New Mexico Historical Review

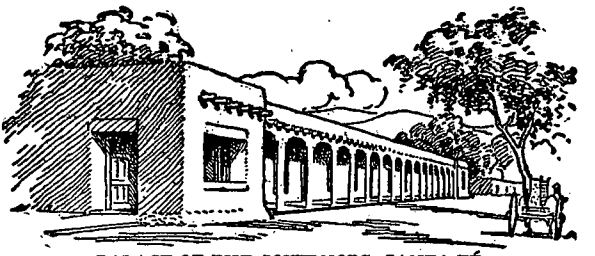
Volume 20 | Number 2 Article 1

4-1-1945

Full Issue

New Mexico Historical Review

New Mexico Historical Review



PALACE OF THE GOVERNORS, SANTA FÉ

April, 1945

VOL. XX — APRIL, 1945 — NO. 2

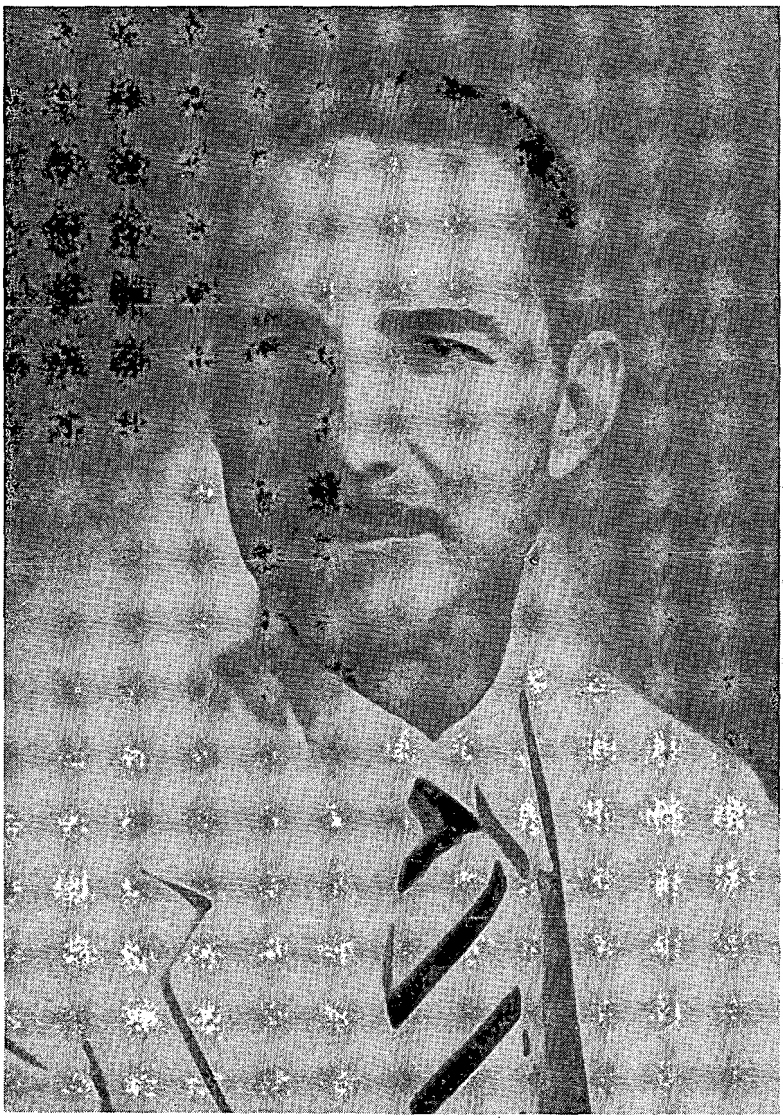
CONTENTS

		Page
John R. McFie, Jr.		*Frontispiece*
History of the Albuquerque Indian School	Lillie G. McKinney	109
The Use of Saddles by American Indians	D. E. Worcester	139
From Lewisburg to California in 1849 (cont'd)	(ed.) L. B. B.	144
Necrology:		
Ruth Hanna Simms	P. A. F. W.	181
John R. McFie, Jr.	P. A. F. W.	184
Notes and Comments:		
Lá Villa de Santa Fé	L. B. B.	187
Grollet, Grole, Grule, Gurule	L. B. B.	187

The NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW is published jointly by the Historical Society of New Mexico and the University of New Mexico. Subscription to the quarterly is $3.00 a year in advance; single numbers, except those which have become scarce, are $1.00 each.

Business communications should be addressed to Mr. P. A. F. Walter, State Museum, Santa Fe, N. M.; manuscripts and editorial correspondence should be addressed to Prof. L. B. Bloom, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, N. M.

Entered as second-class matter at Santa Fe, New Mexico
UNIVERSITY PRESS, ALBUQUERQUE, N. M.



JOHN R. MCFIE, JR.

(Necrology, p. 184)

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XX APRIL, 1945 NO. 2

HISTORY OF THE ALBUQUERQUE INDIAN SCHOOL*

By LILLIE G. MCKINNEY

INTRODUCTION

THE civilization of the American Indian has been slow, difficult, and expensive for our government. Different administrations have tried different policies. Usually some method of force was used down to 1876. Force meant the final extinction of the race. About the only education that filtered in among the savages was the result of the labors of heroic missionaries who established schools among them from 1819-1876 subsidized by meagre sums from the government.

The greatest pioneer missionary among the Indians of the Rocky Mountain area was Sheldon Jackson of the Northern Presbyterian Church from 1838 to 1909. He has been called the "pathfinder and prospector of the missionary vanguard."[1] By personal appeals to wealthy churches and individuals in the east he supplemented the small sums allowed by the government in educating Indian youths. In 1869 he became superintendent of missions under his church. From this time until 1876 he was actively engaged in establishing mission schools in all the Western territories, especially in Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, Utah, Arizona, and New Mexico.

In 1876, under President Grant, the new policy of educating Indians under strict government control was much

*Accepted at the University of New Mexico in 1934 in partial fulfillment of requirements for the M. A. degree.

1. *The Pageant of America*, V. 1, p. 252.

more successful than his "peace policy" (forcing them to live on reservations and securing peace by feeding them).

In 1887, under President Cleveland, the Dawes Act was passed which provided individual ownership of lands and citizenship for such holders. In addition a liberal provision was made for educating Indian youths on reservations, and the appointment of more agents to protect them against the injustice of the white man. This was a generous and humane policy toward the Indians. It may well be called the Indian Bill of Rights. This policy has been followed by succeeding administrations and has proved fairly successful.

Hence, the Albuquerque Indian School is greatly indebted to the Presbyterian missionaries, to the liberal policies of the government, and to the public spiritedness of the citizens of Albuquerque for their donation of the present school site.

CHAPTER I

INCEPTION AS A CONTRACT SCHOOL (1878-1886)

As early as 1878, Major B. M. Thomas, United States Indian agent of the Pueblo agency at Santa Fé, proposed the establishing of a central boarding school.[1] On April 24, 1879, the office of Indian affairs instructed Major Thomas to find a site for such a boarding school on the public domain. On June 19, he reported that a survey would have to be made. By September 25, authority came to incur the expense of the survey as well as to advertise for proposals for the erection of a school building. Shortly thereafter the secretary of the interior reported to the president, November 15, 1879, that

> the establishment of boarding schools on the reservations for elementary and industrial instruction has therefore been found necessary, and as far as the means appropriated for educational purposes permit, this system is being introduced.[2]

On December 13, an offer of twenty acres about three

1. 52 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 885, (1892).
2. 46 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, I, 10-11, (1879).

miles from Albuquerque was made to the government on condition that the school should be a Catholic school under the immediate management of the archbishop of the territory. This was declined because the tract of land offered was too small and because of the restrictions imposed.[3] The following February 19, 1880,[4] Major Thomas reported that he could find no unoccupied land. However, he submitted a proposition that called for the leasing of 160 acres in the northwest corner of the pueblo of San Felipe from their officers for a period of ninety-nine years. This proposition was rejected. Major Thomas then suggested to the people of Albuquerque that if a suitable location near the city were donated to the government for the purpose, an Indian training school would be established. Steps were taken to secure the necessary land. By February 7, 1881, Agent Thomas reported that the citizens of Albuquerque, after nearly completing a purchase of land for the school, had abandoned the enterprise. Major Thomas believed that only two plans remained: first, to purchase a good place on the Rio Grande where water was plentiful for irrigation; or second, to reserve necessary land near Santa Fé where irrigation and farming could never be developed.

