably refers to the Spanish canonist Diego Covarrubias de Leiva.]

(23) Concilio Tri.º SS. 22. 25. [Decrees of the Council of Trent.]

(24) Pat. Focher, in itinerario. [Fray Juan Focher, *Itinerarium catholicum proficiscentium ad infideles convertendos*, Sevilla, 1574.]

(25) D. Ant. de Guebara, in epistolas. [Fray Antonio de Guevara, *Epístolas familiares*, Valladolid, 1539.]

(26) Ju.º Euia Bolaños, in philipica curia. [Juan Hevia Bolaños, *Curia philipica*, Lima, 1603, Valladolid, 1605, and later editions.]

(27) Ley 27 de Justiniano. [Reference to the *Corpus juris civilis.*]

(28) fr. Pedro de Ledesma, tomo 3 de la caridad; Ledesma, sumario de penitentie sacramento, pag. 794. 1 casu; Ledesma, de escandalo. [Probably references to a work or works of the

2. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 356.

3. Compiled from text references and marginalia in the MS., A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 595. In certain cases we have given more than one citation to the same author or work.

Spanish Dominican Fray Pedro de Ledesma, for many years professor at Salamanca.]

(29) fr. Yldefonso de Noreña, q. 6. de privilegis incommunic.ᵉ; p. fr. Alfonsus de Loreña, in compendio ind.ᵒ; p. fr. Yldefonsus de Loreña, in explicatione bula Pio 5. [Not identified.]

(30) fr. Ju.ᵒ Marques, en el gouer Christ.ᵒ [Fray Juan Márquez, *El gobernador christiano*, Salamanca, 1612, and later editions.]

(31) Miranda, en la esplicacion. [Fray Luis de Miranda, *Explicación de la regla de los Terceros*, Salamanca, 1617.]

(32) Dr. Nauarro; Nauarro, q. 2. pag. 42; Nauarro, c. 27. de censuris; Nauarro, q. 29. ar. 2. f. 297. [These citations probably refer to one or more works of the famous Spanish canonist Martín de Azpilcueta, known as Dr. Navarro.]

(33) Juanetin niño, en la regla; Pat. fr. Juanetin Niño, en explicatio Regulae. [These citations may possibly refer to *Las tres partes de las Chronicas antiguas de la Orden de los frayles de . . . S. Francisco, del R. S. D. Fr. Marcos, obispo del Puerto*, Salamanca, 1626, translated by Fray Juanetín Niño. Niño was also author of *Aphorismi superiorum etiam et inferiorum, pro concordia, pace et tranquilitate reipublicae conservanda*, Barcelona, 1625.]

(34) Ley 5. tit. 1. lib. 7. Recop. [*Nueva recopilación*, Alcalá, 1567.]

(35) fr. Fran.ᶜᵒ Ortis lucio, Regula cap. 10. [Probably Fray Francisco Ortiz Lucio, *Compendium declarationum*, Madrid, 1584, 1585. Treatise on the Rule of St. Francis.]

(36) Metamorfosios de Ovidio. [Ovid, *Metamorphoses*.]

(37) Panormitano. [Reference to Nicolás Tudeschis Panormitanus, Italian canonist and archbishop of Palermo, frequently cited as Abbas. His principal works were commentaries on the *Decretales* of Gregory IX and the *Clementinae*.]

(38) Pat. P. de Riuadeneyra. [Reference to the Spanish Jesuit Padre Pedro de Ribadeneyra.]

(39) Ricardo, in 4. dist. 18, art. 4. quest. 4. cap. [Not identified.]

(40) fray M.ˡ R.ˢ adiciones. [Fray Manuel Rodríguez, *Adiciones a la explicación de la Bula de la Cruzada*, Salamanca, 1598, 1601.]

(41) Questiones Regu. f. Manuel R.ˢ T. l. q. 35. [Fray Manuel Rodríguez, *Quaestiones regulares et canonicae*. Salamanca, 1598-1602. 3 vol.]

(42) D. Sa. de sent. excommu.ᵉ f. 107; D. Manuel Sa, de censuris. [Dr. Manuel Sa was a Portuguese Jesuit who wrote various treatises on ecclesiastical subjects in the early seventeenth century. The works referred to in the citations given above have not been identified.]

(43) D. Augustinus, L. 22. contra faus. [St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, *Contra Faustum manichaeum libri XXXIII*.]

(44) S. Tho. 2. 2. q. 7. ar. 4 (and other similar citations). [St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica.*]

(45) Salc. in pract. crim. c. 52. p. 188. [Ignacio López de Salcedo, . . . *Practica criminalis canonica* . . . , Alcalá, 1565, and later editions.]

(46) Serati Maricani, inquirition; Maricani, Enquiridion. [Not identified.]

(47) Silva, l. 2, caso 233; Silva, l, 1. caso 326. tractatus 17 (and other similar citations.) [Possibly refer to Pedro de Silva, *Varios tractatus juris*, Madrid, 1628.]

(48) Sylvestro, ver. bellum; Sylvestro, ver, priuil. [Probably refer to the *Summa Sylvestrina* of the Italian Dominican theologian Silvestro Mazzolini.]

(49) Soto, in justicia y jure. [Fray Domingo de Soto, *De justitia et jure*, Salamanca, 1556, and later editions.]

(50) Soto, in 4 sent. dis. 18. q. 1. art. 5. [Fray Domingo de Soto, *In quartum sententiarum commentarii*, Salamanca, 1557-60.]

(51) de sacramentis del p.e suares. [P. Francisco Suárez, *de sacramentis.*]

(52) Torneira, in tra. 1. prelatorum. [Fray Antonio Delgado Torreneira, *Avisos y documentos para prelados*, Toledo, 1579; *Regla y arancel de prelados*, Toledo, 1598.]

(53) fr. Al.o Vega. cap. 25. de concyencia erronea, f. 694; Vega, cap. 85. caso 59. fol. 845. de excomm.e [Probably refer to the writings of Fray Alonso de la Vega, Order of the Minims. His principal work was *Summa llamada sylva y práctica del foro interior, utilíssima para confessores y penitentes*, Alcalá, 1594, and later editions.]

(54) Pat. Veracruz, in 1 p. especul, conjugiorum. [Fray Alonso de la Veracruz, *Speculum conjugiorum*, México, 1556, and later editions.]

