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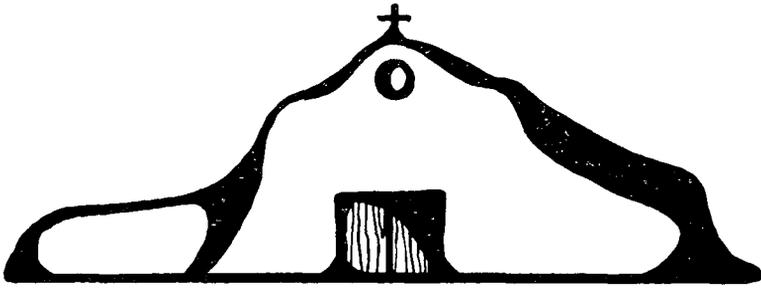
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**NEW MEXICO
HISTORICAL
REVIEW**
REPRINT

JANUARY 1942

DONALD R. VAN PETTEN
ARIZONA'S STAND ON THE SANTA FE COMPACT
AND THE BOULDER DAM PROJECT ACT

KATHARINE BARTLETT
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NECROLOGY

NOTES AND COMMENTS

IN APPRECIATION

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

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

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

Donald C. Cutter
Chairman, Editorial Board, NMHR



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

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ARIZONA'S STAND ON THE SANTA FE COMPACT AND THE BOULDER DAM PROJECT ACT

By DONALD R. VAN PETTEN

THE COLORADO River and its tributaries form a system in the southwestern part of the United States, the importance of which can hardly be over-estimated. Its potentialities for power and for irrigation are of paramount importance in the industrial life of the Colorado Basin. Seven states—Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Wyoming, and Utah—contribute in varying amounts to its flow. This vast territory may be divided into the upper and lower basins. The upper is comprised of Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, and New Mexico—states in which the vast river and the tributaries to its upper reaches rise among the mountains, where precipitation, especially in the form of snow, is heavy, and where the opportunities for irrigation are limited by the character of the terrain. The lower basin is composed of Arizona, California, and Nevada—states whose valleys possess an excellent climate and soil—where, particularly in the first two, an immense acreage is susceptible to irrigation. Of these three lower basin states, only Arizona contributes materially to the normal flow of the river. While the sources of the Colorado are all in the United States, its final channel, delta, and mouth are in territory belonging to the Republic of Mexico.

At its mouth, the river has built an immense delta from the materials eroded from the canyons, and by this means has formed a dike across the Gulf of California. This cuts

off entirely the northern end of the gulf, which forms a deep bowl below sea level, and includes the Imperial and Coachella valleys, together with a large lake at the lowest point—the Salton Sea. This body of water has an area of about 150,000 acres, and its surface is approximately 250 feet below sea level.¹

The river itself flowed down along the eastern edge of this depression, in a river bed which was being gradually built up by deposits of silt above the level of the surrounding country. In the early summer, when freshets, fed by the melting snows in the far-away mountains, came, the anxious farmer in the Imperial Valley lived under the constant apprehension of waking some fine morning to find his house and farm under water.

This catastrophe did occur in 1906, when the breaking of a main levee caused a disastrous flood which inundated 50,000 acres of farms. By 1922, due to silt deposits, the bed of the channel of the river as it flowed to the gulf was fourteen feet higher than it had been in 1906, and the levees were kept correspondingly high by the people of the Imperial Valley. Once the water poured into the valley, it could escape only by evaporation, and all the cultivated land and thriving towns would be submerged beyond hope of recovery.

The threat of such an event is realized, when it is understood that this valley is the largest single irrigated unit in the United States, and that the danger zone of the Colorado River is the home of more than 75,000 people, who have reclaimed more than one-half million acres of land, and have built more than thirty towns and villages. The value of their annual crops exceeds one hundred million dollars, and the potential value of their homes, lands and improvements is more than eight hundred millions.²

There was another unique feature of the Imperial Val-

1. Colorado River Commission of California, *The Boulder Canyon Project* (Sacramento, 1930), p. 13.

2. E. A. Hampton, "The Battle with the Colorado," *Review of Reviews*, Nov., 1922, p. 525.

ley besides its topography, which made it necessary to seek help from the national government. The main canal conducting water from the Colorado River at Yuma to the Imperial Valley, several miles to the west, crossed the international boundary into Mexico, and extended from fifty to sixty miles westward with laterals at various points which diverted water across the border again to California lands.

As a result, political and operating complications developed. The concession from the Mexican government to the Imperial Valley Water Users provided that when a foreign government became interested, the concession was automatically withdrawn, a provision that would make it necessary for another route to be chosen if the United States government became interested in the water supply for the valley. It was further required that levees be maintained on the Mexican side, and permission given by Mexican officials whenever it was necessary or desirable to transport warehouse equipment across the border; moreover, a duty was charged on each carload of rock that went across the line for the levees. There was a contract allotting Mexican soil a right to one-half of the water flowing in the main canal. It has been estimated that \$112,000,000 was spent by the Americans to maintain the levees in Mexico prior to 1922. In President Theodore Roosevelt's message to congress concerning the 1906 disaster he stated that the Imperial Valley would "never have a safe and adequate supply of water until the main canal extends from Laguna Dam."³ The problem, therefore, was two-fold: to control the flow of the river, and to settle international questions with Mexico having to do with canal and water rights. The United States government was the logical agency to undertake the solution.⁴

3. *Cong. Record*, 59 Cong. Vol. 41, Part 2, p. 1029. The Laguna Dam is several miles north of Yuma. When the canal was first built, it was considered impossible to carry it through the sand dunes which lie between the river and the Imperial Valley.

4. Winifred Smith, *The Controversy between Arizona and California over the Boulder Dam Project Act* (unpublished master's thesis, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, 1931), pp. 15-19.

THE SANTA FÉ COMPACT

The quarrel which rose between Arizona and California concerning the development of the Colorado River, was caused by political and economic rivalry. There has never been any questioning of the fact that the harnessing of the river to prevent floods, to give power, and for the purposes of de-silting was a very desirable thing, from the standpoint of both states.

Arizona always has considered the Colorado River as her greatest natural resource. For many miles, it flows through this state, and for many more miles it forms the western boundary. Although large in territory, thousands of her acres are unfit for use, and many more are in the control of the federal government as Indian reservations, forest reserves, or as federal lands. Her population is small, and her prosperity at present is dependent largely on the uncertainty of mining operations. The time is surely coming when the copper mines will be depleted. Then a change will have to be made from a mining to an agricultural economy. When that day comes, the necessity for an available supply of irrigation water and for an abundance of power for pumping and drainage purposes is imperative.⁵

Because of these facts, Arizona looked with suspicion on every move which might jeopardize her future. As far back as 1918, the Imperial Irrigation District made an arrangement with the secretary of the interior providing for an extension of the Imperial Canal to Laguna Dam, and pledged itself to build an all-American canal to the valley from that point. No construction was begun, since finances were not available. It was hoped that a board appointed in accordance with a contract between the secretary of the in-

5. Much of the material given in this paper is the result of study made by the author as a member of the Arizona house of representatives during the years 1928-1932. During the sessions of both the ninth and tenth legislatures, he was a member of the committee on agriculture and irrigation. The author is also indebted for a great deal of information to an unpublished master's thesis by Rollah E. Aston, *Boulder Dam and the Public Utilities* (The University of Arizona, Tucson, 1936).

terior and the district would report favorably for government construction of this canal.

This board did make an investigation and reported favorably on building a main canal entirely in the territory of the United States. Accordingly, the Kettner bill, providing for such a canal financed by the government, was introduced in congress in 1919. Because it did not provide for storage on the Colorado, the bill failed to pass. Congressmen did not know how adequate the water supply was, nor the number of acres susceptible to irrigation.

To obtain this data, congress approved the Kincaid Act on May 18, 1920, which provided for "an examination and report on the condition and possible irrigation development of the Imperial Valley in California."⁶ \$20,000 was appropriated by the act, and the Imperial Valley contributed \$100,000. The secretary of the interior was directed to conduct the investigations, and to make recommendations as to the feasibility of constructing a dam on the river. He was to report in detail the character and probable cost and the best location for such storage works.

Albert B. Fall of New Mexico conducted the investigation and made the report on February 22, 1922. Referring to the opposition he met with in various quarters, he stated that it had been delayed not only by "physical limitations but by human considerations."⁷ He had personally gone to San Diego, California, to hold hearings so that free opportunity might be given for the expression of different views. Mr. Fall stated that he concurred most heartily in the recommendations of the report, which were in part:

That the United States construct a high-line canal from Laguna Dam to Imperial Valley, to be reimbursed from the lands benefited.

That the government undertake the construction of a reservoir at or near Boulder Canyon to be

6. Ralph L. Griswell, "Colorado River Conferences and Their Implications," *Colorado River Development and Related Problems*, p. 12.

7. *Letter of Transmittal*, Senate Document 142, 67 Cong. 2 Sess.

reimbursed by the revenues from leasing the power privileges incident thereto.

That the Secretary of the Interior be empowered to allot the various applicants their due proportion of the power privileges and to allocate the costs and benefits of a high line canal.⁸

It might be remarked here that the Boulder Canyon damsite was not utilized in building the present Hoover or so-called Boulder Canyon Dam. It is located at the mouth of the Black Canyon. Officials of the Imperial Irrigation District reported that the selection was made by government engineers.⁹

The states concerned with the development of the river early realized that differences would arise, and that it would be best to settle those differences among themselves. One of the agencies for this purpose was the Southwest League, which emerged as a permanent organization from a conference of representatives from the seven states called by the governor of Utah in January, 1919, for the purpose of discussing the utilization of water from the Colorado River and its tributaries.¹⁰ This organization believed that the development of the resources of the Colorado River basin was basic for the future progress and prosperity of the southwest.

At one of its meetings in Denver during August, 1920, representatives from Arizona and California presented a resolution which the league passed, in which it was stated that the questions inherent in the development of the Colorado should be settled by a compact between the interested states, and that the legislatures of the states should authorize the appointment of a commission to enter into such a compact. This agreement would then be ratified by the

8. *Ibid.*, p. 21.

9. Black Canyon is nearer the mouth of the river than Boulder, and consequently nearer the metropolitan district of southern California where much of the market for power was to be found. This was a sore point with Arizona objectors who felt that much more Arizona land could be brought under irrigation if the dam were placed at Boulder—higher up the river.

10. Reuel L. Olson, *The Colorado River Compact* (Boston, 1926), p. 12.

various state legislatures and by the congress of the United States. The next year, the legislatures and the congress gave approval to the plan. In May, 1921, the various governors of the interested states requested President Harding to name a chairman of the proposed commission, and he proposed Herbert Hoover.

Santa Fé, New Mexico, was decided upon as the place of meeting, and June, 1921, as the time. The sessions of the Colorado River Commission extended over a period of nearly eighteen months, and were attended at various times by all the governors of the interested states except one, and all their attorneys-general.¹¹ On November 24, 1922, a compact was signed, subject to the ratification of the seven state legislatures and of congress.

In general, it was found that the interests of the lower basin states encroached on those of the upper basin. It was felt that the lower basin states would be able to develop their irrigable lands faster than the upper basin states. According to Supreme Court decisions the beneficial use of water establishes a priority right to its use against a later encroachment, regardless of state boundaries. To protect themselves, the upper basin states desired the compact to guarantee them a fixed amount of water, regardless of prior appropriations.

It was so arranged. The water of the river was divided between the upper and lower basin rather than among the several states, the dividing point being Lee's Ferry, one mile below the mouth of the Paria River.¹² This plan, adopted to avoid the long wrangling which would have resulted from any attempt to apportion the water among the states, was suggested by Mr. Hoover and Mr. Delph Carpenter of Colorado.

The division of water was based on data showing an

11. Herbert Hoover, "The Colorado River Problem," *The Community Builder*, March, 1928.

12. Olson, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

annual average flow of 17,400,000 acre feet.¹³ Article III, paragraph (a) of the compact apportioned to each of the basins, 7,500,000 acre feet, while paragraph (b) gave the lower basin the right to increase its beneficial use of water by 1,000,000 acre feet per year. Since the annual run-off of the river, measured at Yuma, has varied between 10,100,000 and 26,000,000 acre feet during an eighteen year period,¹⁴ it was stipulated that the states of the upper basin would not cause the volume of water flowing past Lee's Ferry to be less than a total of 75,000,000 acre feet for any period of ten consecutive years. It was further provided that if Mexico received any right to further supplies of Colorado River water by treaty, such water was to be supplied from the unapportioned surplus. But if this proved insufficient, the upper and lower basins were to bear the deficiency equally. The agreement was to remain in force forty years, but might be changed by unanimous consent of the same authority by which it was drafted.¹⁵ A bill for approval of the compact was introduced in congress December 18, 1922, but did not get out of committee. By the end of January, 1923, the compact had been ratified by all the interested state legislatures, except that of Arizona.

THE OPPOSITION OF ARIZONA

In the absence of precise data, there was general apprehension in both California and Arizona that the water supply of the Colorado would be inadequate to irrigate all the land which was susceptible. As early as 1916, Mr. E. C. LaRue, an authority on the Colorado River question, after reviewing certain investigations and surveys of the river made by the government, confirmed such a fear. Additional data collected by Mr. LaRue and others in recent years seem to indicate that this conclusion is correct.¹⁶

13. An acre foot of water is the amount of water necessary to cover one acre to the depth of one foot.

14. Senate Document 142, 67 Cong., 2 Sess., p. 220.

15. Olson, *op. cit.*, p. 40. Time later changed to fifty years.

16. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-111.

Arizona, as the weaker in wealth and population, felt that if there were not enough water for both states, she would be compelled to sacrifice her interests for those of California. Accordingly, Arizona's opposition to the compact dates from the first proposal for the division of water between the two basins rather than among the states severally. Arizona's water commissioner, Mr. W. S. Norviel, who represented Arizona at Santa Fé, felt that the water to be allotted to Arizona should be settled beyond question by the compact, and cast the only negative vote when the division between basins was proposed.¹⁷ However, he was finally won over, and a unanimous approval was given.

During the long period of the deliberations of the commission at Santa Fé, the republican governor, Thomas E. Campbell of Arizona, had been defeated for re-election by the democrat George W. P. Hunt. The latter, in presenting the compact to the legislature for action, mentioned the fact that Mr. Norviel had been an appointee of Governor Campbell, and called attention to the lack of information on the acreage in Arizona which potentially might be irrigated from the Colorado. He emphasized the need for taking plenty of time in considering ratification, as he felt that the future of the state was at stake. The legislature failed to ratify the compact by the margin of one vote.

This action did not indicate that Arizona was in opposition to the development of the river. She was most eager for it. But she felt that her only bargaining power to obtain an equitable supply of water, was to withhold her approval until the question was settled satisfactorily. At this time there was no suspicion that work of such magnitude would be undertaken without the unanimous approval of all states interested, especially in view of Arizona's great stake in the river.

Forty-three per cent of the Colorado River was in Arizona, and only two per cent in California. Thirty per cent of

17. Olson, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

the water of the river was contributed by the former, and practically none by the latter. Therefore, Arizona felt that after 300,000 acre feet for Nevada had been subtracted¹⁸ from the allotment to the Lower Basin, the remaining 7,200,000 acre feet should be equally divided between Arizona and California.

This demand seemed to California unreasonable. She countered with a proposal first to divide the water on the basis of three-fourths for herself. Another question complicated the picture. Arizona had already developed a large irrigated acreage on the Salt and Gila rivers, tributaries to the Colorado. This system yielded an annual beneficial use of 2,700,000 acre feet of water, and this was used as the basis for California's claims to the major portion of the allotment under the compact. Later, she reduced her demand to two-thirds, not counting the already developed water on the Gila water shed.¹⁹

In addition to a demand for a more equitable division of water, Arizona asked that the basis for the division of the revenue from the sale of power at the dam be determined, since most of it was being demanded by California at bargain prices. Another point contended for by Arizona was the right to tax the wholesale power sold from the powerhouse at the dam.²⁰ She further demanded that a treaty be made with Mexico definitely limiting that country's rights to water from the Colorado. Under the compact, she feared that if drought should come and the share of Mexico be unavailable from the upper reaches of the river, she would

18. This was the maximum demand of Nevada, since that state had only a limited amount of land susceptible to irrigation from the Colorado.

19. Thomas Maddock, *Reasons for Arizona's Opposition to the Swing-Johnson Bill and Santa Fe Compact* (Phoenix, 1927).

20. Arizona contended that congress had admitted the sovereignty of states over their own waters in the Federal Water Power Act, passed in 1920. The provisions of that act prohibit the use of the public lands by the federal government for building power dams unless a permit from the states in which the land is located is secured. Maddock, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

have to contribute the water she had developed and stored in her Gila irrigation system.²¹

With so many vital questions left unsettled by the compact, subject to adjudication after the development of the river had been begun, it is understandable why Arizona refused to sign until some agreement had been reached. However, it is difficult to understand why she refused to accept compromises which were offered her when she possessed the whip-hand in negotiations, before the Swing-Johnson Bill was passed.

EFFORTS AT AGREEMENT

In 1923, Arizona proposed to California and Nevada a tri-state agreement supplemental to the Santa Fé Compact, to settle the questions in dispute; but for two years, California refused to discuss the matter. At last, however, a tri-state conference was arranged for December 1, 1925, but no agreement could be made.

In August, 1927, the governors of the upper basin states called a conference at Denver for the purpose of settling the differences between Arizona and California which were delaying the development of the river. The governors of all the states concerned were in attendance, together with the various Colorado River commissioners, Interstate Water commissioners, and various advisors. The main discussions revolved around four questions: the division of water among the lower basin states, the amounts that might be claimed by Mexico, the rights of states to the banks of rivers within or bounding their territory, and the division of power revenues.

The problems concerning Mexico and the ownership of river banks were settled, as far as that conference could settle them, to the satisfaction of Arizona's delegation.²² No final determination was made with respect to the division of water. At first, California asked for 4,600,000 acre feet of

21. See Arizona Colorado River Commission, *Colorado River, International Problem* (Phoenix, 1938).

22. First Report of the Colorado River Commission of Arizona, Eighth Legislature, Fourth Special Session, *Document No. 1*, p. 5.

the water allocated to the lower basin, and offered to guarantee to Arizona the remaining 2,600,000 acre feet, after subtracting 300,000 for Nevada, and the waters of her tributary streams.²³ Arizona rejected this proposition, whereupon the governors of the upper basin states proposed that the share of water to California be 4,200,000 acre feet, to which the delegates from Arizona tentatively agreed.²⁴ They insisted on the use of language which would remove all doubt as to her responsibility for supplying Mexico from her stored water, and upon the insertion of a clause giving to California and Arizona equal rights to all unallotted water in the main stream of the river. However, California rejected this proposal, giving as her reason that such an arrangement would amend the existing Santa Fé Compact, and the pending Boulder Dam Project Act.

A final effort was made to settle questions amicably on a seven state ratification basis in February, 1930, at a conference held in Phoenix. California made the following proposals:

To Nevada, 300,000 acre feet of water. Utah and New Mexico to have all water necessary for use on areas of those states lying within the lower basin.

Arizona to have all waters of the Gila system and her other tributaries, excepting such water as reaches the main stream, also her present uses from the main stream, within the state.

California to have water now diverted in California for agricultural and domestic use in California.

Balance of water in main stream to be divided one-half to Arizona and one-half to California.

Mexican obligations to be met one-half by Arizona and one-half by California from main stream water.

23. Griswell, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

24. When the Swing-Johnson Bill was proposed, the Bratton amendment divided this difference and allotted to California a total of 4,400,000 acre feet.

All other points to be left to determination of the Secretary of the Interior, under the Act.²⁵

Arizona rejected this proposal, on the ground that the question of power was not settled, but was left to the adjudication of the secretary of the interior, who at that time was Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur of California, who, Arizona felt, would be prejudiced in his decision.

Mr. Charles Ward, chairman of the Colorado River Commission of Arizona during this conference countered with a twelve point power program meant to clarify the power situation which had become quite muddled. The Boulder Canyon Project Act had been so much amended to meet the questions in dispute between the states, that many of its provisions conflicted. However, California refused to agree to this program, although it contained nothing prejudicial to her rights. But by this time, the Boulder Canyon Project Act had been passed by congress, and there was no need for California to recede an inch from the position she had taken.

A great deal of enmity was generated between the two states. In Arizona, this was fanned by politicians who desired to remain in office, or gain elections, through their offer to "save the Colorado." A California congressman publicly announced his intention of introducing a measure in congress to restore Arizona to the status of a territory on the ground that she had violated the conditions under which her admittance to the union was authorized.²⁶ Governor Hunt of

25. Colorado River Commission of the State of California, *The Boulder Canyon Project* (Sacramento, 1930), p. 45.

New Mexico has certain rights to water on the Upper Gila River. However, those rights are even now in the courts for adjudication. It was probably not those lands to which reference was made since Arizona was offered "all the waters of the Gila system and her tributaries," but the small amount of territory in northwestern New Mexico draining into the Little Colorado, which in turn flows into the Colorado below Lee's Ferry, and thus comes in the Lower Basin.

26. The congressman referred to the well-known fact that President Taft vetoed congressional action admitting Arizona to the Union on the ground that her constitution permitted the recall of judges. To meet this objection, Arizona deleted this provision, was admitted, and immediately, by proper action of her electorate, amended the new constitution so that recall of judges was again permitted.

Arizona said at one time that his sense of outrage no longer permitted him to discuss the Colorado River calmly and dispassionately, and a Yuma paper quoted him as saying: "I'll be damned if California will ever have any water from the Colorado River as long as I am governor of Arizona."²⁷ He suggested to Los Angeles that if they needed water to drink, they could sip from the ocean which was next door to them.