Meanwhile, missionaries of the Presbyterian church learned that the Albuquerque board of trade was interested in the establishment of an Indian training school at Albuquerque. On August 5, 1880, the Reverend Sheldon Jackson, superintendent of mission schools in the Territories, for the Presbyterian board of home missions, reported that the Board of Trade of Albuquerque would probably offer a location for a Pueblo boarding school.[5] Since the secretary of the interior had, a year previous, authorized the establishment of such a school and since the Presbyterian missionaries desired to direct such a school, the Reverend Sheldon Jackson offered to contract with the department to

3. 52 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 885-6, (1892).

4. Perry, Reuben, *Historical Sketch*, p. 1, (1914) unpublished. Found in the office files of the Albuquerque Indian School, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

5. Letter of Reuben Perry to O. H. Lipps, commissioner of Indian Affairs—A partial list of the donors of the school site was: Franz Huning, F. H. Kent, W. C. Hazeltine, Albert Grunsfeld, E. S. Stover, W. B. Childers, A. M. Coddington, Santiago Baca, Mariano Armijo, L. S. Trimble, Perfecto Armijo, and Juan Armijo.

start one in the fall and carry it on until the government was ready to operate it. This offer was accepted, and a few months later a contract boarding school was opened by the Presbyterians in rented buildings.[6]

The previous October, 1880, Franz Huning had offered to donate forty acres about ten miles south of Albuquerque, but this offer was rejected on account of severe winds and sandstorms and the lack of improvements. Next, Mr. Huning proposed to sell for $4,500 an improved tract about five miles from Albuquerque, but this offer was not accepted because the Indian office had no funds. Then, on March 7, 1881, Major Thomas telegraphed that the town of Albuquerque had offered a donation of land, and asked if he should accept forty or sixty acres on condition that the government put up an Indian training school. The Indian office replied "that the acceptance of the offer did not seem expedient."[7]

In 1882, the principal of the contract school[8] reported that the citizens of Albuquerque had purchased an excellent tract of land in Bernalillo county for $4,500 well located, and one-fourth under cultivation, to be donated to the United States government as a site for an Indian training school.[9] This offer was accepted.

> This deed was approved by the attorney general, September 19, 1882, and was recorded in the Bernalillo county, N. Mex., October 13, 1884.[10]

An adverse claim to a portion of said land

6. 52 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 885, (1892).

7. 52 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 886, (1892).

8. Those religious schools that contracted with the government to maintain and educate a specified number of Indian children were called contract schools.

9. 52 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 886, (1892).

"Beginning at a stake at the northwest corner of the lands formerly owned by John H. McMinn, thence N. 4°53′ W. 731.7 feet to a stake at the northwest corner of the land hereby conveyed; thence N. 84°52′ E. 2,320.7 feet to a stake at the northeast corner hereby conveyed; thence S. 3°45′ E. 720.4 feet to a stake, thence S. 7°30′ W. 793 feet to a stake at the southeast corner of the land hereby conveyed; thence N. 85°50′ W. 184.6 feet to a stake; thence N. 87°42′ W. 615 feet to a stake; thence N. 81°52′ W. 203 feet to a stake; thence N. 78°44′ W. 224 feet to a stake; thence N. 73°19′ W. 176.4 feet to a stake; thence N. 70°14′ W. 234 feet to a stake; thence N. 78°38′ W. 567.7 feet to a stake at the southwest corner of the land hereby conveyed; thence N. 6°8′ W. 234.4 feet to the point or place of beginning containing 65.79 acres, more or less."

10. Two buildings were erected on this tract by the government, and were occupied in August, 1884.

> having been set up by one Baldassare, the citizens of Albuquerque presented him with a $300 organ, when he executed a quit claim deed, December 26, 1884, which was recorded in the Bernalillo County, N. Mex., January 9, 1885. On the 8th of June, 1885, Superintendent Bryan submitted a plat of the land conveyed, with a view of quieting title to a certain road adjacent to and in front of school buildings.[11]

The location of the present site was in the very heart of the Indian country within easy reach of the Pueblos, Navahos, Apaches, and Utes. The climate was excellent, having mild summers and winters not too severe.

This was fine for the prospective Indian pupils because their new environment would be almost identical with that of their homes; and since the altitude was about 5000 feet, the climate was considered very healthful. The new school was to be located about two and one-half miles northwest of the city of Albuquerque—the metropolis, business, and railroad center of the territory of New Mexico. It had in addition to its many other merits, a picturesque location in the Rio Grande valley, bounded on the west by the craters from five extinct volcanoes and on the east by the beautiful Sandía and Manzano mountains. The present site originally consisted of sixty-six and seventy-nine hundredths acres purchased by the citizens of Albuquerque for $4,300.[12] The land was purchased in small lots from the native settlers, and the title was taken in the name of Elias Clark who, under date of June 17, 1882, conveyed the tract to the United States by warranty deed.

The school was located one mile north of old Albuquerque, at the village of Duranes, where it remained for over a year. It was first opened January 1, 1881, by the Reverend Sheldon Jackson, D.D., to educate Indian pupils at an annual cost of $130 per pupil. The school was a boarding and an industrial school for the Pueblos under contract

11. 52 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 886, (1892.)

12 Perry, *Historical Sketch*, p. 1 Cf., 52 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 886, (1892). Mr. Perry gives sixty-six and seventy-nine-hundredths acres at $4,300; the House executive document give sixty-five and seventy-nine-hundredths acres (more or less).

with Henry Kendall, D.D., secretary of the board of home missions of the Presbyterian Church, United States of America. The contract was for a maximum attendance of fifty pupils of both sexes.[13] The average attendance was forty. The school was conducted in a Mexican house which had been built for a residence, and it afforded poor convenience for school purposes. J. S. Shearer was the superintendent in charge.[14]

Professor J. S. Shearer resigned in July, 1882, and was relieved on July 31, by R. W. D. Bryan of New York. Major Thomas wrote to the commissioner of Indian affairs at this time that Professor Shearer had been very industrious and successful in advancing the interests of the school, and that he was sorry that a change in management of the school was made necessary, for the school had been managed efficiently and had made fine progress during the year, even though confined to insufficient and unsuitable quarters.[15]

During October, 1882, Professor R. W. D. Bryan, his faculty, seventy pupils, and school property were moved from Duranes to the present location where a number of buildings were being erected by the E. F. Halleck Manufacturing Company of Denver, Colorado, under contract with the commissioner of Indian affairs.[16] These school buildings were accepted by the government through the inspection and recommendation of a board composed of Major Pedro Sanchez,[17] Superintendent of Construction Edward Medler,[18] and A. M. Coddington.[19] Their report

13. 47 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 199, (1882).

14. Perry, *Historical Sketch*, pp. 1-2, gives attendance as 47; Major Thomas in 47 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 199, (1882), gives attendance as 40.

15. 47 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 190, (1883).

16. The plot of ground was purchased by the citizens of Albuquerque and was located two and one-half miles northwest of the city.

17. Memoria Sobre la Vida del Presbitero, Don Antonio José Martínez, by Pedro Sanchez (Santa Fé, 1903) p. 45. Pedro Sanchez was appointed Indian agent by President Arthur and served till the election of President Cleveland.

18. Personal interview with Reuben Perry, June 23, 1934. Edward Medler was an old resident of Albuquerque and was a local contractor. His son, ex-District Judge Edward L. Medler, is now practicing law at Hot Springs, New Mexico.

