New Mexico Historical Review

Volume 18 | Number 2 Article 1

4-1-1943

# Full Issue

New Mexico Historical Review

Office
of the Editor
New Mexico Historical Review

2/26 -
Hyperion

# NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

# NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW



VOLUME XVIII
1943

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

# CONTENTS

## NUMBER 1, JANUARY, 1943


| | | Page |
|---|---|---|
| The New Mexico-California Caravan of 1847-48 | John Adam Hussey | 1 |
| The Government and the Navaho, 1883-88 | Frank D. Reeve | 17 |
| The New Mexico Statutes: observations in connection with their most recent compilation | Arie Poldervaart | 52 |
| New Mexico's Fight for Statehood, 1895-1912: VI. | Marion Dargan | 60 |
| Book Reviews: | | |
| Hackett and Shelby (eds.), *Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico and Otermín's attempted reconquest, 1680-82* | L.B.B. | 97 |
| Coulter, *John Jacobus Flournoy: champion of the common man in the ante-bellum South* | Marion Dargan | 101 |
| White, *Lewis H. Morgan's journal of a trip to southwestern Colorado and New Mexico, 1878* | P.A.F.W. | 104 |
| Quaife, *The Flag of the United States* | L.B.B. | 106 |
| Necrology: Grace McDonald Phillips; Elmer E Studley; Marion L. Fox; Jay Turley | P.A.F.W. | 108 |


## NUMBER 2, APRIL, 1943


| | | |
|---|---|---|
| New Mexico and the Sectional Controversy, 1846-1861: I | Loomis M. Ganaway | 113 |
| New Mexico's Fight for Statehood, 1895-1912: VII | Marion Dargan | 148 |
| Book Reviews: | | |
| White, *The Pueblo of Santa Ana, New Mexico* | P.A.F.W. | 176 |
| Castetter and Bell, *Pima and Papago Indian Agriculture* | P.A.F.W. | 179 |
| Clark (ed.), *Vázquez de Espinosa: Compendium and Description of the West Indies* | L.B.B. | 180 |
| McCarthy, *Spanish Beginnings in the Philippines, 1564-1572* | L.B.B. | 186 |
| Keleher, *The Maxwell Land Grant* | P.A.F.W. | 188 |

*Page*

Notes and Comments:
St. Joseph and the Christ Child (see frontispiece)
The *Via Crucis* at the Cristo Rey Church, Santa Fé
A Snap-Shot of the late Archbishop Gerken

Necrology: . . . . . 194
Rudolph Aloysius Gerken; Inez Barnes Westlake; Evon Z. Vogt; Thomas P. Gable; George St. Clair; Florencia Montoya; Peter Cameron

NUMBER 3, JULY, 1943

New Mexico and the Sectional Controversy, 1846-1861: II . . . Loomis M. Ganaway 205

Historical Society Minutes, 1859-1863 (ed.) L. B. Bloom 247

Book Reviews:
Farnum, *The Seven Golden Cities* P.A.F.W. 312
Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage in Texas*, V L.B.B. 313
Steck, *Education in Spanish North America during the 16th Century*

Notes and Comments: . . . . . 316
Report to the Governor by special committee on preservation of records
Report on annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association at Cedar Rapids in April . . . . H. O. Brayer

Necrology . . . . . 322
Mariot Hudd Murphy . . . P.A.F.W.

NUMBER 4, OCTOBER, 1943

New Mexico and the Sectional Controversy, 1846-1861: III . . . Loomis M. Ganaway 325

New Mexico's Wartime Food Problems, 1917-1918: I Geo. Winston Smith 349

Punche: Tobacco in New Mexico History Leslie A. White 386

Historical Society Minutes, 1859-1863 (Concl.) (ed.) L. B. Bloom 394

Notes and Comments:
The Forgotten Crisóbal de Oñate . L.B.B. 429
The Hewett Foundation . . P.A.F.W. 431
The Belen Sesqui-Centennial . . L.B.B. 433

Errata and Index

OLD PAINTING: ST. JOSEPH AND THE CHRIST CHILD

*(See page 191)*

# NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XVIII APRIL, 1943 NO. 2


## NEW MEXICO AND THE SECTIONAL CONTROVERSY, 1846-1861[1]


*By* LOOMIS MORTON GANAWAY


Until recent years, the study of New Mexico history has excited no general interest. Just as American social, economic, and political trends have been tardy in affecting New Mexico, so interest in historical research for that region has lagged. In other sections of the country, opportunities for important studies have presented themselves readily, but in an attempt to appraise a series of events in New Mexico history, difficulties are almost insuperable. The source materials are widely scattered, and in certain instances, the documents are practically inaccessible. Possibly for these reasons, the sectional controversy as it involved New Mexico has not heretofore provoked extensive research. This study is an attempt to interpret the sectional controversy in its relation to the nation and that region.

In approaching this problem, one must appreciate the culture of a people who had been essentially Spanish for over two hundred years.

When New Mexico was annexed to the United States, the most provocative of Anglo-American institutions was slavery. This system of labor was unfamiliar to the natives because of the absence of negroes in that region. In the period from 1848 until 1861, the conflicting efforts of pro-slavery and anti-slavery forces to control New Mexico represented one aspect of a struggle that culminated in the American Civil War.

1. The study here published, somewhat revised in form, was accepted at Vanderbilt University in 1941 in part fulfillment of requirements for the doctorate degree. It is based on independent research which the author pursued at the Huntington, Bancroft, and Congressional Libraries and the National Archives. At present Dr. Ganaway is serving with the A. A. F. T. T. C. at Kessler Field, Mississippi.

## CHAPTER I

## SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL CONDITIONS OF NEW MEXICO IN 1846

THE first white man to reach the Pueblo Indian country in what today is known as New Mexico was a Franciscan father, Friar Marcos de Niza. Guided by a negro slave, he approached one of the towns of Zuñi in May of 1539. According to one tradition, the slave was captured by the Indians and was tossed from a high cliff to his death, after which the friar, who had not ventured to enter the town, hastily retraced his steps southward. The following year, Don Francisco Vásquez de Coronado led a large company into New Mexico to investigate the reported "Seven Cities of Cíbola." His expedition was regarded as a failure, but the information acquired by these conquistadors laid a basis for further exploration and, eventually, for permanent settlement of New Mexico by the Spanish and their descendants, the Mexicans.

For some years after the American occupation (1846), New Mexico included the present state of that name in addition to Arizona and southeastern Colorado, a total area of approximately 240,000 square miles. Until about 1850, many Americans living east of the Mississippi believed that, because New Mexico lay in the same latitude as southern states, it would be suitable for a similar type of agricultural economy. However, within a few years, travelers were enlightening readers, frequently in a manner that would not invite an extensive migratory movement. In one contemporary account, New Mexico was described as "a desert land . . . almost as unfitted for agricultural purposes as Arabia."[1] Another writer noted the "deserts, parched mountains, poisonous reptiles, and wild Indians."[2] Although the terri-

1. William W. H. Davis, *El Gringo; or New Mexico and her People* (New York, 1857), 231-232.

2. *Journal of William H. Richardson, a Private Soldier in the Campaign of New and Old Mexico* . . . (New York, 1848), unbound pamphlet, Huntington Library Collections.

tory possessed all of these, the writer failed to note the presence of a number of rivers that afforded a limited opportunity for agricultural pursuits by irrigation.

The Spaniards and their descendants, the Mexicans, discovered that their farming operations were restricted not only by a limited water supply but also by the nature of the soil, which in many localities contained a high percentage of mineral matter. They likewise observed that the altitude of that region, averaging several thousand feet above sea level, limited the extent and quality of their crops. For these reasons, they devoted their interest to the sheep and cattle industries that proved profitable on the high, level table lands.

Geographical phenomena were determining factors in the activities of the different racial groups in New Mexico and fundamental causes for the continuous state of warfare that characterized their relations until after the American Civil War. Two distinct civilizations had developed among the Indians long before the coming of the Spaniards. Along the river valleys dwelt the pueblo-type Indians, who lived as groups in large stone or adobe buildings similar to modern apartment houses. These communal houses gave to those Indians their general name of Pueblos. They were farmers skilled also in weaving, pottery, and basketry. They enjoyed a simple but effective system of government, in which each town was independent of all others.

Surrounding the Pueblos on all sides were more warlike, nomadic peoples: Navahos, Utahs, Comanches, and Apaches. Propinquity and cupidity had made robbers of these nomads, who on frequent occasions attacked and plundered the peaceful, agricultural Pueblos. The Spanish on their arrival not only added to the problem of economic survival, but also gave to it a political significance by seeking to establish Spanish sovereignty over all the Indians in New Mexico. The Pueblos were unable to resist, but the nomadic Indians eventually were sufficiently strong to assume the offensive and attack the Spaniards and Mexicans no less readily than

they did the Pueblos. Thus, for nearly two centuries before American occupation, a more or less continuous state of war prevailed in New Mexico.

At the time of its annexation to the United States, a small minority of Mexicans owned large tracts of land which their ancestors had received as grants from Spain. Here they lived in a feudal manner, enjoying a standard of living similar to that of wealthy landholders elsewhere. Occasionally they might travel to Santa Fé, the capital of New Mexico under Spanish and Mexican sovereignty.

To many Anglo-American visitors at Santa Fé in the 1850's, the first impression was that of a squalor which seemed evident in all directions. Most of the five or six thousand inhabitants lived in low, flat adobe houses along narrow, winding streets. Around the plaza were located the government buildings, where occasionally travelers saw Anglo-American traders, Mexicans, Pueblos, and perhaps when not at war, Navahos or Apaches. Concerning the Mexicans, an American visiting Santa Fé about 1850, wrote:

> The race, as a whole, is and has been for centuries, at a standstill. The same agricultural implements that their remote ancestors used, they cling to tenaciously, resisting all innovations of improving machinery. . . . In short, a population almost, if not absolutely, impervious to progress either in business, science, education, or religion; their daily fare coarse and meager, their necessities few, their ambitions none. Far different is the case with the families of pure Castilian blood, who own most of the livestock found in the territory.[3]

The development of the Santa Fé trade between Missouri and New Mexico in the 1820's further complicated the meeting of the races. A few Anglo-Americans had ventured into New Mexico before that date, but they had come in no great numbers because of restrictions by Spanish authori-

3. Joseph G. McCoy, *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest*, Ralph P. Bieber, ed., *Southwest Historical Series*, VIII (Glendale, 1939), 396.

ties. If an account by John Rowzee Peyton be accepted, he was probably the first Anglo-American to visit New Mexico. According to his story, as edited by his grandson, Peyton was taken prisoner by a Spanish sea captain in the Gulf of Mexico and was brought to Santa Fé during the winter of 1773-1774. After being held captive for several months, he effected an escape and returned to his native home in Virginia with no high regard for Spanish hospitality.[4]

Among the first Anglo-Americans to give an authentic account of his visit to New Mexico was Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike. As a leader of a survey in the Louisiana Purchase, he was commissioned to explore the country drained by the Red and Arkansas rivers and to establish friendly relations with the nomadic tribes who inhabited that region.[5] During the course of his exploration in the winter of 1806-1807, Pike crossed the Sangre de Cristo Mountains into the valley of the Rio Grande in Spanish territory. When arrested by Spanish officials for building a fort and raising the flag of the United States on territory under Spanish authority. Pike claimed an innocent error in calculating his position. Even so, he and his small party were escorted to Santa Fé. After a short stay there, he was taken to Chihuahua, where he was released by the Spanish authorities, and escorted back to the United States in July, 1807. Pike's account of his experiences and his observations in New Mexico aroused interest among the American people, who were unacquainted with that region. Among other things noted by Pike was the absence of negroes in New Mexico in contrast with the large number found in most Spanish colonies.[6]

---

4. John Lewis Peyton, *The Adventures of My Grandfather* (London, 1867), 63-64. For further information on this Peyton "yarn," the reader is referred to the *New Mexico Historical Review*, IV, 239-272. After a little perousal he will probably decide that Grandfather Peyton never saw New Mexico, and that either he was a great liar or his grandson an unscrupulous romancer.—Editor.

5. Elliott Coues, ed., *The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike* (3 vols., New York, 1895), II, 357-563; a brief account of the early Anglo-American explorers in New Mexico is that by Rupert Norval Richardson and Carl Coke Rister, *The Greater Southwest* (Glendale, 1934), 113-139.

6. Coues, ed., *The Expedition of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, II, 655-656.

During the decade following Pike's journey, infrequent efforts were made by Anglo-American traders to promote trade with New Mexico. Most of these expeditions were unsuccessful because of the inhospitable policy of the Spanish government towards the traders, or the menace of the hostile plains Indians.[7] Not until Mexico finally gained independence from Spain in 1821 did the prospect of friendly trade relations between the northern provinces of that country and the United States became a reality.[8]

Among the first to take advantage of this favorable change in policy was Captian William Becknell of Howard County, Missouri.[9] In command of a small party of traders, Captain Becknell led them to Santa Fé during the first year of Mexican independence, and made of the trip a profitable financial venture. In the following year, he returned to New Mexico, and other traders were quick to engage in similar activity. From that year, the trade flourished, despite recurring acts of hostility by plains Indians and natural and difficult barriers to be crossed between Missouri and Santa Fé. As the trade increased so rapidly in volume, it employed hundreds and thousands of men. Many Missourians and Kentuckians engaged in it, and some of them settled permanently in New Mexico.

Marriages with the New Mexicans were not infrequent, and other relationships gave to New Mexico a permanent Anglo-American colony of settlers. Charles Bent, a trader of distinguished New England ancestry, who became the first civil governor under the temporary government established by the military in 1846, married Maria Jaramillo, a member of a distinguished native family. Christopher ("Kit") Carson married her sister, Josefa. By such relationships, the Anglo-American settlers gained influence in the political and economic opportunities of the territory.

---

7. Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies, or the Journal of a Santa Fé Trader*, Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed., *Early Western Travels*, XIX (Cleveland, 1905), 176-177.

8. Katharine Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West; how we won the land beyond the Mississippi* (2 vols., New York, 1912), II, 77.

9. *History of the Overland Trade*, bound collection of clippings from the St. Louis *Republican*, 1860, Huntington Library Collections.

As the Santa Fé trade increased in volume, a movement was initiated by traders in Missouri for the building by the federal government of a road to the border of New Mexico.[10] Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri introduced a bill to this effect at the last session of the Eighteenth Congress.[11] Accompanying the bill was a report by Augustus Storrs, a trader, who suggested the importance of such a road if the United States wished to encourage friendly relations with Mexico. In speaking of the Mexicans, he said:

> The profession of respect for our national character, and of attachment to our principles, are universal [by the Mexicans]; and their actions are a sufficient proof of sincerity. The door of hospitality is opened with a cheerful welcome, and every effort of friendship and kindness which might be expected from intimate acquaintance, is voluntarily proffered by a stranger. In all their principal towns, the arrival of Americans is a source of pleasure, and the evening is dedicated to dancing and festivity. . . . Their accomodations are generally indifferent, but they deserve much praise for their kindness, urbanity, and hospitality. Few nations practice these virtues to a greater degree.[12]

The Benton bill passed congress and was signed by President James Monroe as one of his last official acts as president.[13] It authorized the expenditure of ten thousand dollars for marking a route to the New Mexico border and of an additional twenty thousand dollars to the plains Indians for a right of way through the country claimed by them. In the next few years, the federal government not only assisted the trade by marking such road, but on several occasions provided the traders with military escorts.[14] In 1832, the United States and Mexico entered in a commercial

---

10. Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (2 vols., Cedar Rapids, 1912), II, 116-117.

11. *Register of Debates in Congress*, 18 Congress, 2 Session, Appendix I, p. 102.

12. Archer Butler Hulbert, ed., *Southwest on the Turquoise Trail* (Denver, 1933), *Overland to the Pacific*, Vol. II, pp. 85-86.

13. Act of March 3, 1825, *U. S. Statutes at Large*, IV, 100-101.

14. Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, II, 109.

treaty, by the terms of which trade barriers were lightened by the Mexican government.[15]

Anglo-American traders in their penetration of New Mexico soon advanced beyond the vicinity of Santa Fé. In a few years they were carrying on operations as far south as Sonora and Chihuahua. However, no great migration of settlers from the States followed the trail into New Mexico as they did to California and Oregon. It appeared clear to an American army officer on tour of duty in New Mexico during 1850 that the country would never invite a large immigration from the United States, for in such country of "rugged mountains and waste plains" it would not be possible to "support a population in numbers and wealth at all proportioned to its extent of territory."[16] Further hindrances to any notable migration from the United States were, in his opinion, the hostility of the Indians and the low degree of culture among the Mexicans.

According to contemporary accounts, the presence of Anglo-Americans in New Mexico did not greatly elevate the standard of morals and general refinement. An English visitor in New Mexico in 1846 described the American soldiers at Santa Fé as "the dirtiest, rowdiest crew I have ever seen collected together."[17]

Another traveler regarded the northern departments of Mexico more favorably, although he did not visit so far north as Santa Fé. Waddy Thompson, the American minister to Mexico in 1844, who was more interested in the economic than the social aspects of Mexico, wrote that much of the country was a vast, undeveloped "El Dorado."[18] The greatest wealth, he said, was probably in the northern departments or provinces, which were but loosely connected with the central government.[19] He further observed that if

15. Hunter Miller, ed., *Treaties and other International Acts of the United States of America* (5 vols., Washington, 1931-1937), III, 599-640.

16. George A. McCall, *Letters from the Frontiers* (Philadelphia, 1868), 497.

17. George F. Ruxton, *Adventures in Mexico and the Rocky Mountains* (London, 1847), 189.

18. Waddy Thompson, *Recollections of Mexico* (New York, 1846), 232-233.

19. *Ibid.*, 234.

Mexico were inhabited by "our race," the products of the mines alone would be worth five times their current value under Mexican operation.[20] Despite the potential wealth that awaited only economic exploitation, he expressed no agreement with those of his countrymen who were looking covetously to the further extension of territory. Although admitting that it was not often "with nations, at least, that such temptations are resisted," he urged the American people to "remember that wealth improperly acquired never ultimately benefitted any individual or a nation."[21]

Despite such admonitions, he provoked the interest of at least a part of the American public by allusion to cotton production in Mexico:

> I have before remarked that enough cotton is not raised to supply the very limited demand of the Mexican manufacturers. The most of this is produced in the districts which lie upon the Pacific Ocean, but the climate of nearly all Mexico is suited to the growth of cotton. I can see no reason why it is not produced in much larger quantities, bearing, as it does, so enormous a price, except the characteristic indolence of the people. If the country was occupied by a population from this country equal to that of Mexico, the amount produced in the world would be doubled.[22]

Thompson did not suggest the introduction of negro slavery as a proper solution to the labor problem, if the production of cotton were to be increased. Mexican laws affecting slavery met with no objection from the department of New Mexico, because they were not enforced.[23] Likewise, when another act was passed by the central government in 1837, abolishing slavery throughout Mexico and its provinces, but granting compensation to all slaveholders excepting the revolting Texans, no protest was heard from New Mexico. The New Mexicans, however, continued to maintain two forms of slavery that flourished in that region.

20. *Ibid.*, 204.
21. *Ibid.*, 204-205.
22. *Ibid.* 209.
23. Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West*, II, 373.