(55) Villadiego, in Politica. [Alonso de Villadiego Vascuñana y Montoya, *Instrucción política y práctica judicial conforme al estilo de los consejos, audiencias y tribunales de corte, y otros ordinarios del reino, utilíssima para los gobernadores y corregidores y otros jueces ordinarios y de comission* . . . , Madrid, 1612, and later editions.]

(56) Villalobos, tra. 18. cap. 21. com. 4. [Not identified. Compare no. 120, *infra.*]

D. *Fray Nicolás de Freitas. c. 1662-1663.*[4]

(57) Directorium curatorum. [Dr. Luis Juan Villeta, *Libro intitulado Directorium Curatorum compuesto por el illustre y reve-*

4. Trial proceedings against Diego de Peñalosa. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 507.

rendíssimo Sr. D. Fr. Pedro Martyr Coma Obispo de Elna, nuevamente traduzido de la lengua Cathalana en vulgar castellano, Barcelona, 1566, and many later editions; or possibly a work of Cardinal Bellarmine. See no. 95, *infra*.]

(58) Libro [de sermones] de fray fulano Marquez. [Possibly a work of Fray Juan Márquez, author of *El gobernador christiano*, who was a famous preacher.]

E. *Fray Felipe de la Cruz. 1662.*[5]

(59) Molina, de oracion; Molina, de Contemplacion. [Fray Antonio de Molina, *Exercicios espirituales de las excelencias, provecho y necesidad de la oración mental*, Burgos, 1615, and later editions.]

F. *Books Found by De Vargas at Zuñi in 1692.*[5a]

(60) Vn misal mui bien tratado; no de los mui modernos.

(61) Vn libro enquadernado de la semana santa.

(62) Otro libro que se intitula fauores del Rey del cielo hecho a su esposa Santa Juana de la Cruz. [Fray Pedro Navarro, *Favores de el Rey de el cielo, hechos a su esposa la Santa Juana de la Cruz*, Madrid, 1662.]

(63) Otro libro que se intitula segunda Parte del itinerario ystorial en que se trata de la vida de xpto. [Possibly P. Alonso Andrade, S. J., *Itinerario Historial que debe guardar el hombre para caminar al cielo*, 2 vols., Madrid, 1642, and later editions.]

(64) Otro libro que se Yntitula los libros de la madre santa theresa de Jhus. [*Los libros de la M. Teresa de Jesús*, Salamanca, 1558, and later editions.]

(65) Mas otro libro que se intitula manual de administrar los sacramentos a los españoles y naturales de esta nueva España. [Possibly Fray Pedro de Contreras Gallardo, *Manual de administrar los Santos Sacramentos a los españoles y naturales desta nueua España conforme a la reforma de Paulo V*, México, 1638.]

(66) Mas otro libro que se Yntitula ynstrucion spiritual para animar al que a la Religion biene y Profesa en ella. [Not identified.]

(67) Otro libro sin Pergamino y falto de algunas ojas que se Yntitula meditacion del amor de dios. [Possibly Fray Diego de Estella (Fray Diego de San Cristóbal), *Meditaciones devotísimas del amor de Dios*, Salamanca, 1576, 1578.]

(68) Mas otro libro que se Yntitula en la Primera foxa que la faltan

5. Trial proceedings against López de Mendizábal. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomos 587, exp. 1, 594, exp. 1.

5a. A. G. I., Guadalajara, leg. 139.

las demas Primera Parte de la Venida de Xpto y de su bida y milagros. [Cf. no. 63, *supra.*]

(69) Mas otro libro que se Yntitula manual de administrar los santos sacramentos a los naturales y españoles de esta nueva spaña. [Cf. no. 65, *supra.*]

(70) Mas otro libro que se Yntitula declaracion copiosa de la doctrina xptiana Compuesta por horden del Beatissimo Padre Clemente octauo. [One of the Spanish versions of Cardinal Robert Bellarmine's work. Cf. no. 19, *supra.*]

(71) Mas otro libro que se Yntitula Directorium Coratorum, instruccion de curas Vtil y Prouechoso Para los que tienen Cargo de almas. [See no. 57 *supra*, and no. 95, *infra.*]

(72) Mas otro libro que se intitula Confesionario en lengua mexicana y Castellana. [Probably by Fray Alonso de Molina or Fray Juan Bautista. See no. 131, *infra.*]

(73) Mas otro libro falto de ojas al principio y al fin que se Yntitula declaraçion de la Doctrina Christiana. [Cf. no. 70, *supra.*]

(74) Mas otro libro que se Yntitula mementos de la misa. [Possibly Pedro de la Fuente, *Instrucción de religiosos y declaración de los mementos de la misa*, Sevilla, 1616.]

(75) Mas otro libro que se Yntitula obras de Queuedo. [Probably Francisco Gómez de Quevedo y Villegas.]

(76) Mas se halla otro libro de la Dominica y adbiento sin enquadernar. [Probably a book of sermons or devotions for the Sundays of Advent.]

II

Books Owned or Used by Governors

A. *Pedro de Peralta (1610-1614).*[6]

(77) Practica criminal eclesiastica. [Not identified. Cf. no. 45 *supra.*]

B. *Juan de Eulate (1618-1625).*[7]

(78) Un libro del doctor fr. Manuel Rodríguez. [Cf. nos. 40, 41, *supra.*]

C. *Juan Manso de Contreras (1656-1659).*[8]

(79) Un libro maltratado jornadas para el cielo. [Fray Cristóbal Moreno, *Libro intitulado Jornadas para el cielo*, Zaragoza, 1580, and later editions.]

---

6. Pérez Guerta, *Relación verdadera.* A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 316.
7. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 356.
8. A. G. M., Tierras, tomo 3286.

D. *Bernardo López de Mendizábal (1659-1661) and his wife, Doña Teresa de Aguilera y Roche.*[9]

(80) Vn libro grande yntitulado Vida de Xpto. de medio pliego; otro libro en medio pliego intitulado tersera parte de la uida de Xpto; la tersera y segunda parte de la bida de Xpto de Fonseca. [Fray Cristóbal de Fonseca, *Primera parte de la vida de Christo,* Toledo, 1596; *Segunda parte . . . ,* Toledo, 1601; *Tercera parte . . . ,* Madrid, 1605; *Quarta parte . . . ,* Madrid, 1611. The different parts are separate treatises, and each part was republished in later editions. Apparently only the second and third part were taken at this time, for the first part was later embargoed by Posada. See no. 96, *infra.*]

(81) Libro yntitulado Don quijote de la Mancha. [Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra.]