THE BOULDER CANYON PROJECT ACT

After the feud between California and Arizona had raged for several years with no signs of abatement, certain responsible men began to canvass the possibilities of proceeding without waiting for complete agreement. Mr. Delph E. Carpenter of Colorado suggested to Mr. Hoover that a six state pact might be made, with Arizona privileged to sign whenever she cared to do so.²⁸ On this basis in 1925 Nevada, Colorado, Wyoming, New Mexico, and Utah ratified a six state compact, but California, after repealing the seven state compact ratification, made concurrence in the six state agreement subject to the declaration of the president of the United States that congress had authorized the construction of a dam on the main stream of the Colorado River at or below Boulder Canyon, of at least 20,000,000 acre feet storage capacity and further that congress had exercised its powers "to make the terms of the said Colorado River Compact binding and effective as to the waters of the said Colorado River."²⁹

In 1927, Utah decided to repeal its approval of the six state compact, but later was influenced to adhere to its original action, and eventually, all the states concerned, except Arizona, signed a six state agreement.

During all of this time, there was pending in congress a bill known as the Boulder Canyon Project bill, or the

27. Griswell, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

28. Olson, *op. cit.*

29. Grace Kight, *The Santa Fé Compact* (unpublished master's thesis, University of Arizona, Tucson, 1927), p. 29.

Swing-Johnson bill. It had been introduced on April 15, 1922, by Representative Swing of California, and it embodied the main features of the recommendations made by the investigating committee headed by Secretary Fall. The purposes of the legislation were given as follows:

1. To regulate the lower Colorado River and control the floods therein.
2. To provide storage for irrigation.
3. To secure the development of electrical power.
4. To provide homes for honorably discharged ex-service men.
5. To authorize the construction of an all-American canal.

It authorized the secretary of the interior to lease power privileges and to make allocation of power generated according to his judgment. But he was instructed to give preference to applications for power from political subdivisions. No proposed interstate agreement was mentioned in the bill, but section 9 read:

That nothing in this act shall be construed as limiting, diminishing or in any manner interfering with any vested rights of the states above said reservoir, or of the citizens of said states, to the use, within the Colorado River watershed, of the waters of said Colorado River.³⁰

Although this bill was sponsored in the senate by Hiram Johnson, and was recommended by the interior department, there was, it was felt by Arizona, little likelihood of its passage until an interstate agreement had been reached. In view, too, of the vast sum of money necessary for the work, it was expected that searching study of the problem would delay action for some time.³¹

On January 12, 1926, the interior department again

30. *Hearings*, H. R. 11449, Pt. 1, 67 Cong., 2 sess., p. 1.

31. On March 17, 1924, Dr. Hubert Work, secretary of the interior, reported that since the passage of the Kincaid act in 1920, the reclamation bureau had expended more than \$350,000 and other governmental agencies more than \$2,000,000, in the observation, survey, and study of the Colorado River.

recommended that the Swing-Johnson bill be enacted. In his message of December 6, 1927, President Coolidge advised that development proceed, and on January 21, 1928, the interior department again submitted its approval to congress.³² After a long and bitter fight, with the congressional delegation from Arizona fighting against passage, the Swing-Johnson bill, the sixth of a series of bills, passed both houses by a large majority, and was approved by the president on December 21, 1928.

The provisions of the act differed from those first stated in the bill. Two new purposes for the project were given: to provide for a domestic water supply, and to improve navigation.³³ The secretary of the interior was authorized to carry out the provisions of the act subject to the Colorado River compact which required ratification by California and five others before the act would become effective. California was required to limit her annual use of water to 4,400,000 acre feet, plus half of the surplus waters unappropriated by the compact. Provision was made for a possible later agreement among California, Nevada, and Arizona, which, if it agreed with seven conditions stipulated, would not require a re-ratification by congress.

The provisions regarding power were as follows: The secretary of the interior was given permission to lease the water for generating power at the switchboard, or to build and lease the power plants. It was stipulated that the power should be sold comparably with the cost of power elsewhere in that area. Preference was to be given states in the bidding for power, but private corporations were specifically mentioned as possible contractors for electrical energy.

The total appropriation for the project, which called for a dam 550 feet high, creating a storage for 26,000,000

32. Hiram Johnson, *The Boulder Canyon Project*, 70 Cong., 1 sess., p. 14.

33. This seemingly ridiculous motive had been added to give the United States jurisdiction over the bank of the Colorado in Arizona. It is true that in pioneer days, boats had plied on the Colorado. But none had gone above Yuma after the diversion dam had been built there to divert the waters into the canal of the Imperial Valley Water Users. Arizona fought this point bitterly.

acre feet of water, a power plant of 1,000,000 horse power installed capacity, and an all-American canal, was \$165,000,000. This money was to become available when the secretary of the interior had procured contracts for the sale of power which would return sufficient revenues for all operating expenses, maintenance, and the repayment within fifty years from date of completion, of the original cost with interest.

On June 16, 1930, Secretary Ray Lyman Wilbur stated that all the conditions necessary for obtaining the appropriation had been met. He had signed two contracts: one for "lease of power privilege executed severally by the City of Los Angeles and the Southern California Edison Company, Lt.," and another "for electrical energy executed by the Metropolitan Water District of Southern California." In addition, a contract was made with the latter organization, "for the delivery of water to be stored in the Boulder Dam reservoir."³⁴

The secretary allocated the power as follows:

State of Arizona	18%
State of Nevada	18%
Metropolitan Water District of Southern California, for pumping domestic water from river	36%
City of Los Angeles	13%
Eleven smaller cities	6%
Four Public Utilities serving farmlands ..	9%

As some of these agencies could not make immediate use of the power assigned to them when it became available, and since the act specified that firm contracts should be made prior to making the appropriation available, certain rearrangements had to be made. It was found that the sale of 64% of the firm energy would provide the government an adequate revenue. The City of Los Angeles and the Southern California Edison Company underwrote 37% and 27% respectively of the firm power; but the two contractors

34. Wilbur and Ely, *Hoover Dam Contracts* (Washington, 1933), p. 575.

acquired title to only 13% and 9%, as had been allotted to them. The smaller municipalities were allowed one year to arrange for contracting for their 6%, but Arizona and Nevada were given the entire period of fifty years to contract for their 36%.³⁵ The contracts with the City of Los Angeles, the Metropolitan Water district and the Edison Company were closed on April 26, 1930, and provided for a revenue of \$327,000,000.³⁶ The rates obtained were 1.63 mills per kilowatt-hour for firm energy and .5 mill per kilowatt-hour for secondary energy, both delivered at transmission voltage.³⁷

Even after the bill had passed congress, the opposition of Arizona did not cease. The secretary of the interior made several efforts to bring the lower basin states into harmony. Conferences were held in March and June, 1929, with no success. The conference held in Phoenix in February, 1930, has already been mentioned. On May 14, 1930, Secretary Wilbur sent a stinging rebuke to Arizona in answer to criticism of Governor John Phillips, that the contracts had been awarded "hastily."³⁸

In 1930, at the second session of the seventy-first congress, the Arizona congressional delegation fought against the first appropriation for the Boulder Dam Project. Through fear of a filibuster, with time for adjournment near, amendments were made to the power contracts which met some of Arizona's objections.

Arizona's fight was now transferred to the courts. On October 13, 1930, after decisions of the attorney general and comptroller general had been made against Arizona's position, that state sought an injunction in the supreme court of the United States, asking that the Boulder Canyon Project Act and the Colorado River Compact be declared "inoperative and unconstitutional." The bill of complaint

35. *Ibid.*, p. 601.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 536.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 605.

alleged a violation of the sovereign rights of Arizona in the construction of a dam which would divert waters from the state for consumption elsewhere. It also denied that the stream was navigable, declaring that the purpose of improving navigation as given by congress was a "subterfuge and false pretense."

On May 18, 1931, the suit was dismissed, the court rejecting every point of the complaint. It was held that by historical evidence the river was navigable, and therefore the erection of a dam and reservoir was clearly within the powers conferred on congress.³⁹ It was also decided that Arizona had no basis of complaint against the Colorado River Compact, since she was not a signatory to it, and therefore not bound by its provisions. With regard to the interference with her rights by California and the other defendants, the court ruled: "There is no occasion for determining now Arizona's rights to interstate or local waters which have not yet been, or which may never be, appropriated."⁴⁰

This decision effectively halted further opposition by Arizona. In her fight on the Compact and on the Swing-Johnson Bill, Arizona did not stand alone.⁴¹ For a long time Utah was opposed to the plan of development. In congress, she had the assistance of many Eastern representatives, who are notoriously loathe to vote appropriations for improvements in the West. One may wonder why the Swing-Johnson Bill passed against such powerful opposition. Commenting on this matter, Professor G. E. P. Smith of the irrigation engineering department of the University of Arizona said that "if the whole narrative of the plotting, the political

39. Opinions of the Supreme Court of U. S., *Arizona vs. State of California, et al.*, cited in Wilbur and Ely, *op. cit.*, p. 665.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 673.

41. When work began on the Parker-Gila dam site for the purpose of diverting water into the Metropolitan Aqueduct which carries water across the mountains to the metropolitan district around Los Angeles, Dr. B. B. Moeur, then the governor of Arizona, called out the militia to prevent any work on Arizona soil. But after congress had specifically authorized this project, the soldiers were called home.

chicanery, the fallacious propaganda, the blunders and the reprehensible coercion shall ever be written, it will read like a succession of chapters in *Les Misérables*.”⁴²

42. G. E. P. Smith, *An Equitable Basis for Solution of the Colorado River Controversy* (Tucson, Ariz., 1925), p. 6.

NOTES UPON THE ROUTES OF ESPEJO AND
FARFAN TO THE MINES IN THE
SIXTEENTH CENTURY

By KATHARINE BARTLETT

IN 1540, Coronado's expedition penetrated the unknown territory of Arizona and New Mexico. From Hawikúh in the Zuñi country, the leader sent Tovar to visit the Hopi villages, and a few weeks later, Cárdenas to see the great river of which the Hopis told. The routes taken by these daring explorers from Hawikúh to Hopi have been established and seems to coincide reasonably well with the Indian trail between these two points.¹

Arizona was not again visited by the Spanish until 1583, for the best route from Mexico to the populous Pueblo villages in the Rio Grande valley was found to be from southern Chihuahua rather than up the west coast of Mexico as Coronado had come. In 1582, Antonio de Espejo set out from Valle de San Gregorio with fourteen companions. The expedition was organized ostensibly for the purpose of rescuing two friars who had remained in New Mexico after the Rodríguez expedition of the previous year, but the Spaniards were really more interested in prospecting. They went down the Conchos River and up the Rio Grande to the Pueblo of Pualá, where they found that the friars had been murdered. However, the members of the company decided to continue their explorations. In the course of time Espejo and nine companions arrived at the Hopi villages, where they heard about some mines further west. The leader and four others determined to visit the place and set out with Hopi guides. Their itinerary is given below.

In 1595, Juan de Oñate was awarded a contract for the conquest and settlement of New Mexico. Not until nearly three years later was he allowed to start north, with his

1. Bartlett, Katharine. "How Don Pedro de Tovar discovered the Hopi and Don García López de Cárdenas saw the Grand Canyon, with Notes on their Probable Route." *Museum of Northern Arizona, Plateau*, Vol. 12, No. 3, Jan., 1940.

soldiers and colonists, with their loaded carts and live stock. They arrived at the Tewa pueblo of San Juan in August of 1598, and shortly thereafter, Oñate set out to receive the submission of the Indians in the name of the king. Coming from Zuñi to the Hopi villages, he heard about mines off towards the west. He sent his Captain of the Guard and of the Horses, Marcos Farfán de los Godos, with eight companions and Hopi guides to visit these mines.

The mines to which Espejo and Farfán went have been a subject of some speculation among historians for many years. Though all the other portions of the routes of these explorers seem clear enough, the position of the mines has often been imagined. In 1888, Bancroft published his *History of Arizona and New Mexico*,² in which he indicated that Espejo had found the mines in the region of Bill Williams Mountain, near Williams, Arizona. Farfán, he thought, might have gone to the same region previously explored by Espejo.

In 1916, Bolton's *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706* was published.³ Here are given translations of Espejo's own narrative regarding the trip to the mines and the official testimony of Farfán of what he saw. Bolton believed that both the men had traveled to the western part of Arizona, Espejo reaching the Bill Williams Fork, and Farfán the Big Sandy, which is the northern branch of that river.

The journal of Diego Pérez de Luxán, a narrative of the Espejo expedition, was translated and edited by Hammond and Rey and published in 1929.⁴ They pointed out that

2. Bancroft, Hubert H. *History of Arizona and New Mexico*. The Bancroft Co., New York, 1888.

3. Bolton, Herbert E. *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706*. Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York, 1916.

(a) Account of the Journey to the Provinces and Settlements of New Mexico, 1583, by Antonio de Espejo, pp. 163-195.

(b) The Oñate Expedition and the Founding of the Province of New Mexico, 1596-1605, pp. 199-280.

4. Hammond, George P. and Rey, Agapito, translators and editors. *Expedition into New Mexico made by Antonio de Espejo 1582-88, as revealed in the Journal of Diego Pérez de Luxán*. Quivira Society, Los Angeles, 1929.

Espejo could not have covered the distance to western Arizona in the time at his disposal and that he probably went to the Verde Valley. This assumption is undoubtedly correct, for the Spanish description of the mines (which were copper mines), is identical to the description of the Indian workings, which were found when the United Verde was incorporated in 1883. The Spanish description of the country in the vicinity of the mines corresponds exactly to the region of Jerome at the present time. The United Verde Copper Company has now been mining at the site for fifty-eight years, and long ago destroyed the ancient workings.

Hammond and Rey were not familiar with the country and the route they selected for Espejo to travel is almost impossible. Granting that Espejo and Farfán went to the same place, which seems likely, and that the mines they visited were identical with the United Verde of today, what were the routes which they might have traveled to arrive there?

Geography of the country

Between the Hopi villages and the Verde Valley there are a number of geographical features that interfere with the ease of one traveling over the route. First one descends a long gradual slope to the Little Colorado Valley and ascends a long slope on the other side; then comes an abrupt ascent of 600 feet, leading to Anderson Mesa. On the west side of this plateau is a cliff of 2000 feet whence a gentle slope leads to the Verde River.

Near the foot of the Hopi Mesas are areas of sand dunes, which soon give way to a grassy region with occasional juniper trees, especially in the Moqui Butte Region. The grassy area extends to the Little Colorado river, and is very waterless from twenty to thirty miles back from the river. After crossing the river another waterless area is found, of the same width.

Towards the southwest appears the escarpment called Anderson Mesa, which swings towards the northwest and

merges into the volcanic area about the San Francisco Peaks. A long gradual slope, grassy in its lower reaches, with pinon and juniper higher up, and cut by deep limestone canyons, leads from the river to the edge of the escarpment or to the San Francisco Mountains. Upon ascending the Mesa, which is about 600 ft. high, a vast pine forest extends away in all directions. It is about twenty miles wide, northeast to southwest, at its narrowest point and runs unbroken from the vicinity of Williams in a southeasterly direction into New Mexico. On this plateau, occasional springs and small shallow lakes are found. The whole area is covered with old lava flows and cinder cones. The lava flows are badly eroded and the ground cover alternates between heavy clays and weathered lava rocks, the "malpais" which is so bad for both man and horse. The clay, when wet, is bottomless and unspeakably sticky.

To the southwest of the pine belt is the Mogollon Rim, a cliff about 2000 ft. high, which extends unbroken from a point south of Williams, southeasterly to the White Mountains. This cliff is a great barrier to travel, for except in a few places where lavas from the plateau have flowed down over it, it is most hazardous and difficult to descend. Below this, fertile valleys with flowing streams lead to the Verde River. The valleys are separated from one another by low ridges covered with juniper in the higher parts and prickly pear, mescal, and beargrass below.

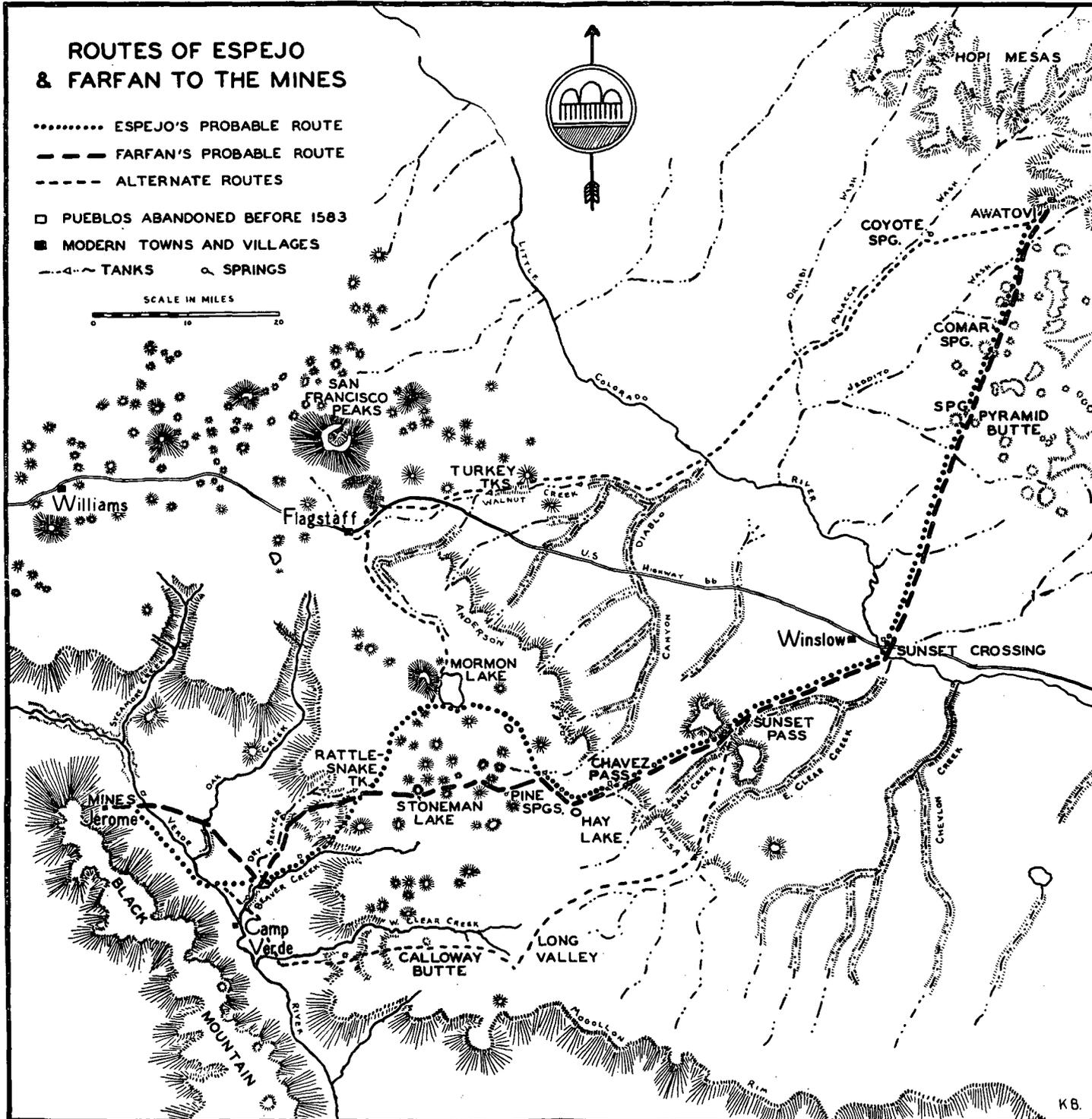
Route 1 from the Hopi Villages to the Verde Valley

At the present time, old Hopis can remember having gone to the Verde Valley over the old trail. This trail ran from the Hopi villages directly southwest to near Winslow (in the early days called Sunset Crossing), passing occasional small springs on the way. The Little Colorado was crossed at this point and a direct line made for Sunset Pass. This is an opening about ten miles from the river between two prominent lava capped mesas called Table Mountain and Sunset Mountain. Salt Creek Canyon with deep pools of

ROUTES OF ESPEJO & FARFAN TO THE MINES

- ESPEJO'S PROBABLE ROUTE
- FARFAN'S PROBABLE ROUTE
- - - ALTERNATE ROUTES
- PUEBLOS ABANDONED BEFORE 1583
- MODERN TOWNS AND VILLAGES
- - - TANKS ○ SPRINGS

SCALE IN MILES
0 10 20



water runs between the two mesas. Here the trail left the canyon and headed more west for Chavez Pass, a small canyon leading up to Anderson Mesa. At this point a seep spring was encountered. A gently sloping valley leads upward to a large shallow lake, called Hay Lake. There the trail turned northwest to Jay Cox Tank, then west to Pine Springs. Here a ridge of volcanic cinder cones must be crossed, where the vegetation is dense with pines, Douglas Fir and aspen trees on the north slopes of the hills. Within a few miles, Stoneman Lake was reached, a beautiful small lake in the bottom of an old crater. A long gentle slope extends towards the west, and in a nearby canyon is Rattlesnake Tank. The long slope, old lava flows covering the high red cliff bordering the Verde Valley, leads down to Beaver Head, a point at which the canyon of the Dry Beaver opens out at the foot of the cliffs. From this point one can (1) follow down the Dry Beaver southwest to its junction with the Beaver Creek (sometimes called the Wet Beaver), (2) go south over a gentle ridge to Beaver Creek, or (3) proceed directly westward down grassy ridges to the Verde River. The distance from Awátovi to the mines by this route is 152 miles.

It is likely that the route described is a very old Indian trail, for in the 1300's the last remaining pueblos of north central Arizona must have been joined together by it. There were occupied pueblos close to the present Hopi towns; then on the Little Colorado were Homólovi, northeast of Winslow, and Chevlon at the mouth of Chevlon Creek, a few miles up the river. Chavez Pass Pueblo, Kinnikinnick Pueblo, and Grapevine Pueblo were on the eastern border of Anderson Mesa. In upper Beaver Creek, the pueblo at Montezuma's Well was occupied, and Montezuma's Castle near the mouth of that creek also flourished. On lower Oak Creek and along the Verde as far north as Tuzigoot, were several large pueblos. The yellow pottery then made by the Hopi was traded in great quantity to all these other pueblos as far as the Verde, so intercourse between the towns must have been

constant. Moreover, there were no other pueblos then extant, for the large pueblos around the San Francisco Mountains had been abandoned for fifty years or more.