The enslavement of Indians had become general during the seventeenth century. According to one account, this practice seemed to "have rested on long custom, and not on law, except that no laws were invoked to prevent it."[24] The Indians were bought and sold much as were negroes on American slave markets. A healthy girl of eight would bring four hundred dollars. Estimates of the number of Indian slaves in New Mexico varied, but in a report of 1867, the number was believed to be between fifteen hundred and three thousand.[25]

The other form of practical slavery was the system of peonage, that was widespread throughout New Mexico. To most Anglo-Americans, the similarity between this system of labor and American negro slavery was apparent immediately. Most observers, however, agreed that American negro slavery was more humane than the Mexican system. Lieutenant W. H. Emory, an army officer on duty during 1846 in New Mexico, in expressing his conviction that negro slavery would never be profitable in that region, said:

> The profits of labor are too inadequate for the existence of negro slavery. Slavery, as practiced by the Mexicans, under the form of peonage, which enables their master to get the services of the adult while in the prime of life, without the obligations of rearing him in infancy, supporting him in old age, or maintaining his family affords no data for estimating the profits of slave labor, as it exists in the United States.[26]

Under such circumstances, he added, it would be unprofitable for an American slaveholder to bring negroes to New Mexico among peons "nearly of their own color."

One of the most enlightening comparisons between the Mexican system of peonage and the American system of negro slavery was written by an American civil official in New Mexico for several years prior to the American Civil

---

24. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888* (San Francisco, 1889), 681.

25. *Ibid.*, 681, note.

26. *House Exec. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., no. 41, pp. 98-99.

War. In his opinion, the wealthy inhabitants of New Mexico could gain nothing by encouraging the introduction of negro slavery in a region where the prevailing system possessed many of the benefits but none of the responsibilities of the American institution. After noting the universal recognition of that institution in Spanish-American colonies, he continued:

> The only practical difference between it and negro slavery is, that the peons are not bought and sold in the markets as chattels; but in other respects I believe the difference is in favor of the negro. The average of intelligence among the peons is lower than that among the slaves of the Southern states; they are not so well cared for, nor do they enjoy so many of the blessings and comforts of domestic life. In truth, peonism is a more charming name for a species of slavery as abject and oppressive as any found on the American continent.[27]

The Mexicans, he said, had dignified the institution by calling it a "contract between master and servant," but the contracts were "all on the side of the master." For his labor, the peon received an average wage of five dollars a month, out of which he was expected to support hmiself and his family. Should the peon become dissatisfied with his work, he was privileged to leave the service of his master, but only if he had paid the master in full for any debts or other obligations. In noting the restricting effects, he continued:

> This the poor peon is unable to do, and the consequence is that he and his family remain in servitude all their lives. Among the proprietors in the country, the master generally keeps a store, where the servant is obliged to purchase every article he wants, and thus it is an easy matter to keep him always in debt. The master is required to furnish the peon with goods at the market value, and may advance him two-thirds the amount of his monthly wages. But these provisions, made for the benefit

27. Davis, *El Gringo*, 231.

> of the peon, are in most instances disregarded, and he is obliged to pay an enormous price for everything he buys, and is allowed to run in debt beyond the amount of his wages, in order to prevent him leaving his master.[28]

When parents were "driven into a state of slavery," as the statute stated, they had the right to bind their children to masters, thus marking them as slaves from childhood. Should a peon escape from his master, he could be arrested in any part of the territory and returned to his master with proper punishment, usually by the infliction of lashes. In concluding his observations, this writer said:

> One of the most objectionable features in this system is, that the master is not obliged to maintain the peon in sickness or in old age. When he becomes too old to work any longer, like an old horse who is turned out to die, he can be cast adrift to provide for himself. These are the leading features of peonism, and in spite of the name it bears, the impartial reader will not be able to make anything out of it but slavery.[29]

In the opinion of Major John Ayres, a federal army officer, who wrote retrospectively of his experiences in New Mexico,

> the lower classes were all peons to the higher. There were probably not more than 500 or 700 rich Mexicans in the territory. . . . By their laws, in earlier days, their peons could be brought back if they ran away; it was worse than slavery, for slaves had a merchantile value, while if a peon died his place was at once filled with no loss but the small debt he was working out; slaves, too, were generally clothed by their masters, while these peons wore little or nothing; their masters cared for nothing but the work out of them.[30]

---

28. *Ibid.*, 232.

29. *Idem.*

30. John Ayres, A Soldier's Experience in New Mexico, MS., Bancroft Library, Berkeley.

As late as 1867, Samuel Ellison, acting in the capacity of a federal investigator to charges that peonage was a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, recorded that "peons are as much an article of trade as a horse or a sheep."[31]

From such men, who were not impelled by political considerations to defend or condemn the economic and social practices in New Mexico, the evidence seems reasonably certain that the controlling native families were not the "liberty loving freemen" that New England anti-slavery writers were wont to describe them.

As Major Ayres noted, between five hundred and seven hundred families represented the economic aristocracy of the territory. This group was of a total Mexican population, estimated from fifty thousand to seventy thousand in 1850.[32] The nomadic Indians constituted the second largest group at the same date. One official estimated the number at 36,900 in 1846,[33] and an army officer made a slightly higher estimate four years later.[34] The Pueblos, decimated by both the nomadic Indians and the Mexicans, numbered between six and ten thousand.[35]

As with other estimates, that for the Anglo-Americans about 1850 varied from a few hundred to several thousand, excluding the United States army.[36] Many of this group

31. Samuel Ellison, History of New Mexico, Ms., Bancroft Library, Berkeley. This was edited by J. Manuel Espinosa in the *New Mexico Historical Review*, XIII, 1-13.—Editor.

32. Charles Florus Coan, *A History of New Mexico* (3 vols., Chicago, 1925), I, 325, gives an estimate of 99,204 people in New Mexico in 1844, counting Indians. In 1845, he cites a census, accounting for 67,736 pure white or mixed population. R. L. Duffus, *The Santa Fé Trail* (New York, 1930), states that the Mexican population in 1850 was 61,547.

33. Charles Bent to William Medill, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 10, 1846, in Annie H. Abel, ed., *The Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun While Indian Agent at Santa Fé, and Superintendent of Indian Affairs in New Mexico*, (Washington, 1915), 8.

34. McCall, *Letters from the Frontiers*, 522.

35. *Ibid.*, 498.

36. Calhoun to Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Santa Fé, February 16, 1851, in Abel, ed., *Calhoun's Correspondence*, 305, gives estimates; as does David Yancey Thomas, *A History of Military Occupation in Newly Acquired Territory of the United States* (New York, 1904), *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*, XX, no. 2, p. 114.

resided at Santa Fé or in the vicinity of the town. Smaller colonies, however, were located at Taos, Albuquerque, and Las Vegas. In addition to the large number of former Missourians who constituted this group, observers noted the rapidly increasing population of Jewish origin, principally from New York.

The sectional controversy in New Mexico after the occupation of that region in 1846, originated among the Anglo-Americans. They were the leaders who directed petitions that were sent to Congress, signed by natives. They provided congressmen with memorials that were heralded throughout the country as representing public opinion in that territory. For a short time, they succeeded in focusing national attention on New Mexico, among the native population of which, the problems of slavery extension, a Wilmot Proviso, territorial government or statehood provoked no profound interest.

# CHAPTER II

# NEW MEXICO IN NATIONAL POLITICS, 1846-1850

If in 1820, the majority of the American people believed that the Missouri Compromise settled the problem of slavery extension, they did not foresee the continuing westward movement. Within a few years, hundreds and thousands of immigrants pushed beyond the Mississippi into Texas under Mexican sovereignty. These pioneers took with them not only their scanty possessions, but the laws and customs of the sections from which they came. There, they came into conflict with the laws of Mexico. To protect themselves, they waged a successful revolution and sought admission into the federal union of the United States.

In 1845, when James K. Polk was inaugurated as president of the United States, Texas after nearly ten years as an independent republic, was ready to be admitted into the Union, bringing with it slavery, a probable war with Mexico, and the fulfillment of Polk's campaign pledge of territorial expansion.[1]

The anticipated war with Mexico began in April of the following year, but scarcely had it begun before the question of slavery extension was raised by men who could foresee the acquisition of a great western domain for the United States. One of the most voluble of these men was David Wilmot, a representative in congress from Pennsylvania. Shortly after the outbreak of hostilities, he introduced a resolution into the house, which if adopted by congress would arrest the extension of slavery into any territory that might be acquired from Mexico. In a conversation with Wilmot, the president reported himself as having said:

> I told him [Wilmot] I did not desire to extend slavery, that I would be satisfied to acquire by treaty from Mexico the Provinces of New Mexico & Californias, and that in these Provinces slavery

1. Milo Milton Quaife, ed., *The Diary of James K. Polk* (4 vols., Chicago, 1910), I, 496-497.

> could probably never exist, and the great probability was that the question would never arise in the future organization of territorial or State Governments in these territories.[2]

If President Polk succeeded in allaying his fears, Wilmot felt further cause for alarm when he read a code of laws for New Mexico as decreed by General Stephen Watts Kearny, after the occupation of that region by American military force. In an address before the house of representatives, Wilmot said:

> The fundamental law which General Kearny laid down for the government of the country bears the impress and proves the existence of slavery. Yes, sir, slavery is there. . . . The Constitution or fundamental law which General Kearny lays down for the government of that country, in prescribing the qualifications of electors, says: "every free male" shall be entitled to the right of suffrage, etc. Does not this imply there are males there *not free?* Already, sir, on the route of travel between Missouri and New Mexico slaves are found, who are being removed thither. Slavery is there, sir —there, in defiance of law. Slavery does not wait for all the forms of annexation to be consummated. It is on the move, sir. It is in New Mexico.[3]

Not many slaves were on the move, for according to the census of 1850, New Mexico had a total negro population of twenty-two, not one of whom was listed as a slave.[4] Had Wilmot gone further and pictured a great slave empire already in progress of development in that region, with cotton fields flourishing and a southern culture firmly established, his statements probably would have passed unquestioned by most people of both the older sections of the country in 1846. Even though commercial relations between the United States and the northern provinces of Mexico had been in progress for nearly three decades prior to the war,

2. *Ibid.*, II, 289.
3. *Congressional Globe*, 29 Cong., 2 Sess., 317.
4. *Seventh Census of the United States*, 1850, 998.

the average American who was unfamiliar with frontier conditions assumed that because New Mexico lay in the same latitude with southern states, slavery would be profitable there.[5] In the defeat of Mexico and the acquisition of her northern departments, there were doubtless many southerners who in 1846 were visualizing a prosperous field for economic penetration.

Consequently, in the first year of the war, southerners generally supported President Polk's war policy, while the people of New England were indifferent or openly hostile.[6] So strong in fact was the support given to the Wilmot Proviso by New England and the Middle Atlantic states that the possibility of annexing any portion of Mexico seemed remote during the initial period of the war; southerners were believed, of course, to be unwilling to approve any annexation in which slavery would be barred by federal law.[7]

What followed was a campaign of enlightenment by expansionists, to whom sectional interests were secondary in importance. Much of this campaign was directed to northern politicians and to the public through newspapers.[8] They were told that slavery was prohibited by natural conditions from ever being a profitable enterprise, but should slaves be imported into New Mexico, they would find an easy escape into Mexico.[9] Expansionists warned the North that by supporting the Wilmot Proviso the opportunity for acquiring potential free states would be forfeited, for it was agreed that the South would oppose any annexation to which the Wilmot Proviso was attached. Following closely upon this warning was the proposal of Lewis Cass, a senator from Michigan, who suggested a doctrine of "popular sovereignty" for any territory that might be acquired from Mexico. To some northern politicians, Cass's proposal seemed reason-

5. John D. P. Fuller, "The Slavery Question and the Movement to Acquire Mexico, 1846-1848," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXI (1934), 31.

6. *Ibid.*, 32.

7. Justin H. Smith, *War with Mexico* (2 vols., New York, 1919), II, 272-274; Fuller, "The Slavery Question and the Movement to Acquire Mexico, 1846-1848," 33-34.

8. *Ibid.*, 34-35.

9. *Idem.*

able, especially because slavery could scarcely expect to find support in a region where it would be unprofitable.

Meanwhile, in the southern states, the popular approval for the president's war policy gave place to a wavering interest in the conflict. The campaign of enlightenment had infiltrated beyond its mark. Only the expansionists along the southwestern frontier, like those of the northwest, continued to give President Polk active support. John C. Calhoun, who as secretary of state in the Tyler cabinet, had been unsuccessful in getting senate approval to a Texas treaty of annexation, now declared that he had never supported the war.[10] This reversal in policy may have resulted from correspondence with Waddy Thompson. This former minister to Mexico believed that the acquisition of any Mexican territory would mean the addition of free soil territory just as much as would any domain that the United States might acquire from Canada.[11]

Other southerners spoke their opposition to further acquisition of territory, fearing the slavery question would put to a too great test the strength of the federal union.[12] John A. Campbell of Alabama wrote Calhoun of the political disaster that would surely befall the South by the annexation of any part of Mexico:

> The territory is wholly unfit for a negro population. The republic of Mexico contains a smaller number of blacks than any of the older colonies of Spain and tho' this is not conclusive yet it is a persuasive argument that negro labor was not found profitable.[13]

In the senate debate that followed President Polk's recommendation to congress for the annexation of New

---

10. *Congressional Globe*, 29 Cong., 2 Sess., 500ff.

11. Waddy Thompson to John C. Calhoun, December 18, 1847, in J. Franklin Jameson, ed., *Correspondence of John C. Calhoun*, in American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1899, Vol. II, p. 1152.

12. Eugene Irving McCormac, *James K. Polk, A Political Biography* (Berkeley, 1922), 623.

13. John A. Campbell to Calhoun, November 20, 1847, in Jameson, ed., *Correspondence of John C. Calhoun*, II, p. 1140.

Mexico and California, senators from the southeastern states supported by the Whig slave holders expressed fear that any annexation would mean the weakening of the national structure by the incorporation of so large a group of ignorant Mexicans.[14] They also raised the question of the probable effect that such a program of expansion would have upon the foreign relations of the United States with France and England.

Opposition, however, was not limited to the South. Daniel Webster added his voice to the opponents of annexation by warning the senate that the acquisition of New Mexico and California together with the recently added state of Texas would give to those three regions, if admitted as states into the Union, equal representation in the senate with New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio. The total population of California, New Mexico and Texas was scarcely three hundred thousand; yet six new senators would exert the same influence as those from states of much greater population.[15] Webster expressed doubt that Texas could ever be a country of a dense population, and as for New Mexico, he said:

> It is a settled country; the people living along the bottom of the valley [Rio Grande] on the sides of a little stream, a garter of land only on one side and the other, filled by coarse landholders and miserable *peons*. It can sustain not only under this cultivation, but under any cultivation that our American race would ever submit to, no more than are there now. There will, then, be two Senators for sixty thousand inhabitants in New Mexico to the end of our lives and to the end of the lives of our children.[16]

At another point during the same address, Webster referred to New Mexico as a "secluded, isolated place by itself, in the midst of vast mountains," shut off from civili-

14. Fuller, "The Slavery Question and the Movement to Acquire Mexico, 1846-1848," 40.

15. Fletcher Webster, ed., *The Writings and Speeches of Daniel Webster* (18 vols., Boston, 1903), X, 23.

16. *Idem.*

zation more than were Hawaii or any of the islands of the Pacific.[17] As for the inhabitants of that "secluded, isolated place," he said they were "infinitely less elevated, in morals and condition, than the people of the Sandwich Islands. . . . Have they [New Mexicans] any notion of popular government? Not the slightest."[18]

The arguments of Webster did not influence the group expansionists who favored the annexation not only of New Mexico and California, but of all Mexico. Among these in the Senate were Sam Houston and Thomas J. Rusk of Texas, Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, and Jefferson Davis of Mississippi.[19] To the president, the interjection of the slavery issue into the expansion program was "not only mischievous but wicked," because, he added, "slavery has no possible connection with the Mexican War and with making peace with that country."[20] He recognized that "differences of opinion upon minor questions of public policy" might endanger the Union.[21]

Although a long fight over a treaty of peace with Mexico might have been anticipated, the policy of expansion that had appealed to the president found ready approval with a majority of the senate. In less than three weeks after the treaty was submitted to that body, it was ratified.

After the occupation of New Mexico by American forces in August, 1846, the military had directed civil affairs in that region. With the establishment of peace, the president would have preferred an immediate erection of a civil authority. However, before a permanent civil government, either territorial or state, could be instituted, a number of disturbing issues presented themselves. Not the least perplexing of these was the claim of Texas to all that part of New Mexico lying east of the Rio Grande.[22]

---

17. *Ibid.*, 29.

18. *Idem.*

19. Fuller, "The Slavery Question and the Movement to Acquire Mexico, 1846-1848," 46; also see *Sen. Exec. Docs.*, 30 Cong., I Sess., no. 50, pp. 1-37.

20. Polk, *Diary*, II, 308.

21. James D. Richardson, *Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897* (10 vols., Washington, 1896-99), IV, 564.

22. W. J. Spillman, "Adjustment of the Texas Boundary in 1850," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, VII (1904), 177-195.

The Texas state authorities had not awaited a treaty of peace with Mexico before reminding the federal government of her claims in that direction. As early as February, 1847, Secretary of State James Buchanan had written Texan authorities assuring them that Texan claims had not been injured by General Kearny's occupation of New Mexico or the establishment of a temporary form of territorial government under military direction.[23] Secretary Buchanan stated that although Polk recognized the justice of the Texan claim, he believed an adjustment of the problem belonged within the sphere of legislative rather than executive control.

During the time that congress was debating the question of Texan claims and the issue of slavery extension, the people of New Mexico were likewise becoming active. Although President Polk had advised them to remain quiet until congress had provided a civil government for them, Senator Thomas Benton of Missouri assumed a more aggressive position. In a public letter to the people of New Mexico and California, he recommended that they provide themselves with a simple form of government until congress should act.[24] In New Mexico, W. Z. Angney, a friend of the Missouri senator, was mainly responsible for the hurried meeting that adopted a memorial to congress, which requested territorial form of government, protection from the unwarranted claims of Texas, and most significantly, protection from the introduction of slavery.[25]

To prepare the memorial for presentation, the petitioners appointed Joab Houghton, a resident of Santa Fé, who had a limited knowledge of law. In a letter to Senator John M. Clayton, who with Benton was asked to present the petition to the senate, Houghton stated that because of his long residence in New Mexico, he felt himself well qualified to judge the attitude of the inhabitants on national issues. As to the Texan claims to all territory lying east of the Rio

---

23. William C. Binkley, "The Question of Texan Jurisdiction in New Mexico under the United States, 1848-1850," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXIV (1920), 1-38.