19. *Ibid.* A. M. Coddington was one of the first citizens of Albuquerque in 1882. He was a resident judge of the city. He was a brother-in-law of B. S. Rodey and an uncle of Pearce C. Rodey, now practicing attorney.

was made about September 1, 1884, and the buildings were accepted soon thereafter.[20] The new school building could accommodate 150 children. Even at this early date the buildings were insufficient, for the superintendent found it necessary to erect some other buildings with funds furnished by charitable people in the East through the agency of the Presbyterian church.[21] Hon. H. M. Teller, secretary of the interior, in a letter to the president of the United States in 1884 said:

> The flourishing Albuquerque school has moved into new quarters after three years of waiting in rented buildings, supplemented by temporary makeshift additions, put up one after the other as the pupils crowded in. This building was intended for 158 pupils, and the superintendent of the school is asking for the immediate erection of another building to house the 50 additional pupils who will ask for admittance this fall, and the 100 others who can easily be obtained. The $40,000 appropriated this year for buildings will be needed for the Crow, Devil's Lake, Wichita, Quinaielt, and Fort Peck buildings, and repairs and additions at other points, and Albuquerque must wait another year, as must also nine other places where there are either no buildings at all or else buildings which need immediate enlargement.[22]

The school prospered greatly under the management of Superintendent Bryan, who remained in charge until October 2, 1886. On February 23, 1884, a congressional committee composed of Hon. Clinton B. Fisk, chairman, E. Whittlesey, and Albert K. Smiley visited the Indian school under the care of the Presbyterian home mission board. The committee reported to the secretary of the interior that Mr. R. W. D. Bryan was the principal of the school, and besides a matron and a cook, he had three assistant teachers; namely: Miss Tibbles who taught arithmetic, her most advanced class studying decimals; Miss Wood, who taught geography, reading, and spelling; and Miss Butler,

20. Perry, *Historical Sketch*, pp. 1-2, (1914).
21. 48 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 693, (1884).
22. *Ibid.*, p. 5. Cf, Appendix, p. 132.

the primary teacher, who taught chiefly by object lessons. Chairman Fisk further stated,

> We heard classes in all the departments. The teaching is entirely in English and is well done. Discipline in the schoolroom is good, and most of the scholars appear bright and interested in their studies. The health of the children is good except that some are troubled with sore eyes, probably caused by scrofula. The buildings are poor, but the dormitories are clean and well ventilated. The number of pupils now is one hundred and thirty-two. We saw them at dinner, which consisted of soup, mutton, and bread. After dinner we went to the ground given by the citizens of Albuquerque for new school buildings to be erected by the government, with room for one hundred fifty scholars. With the help of Mr. Bryan and the agent of the contractor we measured and staked out the sites for boarding house and school house. When these are completed, shops should at once be added for industrial instruction, which the Pueblo Indians need above all things.[23]

Superintendent Bryan believed in securing the Indian children who lived near the boarding school. He opposed sending children long distances from their homes. His views were best expressed in the annual report[24] of 1885, in which he stated:

> The ultimate object of the Indian schools is, as I understand, not so much the improvement of individuals as the gradual uplifting of the race. To this end it is important to guard against the formation of a wide gulf between parent and child, and to prevent the child from acquiring notions inconsistent with proper filial respect and duty. I am, therefore, anxious to have local and neighborhood day schools maintained; to have boarding schools multiplied within easy reach of their homes, so that the parents may often visit their children, and thus grow accustomed to their improvement, and so that the children may spend each year a long vacation at their homes. I would

23. 48 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 693, (1884).
24. 49 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 481-2, (1885).

> recommend that at this school, therefore, the term consist of nine months, giving the children three months at their homes. The schools at the east and far from the children's homes should be used as normal schools, to prepare those who have shown ability and aptitude at the local boarding schools to be teachers and leaders of their people.

It was under Superintendent Bryan that industrial education was introduced into the school. Because of this training, the boys soon made the buildings habitable, making many tables and other articles of furniture. Mr. Bryan suggested that special contracts be entered into for the maintenance of an industrial department allowing ten dollars per pupil per annum to be given for each trade established; to which at least one instructor should devote his whole time.[25] Carrying out the idea of industrial instruction, the boys and girls were employed in domestic work, especially in the dining-room and laundry. In addition the girls were taught sewing, cooking, and the care of the sick. Also a farm was operated during the year and forty acres were cultivated. The boys worked hard, especially the Apache boys, who previous to entering school regarded work as disgraceful. The painting instructor with a corps of apprentices painted, grained, and decorated in an artistic workmanlike manner several large houses. The stone cutters, who were selected from the pueblo upon whose land the stone was quarried, worked out door and window sills with care and accuracy. Mention should be made of the carpenter boys who did creditable work throughout the school term.[26]

According to a letter written by the Presbyterian home mission board to the board of Indian commissioners in 1885, the school needed to be enlarged because it was the central point at which the Pueblos and neighboring tribes might gather. The school was very popular with the Indians. If sufficiently large buildings were erected, almost any number

25. 49 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 481, (1885).
26. 49 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 481, (1885).

of pupils could be secured. It was believed that by 1886, the enrollment would reach 200.[27]

The faculty of 1885 consisted of R. W. D. Bryan, superintendent; the Misses Tibbles, Wood, Patten, and Butler, teachers; Mrs. Bryan and Miss Wilkins, matrons; Mr. McKenzie, instructor in carpentering; Mr. Loveland in painting; Mrs. Loveland and Mrs. Sadler in sewing; and Mr. and Mrs. Henderson in cooking and care of the tables. They were a courageous band of workers, and the work done by them as a whole was very encouraging.[28]

The average attendance during the year was 156. A noted event was the coming to the school of sixty Apaches. A few of the older pupils ran away, but the larger number remained, and many of them made rapid progress, especially in manual labor. However, the largest number came from ten of the nineteen pueblos. The Lagunas, the most advanced pueblo, sent thirty-two.[29]

Certainly the school under the direction of Mr. Bryan prospered and was successful, for Major Pedro Sánchez, Indian agent, in writing to the commissioner of Indian affairs, said:

> The boys and girls that return from the Carlisle school, as well as those who attend the Albuquerque school, are the pride of every man that appreciates education and desires the welfare of these Indians; but when they return home they have to join hands with the agent, and thus deal with the gross ignorance so deeply rooted in their people.[30]

And Mr. Dolores Romero, Indian agent at Isleta, in a letter to the commissioner of Indian affairs wrote:

> I should recommend that more children be sent to Carlisle, Albuquerque, and Santa Fe, because

27. *Ibid.*, p. 801.

28. *Ibid.*

29. 49 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 480, (1885). The Albuquerque Indian Boarding School was classed with reservation boarding schools; although it was not on a reservation because the school was originally intended for the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico.

30. 48 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 183, (1884). Major Sánchez of the Pueblo Indian Agency at Santa Fé recommended in August, 1884, a day school in every pueblo.

> the children coming from these schools are a pride to civilization, and they are also an inducement to other children to attend more regularly, and would apply themselves to learn the first rudiments of learning in the primaries in order to go to the higher schools.[31]

Although Mr. Bryan's work terminated in 1886, he continued to have a very strong personal interest in the Indians and the Indian school. He made his home in Albuquerque where he became a leading attorney and a prominent citizen. In the spring of 1912, shortly before his death, he delivered an able and sincere address to the graduates of the Indian school. After reading this address in the *Albuquerque Evening Herald,* Commissioner Valentine wrote to Superintendent Perry, "I congratulate you on the fact that men of this type are interested in the Albuquerque Indian School."[32] It is certain that Superintendent Bryan laid a firm foundation for the continuance of the school: by drawing pupils from the pueblos and other nearby tribes; and, by introducing industrial training into the school. Fortunate, indeed, was the Albuquerque school to be piloted by a man as able as Mr. Bryan through the critical stages of its infancy from 1881-1886. His vision made later progress possible.

---

31. 49 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 384, (1885).
32. Perry, *Historical Sketch,* pp. 4-5, (1914).

CHAPTER II

FIRST PERIOD OF GOVERNMENT MANAGEMENT (1886-1897)

On October 2, 1886, the management of the Indian School was entirely transferred to the United States government[1] and P. F. Burke of New York entered on duty as superintendent.[2] He found that the school had accommodations for 200 pupils and was intended especially for the Pueblos and Mescalero Apaches. Since the government had made no arrangement to purchase the property claimed by the Presbyterian board he found that furniture and other interior appliances had been removed, leaving the buildings destitute of everything.[3] This was a rather bad situation, but could be remedied more easily than many other problems arising during his superintendency.

On August 31, 1887, he submitted the first *Annual Report*[4] under government management for the fiscal year ending June 30. According to this report, the Pueblo Indians were not favorably inclined toward educating their children, and it was with much difficulty and hard work that they were enrolled.[5] As early as 1883 boarding schools for Indians were considered by the commissioner of Indian affairs, greatly superior to day schools,[6] and the opening of the school at Albuquerque was expected to accomplish the greatest good and to be the most practical way of educating them;[7] whereas in the day schools the language and habits of the savage parents were kept alive in the minds of their

1. Ellwood P. Cubberly, *State School Administration*, p. 110. "In 1876 a new policy was adopted, viz., that of providing for the education of the Indians under strictly governmental auspices, and with this change in policy the real development of Indian education began." Evidently this was not a rigid policy, since the commissioner of Indian Affairs did not adhere to it in all cases.