When the American explorers came into Arizona in the last century, they used the same routes. Lieutenant J. C. Ives, traveling without guides from the Colorado River to Fort Defiance, tried to go across country from the mouth of Canyon Diablo to the Hopi towns but was unable to find water. He turned back and followed the Little Colorado up to Sunset Crossing, where he found a well marked Indian trail leading northeast. This he followed and arrived at the Hopi villages in two and one-half days.⁵

At a later date, when military posts were established at Camp Verde and Fort Apache, one of the wagon roads followed this old trail from Sunset Crossing to Chavez Pass, Stoneman Lake, Beaver Head and Camp Verde.⁶ The old ruts and deep blazes on the trees can still be seen.

Route 2

A route from Awátovi to the mouth of Canyon Diablo, on the Little Colorado, could be easily followed, passing springs such as Coyote Springs in the Polacca Valley, and following down that to its junction with the Oraibi, then proceeding west to the river. Crossing the river, the north side of Canyon Diablo can be followed to its junction with Walnut Creek, then to Walnut Tank, and Turkey Tanks (Cosnino Caves), where the yellow pine forest begins; and from there, leaving the canyon, and going westward to the foot of Elden Mountain, close to Flagstaff, where there are springs. This was the route taken from the mouth of Canyon Diablo to Flagstaff by Whipple in 1853-54,⁷ and Beale in

5. Ives, Lt. J. C. Report upon the Colorado River of the West. *Senate Ex. Doc.* 36th Congress, 1st Session. Washington, 1861, pp. 117-119.

6. Wheeler, Lt. Geo. M., *Preliminary Report of Explorations and Surveys South of the Central Pacific R. R., principally in Nevada and Arizona.* Washington, 1872. Map.

7. Whipple, Lt. A. W. "Route near the 35th Parallel. Vol. III of Reports of Explorations and Surveys to Ascertain the most practical and economical route for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean." *Senate Ex. Doc.* No. 78, 33rd Congress, 2nd Session. Washington, 1853-54, pp. 78-82.

1857-58.⁸ Crossing low ridges south of Flagstaff, Clark Valley, the upper valley of Walnut Creek, is entered, and leads almost to Mormon Lake. From this point it is not far to Stoneman Lake, where the yellow pine forest ends, and the descent to Beaver Creek can be made via Rattlesnake Tank as in the previously mentioned route. The distance is 172 miles from Awátovi to Jerome over this route.

Route 3

By following the old Hopi trail to Sunset Pass, and then the south side of Salt Creek Canyon, one arrives on Anderson Mesa. Turning southwest, one can follow up long ridges, heavily forested with yellow pine, and cut by many side canyons, to various water holes and small lakes such as Lost Eden, Little Springs, and so arrive at Long Valley.

From Long Valley it is possible to proceed westward, crossing south of the headwater tributaries of West Clear Creek, to Calloway Butte, Salmon Lake, Thirteen Mile Rock, down a canyon, and thence down long ridges to the crossing of Clear Creek near the mouth of that stream, then up the Verde to the mines. This is an arduous road, for from the east edge of Anderson Mesa to Thirteen Mile Rock there is a yellow pine forest very dense the greater part of the way, for the altitude is about 7,000 to 8,000 ft. and the rainfall is very great so close to the rim. There are innumerable ridges and washes to cross, with but few landmarks. By this route the distance from Awátovi to Jerome is 160 miles.

When Camp Verde and Fort Apache flourished as military posts, General Crook's wagon road between these two points followed this route from Camp Verde to near Long Valley.

8. Beale, Edward F. "Wagon Road from Fort Defiance to the Colorado River." *House Ex. Doc. No. 124* 35th Congress, 1st Session, Washington, 1858, pp. 47-50.

ITINERARY OF ESPEJO'S TRIP TO THE MINES
(ABBREVIATED FROM LUXAN'S NARRATIVE,
EDITED BY HAMMOND AND REY)

<i>Date</i>	<i>Leagues</i>	
April 30 1583	5 l.	We left the Pueblo of Aguato ⁹ for the mines, taking along with us the necessary guides. We marched 5 leagues to a waterhole which was insufficient for the horses, ¹⁰ so they were two days without water. We named this place El Ojo Triste.
May 1	10 l.	Marched two hours before daybreak. We halted midway for a siesta. Reached a fine and beautiful river, almost as large as the Del Norte, containing many groves of poplars and willows. River flows from south to north. ¹¹ It is settled by a warlike mountain people.
May 2	6 l.	To a deep stream where there are many large pools of rainwater which would be sufficient for a whole year. ¹² This route is rich in abundant pastures and cedar forests. The cedar bear a fruit the size of hazel nuts which are somewhat tasty. ¹³
May 3		Remained at the same place.
May 4	6 l.	Went through a mountain ¹⁴ dense with cedar forests and ash trees. ¹⁵ We found many water

9. Aguato is Awátovi. This pueblo was destroyed by the Hopis in 1700, and never again occupied.

10. Farfán's account described a similar spring at the end of the first day's march. It could be Comar Spring or Pyramid Butte Spring, or any others in the Moqui Butte Region.

11. The Little Colorado River.

12. Deep pools of this description are Sunset Tanks, permanent water holes in Salt Creek Canyon. They also describe Turkey Tanks on Walnut Creek.

13. Hammond and Rey, page 105, footnote 125, state that there must be an error in the text and that pinyon trees with edible nuts must have been meant. However, Mr. A. F. Whiting, curator of botany, Museum of Northern Arizona, points out that at least two species of junipers with large single-seeded edible berries flourish in this area. These are *Juniperus utahensis* and *uniperus monosperma*. Some berries remain on these trees well into the spring.

14. "Through a mountain" may describe entering Chavez Pass Canyon, which leads to Anderson Mesa. There are many cedars and pinyons in this locality.

15. Ash trees is a misnomer, as there are none to be found in this area. The most common deciduous tree is the oak.

THE ROUTES OF ESPEJO AND FARFAN 29

Date	Leagues	
		holes and small ciénagas. ¹⁶ We stopped by a beautiful and large ciénaga which was 2 leagues in circumference, surrounded by numerous pines, cedars, and many waterpools which can be utilized for irrigation. ¹⁷ This region is inhabited by a mountain people because it is a temperate land.
May 3 &	7 l.	Traveled through a very broken and rough mountain, with bad roads and very dangerous in an enemy country. ¹⁸ We descended a slope so steep and dangerous that a mule belonging to Captain Espejo fell down and was dashed to pieces. We went down by a ravine so bad and craggy that we descended with difficulty to a fine large river ¹⁹ which runs from northwest to southeast. ²⁰ The river is surrounded by an abundance of grapevines, many walnut and other trees. It is a warm land and there are parrots. ²¹ The land is rather warm than cold. This river we named El Rio de las Parras.
May 6		We found a ranchería belonging to mountainous people who fled from us. We saw plants of natural

16. Water holes and ciénagas well describe such places as Jay Cox Tank, Hay Lake, Cow Lake, etc. The lakes are very shallow even when full.

17. A ciénega 2 leagues in circumference would be at least five or six miles around, a very large lake for this region. Mormon Lake is the only one this large, and it is surrounded by yellow pines and cedars. To the east of it are many small lakes. As this was in May after the winter snow had melted, every lake and pool would be full.

18. The region between Mormon Lake and Rattlesnake Tank is full of cinder cones and weathered lava flows, and it is rough. The forest is thick and would have been dangerous, because they could not see an enemy approaching.

19. If they went southwest from Rattlesnake Tank area directly to Beaver Creek they would have had to go down one of the short steep tributary canyons. Such a canyon would be two or three miles in length. They arrived at a large river, which could be Beaver Creek.

20. The directions appear to be wrong. Perhaps they should be northeast to southwest.

21. When one descends the plateau to Beaver Creek, there is a very noticeable change in climate. Today there are many winter Dude Ranches along this valley. Parrots could have been *Rhynchopsitta pachyrhyncha*, the Thick-Billed Parrot, which is not there today, but inhabits similar locations in southern Arizona and northern Mexico.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Leagues</i>	
		flax similar to that of Spain, and numerous prickly pears. ²²
May 7	6 l.	We reached a cienaguilla which flows into a small water ditch and we came to an abandoned pueblo. ²³ We marched at times close to the Parras River. ²⁴ Mountainous people who had fled awaited us near the said river. They had crowns of painted sticks on their heads, and jícaras of mescal and pinyon nuts and bread made from it. ²⁵ They gave us metals as a sign of peace and many of them came to show us the mines. In this locality we found many peaceful rustic people. They had planted maize. We named this <i>ciénaga</i> that of San Gregorio. ²⁶
May 8	4 l.	We left this place and marched 4 leagues to the mines and discovery on which we had gone. Midway we found a large and copious river which flowed from north to south, which we called El Rio de los Reyes. ²⁷ Close to it was a <i>ciénaga</i> into which flowed a stream of water. Rustic people with crosses on their heads waited for us. Many of them came with us to the mines which were in a very rough sierra; ²⁸ so worthless that we did

22. In upper Beaver Creek, prickly pears are a prominent feature of the vegetation even today.

23. Mr. Erik K. Reed of the U. S. National Park Service at Santa Fé has suggested that this could be Montezuma's Well with its famous ditch. The water from the Well is heavily impregnated with lime from the Verde Limestone, and the sides of the ditch (made by pueblo people several hundred years previous to this) are coated with travertine. It is a prehistoric ditch, petrified. Beside the Well, is a large pueblo ruin, and there are many others down the valley.

24. They appear to be following down the river, though not always in the valley.

25. Mescal and pinyon grow on the south-facing slopes of the plateau and not in the valley itself.

26. This was probably a swampy place along the river. They appear to have followed down the river to the vicinity of Montezuma's Castle and then turned northwest.

27. This was the Verde River.

28. The mines are located on the east side of Black Mountain, five or six miles from the river. Farfán says that it was at a good height, but one could go to it on horseback.

THE ROUTES OF ESPEJO AND FARFAN 31

<i>Date</i>	<i>Leagues</i>	
		not find in any of them a trace of silver, as they were copper mines and poor. ²⁹ So we determined to return to the camp at once.
May 9		Left this place, returned to Aguátovi and on the 17th arrived at Alona.

ITINERARY OF FARFAN'S TRIP TO THE MINES (ABBREVIATED FROM BOLTON, P. 240 ff.)

Nov. 17 1598	6 l.	From the first pueblo of Moki, ³⁰ Farfán set out with eight companions and traveled 6 leagues west through a land of sand dunes without timber. Where they camped, they found a small spring, where the horses could not drink although there was plenty of water for the men. ³¹
Nov. 18	3 l.	Set out west, and came to a river which flowed towards the north, of moderate width, carrying considerable water, with many cottonwoods, level banks, and little pasture. ³²
	3 l.	Further in the same direction, to the slope of a mountain range, where they camped without water. ³³
Nov. 19	2 l.	Arrived at a grove of small pines and at a very deep pool, which was ample to water all the horses, and more too. ³⁴
	2 l.	Along a mountain range, which was covered with

29. Espejo's own account says that the mines were rich. (See Bolton, p. 187.) Silver is found with the copper, the modern workings show.

30. First pueblo of Moki was Awátovi, where they obtained Hopi guides.

31. Compare Luxán's description of the first night's camp.

32. This was the Little Colorado. It is important to remember that prior to 1880, when the modern period of over-grazing and erosion started, the Little Colorado was a permanent flowing stream lined with cottonwoods and willows, and with many beaver dams.

33. As there are no mountain ranges close to the Little Colorado, it is possible that they approached Sunset Mountain, one of the lava-covered mesas forming Sunset Pass.

34. See footnote 4. Sunset Tanks fits this description better than Turkey Tanks, because at the latter place large pines (yellow pines) are found, as well as small ones. In the entry for Nov. 20th, Farfán carefully distinguished "large, tall pines."

<i>Date</i>	<i>Leagues</i>	
		snow. They camped on a slope where was found a small amount of grass for the horses, but no water. ³⁵ Two of the Indians whom they were taking as guides said there was water very near there. Also a camp of Jumana Indians. They called this <i>Ranchería de los Gandules</i> . ³⁶ These Indians were sent back to their own <i>rancherías</i> to reassure the rest of the people that they (the Spaniards) were not going to injure them, and wanted to find out where they secured the ore.
Nov. 20	2½ l.	To said <i>ranchería</i> which was deserted. Two chiefs and a woman received the Captain and gave them pulverized ores and a great quantity of ground dates (<i>datil</i>), and a few pieces of venison. One chief agreed to go with them to show them where the ore came from.
	6 l.	Left <i>ranchería</i> , going up a smooth hill. Reached a plain and a very large pine grove with many large tall pines, which is the beginning of the mountain range, all of which was covered with snow which reached to the knees. ³⁷ They traveled where the pine forest begins. Traveled about 6 leagues along the mountain range, and at the end of this distance they found a rather low valley without snow and with very good grass, water, and wood, where they spent the night. ³⁸

35. Luxán says "thru a mountain." I believe this was Chavez Pass. The north-facing slope would be snowy, for they describe eighteen inches or two feet of snow further on.

36. This water was perhaps Hay Lake. The country around is open and grassy. The camp of Jumana Indians seems to have been temporary, for Farfán sent them back to their *own* *rancherías*. Also these people appear to have come from the region towards which the Spanish were progressing. They were probably Yavapai.

37. Turning westward at Hay Lake, one soon comes to a

38. This was one of their longest day's marches. In Bancroft, 1888, p. 139, footnote, the translation is given that they traveled "6 l. in mountains to Agua de Valle." This fits the terrain much better than "along the mountain range." At this point they were traversing the high ridge of cinder cones between Pine Springs and Stoneman lake. The elevation is about 7,500 ft. If they followed down the lava flows to Beaver Head, they would have reached a low valley without snow and with water, grass, and wood.

THE ROUTES OF ESPEJO AND FARFAN 33

<i>Date</i>	<i>Leagues</i>	
Nov. 21	2 l.	They came to a ranchería (Ranchería de los Cruzados), where they found a chief and about 30 Indians, stained with ores of different colors. The chief of this ranchería accompanied them.
	3 l.	They set out from it and traveled through a land of pine groves, with the finest pastures, many cattle, very large prickly pears, and many and large maguey patches, where they saw Castilian partridges, a great many deer, hares, and rabbits. ³⁹ They came to another ranchería where the Indians gave them powdered ore, mescal, and venison. They camped there on the bank of a river of fair width and much water, with good pasture and a cottonwood grove. ⁴⁰
Nov. 22	4 l.	The chief of the last ranchería consented to take them to the mines. Having traveled 4 leagues through very fine fertile land with extensive pastures, they came to another river, wider than the first, where they spent the night. This river flowed almost from the north. ⁴¹ They crossed it.
Nov. 23	2 l.	Having traveled 2 leagues further they came to another river, much larger, which flowed from the north. They crossed it. ⁴²
	1 l.	They went one league further to the slopes of some hills, where the Indian chief said the mines were whence they got the ore. And arriving at the slopes of the said hills, the banks of the said rivers could be seen, with deep ravines having the finest of pastures and extensive plains. ⁴³ As it

39. This is similar to Luxán's description (see footnote 19), only even more descriptive of the region of the Beaver Creek area near the foot of the plateau. The cattle he mentioned might have been antelope.

40. They appear to have followed down the Dry Beaver to its junction with Beaver Creek, where they camped on the bank.

41. Turning northwest from the mouth of the Dry Beaver they would come to lower Oak Creek. The best crossing is near the present site of Cornville, above the deep canyon which forms directly below. Here also the stream flows north and south, before emptying into the Verde.

42. Continuing towards the mines, they would soon arrive at the Verde River, a stream larger than Oak Creek and flowing from the north.

43. This describes exactly the view as one ascends the slope to Jerome.

Date Leagues

Nov. 24.

was late, they camped that night on the slope of these hills, at a spring of water which issued from one of them, very large and carrying much water almost hot.⁴⁴

Six Indians from different rancherías in these mountains joined him and took him up to the said mine, which was at a good height, although one could go up to it on horseback, for these Indians had opened up a road. Here they found an old shaft, three estados in depth (16½ ft.), from which the Indians extracted the ores for their personal adornment and for the coloring of their blankets, because in this mine there are brown, black, water-colored, blue and green ores. The blue ore is so blue that it is understood that some of it is enamel. The mine had a very large dump, where there were many and apparently very good ores which are the ones which have been enumerated.⁴⁵

The vein is very wide and rich and of many outcrops, all containing ores. The vein ran along the hill in plain view and crossed over to another hill which was opposite, where they took from twenty to thirty claims for themselves and for the companions who had remained at the camp as a guard for the Señor governor.

Vein of San Francisco—14 to 15 claims

Vein of San Gabriel—14 to 15 claims

Vein of Guérfanos—10 to 12 claims

The veins are so long and wide that half of

44. Bolston said, p. 244, footnote 3, that the hot spring might be the clue to the location. However, as far as I know there is no hot spring near the mines now.

45. Compare the following description of the mine as set forth in 1884 by Patrick Hamilton. He was describing the properties of the United Verde, and said: "The Chrome South (one of the claims) adjoins Eureka on the East. Traces of old dumps, shafts, and tunnels have been found on this claim showing it to have been worked in the past. Stone hammers and other implements of the same material have been uncovered in the old workings and portions of the vein show it to have been stoped by the ancient miners in the manner in vogue at the present day." Patrick Hamilton, *Resources of Arizona*, 3rd ed. reissued and enlarged. A. L. Bancroft & Co., San Francisco, 1884.

Date Leagues

the people of New Spain can have mines there. At a quarter of a league, half a league, or a league, there is a very great quantity of water from said rivers and spring, where many water mills can be constructed, with excellent water wheels, and water can be taken out with the greatest ease.

Near to the very mines themselves, are enormous pines, oaks, mesquites, walnuts, and cottonwoods, and as has been stated, great pastures and plains and fine lands for cultivation.⁴⁶

Dec. 11

They had returned to Cibola and gave their testimony concerning the trip. This was two and one-half weeks after they first arrived at the mines.

I am inclined to believe that both expeditions followed the first route outlined. Both had only a short time to spend on the trip and would therefore have chosen the shortest and easiest route. Moreover, it was business, not pleasure, that took them this long way, and they did not waste time in sightseeing. Espejo's expedition was in May and Farfán's in November. They could hardly have chosen poorer times for crossing Anderson Mesa, for at both these seasons it is muddy and walking is poor. They would have wished to get over this bad part as quickly as possible. If Espejo had gone via Turkey Tanks, Flagstaff, and Mormon Lake, the distance over the mud and malpais would have nearly doubled.

Farfán might have continued southwest from Sunset Pass to Long Valley, and thence west to the mouth of Clear Creek. This is possible since he mentions three rivers: first, where he camped (though he says nothing of crossing it), which could be Clear Creek; second, one flowing from the north, the Verde. This would mean that he crossed the

46. Pines and oaks grow on top of Black Mountain, and mesquites, walnuts, and cottonwoods in the valley bottom. The valley is wide and has fine cultivated fields on both sides.

Verde below the mouth of Oak Creek, which does not fit with his statement that the mines were only a little over one league from the point of crossing the river. They would be at least two or three leagues away. Moreover, in November, with snow on the ground, the route over the plateau would have been long and tedious, up and down ridges, and through the very thick forest. Near the Rim, the precipitation is greater than it is at points further north, and anyone who knew the country would try to avoid it in winter.

As to the possibility that Espejo may have descended to the Verde via Oak Creek or Sycamore Creek, as suggested by Hammond and Rey, knowledge of the country indicates it would be impossible. If one descended Oak Creek near the head of the canyon, it would be very precipitous, and one would arrive at a fine river, but it would be a long and weary way through the thick growth in the bottom of the canyon until one arrived "at a warm land" where prickly pear flourished. The same can be said for Sycamore Canyon, except that it has no permanent flowing river in it, only occasional pools. In either case, Espejo would not have passed any lake two leagues in circumference, only very small lakes such as Rogers Lake.

LONDON TO SALT LAKE CITY IN 1867: THE DIARY OF WILLIAM DRIVER

Edited by FRANK DRIVER REEVE

INTRODUCTION

THE MIGRATION of the Mormons to the sagebrush plains of Utah is too well known to require extensive comment. The story has been written often, with praise and condemnation for both the leaders and the community. The following pages contain the account of a Mormon's trip across sea and plain to the new Zion, in the Pioneer era of Utah, or before the building of the transcontinental railroad. It is written in simple language, and with little knowledge of those rules of composition that plague contemporary students, but it gives an intimate insight into the experiences of thousands of European immigrants who made possible the building of the America that we know today.

The narrator, William Driver, the son of George and Mary Killingworth Driver, was born at Bury St. Edmund, county of Suffolk, England, May 3, 1837. His boyhood days were spent in the village of Feltwell, Norfolk county, and were probably quite similar to those of most English boys except in regard to religion. At the early age of fourteen his thoughts were troubled by the problem of religion, and after several visits to Methodist meetings and contact with Mormons, he joined the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

About the year 1854 Mr. Driver went to London, probably through the influence of his father, a carpenter and small-scale contractor, who died of consumption there two years later. His time became divided between interest in church work and the necessity of making a living. As a traveling elder for the church, he preached in the Kent and London conferences, the regional units for missionary work, during 1856 and 1857. For the next several years he was employed in the laboratory of Price's Patent Candle Com-

pany of London and took advantage of the opportunity to study pharmacy, or chemistry as it is termed in England. Meanwhile, he suffered a loss in the death of his mother in 1857, for whose care he had felt considerable responsibility. On August 16, 1858, he married Charlotte Emblem Boulter, a native of Hastings, Sussex.

The motive for emigrating to Utah was probably a combination of religious zeal and an opportunity for economic betterment. After arriving in Salt Lake City, Mr. Driver had the not uncommon experience of a pioneer in struggling to realize something tangible from the lure of the New World. He worked for the Deseret Telegraph Company in building a line from Franklin, Idaho, to St. George, Utah. Employment was also secured as a teamster for bringing immigrant families from the plain, and in some form on the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad. Next he became cashier for the drug firm of William Godbe & Company of Salt Lake City. At the end of two years he was sent to take charge of their branch business in the railroad boom town of Ogden, often referred to as the Junction City. Later, in 1871, he established himself in business with Doctor C. S. Nellis, operating under the firm name of Driver and Nellis. He bought out his partner after two years, and in 1878 his son George was taken into the business under the firm name of Driver & Son. They eventually owned four stores, located in towns north of Ogden and in Montpelier, Idaho.