24. Thomas Hart Benton, *Address to the People of California and New Mexico* (n. p., 1850).

25. Bancroft, *A History of Arizona and New Mexico*, 443-444.

Grande, he stated that the people of the territory awaited with the keenest interest the action of congress. Texas, he said, had never been able to establish her claim to any part of New Mexico. He recalled, also, General Kearny's assurance of "the *full* benefits of the Constitution and a liberal government" which would be denied them by the dismemberment of their territory.[26]

On the subject of slavery, Houghton said:

> It is not necessary to discuss the question of slavery. Any owner of slaves who should bring slaves to New Mexico would be ruined; there exist no means of making them earn their subsistence in competition with the cheap native labor. And their introduction would besides produce the most deleterious effects upon the morals and the industrial interest of the country.[27]

Scarcely had the memorial been presented to the senate by Benton and Clayton on December 13, 1848, before southern members had raised their voices in protest. Calhoun, always ready to defend the interest of his section said:

> the people of this territory [New Mexico], under all the circumstances of the case, have not made a respectful petition to this Senate, on the contrary, they have made a most insolent one. I am not surprised, however, at the language of the petition. That people were conquered by the very men they wish to exclude from the Territory, and they know that. . . . I look upon the rights of the southern states, proposed to be excluded from this Territory, as a high constitutional principle. Our right to go there is unquestionable, and guaranteed and supported by the Constitution.[28]

Calhoun was followed in debate by Senator James C. Westcott of Florida, who attacked the petition for its ambiguity. He asked whether the fourteen names attached

---

26. Joab Houghton to John M. Clayton, Santa Fé, October 16, 1848, National Archives (hereinafter cited N. A.), State Departement Records, Miscellaneous Letters.
27. *Idem.*
28. *Congressional Globe*, 30 Cong., 2 Sess., 33.

to the petition represented the opinions of "three Yankees . . . and eleven Mexicans" or actually did express the sentiment of the "ten, or fifteen, or twenty thousand citizens who have gone to New Mexico from the United States . . .?"[29] Senator Henry S. Foote of Mississippi expressed his belief that Clayton and Benton had unwittingly become the victims of collusion by a faction or "scheming individual" who had taken advantage of the senators' generous impulses.[30]

After a few other remarks of similar temper by southern senators, the New Mexico petition was not again brought to the attention of the senate for several weeks. Then, however, when the New Mexico petition was incidentally mentioned in debate, Senator Rusk of Texas announced that since the presentation of the memorial by Clayton and Benton, he had received definite information concerning the New Mexico convention that had written the October memorial. He said that in no way did the memorial represent the sentiment of the people of New Mexico but that it had been formulated by "followers and hangers-on of the army, who got it up, with the restriction in relation to slavery, for political and selfish purposes."[31] He said, further, that his information which was undoubtedly reliable, had revealed the activity of a few scheming local politicians. They had employed the slavery question to strengthen their own positions with anti-slavery forces, even to the extent of establishing "a newspaper, in which they ridicule and deride the institution of slavery . . . as the evil of the age."[32]

Although he failed to disclose the source of his information, it seems highly probable that Spruce M. Baird, a special agent sent by the Texas state government to Santa Fé, was his informant. Baird arrived in Santa Fé on November 10, 1848, remaining there until late in the summer of the following year.[33]

---

29. *Ibid.*, 34.
30. *Ibid.*, 35.
31. *Ibid.*, 312.
32. *Idem.*
33. William C. Binkley, ed., "Reports of a Texan Agent in New Mexico, 1849," in *New Spain and the Anglo-American West* (2 vols., Lancaster, 1932), II, 157-188.

The anti-slavery societies throughout the free states were not slow in calling the attention of the people in the North to the New Mexico memorial. In the succeeding months after its introduction in December 1848, state legislatures, anti-slavery societies, and groups of private citizens filed petitions with the senate, supporting the New Mexico memorialists.[34]

Typical of these was that of the citizens of Medina, Ohio, who addressed both houses of congress, although this petition was presented only to the senate:

> To the honorable Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled:
>
> The subscribers inhabitants of the county of Medina and the state of Ohio respectfully pray your honorable bodies to incorporate the Jefferson Proviso, otherwise called the "Wilmot Proviso," or anti-slavery clause of the ordinance of 1787, into the laws for the government of the territories of New Mexico and California,—and also to repeal the statute law of 1793 for the recapture of fugitive slaves, to abolish slavery in the district of Columbia, and to prohibit the coast-wise slave trade.[35]

From the New York state legislature came a petition to congress, which was presented in the senate by Senator John A. Dix of that state. In this petition the senators were instructed and the representatives were requested to

> use their best efforts to produce the enactment of laws for the establishment of governments for the territory acquired by the late treaty of peace with Mexico, and that, by such laws, involuntary servitude, except for crime, be excluded from such territory; . . . [to] protect it from the claims of Texas, and prohibit the extension over it of the laws of Texas, or the institution therein of domestic slavery; . . .[36]

---

34. N. A., Senate Files; petitions, memorials, etc., directed to the House may be located in the House of Representatives Files, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress.

35. N. A., Senate Files, 31 A—H 17.

36. *Senate Journal*, 30 Cong., 2 Sess., 140.

In contrast with the active campaign among anti-slavery societies and other organizations that were opposed to the extension of slavery, the absence of any such widespread activity by southerners to protect their interests is immediately noted. A few petitions, such as that of the North Carolina state legislature,[37] were presented to congress. If, however, interest in the extension or prohibition of slavery into New Mexico may be in any measure gauged by petitions to the national legislature, the North and not the South was awakened.

During the time that petitions had been pouring into congress from all sections of the North asking for the protection of the inhabitants of New Mexico from slavery, the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was busily engaged in the preparation of an abolition tract. Although it purportedly was addressed to the people of New Mexico and California, it found general circulation among the members of congress, anti-slavery groups, and northern newspapers.[38] The tract, prepared under the direction of William Jay, Arthur Tappan, and other anti-slavery leaders, was a general attack upon the federal government for its failure to comply with its promise to provide a "free government" for New Mexico and California. Such government, they said, had been promised by General Kearny, but, instead, President Polk and other exponents of slavery were determined to prevent any form of government until slavery was insured in that region.

After condemning slaveholders for taking their slave property into New Mexico,[39] in violation of treaty guarantees, the authors of the tract outlined a course of conduct for the inhabitants.

---

37. *Ibid.*, 278.

38. This tract which was translated into Spanish was brought to New Mexico by William Kephart in 1849. Kephart came to New Mexico as a missionary of the Presbyterian Missionary Society, but soon exposed himself as a "Disciple of abolitionism."

39. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo guaranteed respect for Mexican law, when not incompatible with that of the United States. Mexico prohibited slavery and it was argued that slavery was therefore prohibited in New Mexico unless specifically recognized by act of congress.

> Such [slavery] . . . is the detestable institution which a few haughty and selfish men are endeavoring to force upon you in order to augment their own political power, and to open new markets for their human cattle; and such are the calamities which their success will entail upon you and your posterity for ages to come. Every dictate of patriotism and Christian benevolence impels us to resist to the uttermost the extension of this abomination of desolation over the new, fair and vast addition recently made to our Federal Union. Much as we prize this splendid acquisition, may it be forever lost to us rather than it should be converted by the American people into a region of ignorance, vice, misery, and degradation by the establishment of human bondage. . : . You have all the elements essential to the creation of a great, prosperous and independent empire. If you cannot be free, happy and virtuous in union with us, be free, happy and virtuous under a government of your own. But you are not reduced to such an alternative. The slaveholders have refused you a territorial government—form one for yourselves, and declare that no slave shall taint the air you breathe. Let no feudal lord with his host of serfs come among you to rob you of your equal share of the rich deposits of your soil—tolerate no servile caste kept in ignorance and degradation, to minister to the power and wealth of an oppressive aristocracy.[40]

This invitation to open rebellion caused the military authorities in New Mexico to suppress the tract.

The seriousness of the situation and the necessity for the establishment of civil government was further called to the attention of the American public by the open hostility between the military authorities and the inhabitants. Operating in the territory were some men whose activities resemble the carpetbaggers of the reconstruction period. They arrived with General Kearny or shortly thereafter.

---

40. *Address to the Inhabitants of New Mexico and California on the Omission by Congress to Provide them with Territorial Governments, and on the Social and Political Evils of Slavery,* issued by the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, New York, 1849.

These men rather than the natives were protesting against the military, because its presence prevented the surrender of the government to them, and so long as it remained, they were thwarted. What was not clear to the administration in Washington and to the American public in general was the fact that a few Anglo-American leaders were responsible for much of the agitation that was arousing the native population against the recognized authority.

With the inauguration of President Zachary Taylor, the administration expressed its opposition to the maintenance of the military in a territory during a period of peace. In a message to congress, he expressed confidence that, "at no very distant future," New Mexico would present itself for admission to the Union.[41]

President Taylor believed statehood to be the proper solution to New Mexico's political problem. To foster this design, he sent agents into New Mexico, but not soon enough to thwart a second move by the territorial party, which during the previous year had sent the October memorial to congress. Again, as on the previous occasion, Judge Houghton guided the procedure of the convention that met at Santa Fé on September 24 for a two day session. This convention adopted a territorial plan of government and elected Hugh N. Smith delegate to congress.[42]

Smith hastened to Washington, arriving there in time to present his petition to the house on January 3, 1850. If he anticipated immediate action, he suffered disappointment. His sponsor, Representative Edward Baker of Illinois repeatedly attempted to bring the petition before the house, but on April 3, the committee on elections reported that it recommended unfavorable action on the Smith petition.[43] Not until the middle of July, however, did the house officially refuse to seat Smith.

While Smith was awaiting action on his petition, he

41. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, V, 18-19.

42. *Journal of New Mexico Convention of Delegates to Recommend a Plan of Civil Government, September, 1849* (Santa Fé, 1907), 7.

43. *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong., I Sess., 94, 633, 1399, 1411.

continued his residence in Washington and made the acquaintance of Daniel Webster, who learned of his long residence in a slave state (Kentucky). Because of this fact, Webster reasoned that he was familiar with slave labor and with the natural conditions under which such labor would be profitable. With this background, and a knowledge of New Mexico "from end to end," Webster asked him if he would express his opinions in writing on the practicability of slavery in New Mexico, the extent of the institution already in that region, and what laws, if any, were already in force in the territory affecting slavery.[44]

In reply to Webster's request, Smith wrote on April 9, 1850:

> New Mexico is an exceedingly mountainous country, Santa Fé itself being twice as high as the highest point of the Alleghanies, and nearly all the land capable of cultivation is of equal height, though some of the valleys have less altitude above the sea. The country is cold. Its general agricultural products are wheat and corn, and such vegetables as grow in the Northern States of the Union. It is entirely unsuited for slave labor. Labor is exceedingly abundant and cheap. It may be hired for three or four dollars a month, in quantity quite sufficient for carrying on all the agriculture of the territory. There is no cultivation except by irrigation, and there is not a sufficiency of water to irrigate the land. As to the existence at present of slavery in New Mexico, it is the general understanding that it has been altogether abolished by the laws of Mexico; but we have no established tribunals which have pronounced as yet what the law of the land in this respect is. It is universally considered, however, that the territory is altogether a free territory. I know of no persons in the country who are treated as slaves, except such as may be servants to gentlemen visiting or passing through the country. I may add, that the strongest feeling against slavery uni-

44. Webster to Smith, Washington, April 8, 1850, in Webster, *Writings*, XII, 222-223.

> versally prevails throughout the whole territory, and I suppose it quite impossible to convey it there, and maintain it by any means whatever.[45]

When the house finally declared its refusal to seat Smith, he issued a public letter to the people of New Mexico.[46] He assigned his defeat to the antagonism of southerners, who had not forgotten the memorial of 1848, in which the people of the territory had protested against the introduction of slavery.

With the issues that were facing congress, Smith's efforts to be seated were but a momentary distraction from the debates on slavery in the Mexican cession, slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia, a fugitive slave law, and the Texas-New Mexico boundary dispute. None was more bitterly debated in congress than the Texas boundary, and for that reason it is an interesting commentary that many writers of American history have treated it as of minor importance. Much that was said by leaders of both sections with respect to the Texas boundary in 1850 was repeated ten years later when the Union was about to disintegrate.

Among the first measures introduced in the senate as a solution to the Texas-New Mexico boundary was that by Senator Benton of Missouri, who opposed any Texan claim. He sponsored a bill that not only would have denied any Texan claim to New Mexico but would have greatly reduced the size of Texas. In return for this sacrifice of territory, Benton proposed giving Texas $15,000,000.[47]

Another proposal was that of Senator Foote of Mississippi, who introduced a bill which among other features provided for the creation of the state of Jacinto out of Texan territory east of the Brazos River. In return for this, the western limits of Texas would extend to the Rio Grande. This bill was satisfactory neither to the Texans nor to those

---

45. Smith to Webster, Washington, April 9, 1850, *Ibid.*, 223.

46. *Address of Hugh N. Smith of New Mexico to the People of that Territory* (Washington, 1850), Huntington Library Collections.

47. *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., 165.

who opposed the creation of another state that would by its location favor slavery.[48]

Henry Clay was yet another who offered a solution to the boundary dispute. He proposed fixing the western boundary of Texas along the Rio Grande as far as El Paso or its vicinity and then eastward to an extent that would have deprived Texas of any of the disputed country north of El Paso. In the course of his remarks when introducing this measure, Clay said that in his opinion "Texas has not a good title to any portion of what is called New Mexico."[49] In answer to Clay's offer, Senator Rusk stated briefly that he would not consider the sacrifice of half of Texas as a peace offering to that portion of the Union which was bent upon the destruction of constitutional rights of the South.[50]

In July, 1850, President Taylor died, but the debate was stopped only momentarily. Daniel Webster became secretary of state for the new president, Millard Fillmore, and almost immediately was faced with a new angle in the boundary question. This referred to what the authorities in Texas regarded as interference by Colonel John Munroe, military governor of New Mexico, in Texan state affairs.[51] The governor of Texas, P. H. Bell, had early in the spring of 1850 sent Robert Neighbors to Santa Fé to perfect a county organization for that part of Texas.[52] According to Governor Bell, the military in New Mexico had prevented by their hostile action the projection of the commission. In a letter to President Taylor, the governor asked by what authority Munroe could encourage a state government for New Mexico on territory within the boundaries of Texas. He also asked the president if Munroe had the support of the administration in such action.

---

48. *Ibid.*, 166; see William C. Binkley, *The Expansionist Movement in Texas 1836-1850* (Berkeley, 1925), *University of California Publications in History*, XIII, 195-218.

49. *Ibid.*, 245.

50. *Ibid.*, 247.

51. Governor P. H. Bell to President Zachary Taylor, Austin, June 14, 1850, N. A., State Department Records, Miscellaneous Letters.

52. John Munroe to Major General R. Jones, Adjutant General, Santa Fé, March 15, 1850, N. A., War Department Records, A. G. O. Files.

President Fillmore assigned his secretary of state the task of replying to Governor Bell's letter of June 14, which had been addressed to President Taylor.[53] Webster neither admitted nor denied Texan claims to New Mexico, and stated that he did not regard the settlement of the boundary dispute within the province of the executive department. It was likewise true, he added, that the settlement of the dispute would not be made between the inhabitants of Texas and New Mexico but between Texas and the federal government. In his concluding paragraph, Webster said:

> It [the boundary question] is a delicate crisis in our public affairs, not free certainly from possible dangers, but, let us confidently trust, that justice, moderation and patriotism, and the love of the Union, may inspire such counsels, both in the government of the United States and that of Texas, as shall carry the country through these dangers, and bring it safely out of them all, and with renewed assurances of the continuance of mutual respect and harmony in the great family of states.[54]

On the day following Secretary Webster's letter to Governor Bell, President Fillmore sent a special message to congress, in which he openly supported the New Mexico claim. After calling the attention of congress to the special session of the Texas legislature that had been called to determine officially the sentiment of the people, President Fillmore stated that should Texas feel the necessity of sending troops into the disputed area, he would be compelled to meet force with force.[55] On the same day, Winfield Scott, acting secretary of war, ordered 750 additional troops to New Mexico, ostensibly to protect the population from the recurring Indian attacks, but in all probability as a warning to Texas.[56]

---

53. Millard Fillmore to Daniel Webster, Washington, July 25, 1850, N. A., State Department Records, Miscellaneous Letters.

54. Daniel Webster to P. H. Bell, Washington, August 5, 1850, N. A. State Department Records, Domestic Letters; also joint letter of Senators Houston and Rusk to Webster, Washington, August 1, 1850, Miscellaneous Letters.

55. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, V, 67-73.

56. Winfield Scott to John Munroe, Washington, August 5, 1850, in Abel, ed., *Calhoun's Correspondence*, 164-165.

For a time it appeared that the boundary dispute would defeat the entire compromise. For this reason, the senate adopted a proposal made by Senator James A. Pearce that the Texas boundary dispute be eliminated from the compromise measures.[57] This, of course, was a most unsatisfactory outcome, because the question of establishing a civil government for New Mexico under such circumstances was left unanswered.

Although Senator Pearce had proposed the measure that had eliminated the boundary dispute from the compromise discussion, two weeks after this vote was taken, he again introduced a bill for the settlement of the boundary question. Both houses adopted this plan without much further discussion. According to this bill, which was approved by the senate on August 9, 1850, and by the house on September 6, the northern and western limits of Texas were established as they are today. In compensation for the relinquishment of her claim, Texas received $10,000,000.[58] In November, the Texas legislature accepted the proposal and thus brought to an end a controversy which was perhaps the most difficult to adjust of the compromise measures of 1850.

In the compromise debates that had continued from December, 1849, until the following September, more consideration was given to the Texas boundary dispute than to the problem of civil government for New Mexico. The expediency, if not the legality, of organizing a permanent civil government in a region without fixed boundaries was questioned by some members of congress. Certainly statehood could not be granted under such circumstances, and even a territorial government would present serious obstacles. However, New Mexico's political status was recurrently a subject of debate. In attempting to settle this problem, congress was faced not only with a boundary dispute but with the slavery issue for New Mexico. Could any

57. *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., Appendix, 1479.
58. Act of September 9, 1850, *U. S. Statutes at Large*, IX, 446-447.

compromise be reached if the North insisted upon the principle of the Wilmot Proviso for this region?

Daniel Webster, who had regarded unhappily the Polk program of territorial expansion, believed that no compromise could be reached if the no-slavery doctrine were adopted by congress. The South would never consent to it, he knew, but at the same time, he expressed his opinion that slavery was actually no issue because "by a law even superior to that which admits and sanctions it in Texas . . . the law of nature," slavery could never be profitable in New Mexico.[59] Not all members of congress were in full agreement with Webster. Horace Mann, a member of the house, issued a public letter in which he expressed the view that although New Mexico might not be suitable for the application of slavery in agricultural pursuits, slaves could be used in mining, as they had been employed in the past by the Spaniards. Mann maintained that gold was now being mined within twenty-five miles of Santa Fé and that production could be greatly increased. Furthermore, he said that reports from responsible travelers affirmed that New Mexico could conceivably support a population of seven million. Under such conditions Mann believed that thousands of negroes would be useful as household servants and field workers. New Mexico, he continued, might become a most advantageous place for the breeding of negroes, with the prospect of excellent markets in Texas and Louisiana.[60]

Henry Clay, like Daniel Webster, counselled for compromise, and favored territorial status without reference to slavery. This he recommended in a series of resolutions introduced on January 29, 1850.[61] A few days later, in an address before the senate, he said that the people of the North already had in New Mexico what was worth a thousand Wilmot provisos, for they had nature itself on their side. It was, however, he said, necessary to institute

59. *Congressional Globe,* 31 Cong., 1 Sess., 480.

60. *Horace Mann's Letters on the Extension of Slavery into California and New Mexico and on the Duty of Congress to Provide the Trial by Jury for Alleged Fugitive Slaves,* pamphlet (Washington, 1850).

61. *Congressional Globe,* 31 Cong., 1 Sess., 244-246.

a territorial government for New Mexico, because the people there were operating under a system that they had described as "temporary, doubtful, uncertain, and inefficient in character and operation."[62] Although he did not so express himself during this speech, Clay did not favor the administration policy of statehood for New Mexico, and on a later date, characterized the proposal as "ridiculous" and "farcical."

The arguments of Webster and Clay appealed to the practical judgment of the members of both houses. When on August 15, 1850, the vote was finally taken in the senate on the territorial bill for New Mexico, it passed by a vote of 27 to 10.[63] On September 6, when this was attached to the Texas boundary bill, it passed the house by a vote of 108 to 97.