(82) Libro yntitulado discerto para todos los ebanjelios en quartilla; una quaresma de fonseca. [Fray Cristóbal de Fonseca, *Discursos para todos los evangelios de la Quaresma,* Madrid, 1614.]

(83) Libro yntitulado primera parte de los discursos de paciencia en quartilla; primera parte de los discursos de la paciencia xptiana de çarate. [Fray Fernando de Zárate, *Discursos de la paciencia christiana,* Alcalá, 1592, and many later editions. An edition of Valencia, 1602, is entitled, *Primera parte de los discursos de la paciencia christiana.*]

(84) Otro grande yntitulado primera parte de la suma de medio pliego; una suma de ledezma. [Either Fray Pedro de Ledesma, *Primera parte de la Summa en la qual se cifra todo lo que toca y pertenece a los sacramentos,* Salamanca, 1598, and later editions; or Fray Bartolomé de Ledesma, *Suma de casos de conciencia,* México, 1560, Salamanca, 1585.]

(85) Vn libro en medio pliego titulado bitorias de Xpto; bitorias de Xpto de Loaisa. [Fray Rodrigo de Loaisa, *Victorias de Cristo nuestro Redentor,* Sevilla, 1618.]

(86) Libro en latin yntitulado el prinsipe. [This may be Diego Saavedra Fajardo's *Idea de un príncipe político cristiano representada en 100 empresas,* which appears in the Peñalosa list (see no. 129, *infra*). There were many editions of this work. which was translated into various languages. A Latin version

9. Nos. 80-87 were included in the embargo of López' property on July 17, 1662, and in the list of the same goods on deposit with a citizen of the province, September 11, 1662. The brief descriptions vary in the two lists. In the second list the names of authors are usually given and for this reason we have included descriptions from both lists. Nos. 88-103 are found in the list of property embargoed by Posada after the arrest of López on August 26, 1662. A. G. M., Tierras, tomos 3268, 3283, 3286. Nos. 104-107 are taken from references found in the trial proceedings against López and Doña Teresa. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomos 587, 593, 594, 596.

was published at Brussels in 1640, the same year as the original Spanish appeared.]

(87) Un bocabulario de lebrixa en latin. [Antonio de Nebrija, *Dictioniarum latino-hispanicum*, Salamanca, 1492.]

(88) Un quadernito de officios de santos.

(89) Vn libro de a quarto yntitulado muerte de Dios por Vida del hombre. [Fray Hernando Camargo y Salgado, *Muerte de Dios por vida del hombre, deduzida de las postrimerías de Cristo Señor nuestro . . .*, Poema en décimas, Madrid, 1619.]

(90) Otro del mesmo tamaño de Sirujia en Romance. [Many books on surgery were published in Spanish during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. At least two were printed in Mexico, and the lists of books in the hands of Mexican dealers show that a fair number of Spanish imprints were also available there.]

(91) Otro del mesmo tamaño de la Vida de Santa Theresa. [Among the most important works published during this period on the life of St. Theresa are: P. Francisco de Ribera, S. J., *La vida de la Madre Teresa de Jesús*, Salamanca, 1590; Fray Diego de Yepes, *Vida, virtudes y milagros de la bienaventurada Virgen Teresa de Jesús*, Madrid, 1595; and Fray Juan de Jesús María and Fray Juan de San Jerónimo, *Compendium vitae B. Virginis Teresiae a Jesu*, Rome, 1609.]

(92) Otro de la vida de Don Phelippe el Prudente del mesmo tamaño. [Possibly, Lorenzo van der Hammen y León, *Don Felipe "el Prudente," segundo de este nombre, rey de las Españas y Nuevo Mundo*, Madrid, 1625; or Baltasar Porreño, *Dichos y hechos del señor rey don Philipe segundo, el prudente*, Cuenca, 1621.]

(93) Otro libro de a cuarto maltratado yntitulado Mexia del matrimonio. [Fray Vicente Mexía, *Salvdable instrución del estado del matrimonio*, Córdoba, 1566. Said to be the first book in Castilian printed there. Or Luis Mexía, *Colloquio intitulado institución del Matrimonio cristiano*, Valencia, 1528. Trans. of Erasmus.]

(94) Vn libro pequeño de Marcos de Obregón. [Vicente Espinel, *Relaciones de la vida del escudero Marcos de Obregón*, Madrid, 1618.]

(95) Otro libro pequeño en romance yntitulado directorium curatorum (que parece cartilla). [See no. 57, *supra*.][10]

10. The references to this book are somewhat confusing. Although Pedro Martyr Coma's work was widely current and at least eighteen Spanish editions had appeared by the early 1620's, in his testimony concerning Anaya's erroneous views with regard to spiritual relationships López attributed the copy he used to Bellarmine: "He does

(96) Otro libro de a folio Intitulado Primera parte de la Vida de Xpto. [See no. 80, *supra.*]

(97) Otro maltratado de a folio Intitulado Prouincia de San Agustin de la Nueba España. [Fray Juan de Grijalva, *Crónica de la Orden de N. P. S. Agustín en las provincias de la Nueva España*, México, 1606.]

(98) Vn libro de a quarto roto sin pergamino en Octabas.

(99) Vn libro muy maltratado de differentes Comedias. [Probably a volume of one of the collections of plays which were published in Spain during the seventeenth century. See Julio Cejador y Frauca, *Historia de la lengua y literatura castellana*, Tomo IV (Madrid, 1916), 5-28; and George Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, (6th ed., Boston, n. d.) Vol. III, Appendix, F.]

(100) Otro librito yntitulado Examen de Escribanos de Argüello. [Possibly Antonio de Argüello, *Tratado de escrituras y contratos públicos*, Madrid, 1620, 1651.]

(101) Vn sermon sin pergamino a San Phelippe Neri de Don Anttonio Peralta Castañeda. [*Sermon del glorioso San Phelippe Neri, fundador de la Congregacion del Oratorio. Predicole el Señor D. Antonio de Peralta Castañeda, . . . En la fiesta, que en el Convento de Carmelitas Descalças celebró a su inclyto patrono la charitativa concordia de sacerdotes. . . .* , México, 1652.]

(102) Vna cartilla de muchachos. [Many *cartillas*, or primers, were printed in Spain but as a result of the kind of use they received most of them have disappeared.]