Mr. Driver was ordained to the office of a Seventy, or elder especially commissioned for missionary service. With his business successfully established, he returned to England in 1879 to carry out his new responsibility. His trip was rounded out with travel in Scotland and France. At home again, he took an active part in the public affairs of the city and was elected councilman in 1886, and was sent as a delegate to the state constitutional convention in 1895.

For several years Mr. and Mrs. Driver won the prize at the Pioneer Day celebration for having the largest number

of children in Weber county. Only seven lived to adulthood, but they and their children were quite sufficient to overflow the eleven large, high ceiling rooms of the new mansion, the usual symbol in America of material success, on the occasion of family gatherings.

Enjoying a cigar in the front porch rocking chair in the evening, and a glass of ale with cracker and cheese at bedtime, Mr. Driver lived long enough to see a town grow from a village, and to feel that he had taken part in a worthy movement. At the age of 83 he passed away quietly in his Ogden home. Three years later Mrs. Driver followed him, taking forever that precious Victorian purse in the pocket of the third petticoat, and the pennies that grandchildren bought treasures with at the corner store.

Name of Ship "Caroline"¹

Tonnage 1130

President of Company

S. H. Hill

Councillors

W. W. Raymond, J. S. Fullmer

Number of Passengers 350

Port of London

Sailed 5th May 1866

Stewards

J. L. Dolton, T. S. Friday

Clerk, W. Foulger

Thursday

May 3rd 1866. Went with my Wife to the London Docks to see the Packet Ship Caroline, Bound for New York, received telegram from Bro Thurber notifying myself and Family to be ready to sail by this Ship on the 5th of May.

4th Friday

At home disposing of Goods & Preparing to start for the Docks, great difficulty in clearing out, Met with an accident, The Cart convey-

1. The diary was written without punctuation or correct capitalization of words. Commas and periods have been inserted for the convenience of the reader. The original spelling has been retained throughout. It is particularly difficult to distinguish between the capital and small letter *s* in the mss., and between *T* and *F*.

The diary is now in the possession of Mrs. George Steinbach, San Gabriel, California, granddaughter of William Driver, and daughter of Mrs. W. B. Pearson (Ida May Driver).

ing our luggage broke at the tail and threw Ellen, Willie² & my Brother John with great violence to the Ground, also Broke a Box that fell with them, afterwards went on and arrived at the Docks about 8 oclock P M.

Sunday May 5th

Towed down the River Thames by a Steam Tugg, passed the Nore Light ship at 10 [minutes] to 5 P M, very calm, attended A Meeting on Board, I was appointed to preside over the 3rd Ward, The company being divided in 7 Wards. Instructions were given to be observed for the preservation of health among the passengers, one important item keeping the Gangways Thoroughly Clean by scraping & Having Berths kept well aired and striving to demean ourselves so that nothing tending to immorily [immorality] be made manifest, That Gods blessings might be with us on our journey across the Ocean.

Appointed Times for different Wards to Cook, also time for Prayer in the various Wards. Wallace Foulger Clerk of Meeting.

7th, 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, We were beating about making little Headway against a strong Head wind.

12th. Gale still blowing, very Wet and Foggy Weather, our Good Ship lost her Course and before The Pilot Discovered our position We were within a few Rods of South side of Isle of Wight,³ We lost a Yard and Sail, several ropes snapped like Thread, we tacked ship and anchored at the "Motherbank," A providential Escape from Shipwreck. My Willie very Sick, My Wife sick with Rhumatics, Myself from a Severe Cold. Nearly all on Board Very sick, a Boisterous Week.

Sunday 13th

Monday at Anchor all day, attended on Willie who is very sick indeed, some said he would die, a report of his Death circulating over The ship, a Calm Day.

Monday 14th

A slight breese, left the anchorage and Sailed past Isle of Wight. Afternoon very Calm. Willie little better, my Wife still very sick with Rhumatics, attended Willie all night.

2. William Charles, the fourth child, born December 26, 1863, at Wandsworth, Surrey (now a part of greater London), died at sea May 21, 1866.

Ellen Barbara was the third child, born July 27, 1862, at Battersea, London. She married John James Reeve of Ogden, Utah, and died in San Francisco, California, in 1935.

3. The Isle of Wight lies close to the south-central coast of England and shelters the entrance to Portsmouth and Southampton.



WILLIAM DRIVER

Tuesday 15th

A good breeze blowing all day from the East, Sailing about 8 Knots an Hour, passed Falmouth, afternoon off the Welch⁴ Coast. The Doctor said Willie was better but it is no Miracle. Wife very sick.

Wednesday 16th

Passed Lizard Point⁵ at 1/2 past 7 oc P M on Tuesday. This Morning we have a strong Wind Blowing from the East. Willie slept better. Myself afflicted With severe cold in the Head. 1/4 past 4 P M hauling anchors on Deck, in the Evening 30 past 8 Some person came to companion Ladder and rose the cry of Fire in Cooks Galley —attending Willie.

Thursday 17th

Attending Willie all Day, left at Night without a light, Willie very Sick, strong breeze lasting all Day, Sailing about 10 Knots per Hour. Captain Ordered Galley Fire to be extinguished at 6 oc P M.

Friday 18th

Morning again quite calm weather, ship rolling very much, made but little progress today, attending on Willie all Day who have been very restless, my Wife better in Health, myself suffering from severe cold, Nelly [and] George⁶ well. Wind getting up slightly, making about 3 Knots an Hour, then again lulling us almost still, a Sister confined Yesterday. Bro Hill gave me Portwine for Willie. Just pumping ship, a strong wind sprung up lasting all night. Willie very restless, I got but little or any sleep.

Saturday 19th

Morning a good breeze blowing from the East, sailing along first class, Wind increasing, blowing a Gale and Raining, Taking in Canvass. Poor Willie is getting very weak, Wife sick, George, Nelly and myself pretty well, but begin to feel quarmish, Several on Board are very seasick, nothing to give our dear Baby to suck but cold tea and Sugar. Willie has been very restless all night, This morning life is very Weak, wind blowing strong all night. Those who come to sea should be very careful to bring with them as many comforts as possible, especially for the children such as Arrow root,⁷ Soft Biscuits,

4. This was really the coast of Cornwall, the southwestern county of England.

5. The Lizard is the southern-most tip of England on the coast of Cornwall.

6. George William, the first child, born August 9, 1859, at Brighton, Sussex. He married Mary Luenna Farr of Ogden, Utah, and died at San Diego, California, in 1936.

7. Arrow-root: a nutritive starch plant, valued especially for children and invalids.

Port Wine, Brandy, Preserved Milk, Sherbet, & This from bitter experience.

Sunday 20th

Morning Wind blowing strong all day, great signs of stormy weather. Poor Willie very Bad all day, nearly worn out myself, Wife Poor, others of Family pretty well. 1.30 P M to day a large French ship passed us Homeward Bound, in the Night went for Wife to come to Willie, I thought he was dying, rallied a little afterwards. Sea very rough, Ship rolling, The roughest night since we came on Board.

Monday 21st

Morning very rough, ship rolling fearfully, just threw me of [off] a stoll and broke a Glass Tumbler. 2 oc P M ship still rolling fearfully, Pots, Dishes, Pails, Provision Thrown across the Gangways in promiscus Heaps creating great confusion amongst the Passengers. A Child of Bro Cox's from London has just Died. The Lord has still spared my Dear child For which Blessing unto me I do hope to Live to Praise Him. Another fearful Lurch, Tins flying in every direction. Pro Cox's child was burried at 8 oc P M. Willie my Dearest Child was very ill all night untill 7.30 a m when he was released from his Sufferings, God bless his dear Soul, how he suffered, he came to his death Through Mr. Poulters Cart breaking on St Anns Hill, Wandsworth, Surrey, England. Oh how I mourn This great affliction, O Lord help me by thy power to bear it as from thy Hand and stimulate me to help more nobly and faithfully serve Thee and may I live to prepare to meet Him in a Happier and better World with his dear Sister Elizabeth Maryann⁸ and at The Ressurrection of the Just may I be there to meet them, O God grant these blessings in the Name of Jesus. My Wife is much cut up.

Tuesday 22

Weather fair, Ship rolling very much, afternoon saw my Dear boy sown in canvass by first and second Mates, he was burried at 7 P M, Captain Adey read the Burial service, in Latitude 48 Deg 22 min North, Longitude 20-12, on Monday May 21st 1866, he was born Dec 26th 1863 at Wandsworth, he was a fine intelligent boy, God bless him, peace to his slumbering ashes. He was taken from our berth by order of Docter into the Forecastle, a most unfit place where he took cold as he laid opposite the Hatchway, his spine was injured and he had a malignant sore Throat. The Dr Told me had he been on Land he might have recovered!! A beautiful Day, Wind nearly due East, Cooks galley on Fire. No cooking this afternoon, a strong 3/4 Wind blowing which lasted all night. At the Prayer Meeting, Elder S. H.

8. Maryann Elizabeth, the fifth child, born August 28, 1865, at Wandsworth, Surrey. She married Joseph F. Burton of Ogden, and died in Salt Lake City in 1931.

Hill said it had come to his knowledge that some Person had been selling Consecrated Oil at the rate of one shilling per spoonfull and said those who had do[ne] so would be Cursed and Their Money with Them.

Wednesday 23rd

Morning a strong wind still blowing, sailing along Gaily. No breakfasts cooked this Morning in consequence of the chimney not being completed. A Bro Tracey supplied us with Water, had Coffee for Breakfast. Noon, Wind still blowing very strong, Weather very Cold. Great Dissatisfaction among the folks in consequence of their not being able to get their food cooked. Night, A good breese blowing, Public Prayers at Amidships.

Thursday 24th

Pretty good Wind blowing, much Grumbling among some of The people about the Provisions. Saw a Ship ahead of us. Yesterday a stuntsail⁹ fell down from the Mast, the sail covered those who sat on the Forecastle, much complaint against the Cooks, a light fair breese blowing, Weather Dull, just saw a Ship. 7-45 P. M good breese blowing which lasted through the Night. One of the Sailors told me he had crossed the Atlantic from Liverpool to New York Eighteen Years but never before experienced such a fine passage as We have had, The Captains Cook said he never saw such a passage although he had crossed 35 times. Bro Hill gave Orders for all open lights to be out at 9 oc P M, some were very slow to observe this.

Friday 25th

A beautifully fine Morning, a pleasant breese, Two ships in sight, all of my family feel well today, Weather very calm. Saw a steamship pass us Homeward Bound, also Two sailing ships. In the evening Cloudy, saw a seal fish. Public Prayers Amidships.

Saturday 26th

Morning a good breese blowing on our course. Family well, Cake! and coffee for Breakfast. Sister Read from Cambridge gave me Baked Flour for Polly to suck through a tube. Night very rough weather, T[oo] much so to hold Public Prayers, supposed to be near the Banks of Newfoundland, saw one ship today. Rough and Foggy Night.

Sunday 27th

Very boisterous Morning and very cold, Wind Northerly, my George overballanced and fell from the Top Berth unto the Deck. Afternoon held Meeting Between Decks, Speakers Elders Hill and T. S.

9. Stunsail or stuns'le: contraction of studding sail, a light sail set at the end of a principal square sail for steadying the ship.

Friday. A fight between to [two] sailors, one a Norwegan. A very cold Day, afternoon calm and also at Night. Prayers were offered in the various Wards.

Monday 28th

Morning Calm, Wet, and foggy. Saw a Whale, my Wife rather sick, children pretty well, also myself a cold excepting which has troubled me since I came on Board. A Brother Cook said he had received a revelation informing him that our ship will arrive in New York on Wednesday next. Becalmed on the "Banks."¹⁰ A large four Mast steamer passed us Homeward Bound, saw several Whales and Flocks of Birds. In the Evening a breeze sprung up and continued to increase in force during the Night, Rainy, cold and Foggy, some considerable Quarrelling among some Members of the fifth Ward, fog Bell ringing.

Tuesday 29th

Wind blowing hard, canvass furl'd, The jibboom¹¹ plunging into the Waters, Wheather Wet and Foggy; several porposes near ship, Fog Bell ringing. Family Well colds always excepted. We are now according to Bro Hill off the Banks of Newfoundland. A strong Head Wind blowing, Heavy sea rolling, Ship tossing very much, Pails, Tins, Barrels, People etc rolling about in beautiful confusion. Head Wind all Night. On Monday evening at 7 oc A Swiss Brothers child was committed to the Deep.

Wednesday 30th

Fine clear Morning with a strong head Wind, very cold, Heavy *swell* on, saw a shoal of Porposis, some jumped clear from the Water, during the day Wind vered round and we sailed along Firstrate untill 4 A M—When it suddenly changed ahead of us. My George fell from The Deck to the Bottom of the Hatchway. J. S. Fullmer gave Notice That some person had lost coat and Bonet and he wished That those who had found the same would bring them to him. Weather very foggy.

Thursday 31st

Morning Calm and Dull, rice boiled for Breakfast, no bread in stock, at 4 A M This Morning the Wind changed suddenly ahead of the ship, caught the sails and drove us back at the rate of 9 knots an hour. A cry of all hands on Deck—rather frightened some of the folk as the[y] felt the imme[n]ce straining of the Ship, when the wind struck her we were in great Danger of foundering. Calm most

10. The Banks of Newfoundland, famous fishing grounds for Canadian and New England fishermen.

11. Jib boom or jibboom: a spar extending forward from the bowsprit and holding the lower corner of a jib sail which is triangular shaped and the foremost sail on a ship. The jib boom could easily dip into the sea in heavy weather.

of the Day. Sundown a breeze blowing about six knots, standing with my Wife on the Forecastle to witness a magnificent sunset. Family poorly.

Friday June 1st

Calms and head Squals all Day, made little if any progress. Nelly attacked with Measles or scarletena¹²—very poorly myself. Saw one ship to day.

Saturday 2nd

Ellen very sick, Bro S H Hill gave us some Brandy and Sister Watts some saphron¹³ Which is considered good for Measles. Evening sailing with A fair Wind which have continued, Though slightly, Through the day. Bro. Hill ordered Ellen to be moved into the Forecastle. I considered it a most improper place and objected to her being removed from our berth, Dr. said its not necessary to have her removed as the decease have not Developed itself, saw A fishing Smack. Public Prayers at 8 P M, afterwards Breeze freshened and blew pretty strong at 9 P M.

Sunday 3rd

Morning Foggy and Wet with A Head Wind blowing, a Steamship passes us early this Morning. Ellen more cheerfull, very fretful Through the night. Boiled Rice for Dinner, Ellen, Wife and myself very sick. Afternoon Calm, A Fishing Boat with 15 Hands on Board passed near us. Three days sail from Cape Sape¹⁴. Public Meeting Amidship, J. S. Fullmer spoke. At Public Prayers Bro Hill threatened to suspend some from fellowship unless they repented. Saw one ship to day.

Monday 4th

An Easterly Wind blowing, stuntsails up, sailing along Gaily at 8 knots an Hour. Ellen seems a trifle better this Morning—Up all Night with her. Saw a large shoal of Porposis. Fair wind all Day. Sailors made cable ready for anchoring, expect to arrive at New York on Thursday. Ellen is progressing favourably, myself and Wife better. Fight between a sailor and second Mate. Public Prayers, Bro. Hills called on The saints to cease Backbiting. Strong Wind all night, Ship roll.

Tuesday 5th

Foggy, Wet and calm morning. Ellen Better. A ship passed near us in the Night. Foggy at Intervals, several large Crampuses¹⁵ seen,

12. Scarlatina or scarlet fever.

13. Saphron: specie of crocus, used in making a beverage for a purgative and blood purifier.

14. Cape Sable, southwestern tip of Nova Scotia Peninsula.

15. Crampus: "large mammal of the dolphin family which feeds on seals, porpoises, and smaller dolphins."

head wind all Day with a heavy swell on. Ellen Better, myself and wife very unwell. Polly extremely cross. I feel very weak and quite tired of being at Sea. Bro Dalton gave us a Can of sweet Milk for Polly. Public Prayers, saw two Ships.

Wednesday 6th

Morning very Foggy and Wet, Sea smooth as a sheet of glass, Weather very warm. Ellen little better, sailors washing Decks and Bulwarks. I shall be glad to see New York, calm nearly all day, Breesy towards evening, at 8 P M A strong head wind with thick mist. Public Prayers, Bro Hill said Towels had been stolen from the rigging and called on those who have stolen them to return them or he would call for them. Ellen and Family better.

Thursday 7th

Morning Head wind and Foggy, afterwards cleared, saw a schooner. Ellen better. Evening saw a ship, Head Wind still blowing. Public prayers, Brother Hill spoke very pointedly to those on board who had been guilty of theft.

Friday 8th

Morning calm, Yards¹⁶ squared, about 7 oc A. M. a slight breeze
16. The cross spars on the masts which support the sails on a square rigged ship. Blowing Favourable, at Noon Had some codfish for dinner, several Fishing boats lying at anchor. Ellen better. Strong Wind all last night, making good progress. Public Prayers, Bro Dolton Prayed. Wrote letters to my Brother Robert [and] Fatherinlaw.

Saturday 9th

Morning strong Wind blowing, ship rolling considerably. Captain sharpening sails to stand in towards Land which in a few hours we are expecting to see. Ellen improving very well, rested Well—serving out provisions to last three days. Saw four ships, at 3-15 P M The Pilot came on Board, in the Evening got a glimpse of Long Island. Bad Headache.

Sunday 10th June

Morning very calm, 11.30 A. M, Land ahead. My Wife very poorly, at eleven A M Pres^{at} [President] S H Hill convened a Meeting amidships at which Capt. Stephen Adey, Dr. Summerville were present. A vote of thanks was accorded them by all the Passengers. Capt Adey Briefly responded. He spoke favourably of the conduct of his passengers, said he never wished to cross with a better lot of people & & wished us continued prosperity on our Way to Utah, also Doctor Summerville briefly but favourably responded. A Vote of Thanks was given

for S H Hill president, also Votes for his councilors Raymond and Fulmer, to Stewards Dolton and Priday. Three cheers were given for each of those officers and the Meeting terminated, several sails in sight. Captain Adey has been kind to the passengers and I will say on the Part of the Crew that a more social and agreeable lot of sailors as a whole could not be met with, their conduct towards us has been all that we could expect. 3.30 P M passed Sandy Hook light Boat, We are now off the Batteries. A more magnificent sight I never Saw—at about six oc P M we cast anchor near the Mouth of Hudson River. The Medical Officer Boarded but the Captain not being ready at a moment call our examination is postponed till tomorrow at 9 oc A M. Public Prayers.

Monday 11th

Morning misty cleared off and is now beautiful, at 9 A M Weighed anchor, went down the Hudson to Castle Gardens.¹⁷ It is a place formerly a theatre appropriate[d] by the U. S. Government for the reception of Emigrants, is a very large circular building. Emigrants were laying in groups upon the boards in promiscus heaps, Men and Women without apparently any regard for decency. These were mostly German and Irish. There is a General Information Office, An Exchange, A Railway Ticket Office, also a Rostrum From which an appointed speaker gave information to Emigrants, [and] A provision Store. A pint of Milk and small loaf 20 cents. It is lighted at night with Twelve jets of Gas. We were informed previous to Landing that there were 7 thousand Emigrants before us. We are informed we might be ready to start out at 11 P M. We found it extremely difficult to reach Peck Slip, mistook our way. Weary, Dispirited and perplexed we reached the Steam Boats to steam to New Haven, Conn.

Tuesday 12th

Took Cars at Newhaven,¹⁸ reached Hartford, connecticut at 8:30 A M. Stopped an hour and Changed Cars at Springfield, Massachuset, passed Holy Oak [Holyoke?], Northampton, Granfi [Greenfield?], into the State of Vermont at South Vernon. Broke a coupling Pin. Most of Women and children hereabout are without shoes an stockings. I suppose tis for comfort. Passed Brattleborough, Dummerston, Putney @ Westminster and Mill Falls. Night in Train.

17. Castle Garden: leased by the state of New York as an immigrant station in 1855 and supervised by a board of commissioners; located at the lower end of Manhattan Island. The immigrant station was transferred from Castle Garden to Ellis Island on January 1, 1892.

18. On the Connecticut Valley Railroad.

Wednesday 13th

Luggage Train on *Fire*. Bros Bates, Pain, Tracey, Miller and others lost a great portion of their luggage, some lost nearly all they had—occurred at *St Albans*,¹⁹ met a body of British troops on the scout for Fenians at St Alexander, lost pollys police [valise?]. Polly very poorly, stopt at St Johns on the Richelieu River where some soldiers informed [me] a fight had occurred between them and Fenians,²⁰ crossed Victoria Tubular Bridge over the River St Lawrence to Montreal, Capital of Lower Canada, stop all night at St. Aoro, our best Bag of Clothes we have found burnt, company allowed us fifty-five dollars damages. Stayed in a Railway shed. Grain Trucks were provided for us to Travel in. Rain, Thunder and Lightning kept us up most all night.

Thursday 14th

In the morning at eleven oclock we moved out in the Trucks for Detroit Junction 350 miles, stopped at "Point Clare," at Lancaster and Cornwall. Met a body of Troops who were expecting a Fenian attack on Cornwall, stopped at Landing [Dickinson's Landing?] and Aultsville, Williamsburg, Matilda. Traveling all night. Saw soldiers several places on the Route.

Friday 15th

Stopped at Nappanhe, Harmonville and Belleville, fine morn. An English shilling here passes for fifteen pence Canadian. An American Dollar Green Back 66 cents.²¹ Those of us who changed our Gold at New York Did so at a great disadvantage as we found when we tendered our Greenback for provisions, in some cases they were considered Worthless. Stopped at Brighton, Coburg, passed alongside Lake Ontario and Stopped at Port Hope, a Beautiful Town on The Lake Ontario at Newcastle, arriving at the City of Toronto at 7 P. M, 333 Miles from Montreal. Left Toronto in the Evening and traveled to Sarnia, a distance of 186 miles.