2. 49 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, I, 154, (1886).

3. 50 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 330, (1887).

4. These reports may be subjective but are the best and most authentic material on the Albuquerque Indian School since supervisors would note any discrepancies.

5. 52 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 545, (1892). According to a legend of many tribes, the Pueblo Indians chose ignorance and poverty in this world, but happiness in the next. This idea was ingrained in the Pueblo mind, constituting a basis of dogged resistance to efforts in educating their offspring; and when in some cases children were forcibly sent to school, on their return home, parents did all they could to destroy what they had learned.

6. 47 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 199, (1882).

7. 47 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 190, (1883).

children.[8] Naturally, the Pueblo parents were in a state of doubt and disbelief concerning the value of educating their children away from parental influence. The chief opposition came from the Pueblos at Santo Domingo and Jémez. These were both large groups, but neither sent children to the Albuquerque Indian school.[9] Even the northern Pueblos objected because they were distrustful of all efforts made in their behalf and clung obstinately to traditions and original systems of law. To the Pueblo villagers the day schools were all that could be desired, and they could not understand why the boarding schools were considered better. They, therefore, used the day schools as an excuse for retaining their children.[10] However, their attitude became more friendly after the arrival, in 1887, of Superintendent Riley and Agent Williams among them, for they sent 130 pupils soon thereafter to the school.[11] Opposition came also from the Ute squaws who held superstitious beliefs that the attendance of their children at the school two years previously was the cause of the death of about one-half of those in attendance. No doubt the cause of this great loss of lives was due to the diseased condition of an hereditary nature in the children.[12]

At this time five distinct tribes were represented in the Indian school. Of the pueblos San Felipe sent thirty-nine,[13] Isleta thirty-six, Laguna eighteen, Santa Ana ten, Zía eight, Acoma eight, Cochití five, Sandía five; of the other tribes the Navaho sent eight from Cañoncito Cajo, the Mescalero Apache one, the Pápago seven, and the Pima twenty-three, making a total of 129 Pueblos and thirty-nine from other tribes. Superintendent Burke gave 170 as the maximum attendance for 1887.[14]

Teaching in most cases was rather poor. There was no uniformity in the course of study nor in the textbooks

8. 49 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, I, 100, (1886).
9. 50 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 330, (1887).
10. 50 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 268, (1888).
11. 50 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 330, (1887).
12. 49 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, I, 267, (1886).
13. 50 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 330, (1887).
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 768-9.

used.[15] The superintendent was allowed to select the textbooks and pursue the course of study that he liked best. The results varied widely within the school, and often a lack of purpose in ordering textbooks retarded progress. Nor was this all. Literary progress failed to keep pace with industrial, because the teaching force was inadequate; two teachers had to instruct and deal with 130 children of all ages and advancement. Besides this, the teachers lacked sufficient education to instruct the children in the rudiments of English.[16] No test was given teachers for capacity, intelligence, or character, and neither was there an assurance of a reward for merit,[17] and Superintendent Burke recommended that teachers in government schools be placed under civil service regulations to promote efficiency.

The fiscal year, 1888-1889, showed an enrollment of 219 and an average attendance of 172. Evidently the Pueblos were becoming more favorable toward education. At the beginning of the school term manual art instruction was reintroduced and was of great practical value to the pupils.

The next few years were critical ones for the school; the resignation of P. F. Burke May 24, 1889, was followed by frequent changes in superintendents. Many activities of the school were curtailed because there could be no constructive policy over a period of years; however, progress was made in the increased enrollment and in the extension of industrial work.

On May 25, 1889, William B. Creager was appointed superintendent, and his first *Annual Report* (1890-1891), was entitled "Report of Fisk Institute, Albuquerque, New Mexico."[18] In this report the account given of progress in the improvement of buildings and grounds was greatly overdrawn. He says

> that greater advancement has been made in all the industrial departments, in the improvement to

15. 50 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 730, (1888).
16. 50 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 333, (1887).
17. 50 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 270-1, (1888).
18. *Ibid.*, p. 571. Possibly in honor of Clinton B. Fisk, chairman of the congressional committee.

> the buildings and grounds, in the additional comforts, and facilities for the education of Indian youth this year than in all previous years combined.[19]

The trades taught were: harness making, shoe making, cooking and baking, sewing, and laundry work.[20] The academic department[21] was under Mrs. D. S. Keck assisted by five women teachers. Since the new academic building had not been completed, only three rooms were used; other necessary rooms were fitted up elsewhere until the building was dedicated on May 30, 1892. The school was graded at the beginning of the year, and work was outlined for each grade. The highest grade had an enrollment of fifty, the intermediate fifty-eight, the second primary fifty-nine, and the first primary 147, making a total of 314.[22]

Daniel Dorchester, U. S. superintendent of Indian schools, maintained that there were two chief obstacles that hindered Pueblo progress, first, their adherence to ancient ideas and usages; and second, their dark religious fetichism.[23] Even Commissioner T. J. Morgan recognized these problems; he wrote that it was almost impossible to secure attendance of the Pueblo children since "there has been a persistent, systematic effort to prevent the people from patronizing these schools, and recently some of the patrons have been induced by misrepresentations to appeal to the courts to have their children removed from Albuquerque by a writ of habeas corpus.[24]

Commissioner Morgan requested that the Rt. Rev. P. L. Chapelle, coadjutor bishop of Santa Fé, use his influence to return the Isleta Indian children that had been removed by their parents because of the activity of the Catholic priest at Isleta. But Mr. O. N. Marron, Catholic attorney of Albuquerque, appealed to the courts to restore to the Pueblo parents their children, and Commissioner T. J. Morgan, not

19. *Ibid.*
20. 53 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 428, (1893).
21. The literary department in the Albuquerque Indian School has always been spoken of as the academic department.
22. 52 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 679, (1892).
23. *Ibid.*, p. 545.
24. 52 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 43-44, (1892).

caring to contest the matter in the courts, allowed the children to be taken.[25]

Superintendent Creager reported that the Indian children learned rapidly, but they were difficult to enroll because of the opposition of their parents. A recommendation was made by the commissioner of Indian affairs to congress to appropriate money for meals for visiting parents of the children in order to keep them friendly at enrollment time.[26] Teachers were not always fitted for their tasks; such a position needed men and women of tact, discretion, patience, sympathy, and loyalty in more than an average degree.[27] Apathy among the citizens of Albuquerque was noticeable at first, but upon being convinced that the school was an asset, they became interested and agitated for good roads to the school until the county commissioners built them.[28]

In dealing with Pueblo parents, Superintendent Creager aroused the opposition of the Reverend A. Jouvenceau, a priest among the Pueblos near Santa Fé. He instigated an investigation of Mr. Creager, and advised the Indian parents against sending their children to the Albuquerque school. The Indian office had considerable correspondence with Archbishop Salpointe on the subject, and hoped that Father Jouvenceau might be ordered to stop his interference with Pueblo parents. This was not the end of this unfortunate affair since two teachers, Miss Walter and Mrs. Gause, also presented charges against Superintendent Creager to R. V. Belt, acting commissioner. These charges were dismissed; the teachers had no proof to substantiate them and later pleaded earnestly that no investigation be made. However, Acting Commissioner Belt did write two letters to the commissioner on the subject. One related to the statements presented; the other advised that upon close observation of the conduct and management of the school and its personnel, an investigation was unnecessary. This

25. *Ibid.*, p. 166.
26. 52 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 431, (1892).
27. 53 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 428, (1893).
28. 52 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 575, (1891).
29. Letter of Mr. R. V. Belt, acting commissioner, to William B. Creager, October 2, 1891. Found in the Albuquerque Indian School files, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

view was changed upon Mr. Belt's return to the Indian office when the commissioner showed him a letter from Miss Lillian Carr whose statements were in the form of cumulative evidence against Mr. Creager. Mr. Belt now suggested an investigation. This was not acted upon by the commissioner for his faith in Mr. Creager remained unshaken. Unknown to either of the above gentlemen, Inspector Gardener had taken matters into his own hands and had investigated the affair. This report tended to exonerate Superintendent Creager from the charges made, but left the impression that his retention would seriously embarrass the progress of the school in view of the publicity given the scandal. Dr. Dorchester was then sent to make further investigation. He exonerated Mr. Creager from the charges made,[30] but Superintendent Creager gave up his position March 31, 1894.