(103) Un diurno pequeño viejo.

(104) Ludovico Ariosto. *Orlando furioso.*

(105) Un libro encuadernado en tablas intitulado officium beate mariae Virginis impreso en Antuerpia, Año de mill y seiscientos y cinquenta y dos.

(106) Un libro pequeño aforado en tablas que se intitulaba el perfecto Xptiano impreso en Seuilla, Año mill y seiscientos y quarenta y dos. [Fray Juan González de Critana, *El perfecto cristiano*, Valladolid, 1601, and later editions.]

(107) Un libro intitulado el Gouern.^{or} Xptiano. [Fray Juan Márquez, *El gobernador christiano.* See no. 30, *supra.*]

---

not remember whether he summoned him (Anaya) for the purpose, or whether he came to see this confessant on other business, but one night when they were in his reception room, this confessant said to him, 'Come here, Cristóbal, who gets you involved in arguments with the friars, and, according to what I hear, such an error as that the priest does not contract spiritual relationship with the baptized and his parents? The ones with whom he does not contract it are the god parents, nor do they contract it with each other. And if you wish to see it in plain Spanish, and if you do not know it, bring that book which is over there on that table.' And the book was *Directorium Curatorum* by Bellarmino." A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 594.

E. *Diego de Peñalosa Briceño (1661-1664).*[11]

(108) Dos libritos de officio menor de la Virgen.

(109) Otro librito pequeño yntitulado el Comulgatorio. [Baltasar Gracián y Morales, *El comulgatorio*, Zaragoza, 1655.][12]

(110) Dos libros de a quarto yntitulados el Criticon, Primera y segunda parte. [B. Gracián, *El criticón*, 1651-57. Three parts.]

(111) Otro librito pequeñito yntitulado el Heroe de Lorenço Gracian. [B. Gracián, *El Héroe*, Madrid, 1630, Huelva, 1637.]

(112) Otro pequeñito yntitulado el discreto. [B. Gracián, *El Discreto*, Huesca, 1646.]

(113) Otro pequeñito yntitulado el oraculo. [B. Gracián, *El oráculo manual*, Huesca, 1647.]

(114) Un libro de a quarto yntitulado la Jineta de España. [Pedro Fernández de Andrada, *Libro de la gineta de España*, Sevilla, 1599; *Nuevos discursos de la gineta de España*, Sevilla, 1616.]

(115) [Libro yntitulado Cronica de Mechoacan. [Fray Alonso de la Rea, *Chronica de la Orden de N. Seraphico P. S. Francisco, Prouincia de S. Pedro y S. Pablo de Mechoacan en la Nueva España*, México, 1643; or Fray Juan González de la Puente, *Primera parte de la Chronica Augustiana de Mechoacan . . .*, México, 1624.]

(116) Otro [libro intitulado] Milicia Yndiana. [Bernardo de Vargas Machuca, *Milicia y descripción de las Indias . . .*, Madrid, 1599. This work is in three parts: *Milicia Indiana, Descripción de las Indias Occidentales*, and *Compendio de la Esfera.*]

(117) Un libro de a quarto yntitulado Discurso para todos los Euangelios de la Quaresma. [Fray Cristóbal de Fonseca. See no. 82, *supra.*]

(118) Dos libros de a folio yntitulados Perfecto Prelado primera y segunda parte. [Pedro de Reina Maldonado, *Norte claro del perfecto prelado en su pastoral gobierno*, Madrid, 1613.]

(119) Dos cuerpos de libros de a folio Primera y Segunda parte de Monarquia Indiana. [Fray Juan Torquemada, *Monarquía Indiana*, Madrid, 1613.]

(120) Otros dos libros de a folio Primera y segunda parte de Villa-

11. From lists in A. G. M., Tierras, tomo 3286. When Peñalosa's property was appraised early in July, 1669, by order of the Holy Office, before being put up at public auction, the appraisers refused to set a value on the books, "por no ser de su facultad." The auction went on throughout the summer of 1669. On July 13 Fray Francisco de Ayeta, *procurador* of the Convento Grande de San Francisco in Mexico City, later a custodian of the New Mexico missions, bought "43 books, large and small, by different authors," for 46 pesos.

12. This is the only book Gracián published under his own name. The first part of the *Criticón* appeared under the pseudonym García de Marlones, and the rest of his works carry that of Lorenzo Gracián Infanzón.

lobos. [The description of this work as in two volumes in folio makes it probable that it is Fray Enrique de Villalobos' *Summa de la theología moral y canónica, Lisbon,* 1623, and later editions, all of which are in two volumes folio.]

(121) Otros dos cuerpos de libros de a folio primera y segunda parte de fray Manuel Rodriguez. [Undoubtedly one of the works of the Portuguese canonist Fray Manuel Rodríguez. Cf. nos. 40, 41, *supra.* Another of his works is entitled, *Obras morales en romance,* Madrid, 1602, 2 vol. folio.]

(122) Vn libro enquadernado en tabla de a quarto que su titulo es Vocabulario de Anttonio de Nebrija. [Cf. no. 87, *supra.*]

(123) Un libro de a quarto aforrado en pergamino yntitulado Sermones Varios de Naxera Segunda parte. [Padre Manuel de Nájera, *Sermones varias,* Alcalá-Madrid, 1643-58, 4 vol.]

(124) Otro libro pequeño de a octabo aforrado en pergamino yntitulado el dia de fiesta. [Juan de Zabaleta, *El Día de fiesta por la mañana,* 1654; *El día de fiesta por la tarde,* 1660.]

(125) Otro librito del mesmo tamaño con algunas ojas maltratadas del principio, y todo ello esta y al folio primero dice Historia de la Nueba Mexico por el capitan Gaspar de Villagra. [Gaspar de Villagrá, *Historia de la Nueva México,* Alcalá, 1610.]

(126) Un Arte de Anttonio de Nebrisa Vien tratado. [Antonio de Nebrija, *Arte de la lengua castellana,* 1492.]

(127) Un librito pequeñito yntitulado el politico. [B. Gracián, *El político don Fernando el Católico,* Zaragoza, 1640.]

(128) Vn librito pequeño de a quarto empeçado a apolillar yntitulado Comparasiones o similes para los vicios y virtudes. [Juan Pérez de Moya, *Comparaciones o símiles para los vicios e virtudes: muy útil y necessario para predicadores,* Alcalá, 1584. Another list of these same books gives this title and also "otro librito Yntitulado Similes de Moya." It is difficult to determine whether the same book was listed twice by mistake or whether there actually were two copies.]