Saturday 16th

Fine Morning, ribs Tender Through sleeping on the Hard boards of a jolting Car. Train *parted yesterday*, Bro Boulden was left behind about one Mile, stopped at Hamburgh, at St Marys. Bought Qt Milk for 10 cents. Arrived at Sarnia, a Town on Lake Huron, The Terminus

19. About fifteen miles south of the Canadian border and east of Lake Champlain.

20. The Fenians, or Irish Revolutionary Brother-Republics, planned to seize Canada in order to coerce Britain into granting Irish freedom. They were active along the border from 1866 to 1870.

21. The greenback sold for 46c gold in New York in January, 1865, and in December for 68c.

of the Grand Trunk Railway of Canada, at 1/4 to 4 P M, 186 Miles from Toronto, crossed The River St Clare in a steam Boat, stayed all night in the Depot, a dirty lousy place with about 1000 Germans, a set of filthy people. Took supper at an Hotel in Port Huron, Paid 50 cents Each. A German Bros Child, who was born on the Ship Caroline, Died in the Night, Port Huron in State Michigan.

Sunday June 17th

Morning Fishing in the River St Clare, since leaving London We shifted luggage at following place
 1st at New York into a steamer
 2nd into steamer at Peck Slip
 3rd into Cars at Newhaven
 4th onto Cars at Montreal
 5th into Cars at Port Huron
 6th into Cars at Chicargo
 7 into Cars at Quincey
 Wet afternoon, stopped all Night at Michigan Connection or Detroit Junction. Wet and stormy Night, slept in a first class Car.

Monday 18th

Wet Morning, left the Train to find a place to buy Milk, 20 cents for loaf, Butter 36c lb, a Lady treated me very kindly, left Detroit Junction at 12 A M, stopped at Munro [Monroe] junction, at Dexter, State Michigan, at Chelsea @ Jackson, traveling all Night.

* * *

London to G. S. L. City

Distance Table

London to New York	3500 miles
New York to New Haven	73
New haven to Montreal	400
Montreal to Toronto	333
Toronto to Sarnia	186
Crossed River to Port Huron	
Port Huron to Michigan Con	59
Conection [Detroit] Junction to Chicargo	222
Chicargo to Quincy	216
Quincy to St. Joseph	206
St. Joseph to Wyoming	170
Wyoming to G S L City	1100
	<hr/>
Approximate Distance	6465

Tuesday 19th

This morning at 6 oc A M a terrible accident brought us up suddenly, 1 Carriage 4 Wheels off, 1 ["Carriage"] Top knocked off, one side and end Broken in, 1 [carriage] Thrown across the Rail, 1 Thrown completely over on its side, we were obliged to batter in the end to get the people out, 3 Carriages off metal [the tracks] not turned over. It seems miraculous how such a castastrophe could occur and no one be seriously injured as the cars were all full of passengers. A Bro and Sister White from Paddington rece^d injuries, also a little boy of Sis Guivers, tis a distressing sight. Campt and cooked on the Railway, track cleared and we were started again at 1/2 past 12, a Lady gave me potatoes and Pork, all Persons who saw this disaster say it is a miracle²² how we escaped with our lives, brought children back to station, got humbugged with our luggage. Wife and children sitting on a Bank in the Broiling Sun. 4 Cars completely mashed. Occurred at Buchanan 189 miles from Detroit, 25 to 2, Couplin broke. Stopped at Michigan City on the shore of Michigan Lake. Passing over a flat country swarming with gnats. Passed Illinois Central Junction about 20 to 8, arrived in Chicargo about 9 P M. Slept on the floor of a shed. Weather very hot. Chicargo is situate on the shore of Lake Michigan and is in the State of Illinois.

Wednesday 20th

Noon still at Chicargo, help to shift Luggage from the Cars. Left Chicargo about 5 P M after waiting 20 Hours for the Cars. Train stopped at Lyons, Illinois. Bro Hill angry in consequence of some Brethren refusing to leave seats to make room for the Sisters, passed through a fine level country. Traveled all night. Weather very hot, polly very sick.

Thursday 21st

Train stopped at Kenewa [Kewanee?], Illinois—Wataga—arrived at Quincy [Quincy] at 3.30, Stopped to get refreshment, shift Luggage—several men were loud in their Declamations against the Mormons, Brigham in Particular. Some were against such expression and wished us as a people our Rights. Went on Board Steamboat on the Mississippi at 5 past 5 P M, all well, weather very hot indeed. Quincy [Quincy] is a Town on the Mississippi River and in the state of Illinois, left West Quincy [Missouri] at 1/4 to 7, assisted to shift Luggage from the Steamboat to the Cars on Hannibal and St Joe's Rail Road. A Heavy storm, Thunder, Lightning & rain This Morning, saw Fire flies Traveling on Cars all Night.

22. "The railroad employees said, 'It is a d—— Mormon miracle.'" William Driver in Orson F. Whitney, *History of Utah*, iv, 301.

Friday 22nd

Heavy Thunder Storm while stopping at Cameron, Missouri. Stopped at Kippen. Fearful rocking Traveling, cars rocked very much, passed large tracts of good land unoccupied. Bought 2 Quarts Milk 10 cents. Family pretty well. Rain pouring in Torrents 11-5 A M, reached St Joseph, Mo at 3.30 P M. Lodged in a Shed at St Josephs.

Saturday 23rd

All Day at St Josephs, some of the people here are very bitter against the Mormons.

Sunday 24th

Left St Joe's per "Steam Boat St Joseph" at 6 A M. Family all pretty well, weather very hot, on board all Night.

Monday 25th

On board steamboat stoped at Burlington, Nebraska Ty, Rock point Landing, Mo, to discharge stores. Weather very hot all night on Board.

Tuesday 26th

Arrived at Wyoming²³ [Nebraska Territory] at 6 oc A M, Got the Luggage unto the Camping Ground, Built the Tent, aired clothes, attended Public Prayers, Bought 1 Pound Bacon 25s, 10 Flour 5c, 2 oz Tea, 1 lb Sugar, undressed first time for 13 Days.

Wednesday 27th

Still in camp, met Jim Kemp, attended a camp meeting, Bro T Taylor urged upon the Saints to give up their Money to buy provisions for the Poor as he was very short of Cash.

Thursday 28th

In Camp all Day, Sister Ellen Pankhurst loaned us 50 cents, afterwards Charlotte gave her a bodice in Liquidation.

Friday 29th

Still in Camp, the Weather since we landed has been very clear and beautiful but very hot, received 20 Dolls, 3 Dolls on Store, 32 Dolls toward liquidating expenses on over weight of Luggage and expense of Transit across the plains From Bro T Taylor, being 55 Dolls²⁴ for

23. The towns of Wyoming and Nebraska City are situated on the west bank of the Missouri river, about forty and fifty miles respectively south of Omaha. They were points of departure for wagon trains following the Mormon Trail along the north bank of the North Platte river.

24. I interpret this statement to mean that he received \$20 in cash, \$3 credit at the commissary, and that Brother Taylor retained \$32 in part payment of Mr. Driver's travel expense.

Damage to goods by fire on the Railroad at St Albans. Paid for Tea per lb 2 Dols [and] 25s, flour 5c, Sugar 20, Bacon 25c.

Saturday, Sunday, and Monday in Camp at Wyoming—Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday at Work for Mr. Gregg, Nebraska [City?]. Friday at Wyoming, Saturday went to visit Jim Kemp, Nebraska City, Walked back. Sunday in Camp.

Monday 9th

At Wyoming Bro Bullock promised to get me off by the first Ox Train.

Tuesday 10th

Captain Whites Mule train started from Camp.

Wednesday 11th

Captain Chipmans Ox Train left the Camp, up to 15 [wagon trains?] in Camp preparing to start across the Plains. Bro Bullock very kind.

Monday 16th

Left the Camping Ground and moved out 1/2 Mile. Train consists of 64 Teams, Captains Holliday & Patterson, Chaplin [Chaplain] E T Stocking, Clerk John Shepherd.

Tuesday 17th in Camp

Wednesday 18th

Traveled about 5 Miles, Bros. Bullock and Gillet came on and Organized the Camp.

Thursday 19th

Traveled 3 Miles.

Friday 20th

Traveled a short Distance.

Saturday 21st

Made 2 journies. Captain paid 50 Dollars Damages for Cattle getting in persons fields, spoke very severe to Teamsters.

Sunday 22nd

Traveled 6 miles, Camped, Baptised Sister Rosomonce [Rosomond?] Thorp 7 times, died in Night.

Monday 23rd

Sister Thorp burried 30 miles from Nebraska City. Traveled some Distance. Heavy Thunderstorm, no wood, Heat 114 Degres.

Tuesday 24th

Traveled 8 Miles. Celebrated entrance of Pioneers into valley.²⁵
Ox Train passed us—Dancing afternoon in the Corral.

Wednesday 25th

Traveled 13 miles. Sister Merthelma Klosner Died and was
Burried. Passed Salina City. Heat 108 Degrees.

Thursday 26th

Traveled about 16 miles, campt on "Walnut Creek" and on
"Salt Creek." Heat 116 Degrees.

Friday 27th

Traveled 16 miles, 2 journies. Heat 121 D. Tin smashed.²⁶
Campd at "Beaver Creek."

Saturday 28th

Wednesday night camped on salt Creek and Thursday on the
"Big Blue," went 6 miles and campt—Saturday A Heavy Thunder
Storm, got very wet, Great scarcity of wood. Heat 112.

Sunday 29th

Fine Morning—campt at "Lone Tree" Ranche, 107 Miles from
Nebraska City. Heat 120 Deg.

Monday 30th

Traveled about 10 Miles—A Man refused Water to our people,
got from Capt Holladay 21 lb Flour, 3 Bacon, campt at Little Blue
creek, afternoon Traveled, campt at Dark. Distance 20 Miles. Tempest
at Night. Bad Water, no Wood.

Tuesday 31st

Very Windy, Campt at Noon, No wood, Bad Water, one Pint of
water produced 1/2 pint sheer Mud. 2 of Bro Bune's Oxen were acci-
dently shot by a Brother Oliver from St Louis, Mo. Camped on
"Platte River."²⁷

Wednesday Aug 1st

Fine morning, camped at 1/2 past 10 A M. Had from Captain
1 1/2 pint Molassas, 1/2 packet Salaratus,²⁸ 1/2 lb salt, 1/2 Soap—Saw

25. July 24, 1847.

26. This passage is legible, but the meaning is obscure.

27. They met the California Trail from Independence, Missouri, at about this
point.

28. The Salaratus weed: "the common glasswort; literally, aerated salt, potassium
bicarbonate or sodium bicarbonate." It was used by the pioneers in making bread.

the Praire on Fire and also 3 Tons of Hay, went about 10 miles, campd at Dark—Through the whole distance from Wyoming every day we have seen several carcasses of Dead Oxen. Captain Holladay gave the company some good advice relative to the manner they should conduct themselves towards the inhabitants of this Country, cited instances were [where] passing Emigrants had been imposed upon and abused, cautioned the folks against taking anything that do not belong to them, not even a stick of wood.

Thursday Aug 2nd

Fine Morning, Campd at Noon, met several Teams with people returning from the Valley who gave us a bad account of the state of affairs. Water Sulphurous, a camp of 600 Indian left here a few days ago. Traveled 20 Miles.

Friday 3rd

Fine morning, passed Fort Kearney, campd at Kearney, Traveled again and Campd at "Dark." Felt rather sick.

Saturday 4th

Fine morning, myself very sick, unable to walk, traveled all day, Campd at Dark.

Sunday 5th

Windy morning, myself very Sick. Bro Klosner was burried, aged 28 "A Dutchman." Bro W Bates Waggon ran over his Daughter Lizzy. Past the Graves of sister Garner aged 14, Captain Chipmans Train, Burried July 25th, made one journey, Campd on the "Platte River," saw the Praire on Fire.

Monday 6th

A Large Rattle snake came direct to our waggon and was killed, myself very sicke—made 2 journies, campd at Dark.

Tuesday 7th

Very sick all day, unable to walk. Traveled about 22 miles. Campd before sunset, very cold through the night.

Wednesday 8th

Fine Morning. Very cold, still very sick, campd at Noon, family well, come 13 miles. Bro W Bates boy William ran over by his Waggon, over both legs, started about 6 oc P M, got benighted, Train became disorganized, none seemed to know where we were going. Captain Holladay thrown from his horse, a Bro from St Louis broke the Tongue off his Waggon, Bro Jacobs Cattle Broke loose and left him one yoke to haul his waggon. Sister Grace Jacobs died, aged 42, no Wood.

Thursday 9th

Sister Jacobs burried near The Graves of A Man, Woman, and child who were murdered by Indians, and we saw the Ruins of their House which they Burnt, myself a little recovered. Past Cottonwood Military Station,²⁹ very sandy ground, Wind very Boisterous, campt at dark.

Friday 10th

very sick, passed a Lodge of Soux Indians, no wood, Famly Well, made 2 journys.

Saturday 11th

Fine Morning, myself Better in Health, past 3 Graves, one of a Mr Cooper, past over a very rough road, Camped at Dark.

Sunday 12th

Myself Better, fine morning, a large snake killed, made 2 Journies, camped near the Platte River, No Wood.

Monday 13th

Fine Morning, feel very faint, started at 5 A M, made two long Journies, rode with Bro W Bates.

Tuesday 14th

Fine Morning, journeyed to Old California Crossing,³⁰ Tea here is 3 Dollars per lb—afternoon crossing the South Fork of Platte River, One of Bro Bunes Waggon Turned over in the River wett'g his goods and throwing 5 of his family into the Water, our Waggon crossed the River in 25 m [minutes?]^{30a}—camped on North side, Sold 3 pairs of Woolen Socks for 4 Dollars, we have sold also a Shawl for 8 Dollars—

Wednesday 15th

Fine Morning, Staid all Day in camp to dry cloths etc Wetted while crossing the River, Held a Meeting in the afternoon, Capt Hollidays Instructions from Bishop Hunter etc read to the Camp, Waggon all to be Loaded with sufficient freight, Any passenger Dieing not having any relations Effects to be taken to F E Office^{30a} in case such persons are indebted to P E F Company, instructed Teamsters to be kind to passengers And to be careful with Firearms, not to be put into Waggon capped. Captain Patterson and Chaplin stocking spoke, Capt Holliday Dismissed [the meeting].

29. This was probably Fort McPherson.

30. On the South Platte river, near Big Spring, Nebraska.

30a. The Mormon Church established the Perpetual Emigrating Fund in the fall of 1849.

Thursday 16th

Fine Morning, Wedding Day, camp moved out for Ash Hollow 17 Miles Distant, no Water the Whole distance, first 10 Miles continual rise in the Ground Which is Barren and Parchd, Great many sun-flowers and Prickley Pears, last 7 miles very rough and Rocky, the whole country seemed to have been Terribly convulsed at some time, Hills and Vales jagged rocks and fearful precipices made up the country for 7 miles, one Waggon Thrown over which [while] decending very steep Hill, Camped at Ashhollow, Human bones found.

Friday 17th

Left Ashhollow at 6-40 A M, Traveled till 11 oc over a sandy Road, very hard on the Cattle, Walked all the journey, camped on the North Platt River, started 1-45 oc, camped at 7, Traveled over sand hills, Grass good, part of the way very Luxurant, no wood.

Saturday 18th

Fine Morning, a large Train passed us going East, Train started at 7-35, camped at 12, Good feed better Roads, very hot, started at 3 P M, killed several snakes, camped at 6 P M 30 [6:30 P. M.], Crossed sand hills afterwards good Roads and Feed for Cattle.

Sunday 19th

Fine Morning, Camp moved at 7-45, saw the first Trees for a long distance, killed a rattle snake, started again at 2.30, Roads very sandy all these Journies, Country generaly very Parched, crossed a stream, Camped near a grave, some Wild animal had made a large hole into it, Sister Elizth Oliver for [from] St Louis, Mo, died age 17, we have had 5 Deaths on the Right Wing on Camp.

Monday 20th

Fine Morning, burried Elizth Oliver—very hot—started at 9-30, sandy Roads—started at 4 P M, got first view of chimney Rock, camped on very sandy Ground, No wood, slight shower.

Tuesday 21st

Fine Morning, started at 7-15, crossed a stream,³¹ passed court house Rock standing out on the plains resembling in the distance a ruined Ampheatre, started at 4 P M, Pretty good Traveling, camped about 4 miles from Chimney Rocky.

Wednesday 22nd

Fine Morning, Train Moved at 7-30, Went to Chimney Rock, accended to the chimney, cut my Name near its base, killed a very

31. Probably the Pumpkin (or Pumpkinseed) Creek.

large snake, went about 10 miles, heard the Report that Chipmans Train³² had been attacked by Indians, 90 head of Cattle stolen and several killed. Traveled about 18 miles.

Thursday 23

Fine Morning, Train started at 7-15, Passed Scotts bluffs, a rough rugged Rocky Road, Passed Fort Michel, went P M about 8 miles, roads pretty good.

Friday 24th

Fine Morning, Crossed a running stream, saw Indians, Traveled about 20 Miles over good Road and crossed several small hills, Camped near the River.

Saturday 25th

Fine Morning, Started at 7.30, Traveled over very bad sand hills about 10 Miles, started at 3 P M, caught 10 fish today, Traveled over a very high hill and Camped 8 miles from Fort Larimae [Laramie], saw Indians. Family Well. Bro Lambs baby Lilly Died aged 9 months.

Sunday 26th

Traveled over a very high and Lengthy Sand hill, arrived at Fort Laramie Where our Arms were inspected by the Marshal who informed us That all the Indians on the Road were Hostile, That Chipmans Train had been attacked and had lost 150 head of Cattle and he could not say how many Women and Children had been massacred, cautioned us not to be off our Guard one Minute. Traveled about 12 miles. Burried Bro Lambs infant. Started at 6 oc P M, Traveled over a rough Road Through a Rain storm, my Wife very much frightened coming down a precipice in the Dark, campt at 9 oc P M, very Wet Night.

Monday 27th

Fine Morning, Traveled 2 1/2 hours and Camped. Afternoon Drive across the Black Hills [Laramie Mountains], left the Platte River the Whole Distance, 2 Oxen died, sighted Laramie Peak, Camped in a Hollow near a stream, Plenty of good Water, name of Place "Bitter [Cottonwood] Creek," 26 Men were put on Night Guard in consequence of Indians, sister Inghams child born.

Tuesday 28th

Fine Morning, Train started at 8 A. M. Traveled 10 miles over the Black Hills, Roads very Rocky, camped at 12-30, plenty of Wood and Water, started at 5 P M—Passed the Twin springs, camped at Dusk, near a Striam, plenty of Wood, Hops and Cherries, in the Night the Wolves were Howling.

32. The plains Indians were on the warpath in the summer of 1866.

Wednesday 29th

Train started at 8 A M, Traveled over a rough and Hilly road, camped at 1-40, 2 Oxen Died, started at 4 P M, Went over a steep Hill, Traveled till 10 oc P M, camped at "Little Labonte" [La Bonte], on the 19 Chipman lost 90 Bullocks, 5 Cows, 3 Horses, Taken by Indians, he had 8 Deaths in his Comp'y.

Thursday 30th

Fine Morning, Train started at 9 A M, made a long drive, camped at 3 P M, started again at 1/2 past 4, Traveled in the morning over a Hilly Road, camped at 7.30 at Box Elder Creek, heavy rain in Night, afternoon Pretty good Road.

Friday 31st

Showery Morning, Train started at 9 A M, past near 4 Graves of Persons killed by Indians also Elder John Macdonalds grave, Train started about 5 P-M, crossed 3 streams of Water, Camp at Dusk—short of Wood.

Saturday Sep 1st

Fine Morning, very cold—crossed Deer Creek when [where] the station had been destroyed by Indians, several thousand Dollars damage, made 2 journies, camp on a small creek, Bro Young lost his Watch.

Sunday 2nd

Fine Morning, Sharp frost, Traveled 3 1/2 Hours, part of the Way rather Hilly, camp on the [Platte?], Train started at 4 P M, crossed the Platte Bridge, camped on the North Side, Tea 4 Dollars per lb.

Monday 3rd

Fine Morning, first 6 miles from Platte Bridge very Hilly ending for some distance in a valley—skirting the Platte—Traveled 12 Miles and camp on the Platte for the last time near "Red Bute," the place [where] Bro G Simms was Drowned, very cold and Windy.

Tuesday 4th

Fine Morning, No Breakfast, walked about 18 miles, train started at 6.30, crossed a stream, camp at 1 oc near Willow Springs, Pretty good Road—afternoon went about 7 miles across a very high Hill, camped at Dark at "Fish Creek," 1 Waggon broke down, Sage Brush for fuel.

Wednesday 5th

Fine Morning, Crossed 2 streams, Traveled till 1.30 P M over a sandy Road part of the Way, camped on a small but beautiful stream, sage brush for fuel, Train started at 4 P M, started for the salaratus

beds, went a long distance across the Prairies, went out of our Way, lost my Cane—went a long distance Back—got some distance behind the train—got several lbs of salaritus, camped on the "Sweet Water River, Sage Brush—no Wood—cold Night.

Thursday 6th

Fine Morning, Went with my Wife across Independence rock, a large Grunate Rock rising to a great height from the plain near the Banks of Sweet Water. Forded the River near the West side of the Rock, went on over a pretty good road somewhat hilly and camped on a fine platt near the Devils Gate—Traveled in the afternoon about 10 miles over a good Road and camped near the Sweetwater, sage brush for fuel.

Friday 7th

Fine Morning, sharp Frost, Traveled till noon, Road Sandy, Crossed a stream, afternoon started at 2 oc P M, very Windy, sand blowing fearfully, campt before Sundown on a Good Grass Platt near Sweetwater, Plenty of Chips for Fuel.

Saturday 8th

Cold and Rainy morning, Traveled 8 miles and Campt, at 3 Crossing of the sweetwater, saw snow on the Mountains, Crossed the sweetwater 4 times, Started at 2 P M over a Good Road between the Rocky Mountains, campt on the Sweet Water, plenty of Chips, very cold Night.