The school was next placed in charge of John Lane, special United States Indian agent, from April to June 15, 1894. During this brief time he tried to keep the standard high. The big problem as he saw it was the lack of drainage.[31] On June 16, F. F. Avery was appointed to the position, but served only until August 7, 1894. He in turn was succeeded by William N. Moss, supervisor, who had charge of the school from August 8, to September 30; and he was relieved October 1, 1894, by John J. McKoin, who was to hold the position until April 9, 1896.

Despite the fact that such frequent changes were made in the superintendency, the school, during this time enrolled 283 pupils. Regular and irregular employees numbered fifty-eight,[32] the school had a capacity of 300, and an average attendance of 256 at a per capita cost of $175. Work was fine in the kitchen, bakery, harness shop, and dressmaking department; the farm work was fair. Fourteen boys had work at the school while twelve hired out to local farmers. Dormitories were kept clean and fresh, and the

30. *Ibid.*
31. 53 Cong., 3 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 1036, (1894).
32. *Ibid.*

conduct at the tables and in marching to and from the dining room was good.

Mr. McKoin reported that the year 1895-1896 was marked by dissensions among the employees, yet this friction did not keep the results of the work that year from being fairly satisfactory, both from a literary and an industrial point of view.[33] Reclaiming the school farm was slow discouraging work because of poor drainage and of the difficulty in securing water for irrigation. Its alkali condition was partially overcome by planting the land to alfalfa.[34] Another problem vexatious to the superintendent was the sewerage system. The land and sewerage problems were to harass succeeding superintendents.

Special U. S. Indian Agent M. B. Shelby relieved Mr. McKoin on April 10, 1896, and served until April 27, when S. M. McCowan arrived as the new superintendent at a salary of $1,500 per annum. In his report for 1896-97 Mr. McCowan stated that the frequent changes in employees and superintendents had been very detrimental, since 1894, yet this year showed some progress. The literary department was much better than in previous years, due possibly to the principal who was one of the few thoroughly competent instructors in the service.[35] Fair progress was made in the industrial departments. In the sewing room pupils were taught to draft, cut, and fit garments. Excellent work was done in the carpenter shop. All repairs were made by these boys. They kalsomined the entire plant, finished a nice bath house, and white washed the board fences. So energetic were they that all the paint was used up before the expiration of the school term. Satisfactory work was done in the laundry, bakery, and kitchen. Recommendations for the school included a sewerage system, since the one in use was in a deplorable condition and a constant menace to good health. Mr. McCowan maintained that dollars should not count when the lives and health of children and employees were endangered. Other recommendations in-

33. *Ibid.*, p. 1036.
34. 54 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 381, (1896).
35. 55 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 1, pt. 5, II, 382, (1897).

cluded an electric lighting system, a large dining room and kitchen, and a guardhouse for unruly boys.

This period, 1886-1897, and the one from 1897-1908[36] were critical for the school, for frequent changes in superintendents tended to reduce the efficiency of the school by shortening constructive plans that should have been executed over a period of years. The above changes may have been due to many causes: for instance low salaries, incompatibility in dealing with the Indian office, investigations of such a nature as to interfere with the work of the school, promotions within the Indian service, and victims of the political spoils system.

A study of the changes made under the democratic regime from 1886-1897 indicates that politics[37] was possibly the major cause, since during the two terms of President Grover Cleveland (1885-1889; 1893-1897) and the intervening Harrison term (1889-1893), the school at Albuquerque was directed by three superintendents: Burke, Creager, and McCowan. From October 1886 to June 1897, a period of not quite eleven years, five other men held the office for brief transitional periods of a few weeks each; but the three named were chiefly responsible for the course of events and for any development that may be credited to these years.

36. The second period under government management from 1897-1908 will be treated in Chapter III.

37. An investigation by the Indian office of Supt. Creager was perhaps the cause of his withdrawal from the school.

CHAPTER III

RETURN OF REPUBLICAN CONTROL (1897-1908)

As might have been expected after the republican party returned to the control of national affairs, there was a new appointment to the office of superintendent at Albuquerque, and there were others at about the same three-year interval. Between June, 1897, and February 1908, we find the superintendencies of four men: E. A. Allen, R. P. Collins, J. K. Allen, and B. B. Custer. Several other names appear, but, as in the preceding period, they were merely transitional.

The many changes from 1886-1908 indicate that they were due in large measure to the turn given the political situation, and since other governmental department administrators were admittedly removed because of their opposing political views, it is only reasonable to suppose that superintendents under the interior department were no exception. Though politics was perhaps the major issue, other causes sometimes operated.[1]

Hence on June 6, 1897, Edgar A. Allen succeeded S. M. McCowan as superintendent, and held this position for nearly three years until March 31, 1900. Mr. Allen's first year as an administrator was a trying one. In his report to the commissioner of Indian affairs he wrote that:

> Frequent changes of superintendents and employees have had the effect of unsettling the institution and very materially hindering its progress. The last change took away not only the superintendent and the matron, but also, the principal teacher, senior teacher,[2] disciplinarian, assistant disciplinarian, chief cook, shoemaker, and band teacher.
>
> Besides these transfers most of the older and better trained pupils were taken from us, leaving a new superintendent and a large proportion of

1. Burton B. Custer resigned to accept a position as superintendent of the warehouse in the Indian department at St. Louis, and Mr. Edgar A. Allen resigned for reasons unknown to the writer.

2. Teachers enter the Indian service according to such classification as primary, junior, or senior teacher.

> new employees, and but few advanced pupils with which to conduct affairs.[3]

Mr. Allen reported that no class had yet graduated because the children remained only from one to five years, and very little could be accomplished in so short a time. Furthermore, it was almost impossible to secure children from the reservations and pueblos because counter influences were at work to keep them away.[4] For the next fiscal year, he recommended a new sewerage system, a new building for the carpenter shop, and one for shops and laundry costing $3,500.[5]

In his *Annual Report* for 1898, Mr. Allen was not entirely satisfied with the progress made, for two reasons: first, the shops were very poorly housed; and second, there had never been a course on instruction pursued by which the students could be systematically trained. Even with this adverse report, progress had been made. New ring baths had been installed; electric lights added, a new steel tower built; a new well dug; an appropriation made for a sewerage system;[6] and a number of blue ribbons awarded for the excellency of the Indian school exhibit at the territorial fair.[7]

In the *Annual Report,* 1899, Mr. Allen submitted as his most outstanding problem the reclaiming of the school farm. He stated that

> The task of reclaiming the school farm is a serious one. Old residents state that the land had

3. 55 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XIII, 360-1, (1897). Cf., Perry, *Historical Sketch,* p. 5, (1914). Superintendent S. M. McCowan and his corps of employees were transferred to the Indian school at Phoenix, Arizona.

4. 55 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XIII, 197, (1897). Perry, *Historical Sketch,* p. 5, (1914). "Most of the pupils were mixed Mexican and Indians, for whom the school was not established." The pueblo of Santa Clara was an exception. Their friendliness toward the school was due almost wholly to the influence of the lieutenant governor who was educated at the Albuquerque school, and to a former teacher who had married an Indian woman of the village. Cf., 55 Cong., sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XV, 339, (1898). In most cases the downpull of the tribe was greater than the uplift of the returned student.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.,* p. 9. "The system was installed by Superintendent Allen during the fiscal year, 1900, at a cost of $11,000. This was a great improvement and convenience to the school."

7. 55 Cong., 3 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XV, 380, (1898).

> been used for the manufacture of adobe brick since the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, until the citizens conceived the idea of presenting it to the government. No one ever had the temerity to attempt to cultivate it. Foot by foot, however, it is at great expense and labor being improved, and while this can never excel as an agricultural school, the land may in time be made to produce fairly well. The crop of alfalfa raised this year is much the best that has been produced, and the garden, while not quite so good as last year, would have been better had the spring not been so unfavorable.[8]

Mr. Allen recommended for the ensuing year an appropriation for a heating plant, a manual training building, and a domestic science building. At this time the capacity of the school was 300; the actual enrollment 321 with an average of 304 for a period of ten months. There were twenty-six employees. The per capita was $167, with a total expenditure of $42,907.03.[9] Mr. Allen resigned March 31, 1900, to be succeeded by M. F. Holland, supervisor, who served from April 1 to May 26.