(129) Un libro de a cuarto yntitulado Ydea de un principe politico Christiano, etc. [Diego Saavedra Fajardo, *Ydea de un príncipe, político cristiano representada en 100 empresas,* Münster, 1640, Munich, 1640. A Latin version appeared at Brussels the same year. Cf. no. 86, *supra.*]

(130) Un librito maltratado de a quarto con algunas ojas rotas yntitulado Seremonial de la missa.

(131) Otro de a quarto de pocas ojas viejo y algunas dellas rotas que parece es Cathecismo en Mexicano y Castellano. [For data concerning the numerous cathecisms and *doctrinas* of this kind published during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries,

see: P. Mariano Cuevas, S. J., *Historia de la Iglesia en México,* Tomo II (Tlalpam, D. F., 1922), 399-424; Joaquín García Icazbalceta, *Bibliografía Mexicana del siglo XVI,* Primera parte (México, 1886); and Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, *La ciencia española* (4a ed., Madrid, 1918), Tomo III, 307-317.]

(132) Y atado con un cordonsillo de gamuça quince foxas sueltas que son de la Sagrada Escriptura que se llebo el dicho Alguacil Mayor.

(133) [Un libro] de a quarto yntitulado leyes penales. [Possibly Francisco de la Pradilla Barnuevo, *Tratado y suma de todas las leyes penales, canónicas, civiles y de estos reynos, de mucha utilidad y provecho para los naturales de ellos, pero para todos en general,* Sevilla, 1613.]

(134) [Un libro] de a quarto yntitulado guerras de Ynglaterra. [Mayolino Bisaccioni, *Guerras civiles de Inglaterra, trágica muerte de su rey Carlos,* Traducción del toscano al español por D. Diego Felipe de Albornoz, Madrid, 1658.]

(135) Otro libro del mesmo tamaño de Ymprenta y atitulado Seneca Ympugnado. [Alonso Núñez de Castro, *Séneca impugnado de Séneca en questiones políticas y morales,* Madrid. 1650.]

(136) Otro del mesmo tamaño yntitulado Eraclito y democrito. [Antonio López de Vega, *Heráclito y Demócrito de nuestro siglo . . . ,* Madrid, 1641.]

(137) Otro del mesmo tamaño yntitulado Viaje del Ynfante Cardenal. [Diego de Aedo y Gallart, *Viaje del infante cardenal Don Fernando de Austria, desde 12 de abril 1632 que salió de Madrid con . . . Felipe IV, su hermano, para la ciudad de Barcelona, hasta 4 de noviembre de 1634 que entró en la de Bruselas . . . ,* Antwerp, 1635; *Viaje y guerras del Infante Cardenal . . . hasta vientiuno de setiembre de mil seiscientos treinta y seis,* Barcelona, 1637.]

(138) Otro libro del mesmo tamaño yntitulado Arte de Ynjenio. [B. Gracián, *Arte de ingenio, tratado de la agudeza en que se explican todos los modos y diferencia de conceptos,* Madrid, 1642.]

(139) Otro del mesmo tamaño aforrado en tabla maltratado, que tiene por principio Regy Seculoris inmortalis y su autor Arias Montano que todo esta en verso latino con estampas. [Benito Arias Montano, *Regi Seculor. Inmortali S. Humanae Salutis Monumenta,* Antwerp, 1571.]

(140) Otro de octavo yntitulado experiencias de amor y fortuna. [Francisco de Quintana (pseudonym, Francisco de las Cuevas or de la Cueva), *Las experiencias de amor y fortuna,* Madrid, 1626.]

(141) Otro del mesmo tamaño yntitulado herrores selebrados. [Juan de Zabaleta, *Errores celebrados de la antigüedad,* 1653.]

(142) Otro del mesmo tamaño yntitulado Estebanillo Gonzales. [*Vida y hechos de Estevanillo González, hombre de buen humor*, Antwerp, 1646.]

(143) Otro yntitulado Juguetes de Quebedo. [Francisco Gómez de Quevedo y Villegas, *Juguetes de la niñez y travesuras del ingenio*, Madrid, 1633.]

(144) Otro del mesmo tamaño yntitulado Estilo de Cartas. [Possibly Gaspar de Tejada, *Estilo de escreuir cartas mensajeras . . .*, Zaragoza, 1547; Juan de Leras, *Estilo de escrivir cartas*, Zaragoza, 1569; Tomás Gracián Dantisco, *Arte de escribir cartas familiares*, Madrid, 1589; Juan Vicente Peliger, *Formulario y estilo curioso de escrivir cartas missivas*, Madrid, 1599; or Juan Páez de Valenzuela y Castillejo, *Nuevo estilo y formulario de escrivir cartas misivas y responder a ellas*, Córdoba, 1630.]

(145) Otro del mesmo tamaño yntitulado Letras humanas. [Diego de Agreda y Vargas, *Lugares comunes de letras humanas*, Madrid, 1616.]

(146) Otro del mesmo tamaño yntitulado Arte poetica. [Probably Juan Díaz Rengifo (Diego García Rengifo), *Arte poética española*, Salamanca, 1592.]

(147) Otro del mesmo tamaño Yntitulado Marco Bruto de Quebedo. [Francisco Gómez de Quevedo y Villegas, *Primera parte de la vida de Marco Bruto*, Madrid, 1644.]

(148) Otro del mesmo Tamaño Yntitulado, digo que no tiene Titulo por estar dos foxas cortadas de el Principio Manuscrito, Y en la Primera foxa dice la Pasion de Xpto Señor Nuestro &a. y pasadas tres foxas empiessa lo foliado hasta el numero 101 y despues hay Tambien dos foxas manuscritas.

(149) Un libro de Comedias de diferentes autores. [See no. 99, *supra*.]

(150) Otro libro de a folio yntitulado Vitorias de Xpto de Loaisa. [Fray Rodrigo de Loaisa, *Victorias de Cristo nuestro Redentor*, Sevilla, 1618. See no. 85, *supra*.]

(151) Un quadernito de a octabo sin cubierta ympresso en Madrid 1656 por Fray Martin del Castillo yntitulado Propal estrapetalí. [Fray Martín del Castillo was a prolific religious writer of the seventeenth century. He became provincial of the Franciscan province of the Holy Evangel of Mexico and rector of the Colegio de San Buenaventura.]