Sunday 9th

Fine Morning, Train started at 7 A M, commencement of Journey very sandy, went 15 miles and campt at the Stream from the Mountain springs, started at 4 P M, went about 3 miles and camped at Mountain Springs, on camp Guard—very cold Night.

Monday 10th

Fine Morning, very cold, stopped at Sage Creek to Water Cattle, come 5 miles of very Hilly Road, went 7 miles farther and nooned at "Antelope Springs," afternoon Went 6 miles and campt at "Barlows Springs," Road very Rocky and Hilly nearly all the Way—losing cattle nearly every day.

Tuesday 11th

Fine Morning—very cold—came 7 miles and Campt on the "Sweetwater River," afternoon started at 2 P M, came 9 miles and campt on Hoe Creek, Roads most of the Way very Hilly and Rocky, sharp frosty night.

Wednesday 12

Fine Morning, Camp moved at 7 A M, came 12 miles over a splendid Road most all the Way—came over the South Pass—did not know it untill we had passed it, camped at "Pacific Springs," snow on the Mountains—started at 4 P M, came about 11 miles and camped on "Dry Sandy Creek"³³ at 9 P M, bad place for fuel.

Thursday 13th

Fine Morning, camp started at 8 A M, came along a good road most all the Way, nooned on the Little Sandy Creek, plenty good Water, little feed, afternoon camp moved at 4 P M, Camped this morning at 1.30—splendid day, crossed Little Sandy, Traveled 10 miles and camped at 8 oc P M on the "Big Sandy," Good feed for Cattle, Plenty of Water, But no Wood.

Friday 14th Sept

Started at 8 A M, Traveled 4 1/2 Hours, noon on "Big Sandy," afternoon went over very Hilly Rd, very stormy, Thunder and lightning, Camp at Dark 3 time on the Big Sandy.

Saturday 15th

Fine Morning, pretty good Road, came 10 miles, Forded "Green Rr [River] and camp on the West Bank, good Ground, feed and Water, caught 4 Fish.

Sunday 16th

Dull Morning, Traveled about 13 miles over rather a rough Road, no grass. Dry camp at noon, afternoon Hills and Vales all the Way, soil sandy, gravely, sage Brush, Camp on "Hams Fork," Traveled 26 miles without water for Cattle.

Monday 17th

Fine Morning—crossed at Hams Fork," Good camping Ground, came 13 Miles and nooned on the "Black Fork or [of the] Muddy River," very good Road nearly the Whole Distance, Country very barren, no Grass, sand, clay and sage wild abound generally. P M Train moved out at 5 P M, supply of Bacon Gone, about 120 miles from Salt Lake City. Train started at 5 P M and went 7 miles over a good Road, Forded the Muddy, Water mudy, short of good Brush, met 3 Wagons sent to help Pilgrims with Flour.

Tuesday 18th

Very fine Morning—Nelly not very Well, Traveled 3 1/2 over a pretty good Road, some few Hollows, Country very Barron, The Hills

³³. The immigrants now left the California or Oregon Trail and continued in a southwestward direction toward Salt Lake City.

especialy. Campt 1/2 mile from Big Muddy, sagebrush for Fuel, afternoon rolled out at 1-45 P M, very Windy, Dust blowing making our Traveling very disagreeable. Train started at 1-45, Traveled over some rocky Road, camped at Dusk, scarcity of Water, plenty of sage Brush. Sister Oliver from St Louis, Mo, died, went and administered to Si Wheeler, little rain in the Night. Children very restless.

Wednesday 19th

Fine Morning, very cold, Nelly very poorly, rolled out 15 to 6 A M, Traveled 10 miles, Forded the Muddy, some difficulty in getting Teams across—very cold, storm of Rain, Sleet, and Snow, hurt my eye with a piece of Wood, nooned near Telegraph Station, rolled out at 2 P M, in the morning passed across Hundreds of acres of splendid Lands. The Hills covered with Cedars. Buried Cis Oliver. Traveled through a lovely Vale surrounded by Lofty Mountains—came 10 miles, 6 or 7 of them across “Quaking Asp Ridge,” several cattle broken down. The Camping place in a deep Hollow near the Mail Station, a Good spring of Water and plenty of sage Brush, Teamsters rations “Flour and Coffee,” sharp Frosty Night. A Child ran over.

Thursday 20th

Splendid bright Morning, camp rolled out at 8-30 A M, went 2 miles up a Mountain, Came down for some miles, a steep decent through valleys surrounded by lofty Mountains. Pd Toll at a small siding, passed the Toll Bridge at Bear River and campt 1/2 mile West. John Oghlen, Teamster, ran over, Camped at 2 P M 79 miles from S L City. Family Well, in good spirits, plenty of Timber and Good feed for Cattle, Traded some Rice and Sugar for some Potatoes, the first we have had for some Weeks. Bro Wm Bates lost a Cow, asked the Captain for a Horse to go back for her; He said he could not spare one, rolled out at 4.30, went about 7 miles and campt near plenty of Grass for Cattle and Water, very short of Wood. Frosty Night, met 3 Wagons from S L to help pilgrims.

Friday 21st

Splendid bright Morning, Train rolled out at 8 A M. Passed along a level Road a mile or so past Threadneedle Rocks, a composition apparently of mortar and Pebbles, passed a mail station and a Ranch over a High Mountain. Descended suddenly into a Canyon, the Dust blowing fearfully, and Camp at 1 oc at Cache Cave. Good feed and Water, But no Wood, a stream runs by the Roadside some Distance, very good Water. Captain Killed a Heifer, and sold the meat 12 1/2 Cents per lb. Train rolled out at 4 P M, past some lovely Vallies—but a scarcity of Wood—Dust blew fearfully this afternoon; one

Waggon Capsised crossing a Bridge, some bad places to cross. Camped some distance in "Echo Canyon," a Man from the Valley selling vegetables & Apples were 40 c Dozen, Potatoes 2 1/2 Do [dollars] Bushel, Butter 60c lb, Cabbage 40c each. Frosty towards morning.

Saturday 22nd

Beautiful Morning, children Bad colds. Camp rolled out at 8 oc. We have now—Beef, Butter, Potatoes, Apples, Onions, Flour, Bread and Molasses—so we cant complain, came along the Kanyon, crossed several small bridges, on the sides of Mountains some very critical places, one Waggon had a very narrow escape of being hurled down the Embankment. Camped at 1 oc in the Kanyon, Plenty of Water and Wood. Camp rolled out at 3 P M, met several parties out to meet friends—Passed on through Echo Canyon and Camped at 9 P M about 3 miles south of the Mouth of Echo Canyon. A Bro Gave us Potatoes, had about 5 lb of Beef given us, a splendid Night, On Camp Guard.

Sunday 23rd Sep

Fine Morning, Camp rolled out at 8-30 and Camped on Silver Creek in Weber Valley, passed thro Coalville settlement, quite a nice place, several good Log and Rock Houses, also a very Good Meeting House erected in 1865, the folks looked very clean and respectable, some at work getting in grain. Bishop Lather Wilde served out Potatoes to the People. A slight storm of Hail, several of the settlers came into Camp P M, Camp rolled out at 3 P M, went Through Silver Creek Settlement 7 Years Settled, along Silver C. Kanyon 8 miles in Length. The Road is a Dugway on the Mountain side, some places rising 60 feet above the Bed of the Kanyon, a good [mill?] stream runs through the entire Distance. Lofty Mountains on Both sides. Camped at Parleys Park about 8 30 P M, sharp Frosty Night.

Monday 24th

Splendid Morning, camp rolled out at 8-30 A M, 25 miles from the City. Passed W Kimballs Hotel over a Hilly Road over the Big Mountain 8 miles and camped at 4 P M in a Hollow surrounded by Mountains, a Creek runs Thro it, very Hard Journey on the Cattle. Night very cold, sharp Frost, 12 miles from the City. Bro Adams Died of Mountain Fever making 8 Deaths in our Train since leaving Wyoming, met many Teams going to the Kanyons.

Tuesday 25th

Beautiful bright Morning. Family all Well, left Hardy Station Mountain Dell, came Through Parleys Kanyon, hedged in on either side by lofty mountains, a clear stream of Water runs Through the Centre

of Kanyon. Met Several folk we were acquainted with in England, Bro John Thompson, Foulgers, Earle etc who treated us to Beer, Fruit Pie etc, we were pleased to behold the City after a long and perilous journey of Seven thousand Miles across Ocean, Through the States, over the plains, across Rivers and lofty Mountains, we looking like Walking lumps of Dust, Our Train passed through the City to the Presidents Yard were [where] we signed an obligation to pay \$180 Dollars for Transit across The plains from Wyoming, we paid 28 pounds from London to Wyoming for Sea and Rail fare. My Wifes Cousin Eliza Wilds hired a Waggon and had our Luggage conveyed to her House in the ninth Ward, G S L City, Thankful to get a rest!!!

RALPH ELMO McFIE: FROM LAS CRUCES TO DAVAO

By MAUDE McFIE BLOOM

MY OLDER brother Ralph came suddenly out of the background on the day that "Babe" came to us. Babe became the great love of his youth. Innocently she was the cause of a nagging inferiority complex that made of him one of the shyest of men. But that is getting too far ahead. I was to tell the whole story of my remarkable big brother, beginning with the things I so vividly remember of home and him.

Babe was a magnificent, blooded mare. Of bright bay color, seventeen hands high, of amazing intelligence, and a nature as gentle as Mama's house cat. I remember my brother was so terrified of something happening to his pet that he would often sleep in her manger o' nights and my understanding parents never blinked.

That act of Ralph was partly because he knew that "down South" the darky hostlers were on guard day and night. Yet more, southern New Mexico in the 1880's was a wild place. The great herds from the Texan plains had discovered our fertile valleys, and the outlawry connected inseparably with the cattle industry of that time had made deep changes in the outlying districts. There were still bitter hatreds left over from the terrible Lincoln County War. The horse and cattle thieves of those stressful years still hid in the Organ and San Andrés, the White and Sacramento ranges, just east of Las Cruces. And our little town, remember, was both county seat and shipping point. In this connection, I am quite sure that if my mother had had any inkling that my father was so soon to be made judge in that enormous, dangerous southern judicial district, she would never have consented to remain "for a few years" in that borderland of Mexico and Texas.

Always we must have been both a divided and yet a

close-knit family: Mama and Ralph; Papa and me. My brother was tall and slim, two and a half years my senior, and his favorite sport (so it seemed to his younger sister) was to topple her over with one poke at a well-rounded tummy. For which I hated him, of course. He was the pest of my life. A meany. He just wasn't human with feelings like mine.

But Ralph and I believed we knew everything our parents did. They spoke freely before us. Looking back, I used to pity other children who might be sent from the room. We two never were. My parents would say: "Don't mention this, children." Ralph would nod, then glare at me. I would roll my eyes—negro servants always did that—and cross my fat bosom to show my sincerity. I meant well, always.

One afternoon Papa came home fuller of town talk than usual. He said that a friend of ours, the big cattleman Johnnie Riley, had been in the law office to get some legality of transfer papers attended to properly. While in the East, selling a trainload of his La Cueva steers at the new stockyards in Kansas City, Mr. Riley had been approached by an agent of a Kentucky race-horse farm about the possibility of sequestering a bunch of fine colts for a limited time, and he had agreed to do it. He had hired Pat Coglin and Jim Nolan, and there was a certain remote range across the Organs now ready to receive the stock.

The greatest secrecy was necessary. The closely guarded special car with the colts had arrived that day. It would be unloaded just before dark when loiterers would be at supper and no strangers apt to be prowling. But Papa was to be there. And Mr. Riley, who also was a loving father, had sent word that "Ralphie and Maudie" could be there also. We glowed. We gobbled, and then we three set out to walk the mile to the shiney new red depot. Ordinarily, Johnnie Riley would have come dashing up in his fine buckboard and pair of blacks. But not that evening.

A little knot of reliable men were gathered near the shute in the loading pen where the stock car had been

shunted. The agent and Mr. Riley exchanged papers, and two negro hostlers began leading the beautiful, spirited colts down the board gangway.

The car seemed empty—but not quite. The agent cleared his throat, spoke to a big black inside: “Is she still alive, Pete?”

“Yessuh. But she’s good as daid. . . . I’ll tote her, suh.”

As if carrying costly china, the big black came down the shute, a bay colt pressed to his breast. Tears poured down his face, for this was the finest colt of them all, the real reason for the transfer. The week of travel had been too much even for the scion of the racing farm where the fabulously fast mare “Maud S” was making race track history.

The darky knelt to ease the dying creature to the dungy floor of the yard. Except to roll big eyes she was moveless. Her incredibly long, slender legs were like bent and folded pipestems. Her bright coat was a tight covering over the thin frame, a mere boney rack that was her body.

After a stunned silence, the men moved aside to talk it over. Riley, backed by Pat and Jim, refused to accept a dying animal. The agent cursed and foamed. Hanging to my father’s hand I listened to the clash of words and wills. Since the telegraph office was closed for the night, and the New Mexicans were on edge to get out of town, the deadlock had to be settled immediately. It was decided to shoot the colt.

Even here a new snag arose. Hardened men of the range and veterans of cattle wars that they were, the New Mexico men refused to kill the little animal. The negroes, called, likewise refused in horror. The agent, mouthing curses, grasped his long revolver and strode forward to do it himself. And there was my brother with the bright head in his lap. Ralph was fondling her as I did “Blond-head,” my newest wax dolly.

Thinking back, it must be the lad grew up in the moments that followed the stern orders to “get outta the

way while I finish the business." He leaped to his feet, straddled the bay colt, and defied anyone. He seemed to grow taller. Outraged fury shook voice and body. Blue eyes blazed.

It was a scene that had only one ending even with hard-headed, sharp business men. "Babe" was given to nine-year-old Ralphie McFie "*to bury.*" Papa was ordered so to alter the papers to read on the morrow. Parting instructions were given by the negro hostler as he carried Babe to the back of the Riley buckboard where Ralph's arms waited.

It was mostly exhaustion. Mama made a muslin nipple and warmed the goat's milk which it took in quantity. In no time Babe staggered to her feet.

Mr. Riley did not know the colt had lived and was growing like a jimson weed until months later when he asked Papa pointblank. He threw back his curly blond head and laughed. He was a fine, generous spirited man.

The advent of Babe was wonderful, but more so to me was the discovery that my tyrant had become heroic, that he had feelings—feelings deeper and stronger than mine because he would fight for them. One of my early indelible memories was his drawn, blazing features in the dusk, gray as the metal called "steel."

It was not that the name was a family one; it was the way my brother looked; fierce, primitive, completely self-forgetful. It was the look of all iron-willed, pioneer men who keep on fighting and thinking of the still greater fields to be claimed; the look common to gallant soldiers who face great odds.

My brother's life was to be one long, bitter fight. He was to be a builder, builder of a small empire thousands of miles from his home. Between the lines of his dry, yet detailed home letters we could visualize his set features as he met the almost twenty years of hard things before all was finally well with him in the far Philippine Islands.

What befell the other colts went by the board with me. Things leaked out. It was said that Babe was foal of "Maud

S." We never investigated but we kids liked to think it was so for boasting purposes. We both rode her with no thought of "breaking" her in. Even when the fine racing cart came from St. Louis, Ralph simply called Babe, backed her into the long shafts, buckled straps around her trim body; then they trotted out of the big corral gate, one body as it were, boy, horse, cart.

Babe was in great demand for races. Her swift, rippling walk kept other horses a-trot. She outran horses brought up from Ft. Bliss, down from Stanton, Bayard—all of which were fine Army horses and the army in those days had the best of animals.

Yet the range had wonderfully fleet little racers. The White Oaks ranches were famous for them—the Rhodes boys, Gene and Clarence, were always on hail for fiesta time at Cruces, or at Mesilla across the Rio Grande.¹

In from the range came the Ake and Isaac mustangs, the Riley cowboys, and other groups who didn't touch our family life: the Fall, Cox, King, and Oliver contingents, still shying off from the Coglein, Nolan, Coe, Gilmore and Doctor Blazer sons. There were big families then—tall, stalwart sons with mild mouths but jutting chins; all wise in range and cattle lore.

With Babe his loadstone, Ralph's ambition was to "run stock," and kindly Jeff Ake encouraged him—Bunk Ake and my brother were chums. The big Ake clan used to winter (for the younger ones to get schooling) not far from our

1. I can remember only once when my loyalty to Babe faltered—and it was only for a moment. My best friend, at that time, was Nellie Rhodes who lived in Mesilla. We had the same birthday, and once when I rode over to spend the gala day at Nellie's, her grownup brother Gene rode in from their big cattle holdings in the San Andrés range.

Gene was a dapper, nonchalant figure; always singing or humming to himself, I remember. That day he was riding a beautiful black, and its trappings were of carved leather with shining silver trimmings. My heart leaped. I must ride that horse or die.

"Na, na," teased Gene, "a fatty like you would break his back." Oh, how I hated him. It was such an insult. Only Ralph could call me that with impunity. But I remembered that I was a guest. Nellie and I put on dignity and walked down to watch the Rio Grande which was nearby.

After all, I had been disloyal to Babe! I didn't "see" Gene after that.

fine new brick house, a short mile from town, and I remember being vastly proud that Grandma Ake liked best of all the snuffbrushes that I got for her—tender little underground branches of mesquite root, whittled and chewed (!) into a tiny, fine brush with which to dip her ground tobacco.

As Ralph grew, Jeff hired him summers, paying in the fall with steers which Ralph was allowed to select—cows even, in good brooding years. And when Jeff bought the farm halfway to Dona Aña which Papa and Johnny Barncastle owned jointly, Ralph helped out winters too—Babe making it possible to keep their beefers within a safe distance from the valley ranch.²

I remember that Jeff Ake made a trip to Santa Fé to say goodbye to Ralph and his own kinfolk when they were getting off so hurriedly to the War—the Spanish American War in '98. At that time Ralph owned a tiny herd of forty head with several good horses to boot, all of which were running the Ake range. Jeff took them over, but Ralph kept his brand, I remember. It was a Flying U Bar, one that couldn't be altered.

To go back, however. Ralph was forbidden to race. One day he did—and his leg was broken when the iron hoof of the other, rearing animal, also ridden by a boy, came down on my brother's leg just above the knee. It had taken place in a pasture in the old river bed close by home. The tall Keezer boys, Roy and Henry, carried Ralph across McFie lane to mama. The story cooked up was an accident at the Keezer swing. The neighbor boys were terrified of their father.

How well I remember the terrible days that followed. It was a fearful break—and there was no doctor obtainable for four awful days.

My uncle Samuel Steel set the limb as best he could . . .

2. This ranch was just north of the big old walled Frank Fletcher-Guadalupe Ascarate hacienda on the east side of the Old Alameda, not far from the hills. The Alameda was grassy and lined by immense old *álamos*. It was the favorite picnic grounds for crowds of any size, with room for baseball and races.

he had had some practice with his dairy herd, and doctoring was a sort of hereditary thing in the Steel family. But it wasn't right, we all knew.

I remember they strapped the swollen limb on a cotton-padded board and kept it across a green-painted, tin foot-tub all those four days and nights. The tub was kept full of hot vinegar, replenished every few minutes by our negro Mollie and her half-grown son Jack who seemed never to rest or sleep. Somebody sat there dipping the hot vinegar over the leg. I remember they had to hold my brother too. Neighbors helped, and all our big family took anxious turns.

Dr. Lane finally was found at a ranch in the hills, where one of the lovely young Davies girls was having typhoid. He could hardly believe what was told him about the four days, for it was a wonder that Ralph had not had gangrene. Of course he had to re-set the leg.

For many a month Ralph was an invalid. Two things resulted. He became set against religion from overhearing my very pious grandmother say his trial was a "retribution," although she was thinking only of its effect on my delicate mother's health.

Ralph said: "Damn religion." His legs were of different lengths and his bitterness was intense. But the "damn" went deep with my parents because such language wasn't used by our clan.

Ralph was then, as I remember, around thirteen; tall, serious, manly. My father had been made judge, and, trying to pass the time for Ralph, Papa would have Jack drive the two of them to court. There, watching the court stenographer take down evidence became absorbingly interesting.

The new interest became known when the lad would tell Papa, afterward, that those Mexican witnesses weren't being taken down exactly enough. There ought to be another stenographer; someone who knew Spanish, he insisted. Mr. H. B. Holt was a fine man but he didn't know Spanish yet.

Ralph began to make scratches which he called Spanish stenography. Characteristically he was secretive about it.

But Papa helped, and it became more or less of a nightly game, while court was in session at 'Cruces, testing Papa's wonderful memory against Ralph's stenography.

When he was strong, school began in earnest—for by then the College was a going concern, and its big tall brick McFie Hall, built by old man Bogardus, was standing like a sore thumb on a bleak, sandy hill two miles south of town.

I was in the very necessary "Preparatory" department and Ralph was in Mr. Lester's business college. We drove down every morning, with lunches, in the cart. Babe whizzed us along at breakneck speed. We were not only a menace to all other traffic on the road, but a worry to all the community. We only laughed.

Babe took us down that dreadful, sandy road in exactly seven minutes, yet I remember only one accident. To avoid a mudhole once, Ralph ran too far up the side of a mesquite bush hilled halfway up by drifting sand, and someway the branches caught the wheel. I was spilled out so hard that I landed clear across the way, in another mesquite briar patch.

I was too plump to be bruised even, but was I furious. We staged one of our cat and dog fights then and there, to the huge enjoyment of the Ford and Newberry tribes, close friends, who were trudging along on foot. Big, pretty Belle Hall—of the Newberry clan—brushed me off and smoothed my ruffles, and my ruffled dignity, as well. And Pinkie Ford shared her lunch with me, I remember. They lived nearer College.

But this is my brother's story. Those were difficult years. Account of the Fountain killing, of my cousin Sam's murder, of the advent of the Fall aggregation, and other matters will be given at another time. My father's fortunes teetered. He went out of office, for in Territorial days the judiciary, as everything else, was appointive. President Chester A. Arthur had put Papa on the bench; when a democratic president went in, Papa was "bounced."