On May 27 Ralph P. Collins was appointed superintendent at a salary of $1,700 per annum.

Superintendent Collins wrote that when he took charge the greater portion of the pupils enrolled were Navahoes, Pueblos, and Apaches. According to the new administration, industrial training was more important than academic or fine arts because such training enabled the future adult Indian an opportunity to earn money. Mr. Collins in his *Annual Report* wrote the Indian commissioner that "most time is given over to practical and useful work. Only enough attention is given to music and so-called accomplishments to serve as a diversion."[10]

A charge was made that most of the children enrolled were Mexicans, but the superintendent insisted that all could prove their Indian blood.[11]

8. 56 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XVIII, 409, (1899).
9. *Ibid.*, pp. 10, 552-3.
10. 56 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XXVII, 494, (1900).
11. It is possible that a large per cent of the children were Mexicans since the majority of Indian parents were indifferent to educating their children.

average daily attendance of 315. The subsistence raised by the school was valued at $789.70. The per capita cost

At this time the Isleta children were most difficult of all to obtain. Mr. Collins reported a total enrollment of 335 with an average attendance of 317.61. This enrollment was greater than the capacity of the building. The school farm had increased in fertility over previous years. Recommendations for 1900 were general rather than specific.

> During the next few years, owing to the enrollment of the larger number of Mexican children and the inaccessibility of the school from the city of Albuquerque, the Department and the Indian Office seemed to lose interest in the institution and were inclined to abolish it.[12]

Mr. Collins used the outing system,[13] for he permitted the oldest boys to work in the beet fields and upon the railroads in the territory. He reported that a course of study was prepared for the industrial department. It must not have been broad enough in scope since Estelle Reel, superintendent of Indian schools, desired better provision for the teaching of industries, especially blacksmithing.[14] Coöperation among the employees was excellent; the social life was both pleasant and agreeable. There were thirty-four employees caring for an enrollment of 336 with an was $135.81 with a total cost to the government of $42,781.41.[15]

For the fiscal year, 1901-1902, Superintendent Collins made a determined effort to enroll only full-blood unprogressive Indians. Twenty Navahos were enrolled when the work was checked by a serious epidemic of diphtheria. The results for this year were unsatisfactory since every department was affected by the epidemic. There were 150 cases, but no deaths. This was a great record for the efficiency of the medical treatment.[16]

12. Perry, *Historical Sketch*, p. 9, (1914).
13. The outing system (first used in the Carlisle Indian School, Carlisle, Pa.—the system of hiring out the Indian children to responsible white people) was adopted by most boarding schools.
14. 57 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. 5, pt. 1, XXIII, 414, (1902).
15. 57 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XXIII, 676-7, (1902).
16. 57 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XIX, 254, (1903).

A shop, a warehouse, and a pumping plant were built at a cost of $6.000.[17] The total sum expended by the government for the year was $57,600[18] for an enrollment of 313.

Twenty-five boys were listed on the outing system to work in the beet fields of Colorado. These boys did well financially.[19]

Athletics became important at this time. The boys played some first-class games of baseball and football, while the girls met and defeated every basketball team of any note in the Territory of New Mexico.[20]

The services of Mr. Collins ended March 17, 1903, and the Indian office sent O. A. Wright, supervisor, on the eighteenth, to take charge; he remained until June 30. On the following day James K. Allen, a virile and able superintendent, assumed charge.

His arrival heralded a new life for the school. He stopped its threatened abolishment by enlisting the support of the commercial club and the citizens of Albuquerque in donating funds for the purchase of land to open a roadway from the school to Fourth street, and by persuading the Indian office to purchase land immediately east and west of the plant so that the school might have easy access to this road.[21] The crisis had been passed, a new building program was launched.

In his *Annual Report* for 1902-1903, Mr. Allen reviewed the school situation as he had found it. The plant consisted of about thirty buildings. Some were old and ill-arranged. The kitchen and dining room needed to be condemned and a new structure built; the laundry, built in 1885 and costing $900, was a cheap affair in the beginning. This building needed to be replaced by a newer and better equipped structure. Mr. Allen insisted that the most needed building had as yet found no place on the campus—a manual training building with sufficient floor space to care for

17. *Ibid.*, p. 434.
18. 57 Cong., 1 sess. Sen. Ex. Doc. 449, V. XXXII, p. 122, (1902).
19. Cf. reference 15, *supra*.
20. 57 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XIX, 254-5, (1903).
21. Perry, *Historical Sketch*, p. 9, (1914).

all boys enrolled in the industrial department. Then, too, the water system was not complete, for the wells were probably contaminated with surface water. New wells could be sunk at a cost not exceeding $500. The heating plant was not up-to-date, since coal and wood stoves were used. The old system should be replaced by the cheaper and cleaner steam heat. The electric lighting system was the only one that was satisfactory. The Albuquerque Gas, Electric Light, and Power Company furnished electricity at a cost of $1,200 per annum.[22]

About one-third of the pupils having Mexican blood were discharged by June 30.[23] Only those of Mexican descent whose parents could prove Indian blood remained.[24] This discharge marked the second major crisis averted, for this determination of Mr. Allen's to fill the school with pure blood Pueblo and Navaho pupils reawakened the Indian office to a new sense of duty to the school that has continued to the present time.

The fiscal year, 1902-1903, ended with the school having a capacity of 300, an enrollment of 380, and an average daily attendance of 286,[25] and an employee force of thirty-one,[26] seven of whom were Indian. The superintendent received a salary of $1,700 a year, the physician $1,100, the chief clerk $1,000, and teachers' salaries ranged from $540 to $740.[27]

Mr. Allen turned next to the farm problem. The fiscal year, 1903-1904, was marked by his efforts to remedy the bad condition of the alkali soil. He believed that an abundance of water and ample drainage at considerable cost would reclaim the farm. Not only was this undertaken

22. 58 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XIX, 217, (1904).

23. 58 Cong., 2 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XIX, 217, (1904).

24. A printed form, "Application for Enrollment," was used to record the name, age, parentage, and previous schooling of the child; the consent of parent or guardian for not less than three years; a physician's certificate of health; and an endorsement by an agent or superintendent.

25. *Annual Report*, p. 5 (1904). The low average attendance was possibly due to the fact that 216 Mexican pupils were discharged during the year and their places eventually filled from the Pueblo and Navaho tribes.

26. From an old copy found in the office files of the Albuquerque Indian School, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

27. 58 Cong., 3 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XIX, 655, (1905).

but a recommendation was sent to the Indian office to purchase an additional thirty acres for vegetables and alfalfa, and to appoint a trained farmer who had made a scientific study of the management of alkali and adobe soils at a salary high enough to attract him.[28] The value of the produce raised during this year amounted to $1,197.11, costing $843.53 which left a net profit of $353.58, or an average of $23.53 an acre for the fifteen acres under cultivation.[29]

Mr. Allen recommended a gasoline or an electric pumping plant for irrigation to cost about $7000. It was impracticable to obtain water from the river for irrigating because the water was not obtainable and the cost of maintaining ditches from the river was prohibitive.[30]

During the year the housing problem became acute. A recommendation was made and an appropriation received for a new dining room and kitchen, a new laundry, and a new dormitory for boys.[31]

Public sentiment among the Navahos had become favorable to the school. So many Navaho children came that the total enrollment reached 348 with an average daily attendance at the close of the fiscal year, 1904, of 336. Of this number 313 were full blood. Progress in school was fair. About sixty per cent of the students were unable to speak or understand English. With the exception of a small class of older pupils the entire school was primary; however, a fine quality of workmanship was shown in the handicrafts.[32] Pottery work among the Pueblo girls was very good. William J. Oliver was sent to escort Indians

28. *Annual Report*, p. 10, (1904).
29. *Ibid.*
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Albuquerque Indian*, I, No. 4, p. 16, September (1905). Charles Goshen, a full blood Paiute Indian of the Walker River Reservation, Nevada, showed Indian patience by making an old time rabbit net 900 feet long, three feet wide, and made somewhat like a fish-net with about two and one-fourth inch meshes. A piece of milkweed, which grows about two and one-half feet tall, was used. Only the outer cover could be woven, and this was separated by hand. Two slender pieces were moistened and twisted by hand until it was slightly larger than a fishing line, but strong enough to support 100 pounds. About 16,000 feet of thread, four tons of weed to furnish enough fiber, and twelve months of labor including Sundays were required to complete the net.

with pottery to the World's Fair at St. Louis. Many of the girls who had been taught weaving were so anxious to weave blankets that they frequently used the legs of an ordinary chair for a loom and it was "no unusual occurrence in passing through the dormitory to find a number of chairs used as looms on which are unfinished blankets."[33]

Sanitary conditions of the plant were good. There was a large number of cases of diphtheria, but in a rather mild form. At this time Dr. Edwin L. Jones of Aguas Calientes, Mexico, was appointed under civil service rules as physician to the school at a salary of $1,000 a year.[34]

Congress in 1904 appropriated $50,100 for support and education of the Indian pupils, for the purchase of additional land, for the construction and furnishing of new buildings, for repair and equipment of present buildings, and for the improvement of the grounds.[35] An additional $3.500 was appropriated for improvements to the water supply.