F. *Books cited by Peñalosa, probably in the Casa Real.*[13]

(152) Curia filípica. [See no. 26, *supra*.]

(153) Solorzano. Política indiana. [Juan de Solórzano Pereira, *Política indiana*, Madrid, 1648.]

13. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 507.

(154) Practica de Monteroso. [Gabriel de Monterroso y Alvarado, *Práctica civil y criminal*, Valladolid, 1566.]

(155) Sylvestro in sum. verbo immunit. [See no. 48, *supra*.]

(156) Antonio Gomez, 3. to var. c. 2. vers. 4. [Probably Antonio *Gómez, Variarum resolutionum juris civilis communis et regii libri III*, Salamanca, 1552, and later editions.]

(157) 1. Rebuf. 2. tom. ad. leg. gallic. de immu. nuni. eccles. art. 1. gl. 1. num. 2.[14] [Probably refers to a work of Pierre Rebuffe, French jurisconsult of the sixteenth century.]

(158) Julio Claro, in prac. lib. 5. [Probably refers to a work of the Italian jurisconsult Chiaro (Clarus or Claro).]

(159) Tiber. Dec. 2. to. crali. 6. c. 28. num. 23. [Probably refers to Tiberius Decianus. *Tractatus criminalis utriusque censurae duobus tomis distinctus*, Venice, 1580, and later editions.]

III

Books Owned by Colonists

A. *Alonso de Quesada.*[15]

(160) Siete libros divinos y humanos.

B. *Juan del Caso Baraona.*[16]

(161) Cinco libros de medicinas de graves autores.

C. *Francisco Gómez de Torres.*[17]

(162) Libro de papeles de devocion.

D. *Francisco de Anaya Almazán.*[18]

(163) Un libro que se llama Curia Filipica. [See no. 26, *supra*.]

E. *Diego Romero.*[19]

(164) Librito de diferentes oraciones y devociones.

F. *Nicolás de Aguilar.*[20]

(165) Un libro intitulado Catecismo en lengua castellana y dentro del otro libro muy pequeño intitulado Instruccion para examinar la conciencia.

---

14. We are not entirely certain of our reading of this citation which appears as a marginal note.
15. A. G. I., México, leg. 25.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Biblioteca Nacional, México, leg. 1, doc. 8.
18. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 582, exp. 2.
19. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 586, exp. 1.
20. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 512, exp. 1.

(166) Un librito impreso de los quatro evangelios.
(167) Un libro pequeño aforado de tablas negras pequeñas muy viejo que al principio no tiene titulo y al medio parece ser de exercicios y consideraciones.

G. *Cristóbal de Anaya Almazán.*[21]

(168) Un catecismo y exposicion de la doctrina sancta impreso en Madrid año de mill seiscientos y cinquenta nueve.
(169) Un libro a quarto intitulado trauajos de Jesus. [Venerable Tomás de Jesús, *Trabajos de Jesús*, 1602, 1609.]
(170) Otro libro pequeño intitulado breve catecismo.

21. A. G. M., Inquisición, tomo 582, exp. 2.

Crusaders of the Rio Grande. By J. Manuel Espinosa. (Chicago, Institute of Jesuit History, 1942. Pp. 410; frontispiece, bibliog., index. $4.00.)

The final word on the tempestuous life of Don Diego de Vargas, reconqueror, recolonizer, ruler of New Mexico, appears to have been written. It is more than a biography, it is an exciting chronicle of a momentous period in the early history of the Spanish Southwest. The story is well told, and is presented in attractive typography and binding.

It is one of the curious facts of historical research, that it is unlikely that the biography of any other important figure in New Mexico history could be presented in such satisfactory detail as that of the hero of the reconquest. The reason, according to the author is this:

> It was the rule during the period of Spanish domination in America to have every document of official importance executed in triplicate, one copy remaining at the seat of local government, another going to the viceregal authorities, and the third to the royal administrators in the mother country. Consequently copies of the most important official New Mexican records were filed in the government archives of Santa Fé, Mexico City, and Madrid and Seville, Spain. These original documents, most of which have survived, are now preserved in the State Museum and in the office of the Surveyor General in Santa Fé, the Archivo General y Público de la Nación in Mexico City, the Archive of the Indies in Seville, and the Biblioteca Nacional and Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid. Since New Mexico was a Franciscan mission field, the Franciscan records of New Mexico and New Spain constitute another group of important materials for the period.

The thousands of pages of archive material filmed by Professor Lansing Bloom during his research in the Archive

of the Indies at Seville, Spain, and elsewhere, on behalf of the Historical Society of New Mexico, the Museum of New Mexico, the School of American Research and the University of New Mexico, are now housed in the Coronado Library at the University, and were available to the author, as was the abundant material in the Archivo General in Mexico City uncovered by Professor Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California, an honored Fellow of our Society.

Dr. Espinosa sifts original and secondary sources as well as published material, correlating the facts and weaving them into an authentic and fascinating narrative. New Mexico's hero, "Don Diego José López de Zárate Vargas Pimentel Zapata y Luján Ponce de León Cepeda Alvarez Contreras y Salinas, Marqués de Villanueva de la Sagra y de la Nava de Bracinas," emerges from the book a great military genius, a resourceful colonizer and an accomplished statesman well deserving of the posthumous honors paid him annually in the Santa Fé Fiesta.

Before introducing Don Diego de Vargas to his readers, the author treats briefly of the events and circumstances which set the stage for the Reconquest. "The Spanish policy looked to the civilizing of the Indian as well as to the holding of the frontier * * * it saw in the mission the best possible agency for bringing this about," concludes Espinosa. Therefore "the spiritual welfare of the natives was the dominant interest of the Spanish Crown in New Mexico in the seventeenth century. * * * Missionary success was also paid for with the blood of forty-nine martyrs. * * * The indecent manner in which the missionaries were murdered gave evidence of the contempt which many of the Indians had toward the Christian religion and the degree of paganism into which they had relapsed. At Jémez, for instance, the natives entered the room of Father Juan de Jesús in the night, seized him, stripped him of his garments, and in the light of burning candles they forced him to ride a pig through the cemetery, in the course of which he was beaten cruelly amid scoffing and ridicule. They then re-

moved him from the pig, made him get down on his hands and knees, and took turns riding on his back, beating him mercilessly to prod him on." The Franciscan was finally clubbed to death and his body thrown into the woods in the rear of the pueblo. His bones were found and identified in later years and taken to Santa Fé where they now repose in an adobe wall in the rear of the present Cathedral.