A few days after the passage of this measure, Richard H. Weightman arrived in Washington, brining with him a constitution for the proposed State of New Mexico. Weightman was a senator-elect from that "state." Taylor's agents, particularly Colonel George McCall, had succeeded in bringing this program into effect, and although any idea of statehood vanished in congress with the death of President Taylor, the constitution had been adopted and elections held before the announcement of his death reached New Mexico.

After its establishment as a territorial government, little interest from a national viewpoint was taken in New Mexico until shortly before the Civil War. Occasionally, during the decade after 1850, minor political differences within the territory were brought to the attention of congress, but they never provoked lengthy discussion or became major issues for debate.

As far as public interest east of the Mississippi was concerned, New Mexico was forgotten. No gold strikes brought hurrying immigrants in that direction; no rich valleys presented opportunities for home seekers; only a semi-arid country, inhabited mostly by hostile Indians and

62. *Ibid.*, 293; Appendix, 119-120.
63. *Congressional Globe*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., 1589.

illiterate Mexicans was the picture visualized by those millions of Americans who had not ventured westward.

Although this was the sentiment of most Americans, the inhabitants of New Mexico, particularly those of Anglo-American origin, were unwilling to be forgotten so readily. In their efforts to establish civil government, they engaged in factional quarrels. Fundamentally, these evolved from attempts to introduce into the territory conflicting conceptions of social and economic practices, alien to the native inhabitants.

*(to be continued)*

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

*By* MARION DARGAN

### VII: THE PART PLAYED BY THE PRESS OF THE SOUTHWEST

WE HAVE already seen that New Mexico was kept out of the union for years largely because the majority of the American people were convinced that it was an uninhabitable desert and that the people were unfit for self-government. These misconceptions were held tenaciously by the people of the East, and gave way slowly only after a long campaign of advertising. The Bureau of Immigration had been created by the territorial legislature in 1880, and charged with the task of disseminating "accurate information" regarding the resources of New Mexico and the advantages it offered to immigrants. In spite of small appropriations, much had been done under the capable leadership of Max Frost, the masterful editor of the *New Mexican.* Literature regarding the territory had been widely distributed, and the agricultural and mineral products of the territory had been exhibited at expositions, especially at Chicago in 1893 and St. Louis in 1904. Both attractive and unattractive features of the territory had also been advertised by the coming of a number of visitors in the 1890's. These included several groups of newspaper people who merely passed through New Mexico, but many of whom wrote up the territory, favorably or otherwise, on their return home. Other visitors during the decade included those attending an irrigation convention and a Rough Riders' reunion, both held at Las Vegas. If these were not as inclined to rush into print as the editors, the publicity attending their meetings in the territory and the vivid impressions which they carried away with them tended to make the nation more conscious of New Mexico. And, not least among those who helped to put the territory on the map were ardent residents who seldom missed an opportunity to put in a good word for the land they called home.

Having seen what New Mexico and her citizens were doing to advertise their territory, let us now consider what the newspapers outside New Mexico were doing to aid in the work. It is obviously impossible to discuss the national press as a whole. Hence we shall concentrate first on the part played by the newspapers of the Southwest. Even in dealing with this limited area, we shall not attempt to generalize, but shall take up each state separately, "swinging around the circle" from Texas to California and back to Colorado.[1]

## I

In 1890 Texas had four cities with populations ranging from twenty-seven thousand to thirty-eight thousand.[2] All four were located in the eastern part of the state, far removed from the trade routes to New Mexico. Furthermore, the Texas War of Independence and the Civil War had prejudiced the people of the Lone Star State against their neighbors on the west. Then too, political leaders in New Mexico were constantly pointing out that the demand of the sheep-raisers for a tariff on wool would make it a republican state, thus furnishing the Texans an additional reason for opposing the aspirations of the territory. The distrust which resulted between the two peoples may be illustrated by the following item which appeared in the *New Mexican* for August 28, 1890:

> Senator Reagan [of Texas] opposes the passage of the land court bill, because a Republican president would have the appointment of the judges of the court, and because New Mexico's prosperity might hurt the Democratic state of Texas. Great statesmen those. The Democrats in congress give it to the people of New Mexico at every possible opportunity.

---

1. The second article in this series delt with the attitude of the New Mexican press. See the *Review*, vol. XIV, pp. 121-142. The aid given by other territories will be omitted here.

2. *Eleventh Census of the United States: 1890* (Government Printing Office, 1895), Part I, pp. 370-373.

Since El Paso straddled the old Chihuahua trade route, and lay only five miles from the New Mexican boundary line, it had much closer relations with that territory than did the cities of east Texas. However, it had a population of only 10,338 and three small newspapers.[3] Had they been interested in boosting New Mexico, their support would have been of little value. But even that little was withheld for a time. While not entirely consistent, the El Paso papers were inclined to be critical of the territory, to emphasize the opposition to statehood within New Mexico, and to oppose its admission to the union. Thus, during the long administration of Gov. Miguel A. Otero, the papers of the Gate City were much freer in criticizing his actions than were the great majority of the territorial papers. During the statehood boom at the turn of the century, when the opposition had been pracitcally silenced in New Mexico, the El Paso *Herald* gave considerable space to these "traitors," no matter whether they expressed themselves through petition, interview, or letter.[4]

As early as Jan. 29, 1890, the Las Vegas *Optic* complained that the El Paso *Tribune* had devoted "nearly two columns of its territorial space to prove that New Mexico is not ready for statehood." The only reason given for this opinion was the statement that "A complete canvass of the Territory will hardly show any increase of the English-speaking immigrants in the past five or six years." Eleven years later the territorial press was still complaining of the hostility of the El Paso papers. Thus, in the spring of 1901, the Albuquerque *Citizen*, angered because one of them doubted "that New Mexico has intelligence enough for statehood," remarked that Texas had seen so much lawlessness, that it was "not becoming in a resident of that state to criticize the intelligence of any other community."[5] Earlier in the same year, the *New Mexican* described the El Paso

3. *Ibid.*, p. 382; Ayers, *American Newspaper Annual* (Philadelphia, 1896), p. 751.

4. El Paso *Herald*, Jan. 18, 19, 1901. See also the *Review*, XVI, pp. 391-393.

5. Albuquerque *Citizen*, April 30, 1901.

*News*, a democratic paper founded in 1899, as "a vindictive sheet, published, it seems, for the purpose of harming New Mexico." The Santa Fé paper declared that the Texas paper had assailed it "most bitterly" because it had told "some unpleasant but plain truths about El Paso and the land grabbing ring down there in endeavoring to have passed by congress, the so-called Culberson-Stevens bill providing for the construction of an international dam at El Paso, and prohibiting the taking of water from the Rio Grande River in New Mexico for irrigation purposes, . . . "[7] A Washington dispatch on the subject appeared in the *New Mexican* under the heading "Enemies of New Mexico."[8] The Santa Fé paper stated that there was a good deal of Texas capital "and a couple of Democratic papers" behind "the land grabbing ring" which wished to rob the territory of the waters of her chief river and its tributaries.[9] The *New Mexican* declared that it was not surprising that Senator Culberson and Congressman Stephens were expected to violate the pledge in the democratic platform, and oppose the admission of New Mexico, since representation in congress would enable the new state to defend itself to better advantage.[10] Naturally, the gentlemen referred to did not give this reason for their opposition. The Washington dispatch referred to above stated briefly: "The Texans say the poorer classes (in New Mexico) are illiterate 'greasers', and not in sympathy with our institutions."[11] It added that Delegate Rodey accounted "for the opposition in the Texas delegation by charging it to the ill-feeling that has resulted from the international dam project."

6. Santa Fé *New Mexican*, Jan. 13, 1901.

7. *Ibid.*, Jan. 10, 1901. For a discussion of this controversy, see chapter 2 of Otero, Miguel A., *My Nine Years as Governor of the Territory of New Mexico, 1897-1906* (Albuquerque, 1940).

8. *Ibid.*, Dec. 9, 1901.

9. *Ibid.*, Jan. 7, 1901.

10. *Ibid.*, Dec. 9, 1901.

11. *Ibid* The *New Mexican* for April 25, 1901, said: "The Texas delegation in congress is opposed to New Mexico's desire to become a state. Of course it is. Two Republican senators and one Republican representative in congress from the state of New Mexico would see to it that no land stealing and no water robbing Texas schemes would pass."

President Roosevelt's selection of the slayer of Billy the Kid for an important post in El Paso threatened to add to the animosity. The Albuquerque *Citizen* for Dec. 16, 1901, said:

> Texas Congressmen assert that they will fight statehood for New Mexico if [Pat] Garrett is appointed collector of customs. Then it will be in order for the people of New Mexico to boycott El Paso.

As a matter of fact, however, this ill feeling was already giving way to a realization that New Mexico and Texas belonged to the same section, and possessed common interests and problems. Consequently, in May, 1902, when the house passed a bill to admit New Mexico, Arizona and Oklahoma, the El Paso *Herald* greeted the announcement as "good news for the territories, and for lovers of fair play everywhere."[12] The *Herald* declared that the west was "solid for statehood." Among the reasons given for this attitude the most striking was "the increased weight that the west would have in both houses with these additions to the union of states."

The El Paso *News*, which had so recently been denounced by the *New Mexican*, exhibited a striking change of heart in the fall of 1901. It advocated, not only the admission of New Mexico to the union, but everything else the editor thought the people of the territory wanted. In urging the importance of statehood for its neighbor, the *News* said:

> New Mexico ought not to be handicapped in congress by reason of having no vote, when the land *lease law* comes up. It is proposed to lease the public range. The shepherds and the cattle owners whose fathers, grandfathers and great grandfathers lived in the hills before the coming of the people from the states, would have little chance to enjoy their heritage when penned in by corporation fences, and the men who have secured homesteads with the implicit promise of range for their little herds would be "run out" by a lease system. A lease law would be unjust to the settlers, and con-

12. El Paso *Herald*, quoted by *Albuquerque Citizen*, May 12, 1902.

> gress may not enact such legislation. But if the territory had two senators and a congresman at work, the danger would be less. The growing disposition to regard the new territories, as mere colonies, with less privileges than the people need, may yet seriously affect New Mexico.[13]

Early in the following year the *News* gave its editorial support to a protest which the republicans of Lincoln county had sent to Washington against the proposed change of name of New Mexico to Montezuma, Roosevelt, McKinley, or anything else. The El Paso journal declared that if eastern people did not know "that New Mexico is in the United States," they could learn, and that the sentiment against changing the name was "general throughout New Mexico among the Americans as well as the Mexicans."[14] In June, 1902, the *News* supported the demand for "another judicial district to include Chaves, Lincoln, and Eddy counties." It added:

> When the territory becomes a state, she can arrange matters as the people wish, without having to beg a representative from Timbucktoo and a senator from Jingoville to please let 'em have what may be needed.[15]

Three months later, the El Paso paper declared that the White Oaks *Eagle* was the only newspaper in New Mexico still opposed to statehood, and suggested that the Lincoln county journal should fall in line with the other papers of the territory.[16] Early in January, 1903, the *News* noted that "New Mexico seems not to be displeased" with the proposed merging of the territories of New Mexico and Arizona into one state. Accordingly the editor, after discussing the objections to this solution from the standpoint of the experience of "Loyal West Texas," concluded by advising the people of the two territories to cultivate a friendship for

---

13. El Paso *News*, quoted by *Albuquerque Journal Democrat*, Oct. 10, 1901.
14. Albuquerque *Citizen*, Feb. 15, 1902. See also issue for Jan. 1, 1903.
15. El Paso *News*, quoted by Albuquerque *Citizen*, June 10, 1902.
16. El Paso *News*, quoted by Albuquerque *Citizen*, Sept. 29, 1902.

one another, and to regard with pride the proposal to create a state which would rank second in size to the Lone Star State.[17]

## II

In 1890 California was a prosperous commonwealth with a population of 2,335,523.[18] San Francisco was the largest city in the Southwest, while Los Angeles was the third largest—Denver being second.[19] Serving rapidly growing communities and separated by the desert and hundreds of miles from the Rio Grande valley, their editors did not take a very active interest in the affairs of New Mexico. If they were not as antagonistic toward that territory as some of the El Paso papers were at times, neither were they steady boosters like the Denver papers. Naturally they were more interested in the neighboring territory of Arizona, but not infrequently the two territories were discussed together. Judging from the available data, the newspapers of the Golden State were slow to admit that there was any special bond between the prosperous state and the struggling territory. Both had been acquired at the same time through the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and New Mexicans constantly based their right to admission to full citizenship in the American union on a section of that treaty. California editors, however, gave no outward sign of ever having heard of it. Their state had a large Spanish-American population, but the editors were Anglos, who had no word of sympathy for the native population of the territory.

The disinterested, detached manner in which some of the California editors viewed the struggle for statehood for New Mexico may be illustrated by the San Francisco *Chronicle*. In the fall of 1891, when that journal took notice that statehood was "being vigorously agitated" in New Mexico, the question was considered on constitutional grounds. The *Chronicle* predicted that probably the time

17. El Paso *News*, quoted by Albuquerque *Citizen*, Jan. 7, 1903.
18. *Eleventh Census of the United States*, Part I, p. 11.
19. *Ibid.*, p. LXVI.

was "not far distant" when Alaska and possibly Utah would be the only territories left. There was no good reason for keeping the others out very long. The argument of small population was invalid, since a real believer in the federal system saw "no inequality in Rhode Island having as many senators as New York or Delaware as Pennsylvania, . . ."[20]

Five years later, when the *Chronicle* advocated the admission of Arizona to the union, the *Optic* reprinted the editorial with the comment: "Substitute New Mexico for Arizona in the following editorial . . . and it is equally as applicable to us as to them." In form, the argument was still along constitutional lines. The *Chronicle* said:

> To exclude a properly equipped territory from statehood for fear its senators and one or more representatives may disturb the status of congress is not within the purview of the constitution.[21]

Reading between the lines, however, it is easy to see that the San Francisco journal recognized that California and Arizona were linked together by a common interest in the silver movement.

The economic ties which linked California and the two southwestern territories were well expressed by the San Diego *Union* in the fall of 1891. The *Union* said:

> The future of New Mexico and Arizona is and must always continue to be of much interest and concern to the people of San Diego. Providence has established here the natural gateway through which a vast amount of exportable production of the two territories shall find egress to the markets of the world. In topography, in character of the soil and productions, and, in some respects, in climate, Arizona, New Mexico and California are similar. Over a large part of the area between the Colorado river and the Rio Grande, irrigation must be practiced to obtain the best results, or any results, indeed, from agriculture and horticulture, and already capital is engaged in the construction of

20. San Francisco *Chronicle*, quoted in Silver City *Enterprise*, Oct. 30, 1891.
21. San Francisco *Chronicle*, quoted in Las Vegas *Optic*, Jan. 8, 1896.

> dams, reservoirs, distributing systems, etc., to an extent which presages abundant prosperity for the region. Our people are familiar with the desire which territorial residents especially those of Arizona, have expressed for direct rail communication with the bay of San Diego, and with the projects which have from time to time been suggested to effect the building of such a road. It must come. It will come. The commercial necessities of both regions demand it, and the geography of the southwest makes it inevitable; and when it does come the industrial pulse of both countries will beat fuller and with wholesome rapidity.[22]

None of the California newspapers seem to have won recognition as loyal friends of the territories. If it was not very hearty in its support, however, the Los Angeles *Express* did claim consistency. In June, 1901, it declared that, if New Mexico and Arizona would adopt "proper constitutions," and were "willing to pay increased expenses of state government," there was "no good reason why they should not be admitted to full fellowship in the union." The editor added:

> This position has been steadily maintained by the *Express*, and nothing has happened to cause any change in this opinion.

The Los Angeles *Times* was less consistent and excited the suspicions of the territorial press. In 1892 and in 1895 the *Times* predicted that Arizona and New Mexico would "soon be full stars in the union banner."[23] that their knocking at the doors of congress would not be in vain.[24] The territorial papers that reported these predictions failed to say whether or not the Los Angeles paper was happy at the prospect. A special mining number of the *Times* which appeared late in October, 1901, won the praise of the Lordsburg *Western Liberal.* It declared that this was "the best presentation" of the mining industry of the territory "ever

22. San Diego *Union*, Oct. 24, 1891.
23. Los Angeles *Times*, quoted in *Optic*, June 20, 1892.
24. Los Angeles *Times*, quoted in Albuquerque *Citizen*, April 2, 1895.

put in print."[25] The editor added that it was "bound to do a great deal of good," since it would "be distributed all through the East, where people are looking for investments." The *Times*, however, admitted that an occasional territorial paper failed to appreciate the efforts of "this stalwart champion of the Great Southwest."[26] A few days later both the *New Mexican* and the *Citizen* declared that the *Times* was opposing statehood for Arizona and New Mexico because it feared that the two states would become rivals of California. The *New Mexican* said:

> This spirit should be resented by the people of the two territories and although the circulation of the Los Angeles Times is limited, very limited in New Mexico and Arizona, even that limited circulation should be cut off so as to show the management of the Times that the people of New Mexico and of Arizona will resent any attack upon their commonwealths.[27]

The *Citizen* commented:

> The Times should be a good friend of the two territories. If they grow and prosper, they will help build up the coast cities.[28]

The Los Angeles paper denied that it was opposed to the admission of the territories, and accused the *New Mexican* of a malicious and absurd falsehood. It added that the attempt of the Santa Fé paper "to misrepresent the Times on this question is a lurid example of cowboy, picker-pin and riata 'gernalism.' "[29]

Evidenty the *Times* did not say in so many words that it was opposed to the admission of Arizona and New Mexico, but the territorial editors sensed the hostility of this conservative journal. The unpardonable sin committed by the latter was to refer to the opposition within the territories.

---

25. Lordsburg *Western Liberal*, quoted in Los Angeles *Times*, Oct. 31, 1901.
26. Los Angeles *Times*, Oct. 31, 1901.
27. *New Mexican*, Nov. 6, 1901.
28. Albuquerque *Citizen*, Nov. 7, 1901.
29. Los Angeles *Times*, Nov. 12, 1901.

After summarizing a memorial which citizens of New Mexico had sent to congress, asking for statehood, the Los Angeles paper added:

> In the territory, however, as in Arizona, there is a considerable element of the population opposed to statehood.[30]

This was true, as we have already seen, but statehood workers chose to ignore it.

The lack of sympathy with which the *Times* viewed the statehood agitation in both territories was revealed conclusively by an editorial which appeared on Nov. 15, 1901. The article was entitled "Unreasoning Shouters for Statehood." While it dealt with the movement in Arizona, it is worth careful consideration here. The editorial said:

> . . . a renewed campaign for Statehood is under way in the Territory, . . . and certain Arizona editors are riding around upon wild broncos, hurling violent "langwidge" and other things at The Times, because this journal ventured to give the people of Arizona a suggestion as to the best manner in which the ambition entertained by some of them might be realized.

The Los Angeles paper, "not disconcerted by the attacks of the Arizona rough riders," addressed an enquiry to

> a prominent, independent and well informed long resident of the Territory. This enquiry was made because the Times does not repose entire confidence in the shouting and wrangling journalists of Arizona, nor in the equally noisy politicians of both parties, nor yet in a Governor whose motives are not difficult to divine.