The year was a successful one, and Mr. Allen was partially rewarded by an increase in salary of $100 a year.

In his *Annual Report,* 1904-1905, Mr. Allen wrote that the industrial work accomplished was very gratifying. Two large adobe buildings were constructed requiring several thousand adobe bricks which were made and laid by the Indian boys. So much progress was made in the blacksmith and carpenter shops that Mr. Allen proposed to add cabinet making the next year.[36] A part of the superintendent's huge building program was completed at this time: An adobe blacksmith shop, an adobe carpenter shop, a barn and several storerooms enlarged and remodeled, a new cow barn with cement floor, a school warehouse moved to the new site, a cold storage building, the old office building moved to the new site and turned into a mess hall and quarters for employees, and the building of fences around barnyards and corrals. Buildings under structure were:

33. 58 Cong., 3 sess., H. Ex. 5, pt. 1, XIX, 404, (1905).
34. Letter of A. B. Tanner, acting commissioner, to James K. Allen, March 2, 1904.
35. 58 Cong., 3 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XIX, 404, (1905).
36. 59 Cong., 1 sess., H. Ex. Doc. 5, pt. 1, XIX, 262, (1906).

a laundry, a kitchen and mess hall, and a small boys' dormitory for housing 100 boys.[37]

Contracts had been made for securing additional land on the south and on the east sides of the school grounds in order to extend the lawns around the plant.

Literary work was good even though many pupils were fresh from reservations. Mr. Allen proposed to purchase a printing press and have the children publish monthly a small school paper, not to make printers of the children but to benefit them in acquiring spelling, sentence structure, and punctuation.[38]

Another important phase of school work that was developed to its greatest extent as far as local conditions permitted was the outing system. At various times during the year there were sixty-six boys and eight girls outing. Fifty-two boys were sent to the beet fields at Rocky Ford, Colorado, while the remainder worked on the railroad or for local farmers. The girls worked as domestics. The total net earnings for these children was $2,350.[39]

By this time, the Pueblos were becoming more friendly toward the school. The total enrollment had reached the 357 mark with an average daily attendance of 340. There were 325 full blood and only thirty-two of mixed blood. The Pueblos sent 219, the Navahos 127, the Apaches eight, and the Papago, Shawnee, and Wyandotte one each. Most of the pupils were desirable, showing little discontent during the entire year.[40]

Such a dynamic personality as Mr. Allen could not hope to carry out all of his major policies without opposition. His enemies pursued him relentlessly during the year 1905; as late as March 18, 1906, he had written to F. E. Roberson, Tohatchi, New Mexico, that he was still on the carpet and that a long strenuous hounding had been following him since the first of the year, but he felt that it was about closed. Evidently his enemies were unable to secure

37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*, p. 261.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 261. For outing contract see appendix.
40. *Annual Report*, p. 7, (1905). On file in the office of the superintendent of the Albuquerque Indian School, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

his removal because he remained in charge until his death on May 27, 1906.

Under his direction the industrial department had become very efficient in developing the various trades. He had saved the school from being abolished by discharging the Mexican pupils, and by securing a road to Fourth Street. He had worked persistently to overcome the alkali condition of the soil, and had developed the outing system as far as local conditions would permit. His death was a great loss to the school.

Mrs. Allen took his place until the arrival of Supervisor Charles H. Dickson in June, who remained in charge until July 5, when he was relieved by the appointment of Burton B. Custer to the superintendency.

The *Annual Report* for 1905-1906 was rather brief. The warehouse had been destroyed by fire during the year, causing considerable loss and great inconvenience, and a contract had been awarded for a new warehouse. Many of the projects begun by Mr. Allen were completed: the dormitory, dining hall, office, two electric pumps (one for irrigation, the other for domestic purposes), a small light plant, and a new steam boiler for the power house.

The total value of the school farm and equipment amounted to $12,323.67. The land alone was appraised at $6,600.[41]

The outing system had been carried on to quite an extent since 100 boys and fourteen girls were outing during the year. The boys were under the supervision of the outing agent, Charles Dagenett, who sent them to work in the beet fields of Colorado and on the railroad. The girls worked in private families. The total amount of their earnings was $10,671.13.[42]

Superintendent Custer reported that very little had been done on the school farm for the fiscal year, 1906-1907, because the centrifugal pumps were not installed until late spring. However, the building program had moved forward. Perhaps the best warehouse in the service had just been

41. *Annual Report*, p. 13, (1906).
42. *Ibid.*

completed (a two-story brick building with an elevator) meeting every requirement. Many new sidewalks had been built. An entire new water system had been installed.[43] All installation work was done by the school. Work had just begun on a mess hall and kitchen and a small boys' building. A recommendation was made for a dormitory to be erected in 1908 for the large boys. Mr. Custer spent considerable time overseeing the construction work. He had forty men working on the grounds[44] besides the carpenter boys.

Except for an increased building program Mr. Custer left the school as he had found it (the school had neither gained nor lost by his superintendency). And, neither could the school expect to progress educationally, morally, or physically under his guidance for he lacked the vision that had characterized the administration of James K. Allen.

(to be continued)

43. *Albuquerque Morning Journal*, Sept. 25, 1907, p. 8, col. 2.

44. The water system included an electric triplex pump for domestic supply and a centrifugal pump for irrigation.

The Use of Saddles by American Indians

By D. E. Worcester*

That Indians always rode their horses bareback is a common American belief, but one without basis in fact. All of the tribes that had horses used saddles. The saddles were of two main types; the earliest used and most common was patterned after that of the Spaniards. It had a wooden tree and iron or rawhide-covered wooden stirrups. The other type was composed merely of leather-covered pads of animal hair, generally with stirrups of wood or of rope. Some Indian saddles had a pommel of deer, elk, or buffalo horn for hitching a rope. When Indians wanted to extend their horses to the limit, they sometimes rode with nothing but a robe over the animal's back.

The Apaches, one of the first of the Southwestern tribes to acquire horses, copied Spanish riding gear whenever they could not obtain saddles and bridles actually made by Spaniards. They used bridles with Spanish bits, and had iron stirrups on their saddles. Leather armor for themselves and their mounts was also very similar to that used by the Spanish soldiers of New Mexico.

The early French accounts of the Touacara (Wichita) Indians on the Arkansas river mentioned saddles and bridles, very well made, as well as leather armor.[1]

A description of the Hasinai Indians by Pénicaut in 1714, told of their riding gear:

> They have no other curb or bridal for their horses than a piece of hair-rope; their stirrups are made of the same material, which are fastened to deer-skin, three or four in thickness, thus forming their saddle.[2]

---

*The opinions contained herein are the private ones of the writer, and are not to be construed as official or reflecting the views of the Navy Department or the naval service at large. D. E. WORCESTER, Lt. SC USNR

1. P. Margry. *Mémoires et documents pour servir à l'histoire des origenes francaises des pays d'outre-mer,* (Paris, 1879-1888, 6v.). vi. 294.