Chapter I opens with a brief review of the family background and the life of Vargas from his baptism in 1643, and his marriage in 1664 to the wealthy Doña Beatriz Pimentel de Prado of Torrelaguna, to June, 1688, when at the age of 45, he received his royal appointment as governor and captain general of New Mexico. The struggle to prepare for the reconquest which he offered to effect at his own expense, the bickering with the ecclesiastical authorities, the difficulties to gather the former settlers to accompany the expedition, are reviewed in detail.

In the chapters that follow are related vivid details of the reconquest, including the two entradas into Santa Fé and all that happened in between. It is an exciting story including incidents of treachery, fifth columnists, Quislings, propaganda, cruelty, hardship, suffering, reprisals, such as even at this day mar human history. In a four months campaign Vargas had restored "twenty-three pueblos of ten Indian tribes to Spain's empire in America and to Christianity." But it was merely a temporary conquest for the Indians soon reverted to their former state of rebellion.

The colonists who accompanied the second expedition to Santa Fé suffered greatly from continued snows and icy winds. Vargas himself was ill most of the time with chills and fever. Earlier in the year he had been thrown by his horse and lay prostrate with a wrenched knee and two hard kicks in the abdomen. Nevertheless he rode on for six leagues "where a doctor twisted his knee back into its proper position and where he spent three days convalescing." He then continued riding though in constant pain and had himself bled and purged. Of the seventy families in the expedi-

tion, twenty-seven were negroes and mestizos. The cost of outfitting was 7000 pesos and it started out with 900 head of livestock, over 2000 horses and 1000 mules. The food supply ran desperately low by the time the colonists reached Luís López, "so low that the people began to sell arms, jewelry, and horses to the Indians in exchange for grain and vegetables." It was a sorrowful picture that the conquistadores presented but for the indomitable faith and will of Vargas.

When they reached La Bajada "the faint of heart became panicky" and a number planned to desert. The ring leaders were Francisco de Ayala, Diego Grimaldos and Manuel Vargas. Food boxes were broken into and garlic and chocolate, the latter indispensable to the seventeenth century Spaniard, were stolen as well as several head of livestock, a great number of the stoutest horses, all the loose clothing handy and an extra arquebus. Besides those mentioned the deserters included Felix Aragón, Gregorio Ramírez, Francisco de la Mora, Nicolás de Espinosa, Pedro López, Pedro de Leyba, Miguel Durán, María de la Cruz, Andrés de Arteaga, Bernardo, Miguel and José Manuel Rodríguez and several others. Three were recaptured, the others made their way to Sonora and Casas Grandes. This is but a modicum of one of the most interesting and thrilling stories ever told.

Chapter headings such as "The Battle of Santa Fé," "Continued Hostilities," "Meeting the Economic Problem," "Pacification of the Pueblos," "Rebuilding Missions and Settlements," "The Struggle for Existence," "The Pueblo Revolt of 1696," "Indian Warfare," "The Road to Final Victory," "Border Politics," "The Return of Vargas," indicate the flow of events graphically delineated.

An "Epilogue" sums up the author's conclusions as to the changes in social, economic and political conditions during the years of the reconquest. He writes: "Many commentators fail to recognize the change which came over the land; generalizations which apply to the earlier era do not hold true in the same sense in the later period. * * * Hence-

forth the military phase of viceregal and provincial policy, * * * accompanied by greater emphasis upon permanent and self-supporting civilian settlements, took precedence over missionary enterprise." Further: "Eloquent testimony of Vargas' good judgment as a town founder, or refounder, was the growth of the villa of Santa Cruz commonly known as La Cañada. * * * Clear evidence that upper New Mexico was 'the bulwark of New Spain' and its advancing frontier of settlement, was the remarkable growth of the El Paso district." Finally:

"Always it must be emphasized, New Mexico was an isolated frontier community, its people living simple village and rural life. * * * In general the life of the province was the usual provincial Spanish life of far removed frontiers. Through long isolation, Spanish folk tradition became fixed." The bibliography cites the ten principal archives as well as manuscript sources together with a long list of printed works consulted as secondary sources. The index while not exhaustive is helpful. Altogether, *Crusaders of the Rio Grande* is a volume that should have a place not only in every historical library but also in every school room and home in which New Mexico traditions are cherished.

P. A. F. W.

Pichardo's Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas, III. Edited by Charles W. Hackett. (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1941. Pp. xxii + 623; bibliography, index. $6.50.)

With this volume, three-fourths of the monumental "argumentative treatise" of Father Pichardo are now available in English translation. The work will conclude with a fourth and final volume to appear later.

The first two volumes were reviewed in an earlier issue (THE NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, X, 54-57) and our criticisms then stated, both adverse and favorable, do not need to be repeated.

As Dr. Hackett explains in his preface, Volume III now

before us opens with a concluding chapter of Pichardo's Part II (which began in Vol. I and continued through all of Vol. II)—which is an exhaustive, and at times labored, dissertation on the "Plains of Cíbola" and which marshals the arguments and quoted authorities of Father Pichardo to prove that Soto as well as Coronado visited those plains. As to Soto's route, Pichardo depended wholly on secondary sources,—the works of Garcilaso de la Vega and Antonio de Herrera. Unfortunately he seems not to have had access to the account of the "Gentleman of Elvas" which is the nearest to a primary source which we have. This, with the data from Ranjel (gotten and used by Oviedo), was the basis of the Soto story as given by T. H. Lewis in *Spanish Explorers*. It is hardly fair of our editor to give the impression (p. xi) that Lewis did not pay due attention to Garcilaso's work; Lewis did, but he found Garcilaso's work too full of mistakes to be reliable. Yet surprisingly Dr. Hackett seems to regard Pichardo's work as definitive: he avers (p. xxii) that the "conclusions of the erudite cleric will . . stand the test of time and historical investigation."

Perhaps a simple test of the relative value of the authorities above cited is to ask the question: did any of the Soto expedition see buffalo? It is a remarkable and significant fact that the Elvas account makes absolutely no mention, direct or even allusive, to this prolific animal of the plains; but notice (p. 88) how the Inca is quoted:

> In all their wanderings through Florida, these Spaniards saw no cattle, and although it is true that in some parts they found fresh beef (*sic*), they never saw cows, nor could they get the Indians, either by threats or friendly advances, to tell them where they were.