In passing I will say that Judge Fall did not stay on

the bench long. Although a Republican, my father was reinstated, and promoted to the first district at Santa Fé, the capital.

Papa had learned to depend on my brother and the chicken scratches which he called Spanish stenography. By now, Ralph knew much of law. He had begun to study papa's books before he knew the meaning of the hard words.

In his mind Ralph was torn between wanting to be a legal light, like Papa, or a cowman like his range friends. He felt a proper man when on horseback. He could forget his limp. His dear friend Johnnie Riley was another whose kindness helped life.

When the move to Santa Fé came, however, the die was cast. Ralph went with Papa in a court capacity, and began serious study of law.

All too soon came '98; the Spanish American War, and when Teddy Roosevelt asked our Territory for part of the experienced horsemen to make up his regiment of Rough Riders, Ralph was among the first to enlist. Because of his lameness and efficiency with his pencil, he was appointed troop clerk of his company, Troop E.

I remember tense waiting to know whether he would be accepted. And he might not, had there been more men pressing to join the company, and more time before they had to entrain. Ralph's friend Willie Schneppe and my brother stood side by side at the little station. Ralph was the happiest man in that long, irregular line of volunteers.

Tampa. Then Cuba. Col. Roosevelt was playing a waiting game with the Spaniards. The two lines were some distance apart. The nearby city was Santiago, a tall hill intervened, San Juan Hill. One night Ralph was on guard duty. He lay on a ridge, not quite on top lest the outline betray his outpost. It was a neglected plantation, rank and wild, and the tall grass scratched chigger sores up and down his long legs. His long Mauser rifle was on the wet grass beside him. Not a sound but crickets around him.

But suddenly came stealthy creeping noises and the

click of armed men's gear. Presently he knew that a small detail of Spaniards was being stationed on the brow of the hill just above where he was. They were being given final instructions for a surprise attack at dawn upon the American camp. Ralph had no way of knowing what hour it was, but the night was well spent. It was a matter of instinct for him to grip pencil, an old letter, and jot down what was being muttered to the Spaniards above him. Then he crept noiselessly downhill, and ran pell-mell for camp.

Fortunately "the Major," who happened to be strolling in the pleasant night, was the one who sighted the limping, wildly excited figure coming into the big camp, using his Mauser to help him over the rough ground.

"Ralph!" Captain Llewellyn grabbed my brother. "You've left your sentry duty. They'll court-martial you, shoot you. Get back, boy."

"Take this to—Colonel. They're attacking—at dawn," he gasped.

A thousand times "Major" told the story, giving it always a comic twist: Ralph really excited for once in his sober, serious life; the consternation in Teddy's tent at the news, and its acceptance only after Roosevelt had looked sternly to Llewellyn for confirmation; then the puzzlement at Ralph's stenography which none could decipher, and how Major suddenly began to chuckle: "By God, it's Ralphie's Spanish code. Send for him, Colonel." And, a much impressed leader did just that.

It made a good story, but we were used to Major's dramatics. We paid no attention to it, and Ralph said nothing either. But there came a memorable Rough Riders Reunion at Las Vegas, which their beloved Colonel (then president of the United States) attended.

In the course of his formal address at the banquet which ended the festivities, the President pointed to my brother, sitting with my father down the long table. "There is the boy whose quick wittedness and initiative gave me the jump on the Spaniards. Through him we were able to spring

the surprise that won San Juan Hill—and the course of the whole war, gentlemen! Stand up, McFie!”

Papa gasped. Ralph stood up, his blond face aflame with embarrassment.

“My boy, with your knowledge of Spanish, and your peculiar system of shorthand, you can be a valuable man to your country. I am sending William Howard Taft to our island possessions, the Philippines, as governor-general. I am going to tell him to take you with him.”

When the hearty clapping had died down, characteristically, Roosevelt added, in mock scolding: “You’re a son-of-a-gun, McFie. I’ve been here two days and you’ve not paid your old colonel your military respects yet!”

The clapping became furious. It was “Teddy” at his best, and a home boy coming into his own! Whoopee reigned for several minutes, Papa said. Nor was that all that the warm-hearted president did for Ralph. Not long afterward a personal letter came for Ralph to present to Taft.

His parting gift to me was the Rough Rider insignia. It is a silvered circle with crossed guns topped by a large U. S. Ralph went with patriotic enthusiasm uppermost in mind. He fully intended to return to New Mexico to practice law with my father when Papa should retire from the bench. For years, in all the full descriptive letters home, always that intent shone through.

The long voyage was thrilling, with stops in Hawaii, Japan, and China. At Manila finally, Ralph found himself brought up sharply with the irresistible challenge of mixed races, delightful old Spanish culture and architecture which was so familiar. Congenial too was the tropic climate and the easy quiet mode he liked.

The city swarmed with office seekers, many of them known New Mexicans. Too, Taft immediately organized a legal emergency body to free the vast rich estates which the Catholic Church had acquired through the centuries. The “Court of Friar Land Claims” it was named, and Ralph

found himself chief clerk, with a delightful Illinoisan, Judge Ickes, as justice.

It was a congenial, familiar job. But it was monumental, too, for it was to occupy several years during which the court traveled by every imaginable mode of conveyance, over the whole island world. They went wherever there was one of these estates to be taken over and the land redistributed, but general headquarters were at Manila.

For recreation, my enthusiastic brother would spend evenings and holidays grubbing out the veritable cesspools of tenement quarters of the city, and eliminating areas of deadly danger along the river front in the old walled city, with the Sanitary Commission boys who were his chums.

From them he learned the vital importance of careful living. He drank only bottled waters; ate only cooked food; used native remedies for simple needs. From the first his greatest pain was the loss of friends who would not be as cautious in eating and drinking. Especially the latter, for he had contempt for liquor.

As the court began its sessions with witnesses from many races, the old challenge of bungling translation of the language confronted Ralph. Out came his pencil and notebook, word for word he took the testimony. Judge Ickes, a generous spirited gentleman, was merely amused when gradually the witnesses would turn to my brother as their interpreter rather than to the regular official.

In connection with the court were native interpreters. Gradually Ralph became conversant with the six native tongues. In time other courts would borrow his services which made him very proud indeed. This language business was his bit toward the civilization of the Islands. Not for effect, however; justice to the underdog was the mainspring of his life.

It was something like the third year before Ralph's letters changed. It was during a memorable visit of the Court to Davao on the southern end of Mindanao Island. Here he found what seemed an earthly paradise. Here he

would build an hacienda and become a planter. My parents sighed, naturally, but John Junior was coming along in years and showing decided talent for law.

But 'way down in Mindanao! Why, it was the one spot generally conceded impossible of civilizing in all the archipelago. It was a thousand miles from Manila by inter-island boat travel! It was violently volcanic by nature. There were no whites on that whole enormous southern half of the next-to-biggest island. Its native tribes were the Moro head-hunter cannibals, fiercest and wildest of all known groups. The Moros and Igorotes were still wildly antagonistic and treacherous toward the whites. Aginaldo, up in the mountains of Luzón, was mild by comparison with the little black men of Mindanao!

Yet this was where our Ralph had decided to make his home. In vain my parents wrote quoting to him from his own descriptive letters: "Even the Catholic Friars have lived with boats always moored to their wharf, at the first sign of danger to sail away until it was quiet again." And "Of all the island world, this church land is the poorest, most undeveloped."

But it took a third of a year's time for letters to bring back an answer. Ralph, in partnership with young Harry Ickes, brother of the judge, had bought the vast estate and Ralph was to be its manager—Harry having had more money to invest than Ralph. Then, too, Harry thought he could be chief clerk of his brother's court. That suited Ralph too.

It must be said, however, that on that first visit to Davao, Judge Ickes did his best to deter the two younger men. Harry was put "on probation" in Ralph's position, and Ralph was to spend only part of each year on the hacienda besides being on call at anytime if needed by the Court. Simply the Judge knew he could not spare Ralph's services.

In a few months Ralph was called back to his old job in Manila. And within the year, alas, gay young Harry died violently of bubonic plague right there in Manila.

To go back, however, to that first venture of the court. To be safe the court had a chartered boat on which to live when going about the wild portions of the islands. Davao proved to be a small, typical village of a few miserable, fever-ridden degenerate Spaniards who had clung to their small holdings against the natives because of the protection of the Church and its vast property earnings. Their grip would be gone with the opening to sale of the lands on which they had worked and lived for generations.

However, since the War, there had been a steady influx of Japanese. To outward appearance, Davao was a town in Japan! The Spaniards had lost out anyway. Ralph wrote enthusiastically about the new fields around the dead little village, and the finest, longest staple hemp in the islands. He was all in a fret to get his wide acres under cultivation. The Japs were alright, he said; industrious, quiet as so many field mice, perfectly acclimated. This, however, was before he had won their enmity and his long fight began.

The Court had difficulty in forcing the natives to attend sessions. They were scattered in the mountains, or living on cane pole raft houses out in the water of lagoons and marshes. The men were puzzled. It was not until Ralph went to live there that he found the reason: they were in a great deal of awe, and in very great fear of the Japs!

The Court did not linger any longer than necessary. All food had to be bought from the Japs, even the fish, although fishing was the task of natives. After one poisoning it was discovered that all the fish had to be examined. Mysterious spiders, venomous serpents, made their appearance on their houseboat—obviously slipped on board “by the natives” as the apologetic Japs would say. And the court officials believed it. All in all, Judge Ickes moved on to the next place, glad to be alive.

Yet Ralph and Harry had gone inland and been charmed. Ralph, too, had been interested by the Moros and Igorotes. He sensed their need of a protector, although he could do nothing except make them listen to him talk. He

did a canny thing, however. He took a miserable little native boy back to Manila with him. When he came next to Davao, he had the Igorote language, and a healthy, nimble-minded body servant. The boy refused to leave Ralph's side, which for a time did not make him friends among the natives.

Ralph's first great sorrow at Davao was the death of this boy. It seemed to have happened because he fell asleep on a limb in the sun and one of the many fifteen foot python snakes got him.

Ralph heard, very much startled, the beating of native drums in the wooded slopes of the mountains. All night they beat, many of them. The tribes were assembling in the hills. At dawn, here came a long procession covered with mud for mourning, black, volcanic mud on head and breast. Ralph thought his end was near.

On the contrary, it seemed the python had given the boy a new existence—translated him bodily to the Igorote heaven. They were thanking him! Ralph had had no idea how very much on probation he had been. Next time he walked off his estate he found barriers removed from trails to their villages.

The alert mind of the boy had been an eye opener. Ralph decided he did not want too many Japs on his hacienda; he now decided to employ natives, if they would work. The Japs, departing, showed their teeth. They laughed at the idea of a native working. He would soon see, they said maliciously. He passed several bad hours when, with walking cane tipped with an iron cap to kill snakes and marsh rats, he followed one of the dark funnel-like trails to an Igorote town in the deep jungle.

Having been raised in Apache Indian country, he was aware that he must be surrounded by silent danger at every step, both in the dense wood and by traps underfoot. But nothing happened and he noted that he was received with astonishment. The headmen took him to their ceremonial house, up three ladders to a dizzy height, every step an

immediate risk to a man of his height and weight. But again he arrived atop safely.

Here he was handed a ceremonial cigar, one of the usual foot-long family size. He wondered if it might contain some narcotic or deadly herb, so, taking care to attack the more wrapped end of the huge thing, he took one drag. Then, explaining with a smile that in his land among the Indian natives it was polite to take only one draft, he passed it on to the next in the squatting circle. It had worked. The cigar, drugged, of course, was quietly put aside.

Ralph then took his life in his hands. He stumbled along, but he made them understand that he had come to stay; that he was mild, understanding, and incurious about their private matters. He needed them for friends; he needed them to help him open roads into Davao, and to keep them open all the year around. Davao was seven miles from his place, it would take many men working all the year around to keep the roads open, wouldn't it? Was he an enemy that they wouldn't help him? It wasn't against their religion?

Ralph said the most tense moment of his whole experience was sitting on that rickety, swaying cane platform with ten other men. Below was the sheer fall into marsh water waist deep, a veritable ooze of deathly pollution.

They chattered like so many monkeys, gesticulated like the million monkeys in his forest which made day and night alive with their noise. But in the end each headman chose a young man. All reserve being down, they told him he had walked like a superman over the magic number of their pitfalls; that he had smoked their drugged cigar without passing out; that there now remained no reason why he should not be their neighbor and friend.

"We need you against the little brown devils. You need us too," they said, as the strange procession at Ralph's back took the trail to his new place.

They knew that form of work and did it willingly. He gave them rice, he paid them every Saturday night, and

made them rest on his Sunday. In the dusk he saw them slip away, gripping their precious silver coins some of them fingering the money as if it were a complete curiosity to them. All Sunday, as he and his two Luzón "boys" rested and ate, they wondered if the Igorotes would return on Monday.

Monday at daylight, there stood the ten below Ralph's porch. Their money spread across their girdles in a stiff row, two holes bored in each coin and a stout hemp cord tying the silver to the cloth. My brother told them they were very good looking, and they grinned happily.

"The monkeys cannot steal our wages. Nor the Japs," they explained.

Before long, they trusted him to keep their money, a simple credit system. Barter, rather, for he soon was bringing goods from Manila, and from then on he never lacked for food which they knew how to raise or learned from him to raise. Ralph was as proud as punch over "his" Igorotes.³

The Moros were another problem, however. To them his blood would win them a place in paradise. Had not his Igorote boys been on guard day and night, his life would have been forfeit before he had even known anything about it. I can't seem to remember how he won them, but he did.

And it was the favorite topic of my parents, who made two trips to visit Ralph in Davao, to recount the annual trek of the Moros to Ralph's hacienda on New Year's day to offer an animal, pure and spotlessly white, to show him their white thoughts toward him. Some years it would be a dove; others a pony, one of the tiny variety of Filipino horses; or a rooster.

Meanwhile, Ralph had earned the anger of the Japs. However, when he went back to Manila (which occurred very soon after the peace talk was made) Ralph left word with the alcalde at Davao that if anything went wrong with his place or his Igorotes, he would bring back the Court from Manila on them. So nothing happened.

3. In 1906 at the request of the government, he brought a band of them to the World's Fair at St. Louis. Their loyalty to him was like worship.

The inter-island boat came to Davao once in three months. When it brought the call from Judge Ickes, he left with few misgivings, for he was leaving nothing but a handful of Igorotes.

He had no idea when he might be able to return—and he arrived in Manila to find his moneyed partner dead!

Not for a whole year was he able to return to Davao. Having spent all he could raise for his share of the estate, he was now cumbered with the need to reimburse Harry's widow. From then on great pressure for money was on his shoulders, the mercy being that understanding court officials, realizing his desperate circumstances, raised his salary and gave him other concessions that helped out. They needed him, and said so.

But it was a year before he was able to get another partner. The two spent several hundred dollars in equipment: plows, tools, window glass, etc. The little boat was damaged and nearly capsized in a typhoon so heavily was it loaded with their stuff. When the captain limped into the first port of call, on the northern part of Mindanao, he threw their freight off the boat, and sailed away before they could get down to the wharf to ask what he was doing! They stood there cursing the day of that captain's birth. The blank beach where they stood was scarcely more of a place than Davao town. Robinson Crusoe had nothing on them, they felt.

However, they spent all they had in buying carabaos (water buffaloes) and rickety carts. Their journey was going to take them three weeks, but that was not troubling them. Nobody knew how far it was. Once going they were so weary and depressed they didn't care. The thing was to get there before Christmas which was when Ralph had promised to return to Manila . . . and it was September when they were "ship wrecked!"

They had ten carts, twenty pair of water buffaloes. All went well,—that is, until they were crossing the very last little stream. Here they made camp over night, and swarms

of Igorotes stood guard over them as they slept—they had the habit of sleeping on top of carts.

At dawn a loud wailing awoke the two Americans. Every one of the forty creatures lay dead. Several dogs accumulated on the trek also lay stretched out on the bank. The Japanese had indeed taken a bitter revenge. The two were flat broke again. Still worse, Ralph's new partner went raving crazy.

Disaster followed disaster. In five years, my poor brother had five partners, every one of whom died on his hands! His home letters were indeed grief stricken ones. Had he not been so well known in Manila, so completely trusted by governmental officials from splendid Governor Taft down to the Filipino alcaldes and the very policemen on their beats, "most anybody might have reason to call me a murderer." I remember Mama crying bitterly when she read that letter.

Papa kept sending money, and another man would offer to go into partnership, so wonderful were the hemp and copra from Davao. And at last, Ralph got on his feet so that he was able to resign from the court, and go to live at Davao. In the back of his mind was to develop the bay so that large steamers could and would stop there. He had been able to interest four other men to buy great haciendas in that region, and his hopes were high.

Gradually his house grew. Solid mahogany it was, with furniture of lovely carving. The one thing he required of an overseer was the ability to keep from drink, and to have a hand for carpentering; cabinet making, rather.

His "boys" learned to cook as he wanted it done; he even had a boy who made his suits of cool rajah silk. Ralph's dream now was wife and home. But she had to be from America. He wanted her to have energy, life, vim. He was so tired of Jap medicine—for he had to use it at Davao.

But by now there were rich Japs all over the Islands. When, in a time of homesickness, Ralph offered to sell his hacienda to one of them, the man laughed in his face. "Some-

day, me own your land—all for nothing. Why buy?"

Then it was he began to beg big ships to make his gulf a shipping point. He wrote to every official about fortifying it, wrote letter on letter to Washington about the ultimate need of garrisoning Davao Bay. The only result was that Gov. Leonard Wood, after his appointment, came down to look over the situation. Nothing came of it, however, except Ralph's appointment to be vice-governor of Mindanao Province.

It was when he was vested with this dignity that the Japs decided to be friendly with him. It was then he learned why they had stopped bothering him years before. It was the fact that he had stabilized the food problem in that whole region when an earthquake and volcanic eruption occurred, in the third year he was there. At that time, Ralph had introduced irrigation on his acres so that he had crops when others didn't and were on the point of starving. As such occurrences were common, nobody had ever thought anything could be done about it—but Ralph did. Too, that first time, he sent for rice enough to feed his friendly Igorote tribe through the season till new food grew.

It had impressed the Japs, anyway. Perhaps it had the Moros. They took up the idea of a big harbor. Ralph always said that without their help the Anglos could never have made it the splendid harbor it became. His dealings with the Japs were constant now. All the planters hired Japs, not that they wanted to, simply their expanding haciendas had to have laborers—and there were only Japs for hire! All their haciendas were having wonderful, steady crops. Warehouses were bulging. It was imperative that big boats should come to Davao—and a delegation came asking Ralph to go to Manila to persuade shipping companies to do it. Ralph went.

In vain he limped from company to company showing his handful of wonderful hemp, giving facts and figures, pleading for Davao to be made a port of call. None would listen. It was too damned far off. A whole thousand miles!

At this low ebb in his courage, the news of the World War came over the cable. Ralph sent a capable overseer down to Davao, and took the first steamer for home in the states.

On the tramp steamer he took influenza in the virulent form of 1918. He lay on the deck of the churning little steamer, hemorrhaging until he could not raise his head. Practically the whole boat was in a similar condition; many already had died. So many, indeed, that on arrival at Kobe, Japan, the boat docked and went no further. Japan too was in the throes of the epidemic.

Mercifully a missionary came to the boat. He took Ralph and an Englishman from Borneo home with him, nursed them to recovery, helped them procure passage back to their homes. My poor brother now had to use two canes instead of one. The flu had undermined his wonderful constitution. He was never to be robust again. The flu, not the tropics, had "got" him.

Yet two splendid things came of that terrible experience. Ralph had been impressed with the missionary's type of Christian Japanese. He was so impressed that, the next year after seeing the situation deteriorating at Davao among the planters, he made another trip to Japan, and employed a whole colony of Christian Japs. And he never regretted it.

The second thing was the interest in his project to bring big boats to Davao. His English friend came to his help with tales of the new development of oil in Borneo, and the close proximity of Borneo to Davao Bay!

Soon big steamers were poking their noses into Ralph's harbor, taking on great shipments of wonderful "Manila hemp" for our U. S. navy. Davao Province was made. Wealth poured in, to Anglo pockets—and to Jap.

My brother dreamed of a sweetheart wife. Around the wide porch on three sides of his beautiful mountain home, seven miles inland from the town and port, he had eighteen varieties of orchids abloom the year around. He brought a Jap cabinet maker who made new, beautifully

carved and adorned furniture. The double nets surrounding the cot beds were of the finest net of India. But he was sick and lonely. Not even the arrival of young John Robert, Jr., to be his right hand man, upon the conclusion of the World War, was able to satisfy his longing for a completeness of homelife.

In 1925, the two brothers came home for a six months' visit. On the boat, as they came through the Golden Gate in his last bath aboard, a lurch sent Ralph so violently against the side of the tub as to cause a violent hemorrhage which took him to a hospital on landing. Nothing could be found, in all that big hospital, to stop the flow of his lifeblood. He made his will between spells of half unconsciousness and was kept alive only by transfusions which our brother John gave. Helplessly we saw him fade away, drained of blood and strength.

But Ralph's arrival in the States had been an event well publicized in the California newspapers. His desperate illness, also, got into print. And, as God willed, an old army officer friend read about Ralph. He yanked on his coat, came breathlessly to the hospital. And he stopped that flow of lifeblood within the hour, an old, retired army doctor.

To make a long story shorter, Ralph married the pretty nurse. Months later she went halfway around the world to meet him, and they were married in Japan. In due time a lovely daughter came to Ralph. Monthly he had pictures taken of Mary Rhoda, who was named for both grandmothers.

But his health was going fast. A stroke slowed him still more. In spite of good, loving nursing, he slipped into the unknown, in far Davao. During those same months our blessed father was going too, in Santa Fé. Ralph went first. Papa was not told of the cable.

When mother and Ralph's favorite sister Toots (Amelia's nickname) went to be with Mabel and Mary Rhoda in their great loss, they heard the story.

It seems that his going was sudden in the end. Mabel

hardly had time to get help from Davao, seven miles away, much less notify planter neighbors still further distant. And, in such heat, burial has to be at once.