A reply, dated, Tucson, Arizona, Nov. 13, 1901, was printed in full.[31] This stated that, while the whole territory was for statehood according to the democratic newspapers and politicians, there were "many doubters in Arizona, who look

---

30. *Ibid.*, Nov. 6, 1901.
31. *Ibid.*, Nov. 15, 1901.

at the question in a business way." These saw that the admission of the territory "would assure the election of democrats to offices now held under presidential appointment"; and that there would be added expense, since "the people would be compelled to pay salaries now paid by the United States government." Furthermore, they feared "that Arizona would become a rotten borough like Nevada, especially since the leading candidates for the senate in the event of statehood were corporation men. The writer admitted that many of the Arizona republicans who favored statehood were sincere. He said:

> They have the idea that life is better worth living in a State, and are willing to pay for it. They believe that capital and population will rush into the new State, and that the railroads and mines will be compelled to pay nearer their proper proportion of taxes. No doubt Murphy believes all he says on the subject. He has hammered away on it for years. Of course, he, too, would like a senatorial toga; that is a laudable ambition.

No wonder the *New Mexican* and the *Citizen* regarded the *Times* with distrust, even though the editorial did not mention New Mexico, and no one could say that it was equally applicable to that territory. The author of the letter admitted that Arizona was "Democratic beyond a doubt," while Catron and Rodey claimed that New Mexico would be a republican state. Consequently, the *Times* had less reason to fear that the admission of New Mexico would mean the election of democrats to office. Nor was there so much reason to fear that the politics of New Mexico would be controlled by corporations. From the standpoint of statehood workers in New Mexico, however, the article was full of dynamite. If it was not reprinted in any of the papers of that territory, it is not surprising.

## III

Colorado had been a state for only fourteen years in 1890. It had a population of 412,198. Nearly one fourth

of this number lived in Denver.[32] As might be expected, the newspapers of the young commonwealth and its rising city were to take a strong intrest in the destiny of New Mexico. Yet a number of them declared themselves opposed to the admission of that territory in 1889 and 1890. These included the Denver *Republican,* the Pueblo *Chieftain,* the (Denver) *Colorado Journal,* the Leadville *Dispatch* and the Denver *Field and Farm.* Two of the editorials were written by men who had formerly been connected with newspapers in New Mexico.[33] The last named paper declared that it was receiving many letters, all of which indicated that "the solid men of the territory" agreed that "the time has not yet come." They argued that New Mexico was prospering and making enormous strides in settlement," and a change to a new system was likely to retard development. While "the Mexicans" were "good, law-abiding citizens," the progress of the territory was due to the American population. The creation of a state out of New Mexico would "practically mean the creation of a foreign country within the borders of the United States, and the disfranchisement" of the American population. Hence it would be better to wait a few years until the American population had acquired the ascendancy.[34] The immediate purpose of the editorial was to prevent the legislature of Colorado from passing a resolution urging the admission of New Mexico to the union. The *Colorado Journal* took a more extreme position in the spring of 1890. It exclaimed:

> New Mexico a state! It is not fit to become a state. Fifty per cent of the inhabitants of New Mexico are like the Lee White band, and twenty-five per cent are even worse.[35]

Even as late as the summer of 1901, the *New Mexican* complained:

---

32. *Ibid.,* p. LXVII.

33. Lute Wilcox, "for quite a while connected with the press of this Territory" and Lou Hartigan, "late of the Gallup Gleaner." *Optic,* Feb. 14, 1889; Jan. 20, 1890.

34. Denver *Field and Farm,* quoted in *Optic,* Feb. 14, 1889.

35. San Marcial *Reporter,* April 5, 1890.

> The Pueblo *Chieftain* says that when Statehood for New Mexico is mentioned, somebody objects to the presence of so many Mexicans of the bad man class.[36]

The following February, the Denver *News* contained a sensational write-up of Cora Chiquita, "the Pretty Cow Girl of Santa Rosa." She was described as "a quarter blood Cherokee Indian," twenty-three years of age, who wore male attire, drank heavily, was a dead shot and who was in the habit of riding her horse into saloons and shooting up the town.[37]

Both the Las Vegas *Record* and the Albuquerque *Citizen* agreed that such publicity was injuring New Mexico.[38] The territorial press was inclined to take their brother editors in Colorado to task, not only for "atrocious falsehoods about the territory," but also for their failure to champion statehood for their neighbor. Thus the *Optic* for Jan. 25, 1890, complained that "The Denver *Republican* warmly urges the admission of Arizona into the union, but is unable to find a good word to say for New Mexico as an eligible candidate for the sisterhood." "It is hard on us," the editor added, "but we will endeavor to pull through without the tow line of the *Republican.*" About the same time, the *Republican* urged that congress establish a land court to end the uncertainties regarding Spanish and Mexican land grants which were retarding the settlement and development of New Mexico.[39] The Denver paper predicted that the territory would have a "great boom if this obstacle were removed."[40] In quoting this editorial, the *New Mexican* said: "The Denver *Republican* is helping our territory in many ways and often, and the people of New Mexico should bear this in mind." Evidently the Colorado paper could not stand out against the protests of the *Optic* and the words of ap-

---

36. *New Mexican*, August 7, 1901.
37. Denver *News*, Feb. 21, 1902.
38. Albuquerque *Citizen*, Feb. 26, 1902.
39. Denver *Republican*, Dec. 5, 1889.
40. *Ibid.*, quoted by *New Mexican*, April 19, 1890.

preciation of the *New Mexican,* since an editorial soon appeared in the *Republican* which favored the admission of New Mexico.[41] It is interesting to note the way in which the *New Mexican* used the trade relations between Colorado and the territory to win the Colorado papers over to the support of statehood. Thus the *New Mexican* for Dec. 10, 1890, first quoted the Pueblo *Chieftain,* then presented its argument. The editorial read as follows:

> "Owing to her central location and the push and enterprise of her merchants Pueblo enjoys a large wholesale trade in many kinds of goods in southern Colorado, Utah and New Mexico. This business is being vigorously pushed and every month it increases in volume," says the *Pueblo Chieftain.* And, pray, while this is so, possibly, has ever Pueblo, its press or its people had a friendly word for New Mexico? On the contrary, has it not always spoken disdainfully of this territory and belittled in the smallest way possible every New Mexican interest? When the *Chieftain* shall have attempted honestly to answer these interrogatories, and shall have shown its good will toward New Mexico that common justice demands, possibly it itself will be able to secure some of the business down here that now goes to Denver and Kansas City. As it is, it simply amounts to a narrow-gauge paper attempting to speak for a town that would be broad-gauged in its treatment of neighboring localities—if it had half a chance.[42]

By the 1890's, the newspapers of Colorado and especially those of Denver, were doing much to give New Mexico the right kind of publicity and to aid her in the long struggle for statehood. The Denver *Republican* and the

---

42. The Trinidad *Advertizer* had already seen the wisdom of boosting its neighbor to the south. It declared in the spring of 1890 that, while it was not probable that the Republican administration would upset the safe majority which it had secured by the admission of the Dakotas, Washington and Montana, New Mexico was "ten times more deserving to be a state than Idaho," which would not be able to maintain statehood. The *Advertizer* predicted that Southern New Mexico, next to California, would be "the greatest fruit growing country in the United States." And that in time "the territory would rival Texas as a sheep and cattle growing country." Trinidad *Advertizer,* quoted by *New Mexican,* May 8, 1890.

*Rocky Mountain News*, published in the same city, were among the staunchest champions of the cause. The establishment of better railroad connections with Albuquerque, the growth of trade between the two centers, and their increased circulation in New Mexico prompted both papers to show great interest in the economic development of their southern neighbor. The realization that the growth of Denver was tied up with that of the whole Rocky Mountain region, and the fact that citizens of Colorado were using their mining experience and capital to good advantage in numerous projects in New Mexico led to detailed accounts of such developments in that territory. The people of the state were urged to attend the fairs held in Albuquerque in order that their knowledge of the products of New Mexico might enable them to get in on the ground floor in its development. Convinced that the progress which Colorado had made in twenty-five years of statehood was due largely to its admission to the union and that statehood would promote the material progress of New Mexico likewise, the Denver press seldom lost an opportunity to say a good word for the territory. Furthermore, Colorado editors saw that the admission of New Mexico would strengthen their section in the councils of the nation. Thus in the spring of 1890 the Denver *Field and Farm* said:

> As a neighbor we would be glad to see that territory [New Mexico] admitted to the union. It would be a benefit to it and its industries. It would benefit Colorado, since we could rely on its senators to stand with us in all matters where the east domineers over the west.[43]

Some of the older citizens of the state had a sentimental reason for wishing to see New Mexico a state. The appointment of Stephen B. Elkins as secretary of war "recalled to many in Colorado and New Mexico"—so the Denver *Sun*

---

43. Denver *Field and Farm*, quoted in *New Mexican*, March 28, 1890. Early in December, 1901, the Denver *Republican* said: "Justice and the interests of the trans-Missouri region alike demand that these three territories (New Mexico, Arizona, and Oklahoma) be admitted." (Denver *Republican*, quoted by *New Mexican*, Dec. 9, 1901.)

declared in December, 1891—"an interesting chapter of curious and almost forgotten political history." The *Sun* stated that the delegate from Colorado, Jerome B. Chaffee, had worked in vain for the admission of that territory. Then, during the winter of 1874-75, Elkins, the delegate from New Mexico, had presented the claims of his territory in a speech which had made a very favorable impression in the house, and had "also attracted the attention of the entire country. It is, perhaps, not too much to say," the *Sun* ventured, "that he made a national reputation by that one speech." The Denver banker had then promptly offered an amendment to include Colorado in the bill and the two delegates had "commenced a determined fight for their territories." Colorado had been admitted, while New Mexico remained a territory. The *Sun* concluded:

> If Colorado had not been admitted at that time, she would likely have been compelled to have stayed out in the cold, dependent territorial condition until the Dakotas, Washington, Montana, Wyoming and Idaho were finally let in. That would have had much of injurious effect upon the material growth of the commonwealth and would have seriously affected a good many political fortunes. Therefore, this state is not free from obligation to the new secretary of war.[44]

One influential citizen of the "Centennial State" who liked to recall the old days when Elkins had nearly gotten New Mexico into the union was Thomas MacDonald Patterson, who served as the last delegate of the Territory of Colorado in congress.[45] During a good part of the last two decades of New Mexico's struggle for statehood, he was a dominant figure in the newspaper field in his state. He had full control of the *Rocky Mountain News* from 1892 until 1913, and he also bought the Denver *Times*. A man of strong convictions, he was always ready to fight for the causes in

---

44. Denver *Sun*, quoted by *New Mexican*, Dec. 23, 1891.

45. The enabling act had been passed on March 3, 1875—the last day of the life of the Forty-third Congress. Patterson served as delegate from March 3, 1875, to Aug. 1, 1876, when the territory became a state.

which he was interested. As a member of the United States senate from 1901 to 1907, he earnestly championed the cause of New Mexico. As he was a man of great honesty and sincerity, it is not surprising to find that the papers he controlled gave strong support to the statehood crusade.

Even at the risk of some repetition, it may be worthwhile to indicate briefly the way in which the Colorado papers dealt with the question of statehood for New Mexico and her sister territories. Usually they showed a real understanding of the statehood movement and of the opposition, but there were exceptions. Thus the Denver *Republican* in January, 1892, expressed surprise that anyone in New Mexico should oppose statehood,[46] and in October, 1901, it declared that there was no reason why any man living in New York or Massachusetts should object to the admission of New Mexico or Arizona.[47] The Colorado papers paid slight attention to opposition within the territories, but they gave frequent, if somewhat contradictory opinions as to the opposition in the nation. Thus the Denver *Times* of Jan. 25, 1894, concluded: "The objection to the admission of New Mexico has been that her population is essentially foreign, Mexican in language, ideas and affiliation." This argument evoked a variety of answers in the Colorado press. The Denver *Republican* for Jan. 19, 1889, declared that Congressman Reed of Maine was mistaken in assuming that the population of the United States should necessarily be homogeneous. The Colorado paper admitted that, if New Mexico became a state, she would differ very much from Maine or Massachusetts in the characteristics of her people and in her laws, especially since the old law of Spain was the foundation of the probate law of the territory. The *Republican* cited the fact that the laws of Louisiana were not based on the English common law, but on the Code Napoleon. It concluded that such local differences would not affect the working of our federal system. Following the same line of argument, the same

46. Denver *Republican*, quoted in *Optic*, Jan. 20, 1892.
47. Denver *Republican*, quoted in *New Mexican*, Oct. 4, 1901.

paper of Sept. 16 declared that the ability to speak English was not a prerequisite for American citizenship.

In the fall of 1892, the Denver *Sun* declared that the "principle objection heretofore" to the admission of New Mexico had been that the population was chiefly Mexican peons, but that this argument was no longer valid, since there had been "a wonderful change for the better in the social conditions of the Territory during the last ten years," due to a large influx of Americans and an improvement in the Mexicans who had just attained manhood. Referring to the rapid development of the material interests of the territory, the *Sun* predicted that the Denver and El Paso railroad would be constructed "within a very short time *** through an entirely undeveloped section of the territory, . . ." The *Sun* added the rather doubtful "fact" that "the entire population is in favor of statehood . . ."[48]

Shortly before this, the Denver *News* had published an editorial somewhat along the same line. This emphasized the growth of the American population, the establishment of a public school system, and the progressive sentiment developing among the native people. It declared that this progress was due to the territory itself, not to the government of the United States. It further charged that, if the territory was at all backward in American ways and ideas, "the federal government is wholly to blame. Coming into the

> United States as New Mexico did, its native Spanish-speaking people ought to have been the object of special consideration on the part of the nation, and ought to have been supplied with a school system forty years ago, at government expense. To have taken no pains to Americanize these people and then to refuse the Territory admission as a state because it has not progressed as rapidly as other western Territories have, is the height of national injustice.[49]

After the war with Spain, this line of argument was strengthened by the concern of the federal government for

48. Denver *Sun*, quoted in *Optic*, Nov. 30, 1892.

49. Denver *News*, quoted in the *Optic*, July 1, 1892.

for its new island possessions. Thus the Denver *News* for May 23, 1902, declared that

> while teachers were being sent by the shipload to Porto Rico and the Philippines, New Mexico, although for more than 50 years a territory of the United States, had never received any aid in the way of public education. . . . When this territory passed under the dominion of the United States it was as thoroughly foreign in customs and language as Porto Rico is today. Yet the United States has taken no special pains to educate the people of that Territory, and what they have accomplished is due to their own splendid effort.[50]

Even when emphasizing the "remarkable advancement in education" in the territory, the Colorado press went on to distinguish between the "alleged reason" and "the true reason" for keeping New Mexico out of the union. The latter was to be found, it declared, not in "the backwardness of the territory," but in certain political and sectional considerations. There was fear that New Mexico would prove a democratic state, and that its admission and that of other territories would add to the strength of the west in the senate.[51] Thus in the spring of 1890 the Trinidad *Advertiser* said:

> New Mexico is clamoring for statehood, but it hardly seems probable that the Republican administration will hurl a boomerang and upset its safe majority which it secured by the admission of the Dakotas, Washington and Montana.[52]

Perhaps some of the Colorado papers were sometimes a little too bold in emphasizing the effect which the admission of the territories would have on the relative strength of the sections in congress. Thus in December, 1893, the Denver *News* said:

---

50. The *New Mexican* for May 24, 1902, reprinted an extract from an editorial in the *Rocky Mountain News* which gives the same line of argument.

51. *Rocky Mountain News*, quoted in *New Mexican*, May 24, 1902.

52. Trinidad *Advertiser*, quoted in *New Mexican*, May 8, 1890.

> When New Mexico, Arizona, Utah and Oklahoma have been admitted to statehood the states west of the Mississippi will lack only six votes of a majority in the United States senate. The west and south will then be in a position to dictate to the eastern money power. That is what is chafing and worrying the effete east.[53]

The Colorado press continually elaborated upon the statehood argument.[54] The growing population, the wealth of resources, the advancement in education, and the injustice done to the people through the denial of home-rule were all emphasized. While the argument was usually quite factual and matter-of-fact, at times it bordered on eloquence. Thus the following "very eloquent appeal" from the Denver *Post* was reprinted in the *New Mexican* for Jan. 27, 1897:

> Fifty years have elapsed since New Mexico became a part of our common country. Its progress for the first half of the period was slow. It was treated as a conquered province. It had first to be Americanized before progress could begin. The wreck of the civilization of the fifteenth century had to be cleared away before the spirit of the nineteenth century could possess the land. The process required time, but the problem has worked itself out and the new towns and cities, the new railroads, the new enterprizes and the new schoolhouses are ample evidence of the spirit that now animates the people of New Mexico. Today it stretches forth its hand to the nation and asks for immigration, for capital, for men and women able to invest and work and to transform its material resources into active producers of wealth and prosperity. It appeals for statehood as an assurance of the rights which belong to all citizens of the republic. These appeals are just and should be granted by the

53. Denver *News*, quoted in *New Mexican*, December 27, 1893. See also the Denver *Republican*, November 16, 1889.

54. Commenting on the statehood convention held in Albuquerque, the Denver *News* for Oct. 26, 1901, said: "The rightfulness of the claims of New Mexico for admission as a state has been so often presented in these columns that it is necessary only to approve and applaud the work of the convention . . . , and again urge that congress pay heed to the request of her people."

> nation to a brave, enterprizing, patriotic and intelligent people who opened a wilderness to civilization and pointed out the pathway to material greatness.

The Colorado editors kept a watchful eye on what their brethren further east had to say about New Mexico, and did not hesitate to set them straight. Thus in the spring of 1889, when it was rumored that the territory would be divided, the Denver *Republican* declared that there was not "the slightest probability of this taking place."[55] The same editorial also denied the statement of a Chicago paper "that the wealthy Mexicans dominate the country like feudal lords." The *Republican* added:

> They have a great deal of influence, but so have certain Americans. Probably at one time a few Mexican families controlled the politics and, to a large extent, the business of the territory, but this is not so now. It is becoming less and less so every year.

If a westerner contributed something to an eastern journal, the *Republican* was likely to endorse what he said. Thus, Gov. N. O. Murphy of Arizona wrote in the New York *Independent* for Jan. 23, 1902, that "occasionally misinformed citizens of the territories" opposed statehood on grounds of economy, whereas in reality it was to be expected that all kinds of property would increase in value with statehood. The *Republican* declared editorially that unquestionably the governor "echoes the sentiments of a majority of the citizens of the territories, . . . " although prior to this "the chief stumbling block in the way of the territories" had been "the indifference of their own residents to the question of statehood."[56] Convinced that the *Independent* had gotten a false impression of the west from *In the Country God Forgot: A Story of Today* by Francis Asa Charles, the *Republican* promptly expressed its disapproval in an editorial

---

55. Denver *Republican*, April 11, 1889.
56. Denver *Republican*, Jan. 26, 1902.

headed "Misunderstanding the Southwest." The Denver paper said that the novel was "supposed to depict conditions in Arizona and New Mexico," but that "the *Independent* would do well to make investigations at first hand."[57]

Occasionally territorial editors protested against "the information" regarding the territory spread by the Colorado papers. Thus, during the first half of the year 1892, the *Optic* felt it necessary to defend the native people and the federal office-holders of the territory from unjust criticisms which appeared in the editorial columns of the Denver *News*. In the first case, that journal not only stated that New Mexico was the most illiterate region in the United States in 1880, but that since then she had showed the greatest hostility toward the public school.[58] Admitting that "we may be very illiterate, down here," the *Optic* protested that the Kistler school bill of 1889 "was not defeated by the native influence, as the *News* clearly intimates," but was due to "certain Americans, having large landed interests, who objected to school districts having the right to vote a special school tax on lands."[59] The *Optic* concluded:

> It is an altogether mistaken idea that the native people of New Mexico are opposed to public schools, and the sooner our friends abroad disabuse themselves of the thought, the better it will be.