Had Garcilaso stopped with a period after "cattle," he would have been correct. The rest of this quotation may be regarded as pure embroidery. Nor is Pichardo's explanation convincing, that the Spaniards failed to see them because of their migrations. He would have us believe that they were

on the plains of Cíbola all through the winter of 1541-42 and yet didn't see buffalo!

Again, in a work which depends wholly, as does the Pichardo treatise, on the copying and argumentative interpreting of source material, there are countless ways in which a factor of error may creep into the text. We call attention to a single example (p. 100) where Vetancurt is quoted as saying that to Father Escobar Don Juan de Oñate "gave possession from the Rio del Norte to the Port of Buena Esperanza, 200 leagues to the east." Apparently Vetancurt was none too clear as to where Oñate and Escobar were when that "possession" was given; Pichardo's comments make it worse; and to cap it off, some copyist or translator gives us "to the east" where Vetancurt said "to the south" *(al austro)*. Certainly the editor, Dr. Hackett, knows that, when Oñate in 1601 hoped to find a harbor in the Quivira country from which to send ships direct to Spain, he headed for the great plains *northeast* from San Gabriel. Quivira definitely was not in what later became eastern Texas, in spite of Pichardo's clever handling of his sources.

Perhaps the reader will find in the entire treatise no better example of Pichardo's tortuous reasoning than in his "Part III" which takes up most of this volume and will be concluded in the next and final volume. He begins (p. 111) with the remarkable assertion that "God himself, Creator of heaven and earth, decreed (*sic*) that rivers, whenever possible (*sic*), should be the boundaries of kingdoms, provinces, and properties." But the French, "going against that decree of God," had from the seventeenth century insisted on the conflicting principle that frontiers should follow the dividing lines between watersheds; and to avoid the spilling of blood, the Spanish monarch had, "though with grief in his heart," suffered the French encroachments which had resulted. This principle having thus been established, it should of course be observed in fixing the frontier between French Louisiana and New Spain, and Pichardo therefore accepts and warmly endorses the dividing line proposed by d'Anville,

—shrewdly ignoring the fact that this line conforms to neither the one principle nor the other. As shown by the Pichardo map of "New Mexico and Adjacent Regions" the d'Anville line as it ran northwest cut directly across the Red and Arkansas Rivers to 41° north latitude—and was extended by Pichardo due north across the Missouri River! Not only had the French been "unjust" repeatedly in trespassing beyond that line; so also was the Lewis and Clark expedition in going up the Missouri River—although supposedly that river was in the very heart of our Louisiana Purchase. It is somewhat ironic that the boundary finally agreed upon under the Adams-Onís Treaty of 1819 conformed more nearly to both the above principles than did Pichardo himself: it followed the Sabine River and long stretches of both the Red and Arkansas Rivers, and it conceded to the United States the entire watershed of the Missouri.

The fact is, as we get a more comprehensive view of the entire verbose disquisition, that Pichardo seems throughout to have had this d'Anville line as his objective. His queer ideas as to the "plains of Cíbola" and the location of Quivira are essential parts of the "build up." And there is certainly significance in the relative location of the d'Anville line and the hypothetical route by which Pichardo took Coronado far south (when he was said to be going north) into the woodland region (but still the "plains of Cíbola") of eastern Texas—without being sure that he could get him back to the Tiguex pueblos before winter set in. To Pichardo that seems to have an inconsequential detail, and his map ignores it.

Dr. Hackett has done a tremendous lot of work, excellent work, in making the Pichardo treatise available in these fine volumes for students of the Southwest. But in endorsing Pichardo's findings as "conclusive," Dr. Hackett seems to have put himself on the spot. We shall look forward with much interest to the next and final volume of his work.—L. B. B.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Hugh Stephenson and the Brazito Grant.—Since our editorial note in the April issue regarding Don Martín Amador, his daughter Mrs. Clotilde Terrazas has supplied some further details. As to Hugh Stephenson and the Brazito Grant she writes:

> It did not cost him a cent, for my great-great-grandfather, Don Francisco García de Noriega, was the owner and he made him a present of that share. Don Francisco was a multi-millionaire. He had a son named Antonio, and several other sons and daughters, one of whom was Guadalupe García de Noriega who married a Spaniard Don Agapito Albo. These were my great-grandparents.
>
> So you see, Stephenson did not buy that land. As I understand, my mother said that he was Don Francisco's Godchild—that is why he made him a present of that land.

It may be interesting to add that Don Agapito Albo of El Paso del Norte was one of the seven deputies chosen early in 1822 to constitute the first legislature of New Mexico (*Old Santa Fe*, I, 146, 164.) The El Paso district continued to be a part of New Mexico until the summer of 1824, when it was transferred to the State of Chihuahua.—L. B. B.

The Historical Society of New Mexico

(INCORPORATED)

Organized December 26, 1859

PAST PRESIDENTS

1859 — COL. JOHN B. GRAYSON, U. S. A.
1861 — MAJ. JAMES L. DONALDSON, U. S. A.
1863 — HON. KIRBY BENEDICT
adjourned sine die, Sept. 23, 1863

re-established Dec. 27, 1880
1881 — HON. WILLIAM G. RITCH
1883 — HON. L. BRADFORD PRINCE
1923 — HON. FRANK W. CLANCY
1925 — COL. RALPH E. TWITCHELL
1926 — PAUL A. F. WALTER

OFFICERS FOR 1942-1943

PAUL A. F. WALTER, *President*
PEARCE C. RODEY, *Vice-President*
LANSING B. BLOOM, *Corresponding Secretary*
WAYNE L. MAUZY, *Treasurer*
MISS HESTER JONES, *Recording Secretary*

FELLOWS

PERCY M. BALDWIN
RALPH P. BIEBER
LANSING B. BLOOM
HERBERT E. BOLTON
MARION DARGAN
AURELIO M. ESPINOSA
CHARLES W. HACKETT
GEORGE P. HAMMOND
EDGAR L. HEWETT
FREDERICK W. HODGE
J. LLOYD MECHAM
THEODOSIUS MEYER, O. F. M.
FRANK D. REEVE
FRANCE V. SCHOLES
ALFRED B. THOMAS
PAUL A. F. WALTER