Mabel said that all that night, sitting with her dead, she kept hearing the thudding of native drums in the mountains and down the valleys, seemingly in every direction. It worried and frightened her. Next morning, when she arrived in Davao for the burial—which was to be at sea by Ralph's express request of long standing with friends there—she was further alarmed to find Moros and Igorotes by scores and hundreds in the town.

When the burial barge was brought to the dock which Ralph had built, it was a bower of the most exquisite orchids, orchids which those natives knew their old friend and protector loved above all other flowers. In the night watches their drums had spread the news of his passing, and their remembering hearts had done the rest. Some of those people had walked the whole night through to be there with their offering.

It was a strange funeral service, even for isolated Davao, Mindanao. There was the Japanese Protestant minister. There stood the Catholic priest with his small train of Filipino acolytes. And there, also, was the chief head-hunter Igorote skullman to see that his friend had a tribal benediction.

As the watchers from the shore saw the body slip into the harbor waters, they set up their tribal wailing for the dead. It was a wierd difficult ending for the young widow with her three-year-old child. But it was understood and significant to those who heard. Never before in the memory of the oldest of the ancient priests, had it been raised in the presence of a white man.

NECROLOGY

P. A. F. W.

Mark B. Thompson.—Death came to Mark B. Thompson, a veteran of the Spanish American war, on November 10, 1941, at Fort Bayard. He was born in Newton, Kansas, on May 23, 1881. When only seventeen years of age, he volunteered for service in the Spanish American war, and attained the rank of lieutenant. Upon his return to Kansas, he read law for more than two years in the office of L. H. Thompson, a practicing attorney in the federal courts and the Kansas state courts.

In 1904, Mark Thompson took up his residence at Alamogordo and on January 4, 1906, was admitted to practice before the New Mexico courts, upon motion of the late Edward A. Mann. He came to Santa Fé and associated himself with the late Aloys B. Renehan in the practice of law in the state capital. He was appointed district attorney with headquarters at Las Cruces and as such prosecuted Wayne Brazile for the slaying of Sheriff Pat Garrett who had gained widespread fame as the peace officer who ended with a bullet the notorious career of "Billy, the Kid." Thompson became a close friend of Albert B. Fall in whose defense he appeared during the Teapot Dome trials.

In 1928, Thompson moved to Phoenix, Ariz., where ill health compelled his retirement from active practice in 1938. However, he returned to New Mexico on August 6, 1938, and resumed active practice until his last illness took him to the U. S. hospital at Fort Bayard. The funeral occurred at Las Cruces on Wednesday, November 12.

Arthur Earle Carr.—Son of William and Rowena Mooney Carr, was born on a farm near Centerville, Michigan, April 14, 1884, and died at Santa Fé on November 26, 1941. In failing health for some years, he was active in busi-

ness up to the day of his death. He was seized with an attack of heart failure, while attending a theater performance and died while being taken to St. Vincent's Sanitarium.

Carr graduated from the Centerville high school in 1902, and worked his way through higher institutions of learning, attending Albion College, Michigan, 1903-1904; Bradley Polytechnic Institute, Peoria, Ill., 1908-1909, and he obtained the degree of bachelor of laws from La Salle Extension University, Chicago, on June 22, 1916. He was superintendent of schools in successive years, at Nottowa, Mich., 1904-1905; Bayfield, Colorado, 1906; Rockwood, Colo., 1907; Chama, N. M., 1914-1918; supervisor of manual training and athletics in the high school of Durango, Colo., 1908-1914. In these six years he read law in the office of Lieutenant Governor James A. Pullium, and was admitted to the New Mexico bar on August 9, 1916, engaging in practice at Chama in that year. He was admitted before the federal courts on August 6, 1917.

Upon coming to Santa Fé in 1918, Carr organized and incorporated the Monero Fuel and Lumber Company, being its general manager and president until 1936, when the business was sold. Since then he had been engaged in the real estate business in Santa Fé. Although interested in politics and treasurer of the republican state committee from 1935 to 1936, he never held political office. He served on the local draft board and on the legal advisory board of the American Red Cross during the last war.

Active for years in fraternal circles, he had been past chancellor and district deputy of the Knights of Pythias; past exalted ruler, president of the state association, deputy grand exalted ruler for New Mexico and life member of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks; and a member of Chama Lodge No. 17 of the Ancient Free and Accepted Masons. Interested in out-of-door sports, he belonged to the Chama Rod and Gun Club and the LaJara Gun Club. A member of the Presbyterian church, he also took part in civic affairs.

Survived by his wife, Frances E. Hubbard, whom he married in Durango, Colorado, on Christmas Day, 1906, he also leaves three children, Carol Rowena, aged 18; Richard Hubbard, aged 23, and Stanley, aged 21. Funeral services in Santa Fé on November 29, 1941, were conducted by the Rev. Kenneth Keeler of the First Presbyterian church, with ceremonies by the Elks at the grave in Fairview Cemetery.

William Clifford Reid.—The third of the older members of the New Mexico Bar to die within three weeks of each other, William Clifford Reid, was one of the few remaining veterans who were admitted to practice before the turn of the century. He too, like Attorney Mark Thompson who had died less than a month before, was a veteran of the Spanish American War, having attained the rank of captain.

Reid was born at Etna Green, Indiana, on December 16, 1868, graduated from the Warsaw, Ind., high school, and later attended Purdue University. He read law and was admitted to the bar in Ohio in 1894, and came to New Mexico in the following year. Business manager of the *Las Vegas Daily Optic* for one year, he was admitted to the New Mexico bar forty-five years ago, practicing law in Las Vegas until 1898, when he organized Company F, First Territorial Infantry, which was mustered in for the Spanish American War.

In 1896-1897 he served as chief clerk of the house of representatives of the territorial legislature. In 1901 he was appointed assistant United States attorney, which position he resigned in 1904 to take up private practice at Roswell with the firm of Richardson, Reid and Hervey. In June, 1906, he was appointed attorney general of New Mexico by Governor Herbert J. Hagerman. He retired when the latter went out of office and formed a partnership with James M. Hervey under the firm name of Reid & Hervey of Roswell.

In 1915, when he was named solicitor of the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé Railway, he took up his residence in Albuquerque where he was prominent in the industrial

development of the middle Rio Grande Valley and the organization of the Bluewater and Toltec irrigation project. Less than two weeks before his death, he was elected president of the New Mexico Reclamation Association which he had organized, and which on the day of his death, Monday, December 1, was to have met at his law office to plan its activities on behalf of reclamation in New Mexico.

Captain Reid had manifold interests. He was a well known attendant at legislative sessions, both during territorial days and later, and took a hand in helping to formulate legislation of importance to the progress and prosperity of the state. He was a staunch supporter of the public schools and was instrumental many a time in securing advance payment of taxes by the A. T. & S. F. Railway to bridge over deficient school budgets. He devoted years of endeavor to develop the Bluewater irrigation project into a successful enterprise and lent his talents and energy to the growth of the Middle Rio Grande Conservancy district. He was senior member at the time of his death of the law firm of Reid and Iden. Among other business activities he was a director of the Albuquerque National Bank and Trust Company. Captain Reid was popular socially and with Mrs. Reid entertained frequently and generously both in Santa Fé and in Albuquerque.

His death came suddenly, from heart failure at his home, 1010 West Tijeras Avenue, Albuquerque. The funeral took place on Wednesday, December 3, with Max Luna Camp, Spanish American War Veterans, conducting the services at the grave in Fairview Park, Albuquerque. He is survived by his widow and their son, Thomas Reid of Roswell, Chaves county agricultural agent.

Crestus E. Little.—One of five members of the New Mexico Bar to have died during the three weeks from November 10 to December 1, the death of Crestus E. Little occurred at Roswell on November 19. He was a native of Tremont, Mississippi, born on April 7, 1880, son of a farmer

who had served in the Confederate Army for four years, his parents being J. B. and Florinda Little. After attending Bowling Green, Kentucky, Business College, and the Normal School at Valparaiso, Indiana, he taught school for twelve years in northern Alabama.

In 1917, he received his degree from the law school of the University of Arizona and the following year settled in Roswell, being admitted to the New Mexico Bar in that year. In 1923, he entered into partnership with C. O. Thompson, a partnership which was dissolved when Thompson moved to San Bernardino, Calif.

Little was a Democrat in politics. Chancellor commander of Damon Lodge No. 15, Knights of Pythias, at Roswell, he went through all the chairs of this order as well as the Independent Order of Odd Fellows.

He was married on October 4, 1905, at Falkville, Alabama, to Callie Brown, a daughter of Charles W. and Mary N. Brown, and they had four sons, Welton O., Wendell E., Woodrow J., and Waldo B., who are all now in young manhood.

Oliver M. Lee.—Oliver M. Lee, cattleman of Alamogordo and former state senator, died on Dec. 15, 1941. He was 75 years of age and had been in poor health for about six months.

A pioneer Otero stockman, Lee had managed and owned large ranches for nearly fifty years. The Lee ranch southeast of Alamogordo is one of the largest in that section.

Lee came to New Mexico from Texas and immediately took a prominent place in early day developments. He was active in affairs of the New Mexico Cattle Growers' Assn. and for many years was New Mexico representative as director of the Federal Land Bank at Wichita, Kas.

A Republican, he was senator from the cattle sections of southern New Mexico for many years. He was Republican floor leader in the New Mexico senate for a long period.

Surviving are his widow, two daughters, Mrs. Kenni-

son, wife of Maj. Henry Kennison of Fort Bliss, Tex.; and Miss Alma Lee of Alamogordo; and five sons, Oliver Jr., Curtis, Vincent and Don, all of Alamogordo, and Jack, who is with the U. S. Army Air Corps at Phoenix.—*Albuquerque Morning Journal*, 12/16/41.

LeRoy Samuel Peters.—Dr. LeRoy Samuel Peters, nationally known tuberculosis specialist, died at his home, 805 Ridgecrest Drive, Albuquerque, on Dec. 17, 1941.

Dr. Peters was 59 years of age. About a month ago he suffered a heart attack on his way home from Texas where he had read papers before medical meetings in Amarillo and Lubbock.

For many years Dr. Peters had been prominently associated with work for the prevention and cure of tuberculosis. Born April 6, 1882, in St. Joseph's, Mich., he was graduated from the University of Minnesota and received his M.D. from Illinois in 1906. He came to New Mexico in 1907 and became medical director of the Cottage San in Silver City.

Since 1914 Dr. Peters had been a resident of Albuquerque. He was medical director of the Albuquerque San at one time and later of St. Joseph's San. For the past ten years he had been in private practice.

Dr. Peters was a member of the American Medical Association, past director of the National Tuberculosis Association, past president of the American Sanatorium Association, and a diplomat of the American Board of Internal Medicine. He was a member of the staffs of both St. Joseph's and Presbyterian Hospitals.

He belonged to Phi Delta Theta and Nu Sigma Nu, was a fellow of the American College of Physicians for which he was at one time governor of the New Mexico district. He was also a member of the American Association for Thoracic Surgery, the Southwestern Medical Association and the New Mexico Tuberculosis Association.

Prominent in civic activities, Dr. Peters was a man of broad interests. Known as an outstanding liberal and

humanitarian, his efforts were consistently on the side of social progress. In a recent article in *The New Mexico Quarterly Review*, he made a plea for adequate medical care for indigent and low-income groups in the state, calling the attention of the public to the need for diagnostic hospitals in central localities.

Dr. Peters is survived by his widow, one son, R. Fyfe Peters, who is with the CAA here, and a grandson, Stanley Fyfe Peters.—*Albuquerque Evening Tribune*, 12/17/41.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

A Correction.—The study on the “Coronado-Bocanegra Family Alliance” in our last issue brought a very interesting letter from Mr. G. R. G. Conway of Mexico City, an esteemed member of our Society of long standing. He calls our attention to the fact that the second Marqués del Valle was the oldest legitimate son of Hernando Cortés and not by one of Moctezuma’s daughters (vol. XVI, p. 419). This is shown beyond question by the last will of Cortés, which Mr. Conway edited in such a fine way in 1939 (vol. XV, p. 341).

At the same time, Mr. Conway sent a beautiful facsimile of a document which he found in Tlaxcala about ten years ago, a “Título de adelantado perpetuo del Reyno de la Nueva Galicia,” granted to Don Francisco Pacheco de Córdoba y Bocanegra and dated at Valladolid on March 6, 1610. This is most interesting, because of course it supplements the 1605 petition which was used in the above study (vol. XVI, p. 424) and it begins with a laudatory recital of the merits and services of Don Francisco Vázquez de Coronado (the petitioner’s maternal grandfather) who had been governor and captain general of Nueva Galicia from 1539 until his death (*sic*) and who had been chosen by the viceroy to lead the discovery and conquest of “the new land of Acusçibola and other provinces.” A notation at the end of this “Title” shows that this Coronado-Bocanegra scion had already been granted the habit in the Military Order of Santiago which was the third item in his petition and which in itself was a notable distinction.

Corroboration.—An interesting sidelight on the above “title” comes from an unpublished history which was found in 1929 in the Vatican Library by Dr. Charles Upson Clark while working in Rome under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institution. This was the *Compendio y descripción de las Indias occidentales* of the Spanish Carmelite Fray Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa (“León Pinelo”) which, at the time of

Espinosa's death in 1630, was partly in type. Unfinished, it has now been translated and edited for the Smithsonian by Dr. Clark.

While we were in Spain in the spring of 1939, Dr. Clark very kindly sent us from Paris certain excerpts of interest to our Southwest. It appears that, when Espinosa was in Mexico City in 1620 gathering data for his history, tradition had it that "New Galicia" owed its name to our Francisco Vázquez de Coronado (while serving there as governor) because his progenitors had founded their house in the kingdom of Galicia in Old Spain. Whether or not this is historically correct, Espinosa added that "his descendants, the marquises of Villamayor, are *adelantados mayores* of it [the kingdom of New Galicia]." This was in 1620, ten years after the date of Mr. Conway's document.

Annual Meeting, November 25, 1941.—The annual meeting of the Historical Society was held jointly with the Archaeological Society, in the Women's Board Room of the Art Museum, November 25th, 1941. The president, Paul A. F. Walter, presided. Dr. Frank Hibben gave an extremely interesting talk on his work in tracing evidence of early man in Alaska with the hope of connecting this evidence with similar evidence in the Southwest. About 100 people were present.

At an executive council meeting before the main meeting all the new applicants for membership were approved and the annual report (*see below*) prepared by the recording secretary was received. The committee also approved the report of Wayne Mauzy, acting treasurer, on the financial status of the society, and the ordering of certain supplies for the Historical Records Survey; also they nominated to the body of fellows Dr. Marion Dargan and Dr. Frank Reeve, both of whom are carrying on extensive historical research at the University of New Mexico.

After the society had approved the amendment of the constitution regarding officers, the nominating committee

consisting of Mr. Rupert F. Asplund, Mrs. Gerald Cassidy and Mrs. H. S. F. Alexander, made its report. There being no other nominations, the following were unanimously elected: president, Mr. Paul A. F. Walter; vice-president, Mr. Pearce C. Rodey of Albuquerque; corresponding secretary, Mr. Lansing B. Bloom; treasurer, Mr. Wayne L. Mauzy; recording secretary, Miss Hester Jones.

Annual Report of the Society.—The question of the collecting and organization of archives has been given considerable attention during the past year. The establishment of the depository of the Society at Albuquerque and the collecting of documents from county and state offices by the Historical Records Survey Project opened a new and important phase of work and responsibility. The project first supervised by Dr. George P. Hammond, then by Dr. Herbert Brayer, and now by Mr. Robert Massey, is located in the University library and is doing most important work. The photographing of the Spanish and Mexican Archives has been completed and the photostat set is now in bound form to be used for reference in Albuquerque, instead of placing further strain on the fragile original archives housed in the vault of the Old Palace. Many other records have been collected and catalogued for reference. These include records from the state capitol; from county offices, including material that had been thrown out when the Santa Fé County Court House moved to its new building; and private collections. The Blackmore papers secured in London in 1932 by Mrs. Robert Aitkin have been catalogued and augmented by Dr. Herbert Brayer.

Dr. Brayer also recommended to the Society a project for the microfilming of old newspapers, and that is now in progress.

At the August meeting of the Society, Secretary Lansing B. Bloom showed four Latin-American movies secured through Miss Irene A. Wright of the Division of Cultural Relations, Department of State, Washington.

The recording secretary has been assigned more completely the handling of public information and the museum front office has been given over to this service. The business of the Society has been assigned to the Museum business office, and the curatorial work to the archaeology curator, while bulletins, leaflets, and publicity come under the new activities of the secretary. This still further assures close relations of our Society with the Museum and the School of American Research.

Assistance was given to the sociology class of the Denver University summer school and to other special study groups. School classes were escorted through the museum, including the Fort Wingate Indian School and classes of the Santa Fé Indian School.

Exhibit loans have been made to our State University for the Coronado Museum, and to the Philbrook Art Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma. Material was loaned to the Daughters of the American Revolution for their play, also for their float in the Defense Day parade; to the Santa Fé stores for window displays during the premier of the Santa Fé Trail; and to museum staff members for lectures.

The original state flag (which belongs to the Society), designed by Mr. Kenneth M. Chapman and Dr. Harry Mera and made by Mrs. Mera, is being copied for a decoration for the battleship, *New Mexico*, by an arrangement made by Dr. Robert O. Brown as requested by his brother in the navy, Captain Walter E. Brown, who was placed in command of the ship at Iceland recently. The *New Mexico* dates back to the earlier world war and is a 40,000 ton ship. The flag design and sun symbol will be used on the bulk-head of the captain's cabin and possibly on the ship's nine or ten small motor boats.

The Palace of the Governors was used for the broadcasting of Bob Ripley's "Believe It or Not" program which featured Lew Wallace and the writing of part of Ben Hur in this building.

Requests by mail for historical information are increasing more and more.

The state tourist bureau has taken a set of photographs of the museum exhibits. The Colorado Fine Arts Center made photographs of much of our Spanish Colonial Arts material. The Santa Fé County Home Demonstration department made colored slides of *colchas* and Spanish designs with the purpose of encouraging the use of native designs in local homes.

Dr. Reginald Fisher has supervised recent installations of the eastern rooms. A pulpit patterned after that of the Las Trampas church has been added to the southeastern room where Spanish Colonial religious art is displayed to represent a typical old time New Mexico chapel. The northeastern room is being developed according to a plan of Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, as a mission room. The Carlos Vierra paintings of early New Mexico missions have been hung here. Six models of the missions are being prepared.

Some of the more special accessions were: a portrait of Governor Manuel Armijo, given by Mrs. Stephen E. Davis of Las Vegas; two black dresses worn in Trail days, given by Mrs. Henry Dendhal. One of these, made in Paris of black velvet and lace, was worn in Santa Fé by Mrs. Abraham Staab. A gift from F. D. Millet of the Waring School in Santa Fé is a carved wooden coat of arms and notice taken from the entrance hall of the Governor's Palace at Manila by Brigadier General Francis V. Greene and given to Mr. Millet's grandfather who was a newspaper correspondent in the Philippines. There were a number of purchases of early weavings and carvings.

The local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution has added to its loan of old china which belonged to Governor Thornton's wife, smaller collections of unusual pieces from F. S. Donnell, Mrs. Frank M. Needham, and Mrs. Gerald Cassidy.

The following memberships were added during 1941:

The Philosophical Society of Texas
The Public Library of San Francisco
H. W. Prather, Santa Rosa, N. M.
B. Westermarck Co., New York
J. L. Burke, Jr., Jal, N. M.
Department of Library and Archives, Phoenix
Dr. Peter M. Dunne, University of San Francisco
Mr. Henri Folmer, Chicago
Miss Mabel Adelaide Farnum, Brighton, Mass.
Floyd New Mexico High School
G. E. Fullerton, Glendale, California
John J. Gaffrey, Philadelphia
J. L. Hand, Watrous
Irving McNeil, Jr., El Paso
University of Notre Dame
Panhandle Plains Historical Society
John M. Slater, Washington, D. C.

The estimated number of visitors for the fiscal year ending June 1941 was 70,000, there having been an increase each month over 1940.—H. J.

Cherokee Strip celebration.—Last summer our Society received a very urgent invitation from Ponca City, Oklahoma, to participate in their anniversary observance of the opening of the Cherokee Strip, for the reason that "New Mexico furnished many of the original settlers who made the run into the Cherokee Strip on September 16, 1893." We were informed that the principal event would be the rededicating of the "Pioneer Woman" statue which had been donated to Oklahoma by their former governor E. W. Marland and which stands in that city.

That statue, by the way, is not the same as the one which now stands in the park on North Fourth Street, Albuquerque. There were twelve studies submitted by eminent sculptors, and the remaining eleven are today along the avenue leading into the Marland estate. Replicas of one or more of them were presented to neighboring states, and some of our readers doubtless recall the furore stirred up by an artist

faction in Santa Fé at the proposal to locate it in that city!

None of our officers could accept the cordial invitation to attend the celebration, but at our request one of our esteemed members, Dr. Grant Foreman of Muskogee, Okla., did attend with Mrs. Foreman and later he wrote that the whole affair was most enjoyable. In the exercises at the statue, each visiting representative deposited a beautiful wreath, and Dr. Foreman expressed our felicitations:

New Mexico, younger in statehood than Oklahoma, is, at the same time, that ancient "Land of Cibola" into which the first pioneer women came with Coronado in 1540. With hearty greetings of the Historical Society of New Mexico, I lay here a symbol of that homage which we all feel for the brave women who are typified by this monument.

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 | EDGAR L. HEWETT |
| RALPH P. BIEBER | FREDERICK W. HODGE |
| WILLIAM C. BINKLEY | ALFRED V. KIDDER |
| LANSING B. BLOOM | J. LLOYD MECHAM |
| HERBERT E. BOLTON | THEODOSIUS MEYER, O. F. M. |
| AURELIO M. ESPINOSA | FRANCE V. SCHOLDS |
| CHARLES W. HACKETT | ALFRED B. THOMAS |
| GEORGE P. HAMMOND | PAUL A. F. WALTER |

CONSTITUTION
OF THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO
(As amended Nov. 25, 1941)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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