Less than two months later, the *News* declared that the average territorial office-holder "does not know what a principle is, and his interest in the territory consists only in retaining the position he may be filling."[60] Declaring that this was unjust to officeholders in New Mexico, the *Optic* said:

> Evidently the *News* has its ideas of the Territorial appointee from the days and men when the Territories were the dumping ground for broken-

57. *Ibid.*, July 30, 1902. On the other hand, the *Republican* recommended a series of articles on "The Great Southwest" written by Ray Stannard Baker. These appeared in the *Century* from May to August, 1902.

58. Denver *News*, quoted by *Optic*, Feb. 29, 1892.

59. *Optic*, Feb. 29, 1892.

60. Denver *News*, quoted by *Optic*, April 18, 1892.

> down political hacks, sent out from all parts of the union. . . .
>
> Nearly all those filling federal offices here were citizens of the Territory at the time of their appointment and are as truly, deeply and widely interested in New Mexico, as it is possible for any citizen of Colorado to be interested in that state. In fact, it would be difficult for friend or foe, for democrat or republican, for mug-wump or granger, to imagine how any official could more untireingly [*sic*] and sagaciously labor for the good of the Territory than the present governor has done and is still doing.[61]

During the last two decades of New Mexico's struggle for statehood, the Colorado papers were always ready to advise as to the fate of their southern neighbor. They did not hesitate either to censure what had been done, or to counsel as to what should be done. Their words of admonition and advice were sometimes directed toward the New Mexicans themselves, sometimes toward the senate or others in authority in national affairs. During the critical year of 1889 three Denver papers strongly suggested that the opportunity of coming into the union along with the northwestern territories was being jeopardized or lost through the actions of the New Mexicans. Thus the Denver *Republican* for March 4 declared that the adjournment of the territorial legislature without enacting the public school law was "a very serious blunder." The *Republican* pointed out that the porportion of illiteracy in the territory was high, and that public school money was divided among certain sectarian schools. Having expressed a doubt as to whether there were "more than six public schools in the Territory," the editorial predicted that Americans would hesitate to make their homes in the territory as long as such conditions prevailed. Each county, the *Republican* concluded, should see to the organization of genuine public schools. Practically the same advice was given by the Denver *News* on March 10. Meanwhile the Denver *Times* had spoken even more bluntly.

61. *Optic*, April 18, 1892.

The *Times* said it was charged that the territorial legislature which had just adjourned "has made more blunders and passed more pernicious laws and fewer good ones than any of its predecessors." If this indictment was true, the *Times* opined, "the legislature has certainly not improved the prospects of the Territory for admission as a state."[62] The Denver papers frequently warned the New Mexicans against the folly of "divided counsels," declaring that it would defeat statehood.[63]

The Colorado press, however, did not direct all its censure and advice at the citizens of New Mexico. During the 1890's the United States senate was repeatedly criticized by both Republican and Democratic papers in Colorado because it had postponed statehood for the territory. Thus in July, 1892, the Denver *Times* declared that that body had been guilty of "a rare piece of political cowardice" because it had postponed consideration of a statehood bill until after the elections.[64] Early in 1895 the Denver *Republican* took the senate to task, declaring that another postponement of the enabling act had "delayed prosperity."[65] Council was also freely given to both individuals and organizations that had to make any decision regarding the admission of New Mexico to the union. Thus some months before the meeting of the Republican national convention of 1896, the Denver *Republican* said, editorially: "The Republican party will not gain strength in these Rocky Mountain states by excluding New Mexico and Arizona from their just claims to statehood."[66] The attitude of the Colorado press was set forth a little more fully, however, by the Denver *Republican* for July 12, 1902, in its advice to the man who was to hold the destinies of New Mexico in his hand for a decade. The *Republican* said:

---

62. Denver *Times*, quoted by *Optic*, March 6, 1889.

63. See, for example, Denver *Republican*, Oct. 30, 1889; and Denver *News*, quoted by *Optic*, July 1, 1892.

64. Denver *Times*, quoted in *Optic*, July 21, 1892. See also *Optic*, Feb. 4, 1895.

65. *Optic*, Feb. 4, 1895.

66. Denver *Republican*, quoted by Albuquerque *Morning Democrat*, Jan. 22, 1896.

> While Senator Beveridge, chairman of the senate committee on territories, is in Colorado, he should take note of the fact that the sentiment of the Republican party in this state is strongly in favor of the admission of Oklahoma, New Mexico and Arizona.
>
> We who live here ought to know better than most Republicans east of the Mississippi what the sentiment of the Far West is on the subject, and also what the qualifications for statehood of the three Territories are.

As we shall see, the Indiana senator turned a deaf ear to these words of advice. There can be no doubt, however, that the Colorado press rendered effective aid, not only in boosting the territory but also in the statehood fight. The Denver papers, especially with their wider circulation, served as a clearing house for information regarding New Mexico. Their regular issues frequently mentioned mining prospects in the territory, and they also issued special New Year's Day editions which gave a resumé of the progress made in the Rocky Mountain region during the past year. It is true that New Mexico editors sometimes complained of the inadequate space given their territory,[67] but such grumbling should not lead the student to ignore the advertising value of these special issues to New Mexico. Furthermore, as we have already seen, the Colorado papers gave much space to defending the native people from attack and to elaborating on the argument for statehood. In addition, they frequently made practical suggestions as to how the state and its citizens might aid in the statehood crusade. Thus the *New Mexican* for Jan. 30, 1889, said:

> The Denver *Times* and the *Republican* of the same city are advocating that the Colorado legislature shall memorialize congress to admit New Mexico as a state. The ground of the proposed action . . . is that the Centennial state was admitted largely through the efforts of S. B. Elkins, when that gentleman was delegate from New Mexico.

67. *New Mexican*, Jan. 3, 1903.

Twelve years later, during the momentous statehood fight of 1902, the Denver *Republican* published the names of the members of the senate committee on territories at least twice, and urged its readers to write these gentlemen in behalf of New Mexico, Arizona and Oklahoma.[68] Readers were also urged to write any other members of the senate with whom they were acquainted.

While the editors of New Mexico complained from time to time of the hostility or indifference of this or that paper in Texas, California or Colorado, there can be no doubt that the Southwestern press did much to advertise the territory and to aid her in her struggle for statehood. The Colorado papers gave the strongest support, and especially those of Denver. Political leaders of New Mexico were most lavish in their praise of the *Republican*. While on a visit to Colorado's capital city in the fall of 1897, Gov. Miguel A. Otero told a reporter for that paper:

> I am particularly grateful to the *Republican* for the help that it is constantly giving to the interests of New Mexico. Your paper has always been a good friend to the Territory, and is doing all that it can to further our development. We have no complaint to make of Colorado people. Their interests are in many respects identical with ours, and they have always been generous in extending their help, as they have some idea of the great wealth which we have that only needs capital for its development. It is the Eastern people who do not understand the extent and variety of our resources and persistently misunderstand the character of our Mexican population, who are as loyal, as industrious and progressive as the people of any state if they have the time and opportunity for development.[69]

While the little governor made no reference to aid given in the statehood struggle, this was undoubtedly due to the fact that he had been in office for only a few months and had not

68. Denver *Republican*, May 13, 1902; June 1, 1902.
69. Denver *Republican*, Oct. 6, 1897.

thoroughly identified himself with that movement at that time. When, however, Delegate Bernard Rodey wrote the *Republican* in June, 1902, he thanked the Denver paper particularly for services rendered along that line.[70] Commenting on the letter the following day, the editor said:

> The service thus acknowledged was no departure on the part of the *Republican* from the course pursued for years. We have always recognized the claims of New Mexico upon the favor and good will of the public, and particularly of the National Congress.[71]

The next article in this series will consider the attitude of the eastern papers, particularly as illustrated by the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* and the Washington *Post*. At the same time, we shall identify some of the correspondents in the territory and in the national capital who furnished publicity for New Mexico to the press of the nation.

---

70. *Ibid.*, June 12, 1902.
71. *Ibid.*, June 13, 1902.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Pueblo of Santa Ana, New Mexico.* By Leslie A. White. (American Anthropological Association, Vol. 44, No. 4, Part 2, New Series; 360 pp., illustrated, bibliography.)

In telling the detailed story of life in an Indian pueblo, the author covers the wide range of Pueblo cosmology, government, customs, habits, social organization, and does it well. The treatise is the result of field researches covering thirteen years and can be considered not only authoritative but also one of the best for completeness and incisive insight into Pueblo character. It is free from the romantic interpretation of Pueblo ceremonies and mythology which often creeps into less scientific treatises on phases of Indian culture.

To secure accuracy of data "obtained by direct observation and by casual contact," the author had five adult informants, but "never worked with more than one informant at a time and no one of the five ever knew that any one beside himself was also serving as an informant . . . Native terms were employed extensively to insure accuracy of reference and identification. Drawings of sacred paraphernalia and costume, diagrams of dances and ceremonies were made by informants. One informant's account was compared with another's; an informant's account of one year was checked against his account of a year or so later."

The author admits, however, comprehensive as is his monograph, that "after investigations of the Keres carried on intermittently for more than twelve years, the present writer feels that our knowledge today is little more than superficial." Continuing: "We did, however, learn a great deal at Santa Ana. In addition to acquiring data on points at which Santa Ana resembles other Keresan pueblos, we learned certain things here that we have never known before in our study of the Keres as a whole, or have clarified certain matters that were vague heretofore."

How much in the way of research is still to be done is

indicated by the author when he writes: "Our study suffers from one-sidedness in another respect: all of our informants were men. While it is true that the bulk of the ceremonial and political life of the community is in the hands of men—all officers, priests, and shamans are men; women are not admitted to the pueblo council; women play virtually no part in two great Pueblo activities, war and hunting—the fact remains that women are of considerable importance in Pueblo life, and any account which does not include a woman's statement is one-sided and deficient. Women, without doubt, know much more about some things than men. And in instances where she does not have this superiority of knowledge her point of view is likely to be different from the man's and it is important to know what her point of view is." One reason for not obtaining a woman informant no doubt is that "every Pueblo Indian child is taught from childhood to guard the secrets of his people, to tell the white man nothing, to keep old Indian ways concealed. It is virtually certain that any one among the eastern Keresan Pueblos (with the possible exception of Cochití) who was convicted of aiding an ethnologist would be severely punished, if not executed. According to Curtis, a man at San Ildefonso (also at Zia) was executed for assisting Matilda Coxe Stevenson; two Santo Domingo men were executed for dancing tribal dances while on a trip to Washington."

However that may be, the writer has gathered a mass of information of great interest and significance. He tells it in a way that also grips the non-scientific reader. The author opens his thesis with a brief history of Tamaya (Santa Ana) and a description of its geographic and economic setting and background. In this connection, the writer affirms that "prior to the coming of the Spaniards, the Pueblo Indians drank no beers or liquors of any kind. . . . It was not until the American occupation that we hear of drunkenness among the Pueblos: this resulted from the use of whiskey." However, as a rule, the Pueblo "looks upon drunkenness with aversion and disgust, if not horror.

. . . I well remember the look of horror and disgust (and perhaps pity?) on the face of a Santa Ana woman whom I knew rather well when she saw a young man, half drunk, dancing in the 'corn dance' at Sia." Superintendent Towers is cited as reporting that "drinking is particularly bad at Acoma and at Jémez during their fiestas. . . . Laguna, Sandia and Isleta seem to be the worst of pueblos for habitual drinking." The author continues: "The young men pour the liquor down until they become drunk—and quite bellicose. They take this occasion to exercise without restraint their American profanity. They do this with great exuberance and with a style that is all their own. They frequently swagger about threatening all and sundry, until they are squelched by their relatives and friends or until they are lodged in the komanira by the governor. Venereal disease is not prevalent and there never has been a case of suicide or murder at Santa Ana. Still, it is admitted that profound changes are taking place, for "the weaning away of young men and women from the old time medicinemen is having the effect of undermining the whole Pueblo cultural structure."

"Cosmology and Pueblo Life," "Government and Social Life," "Corn and the Cosmos," "Hunting," "War," "Sickness and Witchcraft," "Paraphernalia and Ritual" are other chapter headings, followed by a bibliography, which while not exhaustive is helpful. Sixty or more plates and illustrations enrich the text.

Not only those interested in Indians and their culture but also the sociologist, the student of religions, and the general reader, will find the volume of more than passing consequence. As the author puts it: "One of the most amazing things about a pueblo like Santa Ana is that it can be a microcosm, complete in itself, with philosophy, art, religion and government, and yet with a population of less than 250 men, women and children. Impressive too is the fact that at Santa Ana a boy or girl grows up, marries, works, plays, lives, loves, and dies within a community of only twelve score of persons."—P.A.F.W.

*Pima and Papago Indian Agriculture.* By Edward F. Castetter and Willis H. Bell. First of *Inter-Americana Studies*, Dr. Joaquín Ortega, editor, of the School of Inter-American Affairs, University of New Mexico. (The University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, N. M., 1942. Pp. 245. Illus., index, and bibliography.)

An intensive study of the culture of the aborigines of southwestern Arizona, this volume is a welcome addition to the scientific literature of the Spanish Southwest. The book is the result of field studies by Drs. Castetter and Bell of the University of New Mexico faculty, in three consecutive years on the Pima and Papago Indian reservations, each author working independently with his informants and interpreters. These field studies were supplemented by data gleaned from historical, ethnographical and archaeological literature. That this part of the investigation was comprehensive can be gathered from the extensive bibliography which precedes the index in the final pages.

The treatise is divided into ten chapters subdivided into many categories. The first chapter deals with the history, ethnography and geography of the Pimans including in that term the Papagoes. Chapter II describes their land, climate and vegetation. In the third chapter under the heading "Early Basin of Piman Existence," archaeological, historical and ethnographical evidence are considered especially as to the utilization of native wild plants and native wild animals. Then follows a chapter on cultivated crops which include maize, beans, pumpkins, cotton, gourds, tobacco, martynia, wheat and barley, watermelons, cow peas, chick peas, lentils, garden peas, chili—a rather wide range for a desert country having an average rain fall of less than ten inches, made possible only by irrigation, a later chapter stating that there are indications and evidence of irrigation having been practiced in that region more than a thousand years ago. The succeeding chapter headings further indicate that the treatment of the subject is thorough and scientific as well as practical. These headings are: "Selection, Development

and Ownership of Land," "Agricultural Implements," "Planting, Irrigation and Cultivation," "Harvest, Storage and Seed Selection," "Cultivation and Utilization of Tobacco, a Ceremonial Crop" and "General Ceremonial Aspects of Piman Agriculture."

Even to the lay reader, this volume should be interesting as can be gauged from quotations such as these: "The Papago never grew tobacco in their fields, for it must be grown in secret and a man must be in the right spirit when planting. One who planted it must not let anyone see him do so, and, when visiting his tobacco patch which was out of sight of all the other fields, he took a circuitous route so that no one would suspect or learn where he was going. If someone discovered the patch and saw the young plants, they would dry up. . . . The Papago planter then sang the tobacco planting song four times and finally placed the seed in the ground. Each time he came back to see the plants, at required intervals of four days, he sang the same song to the tobacco four times, believing that this gave it more strength (four is the ritual number among both the Papago and the Pima." Smoking was considered injurious to young men and practically forbidden to them as "it was considered injurious, weakening them, causing a cough, making them lazy and fat, or unable to stand cold and preventing them from being alert."

The book is an important contribution to the literature of the Southwest. In addition, it has practical bearing on cultural relations and understanding of various phases of life and races in the Americas.—P.A.F.W.

*Compendium and Description of the West Indies.* By Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa. Translated by Charles Upson Clark. (Washington, Smithsonian Institution, 1942. xii+ 862 pp.; index. $2.50.)

At the Vatican Library in Rome in 1929, Dr. Clark found this monumental work almost exactly three centuries after it was last in the hands of its author. Vázquez, a

Carmelite friar, was in Mexico City in 1612 and again in 1622, after spending the intervening years wholly in Central and South America. In 1622 he returned to Spain and was engaged in the final revising and printing of his *Compendium* when he died in 1630. How it found its way to the Vatican is immaterial.

In his excellent translation, Dr. Clark supplies a helpful and illuminating Introduction, brief but adequate. We regret with him that it was not feasible for the Smithsonian to publish also the Spanish text; in some cases the reader can trace an expression to its source, but in others he is left in doubt. Espejo, for example, never used the word *cíbolos* but wrote of "vacas corcobadas que llaman *de Cíbola.*" (see sections 39, 546, 562) Nor were the Vaquero Indians "cowboys" in any proper sense of that word. (sec. 321) "Audiencia" and "Adelantado" have no satisfactory equivalents in English,—and would better have been left in Spanish. (p. ix) The "cachupines" were not "greenhorns" or simply "newcomers" (secs. 374, 456, index) but peninsular-born Spaniards as distinguished from American-born, *criollos.* Strangely, the latter term is not found in the Vázquez text except once—and then to distinguish American-born negroes from those African-born. (sec. 915)

Vázquez divided his work in two Parts, relating respectively to the "Secretariat of New Spain" and to the "Secretariat of Perú and the Spanish Main." The second Part is twice as voluminous as the first,—a fact not surprising in view of his division of time above indicated. Each Part, moreover, was arranged in six Books, and these also are very unequal in length. The shortest Book (Audiencia of Panama) has four chapters; the longest (Audiencia of Lima) has ninety-five. As was the Spanish custom, the "Table of Contents" with titles by books and chapters will be found at the end of each Part: at pages 295-300 and pages 785-791 respectively.

Tremendously impressive is the way in which Vázquez concludes each Part of his *Compendium* with a detailed tabulating of appointive, salaried offices to the fartherest corners

of the vast empire which Spain had built up in little more than a century. The picture thus had, for example, of the ramifications of colonial administration under its Secretariat of New Spain is bewildering, overwhelming. Not only did the king himself make literally hundreds of such appointments, from the viceroy at 25,000 ducats down to numerous humble church canons and clerics at 200 or 300 pesos; other hundreds of salaried posts were filled by the viceroy; still others by the Marqués del Valle (descendant of the conqueror, Cortés); still others by the president of the Audiencia of Guadalajara—or another of the audiencias. Other lists covered judicial jobs; still others, ecclesiastical posts from archbishops down the line. An interesting list (p. 289) shows offices filled by the viceroy, normally assigned to "servants" (probably the Spanish word is *criados*), among whom we see the "governor of New Mexico, 2,000 pesos." Besides this governor, the viceroy was entrusted with appointing to 144 judicial posts, 68 *alcaldías mayores*, and 75 *corregimientos*. (sec. 863)

Dr. Clark notes (p. vii) that "Vázquez does not consider himself a historian," yet very decidedly the *Compendium* has great historical value, for various cogent reasons ably stated by Dr. Clark. On the other hand, the reader will probably decide that the source-value of the *Compendium* is by no means uniform throughout. This is not strange, for the task which Vázquez had set himself was herculean and for various parts of the vast colonial possessions of Spain he had to rely on the writings and statements of others; any errors of the latter were very apt to be reflected by Vázquez.

As an example, let the reader run through the statements made by the author about Francisco Vázquez de Coronado who, in 1629, seems to loom up remarkably against the background of sixteenth century events. Indeed, Vázquez de Espinosa reverts so frequently in his *Compendium* to Vázquez de Coronado as to suggest strongly the surmise of some close relationship between their families. The data given us about the "discoverer of New Mexico" are in part well established historically; in some respects they are

definitely wrong; and in some details they are curious, to say the least. The data are such as might have been gleaned by the author from family papers, an *información de parte* or a statement of *méritos* with which possibly his father or grandfather or other relative had sought royal favor, strengthening the appeal by incorporating some account of the distinguished services of this collateral relative (if Don Francisco was such.) In some respects the data here found are quite foreign to any such papers with which the present reviewer is familiar from the Coronado-Bocanegra lineage.

We meet Don Francisco first when the author tells us (sec. 305) that Cabeza de Vaca and his companions, on reaching Culiacán, "were clothed and feted by General Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, who at that time was setting out on the conquest of those provinces" *(sic)*. Of especial interest are passages found in Book IV. At section 524 we are told that when Nuño de Guzmán and Fernando Cortés got into controversy, the Emperor Charles V in effect put them both aside and

> at Toledo on April 18, 1537, appointed as governor and captain general of those kingdoms and provinces, Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, a gentleman native of Salamanca. He was a descendant of the blood royal of the kings of France; his ancestors had settled in the Kingdom of Galicia . . . Accordingly when this noble knight had arrived in this kingdom named "Greater Spain" by Nuño de Guzmán after his conquest of it, he found most of it in rebellion and many of its provinces needing to be subdued. With great courage, executive ability, and persistence, he succeeded in overcoming the rebellion and restoring peace; and for the above reasons, he gave these provinces the name "Kingdom of New Galicia" which it bears at present; and his descendants, the Marqueses de Villamayor, are its *adelantados mayores*.

Then in the next section (525), the author states that the viceroy himself, Don Antonio de Mendoza had failed to subdue and pacify certain provinces—but "Gov. Francisco

Vázquez de Coronado by his circumspection, courage, and persistence conquered, subdued, and colonized this region. . . . " His Majesty "wrote him in grateful appreciation of his valuable and distinguished services, on February 20, 1539,"—and made him inspector of silver mines in the whole of New Spain; "and for these services he granted him the favor of entailing to him the income" from fourteen villages which are named "for his life and those of his children and grandchildren and descendants, all in the district of New Galicia of which he was governor."

From New Galicia the author turns to New Vizcaya, and after some description we are told:

> President Nuño de Guzmán and Diego de Ybarra, knight of the Order of Santiago, began the work of subduing these provinces, and later the pacification was completed by Gov. Francisco Vázquez de Coronado, by dint of his persistence and courage, but at the cost of many hardships for himself and men. . . .

After a brief and somewhat garbled account of the Coronado expedition, we read:

> Since they were suffering great hardships and the country was so cold and poor, and he saw that his men were worn out and disheartened, for fear they might mutiny he wisely turned back for New Spain, having traveled in this expedition over 1,000 leagues, suffering great hardships and much hunger. So he returned to Mexico City, and in view of the great services he had rendered His Majesty, the viceroy came out to meet him with the Audiencia, justices, and the city at large, and paid him the high honors due his merits.

Perhaps the most curious statement about Coronado, together with several inaccuracies, is found in the opening section (548) of the chapter which then follows, with further account of Coronado's exploits, of New Viscaya and the exploration of New Mexico:

> Gov. Francisco Vázquez de Coronado governed New Galicia and New Vizcaya *(sic)* eleven years *(sic)* for His Majesty, during which time he subdued and brought under orderly administration all those provinces. He made a loan to Queen Joan, mother of the Emperor, of his whole salary for his term of office *(sic)*; and this circumstance, together with the heavy expenses he incurred in the exploration of New Mexico, was responsible for his dying a very poor man in the year 1551 *(sic)* in Mexico City. He left two *(sic)* legitimate daughters by his wife, Doña Beatriz de Estrada. These were Doña Isabel de Luján and Doña Marina Vázquez de Coronado, and they were left in poverty, having been deprived of the income of their allotments, although His Majesty, when he sent him off on his explorations, had promised they would not be withdrawn; but the latest enactments with regard to the case did not return them to them.

Coronado had served less than six years as governor of New Galicia when he was suspended from office in August 1544,—and this was many years before there was any New Vizcaya. The loan to the Queen mother seems very hypothetical; Doña Juana became hopelessly insane after the death of Philip of Burgundy, and she was in retirement at Tordesillas from 1509 until her own death in 1555—although her son Charles coupled his name with hers in legal documents whenever necessary. But such a loan during the years 1538-44 from one who shortly before had gone to Mexico City as a young *criado* of the Viceroy Mendoza? It sounds quite dubious. And as to Coronado's daughters, we have shown elsewhere that three of them were married to three sons of the Bocanegra family.[1] There are many other points of interest in the remaining chapters of Book IV regarding Coronado's descendants and heirs, and on the exploration and description of New Mexico, but how much more important and valuable it all would have been if Vázquez de Espinosa had himself investigated this far northern frontier instead of

1. See "The Coronado-Bocanegra Family Alliance," in NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, XVI, 401-431, *passim*.

giving us a "compendium" of what he was able to get at second hand. Before turning from this part of the volume, we must comment on the queer idea which the author had of Esteban the Negro. He tells us (sec. 552) that it was in the town of Cíbola in 1539 that they killed him and adds: "he died for the spread of faith in Christ."

The *Compendium* is a formidable book. It would have been more convenient and attractive in two volumes, one for each of the Secretariats. Few if any are going to read right through it, but the reader who lets Dr. Clark guide him by the numerous indications in his "Introduction" will find many a delightful passage. And students will go to it again and again for data and description which they can turn to easily by using the two "tables of contents" and the index. —LANSING B. BLOOM.

*Spanish Beginnings in the Philippines, 1564-1572.* By Edward J. McCarthy, O.S.A. (Catholic University of American Press, Washington, 143.9+145 pp.. bibliog., index.)

Very timely is the appearance of this monograph on the early history of the Philippine Islands, issued as Volume III in the University series, *Studies in Hispanic-American History.* The author is on the faculty at Villanova College in Pennsylvania, and he must have taken especial pleasure in preparing this dissertation for the doctorate degree because of the important part played by the Augustinian Order in carrying Christianity to the Islands.

The author's "Essay on Sources" shows that he made comprehensive and able use of widely scattered materials available in this country, including a considerable body of transcripts secured from Spain. Possibly his study might have been further enriched from sources in Rome. The present reviewer will never forget the thrill he experienced when, at the Propaganda Fide, he was permitted to scan through volume after volume of 16th and 17th century missionary correspondence from all quarters of the world—

letters mostly in Italian and Latin, but often also in Spanish or Portuguese, French, even Arabic (but fortunately these last are decoded). There are the letters on fragile rice-paper telling of the Jesuit martyrs in Japan; and others on such paper which came from China and the Philippines. Certain volumes of such correspondence, missing in Rome, were found at the Biblioteca Classense in Ravenna, over on the Adriatic. Someone can do a remarkable service for Church scholarship by securing a complete facsimile copy of all that early missionary correspondence.

But we have digressed. Dr. McCarthy's very readable and well-documented study opens with a survey of "Backgrounds and Approaches." Then begins his account of the expedition sent out from New Spain under command of Miguel López de Legaspi, accompanied by the Augustinian father, Andrés de Urdaneta. The latter went not only as a missionary but also as a pilot who was given the important task of deciding the best return-route from the Islands, a route which was to be used by the "Manila galleons" for over two hundred years.

The Spanish settlement on the Island of Cebu and later on Panay was a violation of the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494 with Portugal; so the chapter on "Rival Claims and Hostilities" points up the critical situation which Legaspi had to meet, and did meet successfully. Not until 1570 did Spanish occupation expand to the Island of Luzon—and Manila dates only from 1572, in August of which year Legaspi died. Chapter VI gives an account of "The Spiritual Conquest," and in the closing chapter the author gives an appraisal of "Legaspi's Place in History." He agrees with E. G. Bourne in according Legaspi "a place among the greatest of colonial pioneers."

Too often doctorate theses are pretty heavy reading. Here is one which is really enjoyable.—LANSING B. BLOOM.

*Maxwell Land Grant: A New Mexico Item.* By William A. Keleher. (The Rydal Press, Santa Fé, N. M., 1942. Pp. 168. Sources, Index and illustrations. $3.00.)

The story of the Maxwell Grant as told by the author is a colorful drama, in fact, a tragedy, as it concludes with the eviction of the squatters who had settled on the grant. It is an interesting account of events which shaped to a large degree the development of northern New Mexico and also left a decided impress on its history during the period covered, from 1841 to 1892. The author has a terse style which flows smoothly and grips the attention of the reader. Having known personally the principal actors in the drama, and buttressed by his knowledge of the land laws, he writes authoritatively. The high lights include many a thrilling tale of frontier violence and political intrigue characteristic of the days when the railroads came to New Mexico. Across the pages march the rough and ready men of pioneer days, heroes and scoundrels; others who became governors, United States senators, cabinet members; path-finders such as Kit Carson, Lucien B. Maxwell, Carlos Bent; priests, Protestant ministers, Indians, a motley crowd of men and women of all types and classes.

In the introductory chapter, Keleher reviews concisely Spanish land laws, leading up in the second chapter to the account of the acquisition of the grant by Miranda and Beaubien. The petition for the grant as submitted to Governor Manuel Armijo reveals something of the conditions prevailing in Mexico a hundred years ago. An amusing letter written by Carlos Bent in 1841 to M. Alvord* in Santa Fé excoriates in unmeasured terms Padre Antonio José Martínez, curate of Taos. According to the author, in his third chapter, "the Maxwell Land Grant has had no counterpart in the story of land grants in New Mexico." He tells something of the remarkable career of Lucien B. Maxwell, who acquired the grant through marriage and purchase, and who

*No "Alvord" at Santa Fé in 1841 is known. This is evidently a misreading for Manuel Alvarez, friend of Bent and at that time U. S. consul in Santa Fé.—Editor.

founded the First National Bank in Santa Fé with part of the proceeds from the sale of the grant to a syndicate of English and Dutch investors. In the sixth chapter is set forth the claim of the Utes and Jicarilla Apaches to the lands covered by the grant. Then follows a chapter descriptive of the Cimarron country and its towns and mining camps. The eighth chapter recounts the murder of the Rev. T. J. Tolby, a Methodist minister, and the vengeance inflicted on the supposed murderer. It also tells about the Rev. Thomas Harwood, another Methodist missionary "a one-man army of the Lord.'" Also about the Rev. O. P. McMains, preacher and editor, who was accused of the lynching of Cruz Vega, whose body was found hanging from a telephone pole, with evidence that he had been tortured horribly before a lariat had been drawn taut about his neck.

The latter half of the book outlines the financing and the litigation which finally vested the huge grant of almost 2,500 square miles, or more than twice the area of the state of Rhode Island, in "the Maxwell Land Grant and Railway Company." Exciting incidents of vigilante days, with personal references to numerous men of prominence still remembered by many, but of whom only one, ex-Governor George Curry, survives at this time. Frank W. Springer who successfully conducted the litigation for the Maxwell Company, Thomas B. Catron, Stephen B. Elkins, Surveyor General George W. Julian, Judge Elisha Long, Colonel William Breeden, George W. Prichard, Judge William A. Vincent, U. S. Senator Stephen W. Dorsey, Robert Ingersoll and others more or less famous, appear upon the scene with occasional asides which throw additional light upon the days in which they lived. As to Springer, the author concludes: "Springer's zeal and learning, his outstanding ability as a lawyer, his great industry and perseverance had never been put to a greater test, or been more magnificently rewarded. Successful termination of the litigation was a great tribute to Frank W. Springer personally and marked the zenith of his career as a member of the bar in New Mexico." As there were other important aspects to the career of Springer as

a scientist, philanthropist, art lover, builder, one cannot help but wish that the author with his literary charm may find time to write a biography of Springer and his brother, both of whom he knew personally, and while so many others now living are in position to contribute details of their hobbies, foibles and tremendous contributions to the welfare and growth of New Mexico. Such might also be the hope as to Lucien B. Maxwell, Thomas B. Catron and Stephen B. Elkins, who had an intimate human side that was romantic and at times lovable as well as historically significant. Anyway, *Maxwell Land Grant* is good reading and well worth the three dollars charged for the volume.—P.A.F.W.

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

### AN OLD PAINTING: ST. JOSEPH AND THE CHRIST CHILD

For years an old lady who lived in an adobe house near Belen brought all her troubles to an oil painting of St. Joseph, and she said the good saint never failed to answer her prayers.

Today that painting has been pronounced the authentic work of an "old master," and appraised at a minimum of $25,000.

Albuquerque relatives of Juana Maria Castillo remember her as a tall, slender old woman, wrapped in a black shawl. They say she had smooth dark hair and burning black eyes in a pale face. They say she would sit for hours before the painting of St. Joseph, which always occupied the place of honor on the whitewashed walls of her parlor.

The canvas was given to Juana Maria by her father-in-law, Francisco Castillo, who said it had come from Spain more than 300 years ago. She always said that St. Joseph worked many miracles for her and for others.

Just before she died, Juana Maria Castillo asked that the painting be given to her nephew and niece, Mr. and Mrs. Martin Gilbert of Albuquerque. She said they had always loved the painting and she knew they would take good care of her saint.

For the present the painting hangs at the home of Mrs. Gilbert's brother, Bennie Salazar.

Some time ago an Albuquerque artist, Carl Van Hassler, sat talking in the Gilbert home when his eye fell upon the canvas.

"Where did you get that?" he asked excitedly. And was told that it was an old family heirloom.

"But it's a Murillo, or maybe a Raphael," Van Hassler exclaimed. "Why it must be worth thousands of dollars."

Van Hassler searched for a signature but someone had reframed the canvas and cut it off to fit the new frame.

At the artist's insistence, the painting of St. Joseph was

shipped to Los Angeles, where the expert, Charles Haskell, of the Huntington Library, gave his opinion that the canvas is the work of the great Renaissance painter, Raphael, or one of his school.

"This is an excellent work of art of exceptional merit and in excellent condition," wrote the expert, who found it more Italian than Spanish in technique and feeling.

He said it might be the work of Perugino, or Raphael, Correggio, Guido Reni, or Carlo Dolci.

"If Spanish," wrote Haskell, "it can be attributed to but one artist—the great Murillo of the 17th century."

The canvas is 28 by 36 inches in size. The artist depicted St. Joseph in robes of blue and red, standing on top of the world, against a misty blue background. In one arm the gentle faced saint holds the Infant Jesus, and in his right hand is a spray of Easter lilies.—*Albuquerque Evening Tribune*, Apr. 6, '43.

## THE "VIA CRUCIS" AT THE CRISTO REY CHURCH, SANTA FÉ

On the evening of Friday, April 16, a very old set of the *via crucis* was blessed at the Church of Cristo Rey in Santa Fé. Monsignor Joseph Giraud officiated at the service, he and the parish priest, Father Julius Hartman, saying the stations of the cross together.

The stations are painted on wood and formerly hung in the old *Castrense*, or Military Chapel, which was erected on the south side of the plaza back in 1761. That old church disappeared nearly a hundred years ago, but the large carved stone reredos was saved by Archbishop Lamy and gave inspiration to the late Archbishop Gerken for designing the new church in the eastern part of the city, where it stands behind the high altar.

How the old set of stations came to be restored to church use has been incorrectly stated in the public press. What really happened is as follows. When the old Castrense was of no further use to the Church, the property was sold by Bishop Lamy to Felipe Delgado of Santa Fé; and from him

possession of the stations descended to a grand-nephew of the same name. The latter, whose fine tenor voice took him some years ago to Los Angeles and Hollywood, loaned the stations to the "Casa Adobe," a museum of the Huntington Library; but when he died about two years ago, his last request was that these stations be given back to the Church. His sisters, one of whom is Mrs. Gilberto Espinosa of Albuquerque (*née* Frances Delgado), naturally respected their brother's wish—although it took some time to persuade the Huntington Library to release them. And thus they came finally to the late Archbishop Gerken.—L.B.B.

## A Snapshot of the Late Archbishop

We are indebted to Father Robert M. Libertini, S.J., for a photograph which is of more than passing interest. Father Libertini is now a chaplain at the General Hospital in Santa Barbara, but he was pastor at Alameda in 1936 when he took this picture, which was published in the *Albuquerque Evening Tribune* of March 3 with a feature article by Jim Toulouse.

The occasion was a brief stop at the old Albuquerque airport by His Eminence Eugenio Cardinal Pacelli. In 1936 he was papal secretary of state and was making a tour of the United States, accompanied by Archbishop Francis J. Spellman of New York who has been much in the European news this spring, while the cardinal has occupied the papal throne for the last four years as Pope Pius XII. The late Archbishop Gerken came down from Santa Fé to greet them, and here appears informally as he was so well known to his fellow-citizens of the Southwest.

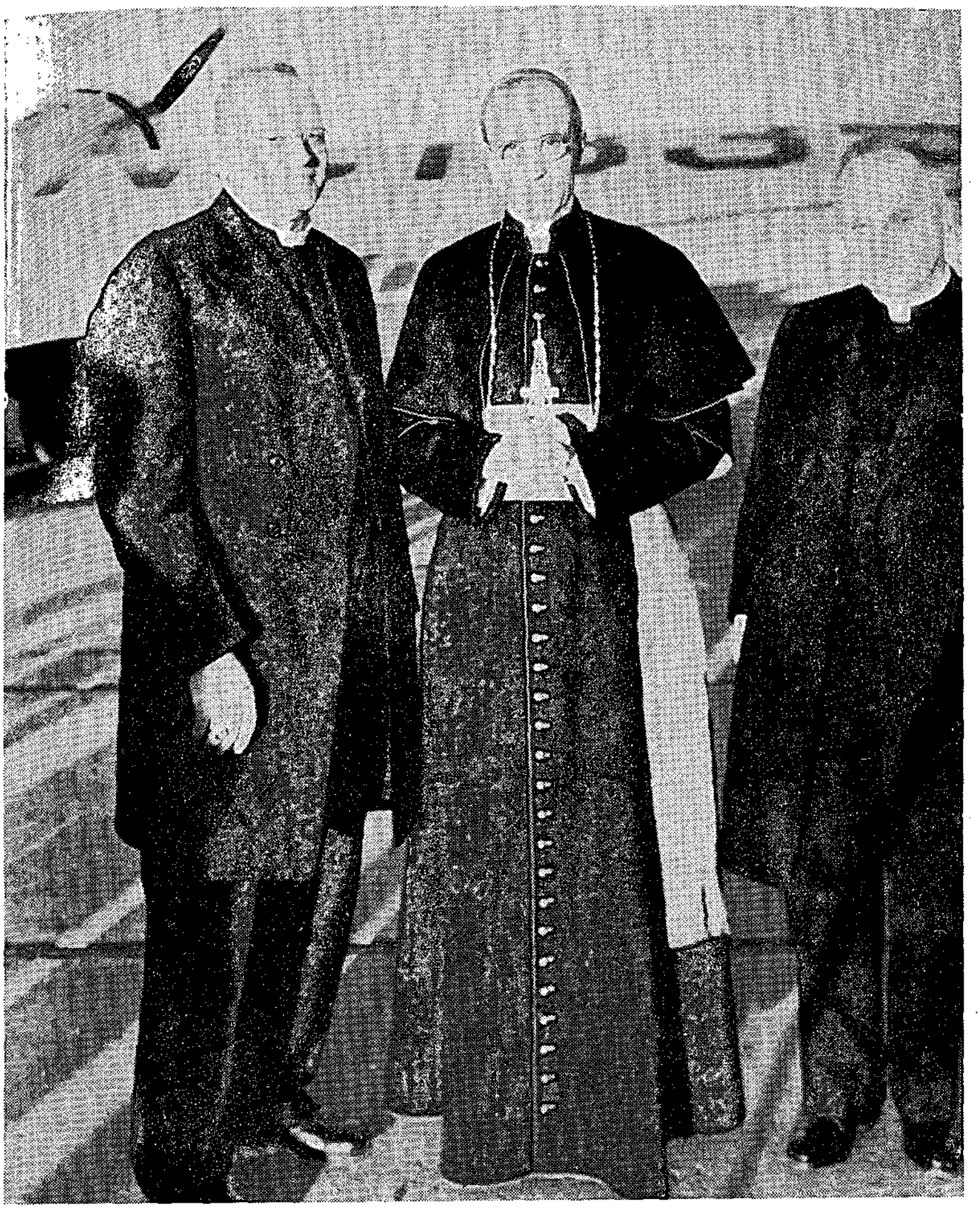
# NECROLOGY

## Archbishop Rudolph Aloysius Gerken

Death came for the Archbishop of Santa Fé, the Most Rev. Rudolph Aloysius Gerken, at St. Vincent's Sanitarium in Santa Fé at noon of March 2, 1943. He had been found unconscious that morning on the floor of his bedroom in the episcopal residence, having suffered a stroke of cerebral thrombosis, the sequel of several years of high blood pressure. His right side was completely paralyzed. Medical science was unavailing, and the last rites of the church were administered by the Rt. Rev. Monsignor Joseph Giraud, chaplain of the Sanitarium.

Born at Dyersville, Iowa, March 7, 1887, the son of William and Elizabeth Sudmeier Gerken, Rudolph Gerken was the seventh archbishop of Santa Fé, having succeeded the late Archbishop Albert T. Daeger, on June 10, 1933. After attending Pio Nino College in Milwaukee, and St. Joseph's College at Rensselaer, Ind., he went to Texas thirty-five years ago and taught in the public schools of Muenster and Windthorst. A few years later he taught at the University of Dallas and thence went to Kenrick seminary, St. Louis, where he was instructor in languages. He was ordained a priest of the Roman Catholic Church by the Most Rev. Joseph P. Lynch, Bishop of Dallas, in the Cathedral of the Sacred Heart, Dallas, on June 10, 1917. He served as pastor of Sacred Heart parish, Abilene, Tex., and later of St. Rita's church at Ranger, Texas. He was appointed bishop of the newly formed diocese of Amarillo, Texas, being consecrated on April 26, 1927, and installed two days later by Bishop Lynch, who had ordained him a priest and who preached the sermon at his installation. Quoting from *The Catholic Register*:

Immediately after his installation in Amarillo, Archbishop Gerken undertook to meet the many difficulties presented by the Texas Panhandle diocese. By organizing catechism classes and securing volunteer teachers, he was able



*Courtesy of the Rev. G. Goñi, S.J.*

A Snapshot at the Albuquerque Airport in 1936: Cardinal Pacelli (now Pope Pius XII) with the Late Archbishop Gerken and Archbishop Spellman

to bring the faith to many Catholic children who had never been schooled in their faith. When he left the Amarillo diocese in 1927, he was recognized as an able administrator who had faced and solved many serious problems brought about by the vastness of his Episcopal territory, which on one occasion he called the pioneer mission field in the United States.

When, on Aug. 23, 1933, he was installed as Archbishop of Santa Fé, the rite was declared to be one of the most picturesque ever seen in the nation. It was made particularly notable by the presence of the then new Apostolic Delegate to the U. S., Archbishop Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, who officiated at the ingressus, and of the exiled Apostolic Delegate to Mexico, the Most Rev. Leopoldo Ruiz y Flores, now Archbishop of Morelia, Mexico, who was then residing in San Antonio, Tex. Five other Archbishops and eighteen Bishops also attended the event.

Archbishop Gerken's nine and one-half years of service in the Santa Fé archdiocese were marked by an ever-expanding program of religious education.

He established the Archdiocesan Teachers' college in Albuquerque and St. Mary's convent in Santa Fé.

Anxious to make his farflung archdiocese a strongly knit unit of the Church, Archbishop Gerken devoted himself to building up his diocesan organizations. The Archdiocesan Council of Catholic Women and the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine carried on under his guidance a program designed to strengthen the faith of every Catholic in the territory. Study clubs, instruction classes, religious vacation schools, a weekly diocesan paper, the *Register*—all these the Archbishop used in his program of progress in New Mexico.

Building went ahead at a rapid pace in his reign. Constantly, somewhere in the state, a little mission chapel was being built by the faithful Mexicans or Indians who form the greater part of the archdiocese's population.

One of the most important developments under Archbishop Gerken was the founding, in the fall of 1935, of the

Lourdes Trades school in Albuquerque, where boys are given both academic and vocational training.

An institution international in its influence was founded in Archbishop Gerken's territory in September, 1937, when Motezuma seminary in the Sangre de Cristo mountains near Las Vegas was opened as a training school for priests to served the persecuted Catholics of Mexico. Montezuma was established by the American Hierarchy, working in collaboration with the Bishops of Mexico.

Archbishop Gerken supervised the remodeling of the old Baptist college that now houses the seminarians. The building had originally been put up in the 1890's as a resort hotel. Archbishop Gerken welcomed the first 300 students to Montezuma in the fall of 1937, and a year later the institution was training 450 boys for the priesthood in Mexico. Some of its graduates are already at work in Mexico.

Among the notable church edifices built during his archepiscopate were El Cristo Rey in Santa Fé built around the famous stone reredos of the former Castrense and one of the most remarkable ecclesiastical structures in the United States; St. Anne's church, in Santa Fé, also an adobe building, unique in architecture; St. Charles Borromeo church in Albuquerque; and churches in Abiquiú, Lumberton, Laguna and other parishes, most of them in the New Mexico Mission style. Only recently, a reconstruction of the interior of St. Francis Cathedral, necessitated by weakening of pillars and their foundations, was completed under his supervision.

Archbishop Gerken was the first archbishop to set up the chancery as a business office outside the episcopal residence on Cathedral place and made it one of his self-assigned tasks to collect old and valuable archives of the archdiocese which he placed in a fire-proof vault at the chancery.

Twice in Archbishop Gerken's tenure changes were made in the ecclesiastical government of the Province of Santa Fé, of which he was Metropolitan. The first, on Dec. 26, 1939, saw the Diocese of Gallup set up to include the counties of Coconino, Mohave, Navaho, and Yavapai, all in

Arizona, and the counties of San Juan, McKinley, and Catron and parts of Rio Arriba, Sandoval, Bernalillo, and Valencia, all in New Mexico.

The second change came Nov. 15, 1941, when the Diocese of Denver, formerly a suffragan see of the Santa Fé province, was created an archdiocese. This left the Santa Fé archdiocese with two suffragan dioceses—those of El Paso and Gallup.

In 1933 there were 106 priests, 54 secular and 52 regular, serving the archdiocese; in 1942 there were 110 priests, 70 secular and 40 regular. In 1942 there were 57 churches with resident pastors, one more than in 1933. Other comparative figures with the 1933 statistics given first and the 1942 record second are as follows: Ecclesiastical students—18 and 37; junior seminaries—0 and 1; schools—35 and 36; pupils in colleges, academies, and parochial schools—6,198 and 7,008; pupils in public schools taught by nuns—3,232 and 3,542; hospitals—6 and 7.

Throughout this period the population of the archdiocese increased from 136,385 to 141,201.

From the *Santa Fé New Mexican:*

The gray-and-gold casket bearing the body of the pontiff had been placed in the center of the sanctuary just back of the rail, the head being elevated in order that the full figure might be seen from every part of the church. Two members of the guard of honor were on duty.

Three tall ebony candlesticks flanked the casket at either side with their tall lighted tapers. The body of the archbishop was garbed in his robes of purple and gold and the white mitre of his office was placed upon his head. His hands were folded into his purple gloves on which the episcopal ring gleamed. Many of the mourners brought rosaries to be touched to the ring by the guards, for this insignia of his office is known to contain a holy relic. At one side of the casket was draped the cappa magna, white cape with black crosses which is part of an archbishop's official vestments, and beside it was laid the pectoral cross, another insignia of office.

People from all walks of life, from richest to poorest, were among those mourning the death of their spiritual leader in the archdiocese. Classes from the Catholic schools paid their respects in a body, reciting prayers in a soft, low monotone throughout the day.

Archbishop Urban J. Vehr of Denver, in the black vestments of the church in mourning, chanted the high requiem mass. A choir of 50 Mexican students for the priesthood from Montezuma seminary, Las Vegas, N. M., which Archbishop Gerken had a leading roll in founding, sang the Latin responses.

Bishop J. P. Lynch, Dallas, who had ordained the deceased archbishop and consecrated him as a bishop, gave an eloquent English sermon of a biographical nature. Bishop Sidney M. Metzger, El Paso, who was to have given the Spanish sermon, was grounded in Kansas as he was flying to Santa Fé and Bishop Mariano Garriga, Corpus Christi, spoke in his place.

After several misty days the sun broke through the clouds in Santa Fé and its rays slanted down upon the altar and main aisle lighting up the clouds of aromatic incense hovering over the archbishop's casket. The altar was bare of decoration except for several tall candles, according to the custom at a requiem mass. The only flowers were two tall baskets of Calla lilies, one on each side of the casket.

Long streamers of purple and white descended from the apse to the sanctuary rail forming a canopy under which the officers of the mass intoned their frequent "Requiescat in pace's'" over the bier.

In the choir loft at the rear of the church the seminarians from Montezuma enhanced the solemn grandeur of the mass with their Gregorian chant. It was evident to those who listened in the otherwise hushed cathedral that the youths were seeking to repay a debt of gratitude to a benefactor who made it possible for them to follow their religious vocation at a time when Mexico banned education by the church.

Archbishop Vehr was escorted from La Fonda to the

cathedral, mitred and in pontifical vestments, by all of the bishops and priests here for the ceremonies. There were 104 of them.

The State Guard with its band, playing a funeral march, stood before the cathedral doors as the procession entered.

The church was already filled with parishioners and visitors except for the pews reserved for Governor Dempsey, his staff, the clergy and orders of the religious.

Immediately after the conclusion of the mass, the casket was lowered beneath the high altar to be placed in the last of the crypts reserved there for the dignitaries of the diocese. Only the prelates and clergy remained for this rite, aside from Charles Digneo and a helper. Digneo, employed to seal the crypt, finished a work begun by his father. The elder Digneo, Carlos, was one of the progenitors of the Italian families prominent here and in Albuquerque today who were brought across by Archbishop John B. Lamy to finish the cathedral.

The Archbishop's remains were placed in the Episcopal vault under the Cathedral, where are buried three of his predecessors, the Most Rev. J. B. Lamy, first Archbishop; the Most Rev. Peter Bourgade, fourth Archbishop; and the Most Rev. Albert T. Daeger, O.F.M., fifth Archbishop. Two Vicars General, Monsignor Eugillon and Monsignor Fourchegu, are also interred in the vault. The archbishop is survived by four brothers, three sisters and an uncle. His parents are dead. The uncle lived with the archbishop in Santa Fé. The brothers are: Ludwig and Oscar, farmers of Happy, Texas; William of Amarillo, and Henry of Dyersville, Ia. The sisters are: Mrs. William P. Jansen, Umbrager, Texas; Mrs. Ed. Klosterman, Dyersville, and Mrs. Ben Willemberg, Independence, Ia.

Archbishop Gerken, because of his tolerance and general friendliness, had a host of friends in all circles and denominations. He was generous and many deeds of kindness and charity, of which the world knew nothing, stood to his credit. Deeply interested in the history and traditions of the Southwest, he gathered historical documents and

ecclesiastical records and had them classified and catalogued by Col. José D. Sena, and made them accessible to Secretary Lansing Bloom of the New Mexico Historical Society.—P.A.F.W.

## Mrs. Inez Barnes Westlake

An artist and author of distinction, who specialized in Indian design, Mrs. Inez Barnes Westlake of Albuquerque, was killed in an automobile accident 41 miles north of Hot Springs, N. M., on March 17, 1943. She was returning to Silver City from a visit to her former home in Albuquerque when she lost control of her car which turned over twice. Her body was found in the car, in which she was traveling alone.

Mrs. Westlake was born March 22, 1883, in Brooklyn, N. Y., the daughter of R. P. Barnes, a veteran New Mexico attorney and legislator, who survives her. Early in her life, she came with her parents to Silver City where she resided 30 years, moving to Albuquerque in 1919, and back to Silver City in November, 1942, being employed there by the New Mexico Welfare Department. A graduate of the Silver City Normal School, she held a life teaching certificate, and was completing a course of study for the M.A. degree from the State University. She taught school in New Mexico, Arizona and in Tsientsin, China. Last fall she was a candidate for county school superintendent on the Republican ticket in Bernalillo county. Mrs. Barnes won national recognition as a student of Indian lore and design and published two beautiful volumes of Indian design in color which are accepted as authoritative. She had exhibited in the State Museum and elsewhere. Mural decorations in the Franciscan Hotel and the Kimo theater in Albuquerque were designed by her. Her flower paintings in water color were admired over the state wherever she exhibited.

Mrs. Westlake is survived by Mrs. Willard Holmes, a daughter residing at the U. S. Soil Conservation Service farm near Bernalillo with her husband and children, David, Sharon and Richmond; another daughter, Mrs. Doris Cau-

dill, with her husband and daughter Lynette residing in Claremont, Calif.; and a son, Richmond, who is with the Army Air force in the Middle East. Sisters of Mrs. Westlake are Mrs. Frank R. Coon of Deming; Mrs. Marion P. Walker of Tucson, Ariz., and Mrs. W. F. Ritter, of El Paso, Texas. A brother, Chauncey B. Barnes, is a saw mill operator in northern California.

Burial was in Fairview Cemetery, Albuquerque, where hre mother, Mrs. R. P. Barnes, and her grandmother, Mrs. Harriet Burt, have their last resting place.—P.A.F.W.

## Evon Z. Vogt

Evon Z. Vogt, supervisor of Navajo Indians in the Ramah district and former Gallup newspaper publisher, died January 26 at the Zuñi Indian Hospital at Blackrock of a heart ailment.

Mr. Vogt, 62, disposed of the Gallup *Gazette* last August to take the position with the Indian Service. A graduate of the University of Chicago, he came to New Mexico in 1906 and became widely known as a stockman and mining man.

He began newspaper work about twenty years ago as editor and manager of the Gallup *Independent,* then a weekly newspaper. Later, he was custodian at El Morro National Monument for several years.

His widow, three daughters and a son survive him.—*Albuquerque Morning Journal,* Jan. 26, '43.

## Thomas P. Gable

Thomas P. Gable, one of New Mexico's most widely known pioneers, died in his sleep at his Santa Fe home on February 6. On March 12, he would have been 92 years old.

A native of Platte County, Mo., where he was born in 1851, he come to New Mexico from Trinidad, Colo., in 1882 to become manager of the Fred Harvey House at Raton.

For more than half a century he was prominently identified with territorial and state affairs.

In 1886 he was made warden of the penitentiary under

appointment of territorial Gov. Edmund G. Ross. He served in that post during 1886-87, old-time records showed.

He rose to a lieutenant-colonelcy in the New Mexico National Guard and others of his many public posts included that of territory and state game warden; councilman and mayor of Santa Fé; and collector of customs of the port of El Paso.

For nine years he was proprietor of the St. Regis Hotel at El Paso.

Surviving are a daughter, Mrs. Willi Fischer; a granddaughter, Mrs. Claribelle Fischer Walker, of Santa Fé; and a great granddaughter, Will Ann Walker, a sophomore at the University of New Mexico.

Colonel Gable was a charter member of the Cerrillos Masonic lodge and a life member and past exalted ruler of the Santa Fé Elks lodge.—*Albuquerque Morning Journal*, Feb. 7, '43.

## GEORGE ST. CLAíR

Dr. George St. Clair, dean emeritus of the College of Fine Arts and professor emeritus of English at the University of New Mexico, died at Elfers, Florida, on February 12, 1943.

Born at Wadley, Georgia, in December, 1880, Dr. St. Clair spent his early years in an orphanage in Charleston, South Carolina. He attended Newberry College from 1896 to 1899 and then traveled westward to graduate from Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington, with the B.A. degree in 1901. Sailing with the first ship load of teachers for the Philippines in that same year, he served as principal and supervisor in provincial schools until 1914 when he accepted a position at the University of the Philippines in the department of English, serving for six years and becoming head of the department. In 1920 he sailed from Manila in company with Vice-Governor Yeater of the Philippines, traveling as far as Spain where he spent the better part of a year. From 1921 to 1923 he studied at the University of California and earned the Ph.D. degree; then came to the

University of New Mexico that same year as assistant professor of English.

During his sixteen years of service at the University of New Mexico, Dr. St. Clair advanced to the headship of his department in 1928, and eight years later became dean of the newly established College of Fine Arts. He acquired an outstanding reputation as a teacher, and after years of directing plays as a hobby, saw this activity firmly embedded in the University curricula when the department of Dramatic Art was established in 1936.

In addition to a full load of teaching and extra time devoted to coaching plays, Dr. Saint Clair found time to write. While in the Philippines he wrote and produced several plays and translated Spanish poems. At New Mexico he wrote and produced *The Star of Madrid* and *A Pair of Shoes;* published an autobiography in poetic form entitled *Young Heart*, and published locally *A Mint of Phrases*. He made critical studies of Thomas Hardy and E. A. Robinson, and published *Dante Viewed through His Imagery*. His most important contribution, however, was as a teacher. Known affectionately as "Saint" to many, many students and friends, he left a deep impress upon them with his personality and fine character. When asked about his teaching ability, he replied, "See my students"; and that is his best epitaph.

He lies buried at Newport Richey, Florida, having enjoyed less than four years of life and only moderate health after retiring in 1939.—FRANK D. REEVE.

## FLORENCIA MONTOYA

Mrs. Florencia Montoya, widow of the late Congressman Nestor Montoya, died February 12 in Los Angeles where she had been visiting her sons. She was 82 years of age.

Congressman Montoya, widely known political figure in New Mexico, died in 1923 while serving the second year of his term at Washington. He had been a member of the state constitutional convention in 1910.

Since his death Mrs. Montoya had resided with her daughter here, Mrs. E. J. Gutierrez, but left last November to visit her sons in Los Angeles.

She is survived by three sons, Nestor Jr., Theodore and Poul, all of Los Angeles; two daughters, Mrs. Gutierrez of Albuquerque and Mrs. Frances Talley, Washington, D. C., and by ten grandchildren and one great grandchild.—*Albuquerque Morning Journal,* Feb. 13, '43.

## PETER CAMERON

Peter Cameron died February 12, after a 55-year residence in Albuquerque. He had retired five years ago as president of the Albuquerque Foundry and Machine Works.

Death came after illness of almost a year.

His widow, a son, S. J. Cameron of Detroit, and three daughters survive. The daughters are Mrs. Eleanor Fairchild, Albuquerque teacher, Mrs. Dorothy Chess of San Marino, Cal., and Mrs. Lillian Fleming of Cheyenne, Wyo.

Mr. Cameron was active in Masonic circles. He was first master of the Albuquerque Lodge No. 60, A. F. and A. M.; was a 33rd degree Scottish Rite Mason; and had held many other prominent positions in the organization.—*Albuquerque Morning Journal,* Feb. 13, '43.