2. B. F. French, ed., *Historical collections of Louisiana and Florida . . .* (New York, 1869). 121.

The Indians of the Southeast acquired horses from the Spanish settlements in Florida, and they consequently borrowed the Spanish style of saddles and bridles. The Cherokees, though not the first Southern Indians to possess Spanish horses, were found in the 1770s to make saddles:

> They are good sadlers, for they can finish a saddle with their usual instruments, without any kind of iron to bind the work; but the shape of it is so antiquated and mean, and so much like those of the Dutch West-Indians, that a person would be led to imagine they had formerly met, and been taught the art in the same school. The Indians provide themselves with a quantity of white oak boards, and notch them, so as to fit the saddle-trees; which consist of two pieces before, and two behind crossing each other in notches, about three inches below the top end of the frame. Then they take a buffalo green hide, covered with its winter curls, and having properly shaped it to the frame, they sew it with large thongs of the same skin, as tight and secure as need be; when it is thoroughly dried, it appears to have all the properties of a cuirass saddle. A trimmed bearskin serves for a pad; and formerly, their bridle was only a rope around the horse's neck, with which they guided him at pleasure. Most of the Choktah use that method to this day.[3]

When Anthony Hendry visit the Blackfeet in Canada in 1754, they had many horses. At night the animals were turned out to graze, tied by long thongs of buffalo hide to stakes driven into the ground. They had hair halters, buffalo-skin pads, and stirrups of the same material.[4] Alexander Henry commented on the saddles of the North Plains Indians around 1800:

> The saddles those people use are of two kinds. The one which I suppose to be of the most ancient construction is made of wood well joined and covered with raw buffalo hide, which in drying binds every part tight. The frame rises about ten

3. S. C. Williams, ed., *Adair's History of the American Indians*, (Johnson City, Tenn., 1930), 457.

4. L. J. Burpee, ed., *The Search for the Western Sea* . . . (New York, 1908), 180.

> inches before and behind; the tops are bent over horizontally and spread out, forming a flat piece about six inches in diameter. The stirrup, attached to the frame by a leather thong, is a piece of bent wood, over which is stretched raw buffalo hide, making it firm and strong. When an Indian is going to mount he throws his buffalo robe over the saddle, and rides on it. The other saddle which is the same as that of the Assiniboines and Crees, is made by shaping two pieces of parchment on dressed leather, about twenty inches long and fourteen broad, through the length of which are sewed two parallel lines three inches apart, on each side of which the saddle is stuffed with moose or red deer hair. Under each kind of saddle is placed two or three folds of soft dressed buffalo skin to keep the horse from getting a sore back.[5]

French traders who visited the Crees, learned as early as 1753 that horses and saddles could be obtained from that tribe.[6] In 1790 the Mandans were known to use saddles and bridles of Spanish style.

The Crow Indians had many horses, and were said to be skilful in the making of saddles.

> Their [the children's] saddles are so made as to prevent falling either backwards or forwards, the hind part reaching as high as between the shoulders and the forepart of the breast. The women's saddles are more especially so. Those of the men are not quite so high, and many use saddles such as the Canadians make in the North West Country.
>
> They are excellent riders. . . . In war or hunting if they mean to exert their horses to the utmost the[y] ride without a saddle. In their wheelings and evolutions they are often not seen, having only a leg on the horse's back and clasping the horse with their arms around his neck, on the opposite side to where the enemy is. Most of their horses can be guided to any place without bridle only by leaning to one side or the other[;] they

5. E. Coues, ed., *New Light on the early history of the greater Northwest. The manuscript journals of Alexander Henry* . . . (New York, 1897, 3v.), ii, 526.

6. Margry. *op. cit.*, vi 650-1.

> turn immediately to the side on which you lean, and will not bear turning until you resume a direct posture.[7]

In 1787, David Thompson saw about thirty horses that the Piegans had taken in a raid on a Spanish caravan far to the south of their country, and he described the Spanish saddles:

> The saddles were larger than our english saddles, the side leather twice as large of thick well tanned leather of a chocolate color with the figures of flowers as if done by a hot iron, the bridles had snaffle bits, heavy and coarse as if done by a blacksmith with only his hammer.[8]

West of the Rocky Mountains the Indians used the same methods in making saddles as those of the tribes previously mentioned. Sergeant Gass, one of the members of the Lewis and Clark expedition, left this description of the saddles of the Walla Wallas found near the Koos-Kooshe river:

> The frames of their saddles are made of wood nicely jointed, and then covered with raw skins, which when they become dry, bind every part tight, and keep the joints in their places. The saddles rise very high before and behind, in the manner of the saddles of the Spaniards, from whom they no doubt received the form. . . . When the Indians are going to mount they throw their buffalo robes over the saddles and ride on them, as the saddles would otherwise be too hard.[9]

G. Franchere observed the Salishans, and made a detailed account of their saddles.

> For a bridle they use a cord of horse-hair, which they attach round the animals mouth; with that he is easily checked, and by laying the hand on his neck, is made to wheel to this side or that. The saddle is a cushion of stuffed deer-skin, very

7. L. J. Burpee, ed., *Journal of Larocque from the Assiniboine to the Yellowstone, 1805* (Ottawa, 1910), 64.

8. J. B. Tyrrell, ed., *David Thompson's narrative of his explorations in western America, 1784-1812* (Toronto, 1916), 371.

9. P. Gass, *Gass' journal of the Lewis and Clark expedition* (Chicago, 1904). 235-236.

> suitable for the purpose to which it is destined, rarely hurting the horse, and not fatiguing its rider so much as our European saddles. The stirrups are pieces of hardwood, ingeniously wrought, and of the same shape as those which are used in civilized countries. They are covered with a piece of deer-skin which is sewed on wet, and in drying stiffens and becomes hard and firm. The saddles for women differ in form, being furnished with the antler of a deer, so as to resemble the high pommelled saddle of the Mexican ladies. . . . The form of the saddles used by the females, proves that they have taken their pattern from the Spanish ones. . . .[10]

From the above accounts it can be inferred that the Indians of the horse-using tribes of the present United States generally used saddles. Probably the widespread belief that Indians were bareback riders grew out of some artists' conceptions of Indian horsemen. The Hollywood version of the American redskin has followed the erroneous notion that saddles were unknown to the Indians. Actually there were very skillful saddle-makers among all the horse-using tribes, and very few instances when Indians chose to ride without saddles.

10. R. G. Thwaites, ed., *Early western travels, 1748-1846* . . . (Cleveland, 1904-07, 32v.), vi, 340-341.

FROM LEWISBURG TO CALIFORNIA IN 1849

Notes from the Diary of William H. Chamberlin

(continued)

Edited by Lansing B. Bloom

CHAPTER VIII

Wednesday, June 13.—We are within six miles of the old Santa Fe gold placer; some of our men visited it; found some emigrants encamped there; they took a small basin with them, and in one washing procured at least fifty cents worth of pure gold.[40] Time passes very tediously when lying in camp in such a desolate country as this.

Thursday, June 14.—Green, Howard and myself returned to Santa Fe to-day, for the purpose of purchasing a few articles we had forgotten, and procuring additional information regarding our route. A large company that had started on the Spanish trail have returned, finding it impossible to cross the streams, which are very much swollen. They lost a great deal of baggage and provisions in their unsuccessful attempts; they are preparing to go the southern route.

Friday, June 15.—Lodged during the night at the U. S. hotel. Had a cot but no bedding. The fleas which abound here, annoyed me very much, and I passed a restless night. Indulged in a glass of what they call ice cream (it deserved no such name), and paid 50 cents for it. Left town about 12 o'clock to-day, and reached camp about sundown, a distance of 30 miles. Met some very heavy trading teams, on their way to town from Chihuahua.[41]

Saturday, June 16.—Had a slight shower last night, which is the first rain that has fallen upon us for months. The rainy season is about setting in here, which lasts until some time in August. Everything here appears to be suffering from drought. Find employment in fitting up our packs, and arranging to start on the morrow. Our packs do not average more than 150 pounds to each animal. The

40. On the placers, see note 34 *supra*. The best description of them comes from Wizlizenus, quoted by Twitchell, *Leading Facts of N. Mex. History*, II, 180-2, note 123.

41. Evidently the road east through Tijeras Cañon and north through the mountains to Santa Fé was then more in favor than the older road which continued north from Albuquerque and then reached the higher level by way either of the Rio de Galisteo or the Rio de Santa Fé.

Mexicans frequently pack from 300 to 400. We are anxious to move.

Sunday, June 17.—Did not start this morning, on account of Walter Winston, who returned to Santa Fe, to remain there until he recovers from a severe asthma, which he has been afflicted with since the early part of the journey. The Louisiana mess came up and encamped with us to-day. We now number about the same as before.[42]

Monday, June 18.—After a long delay, everything being in readiness we started about 9 o'clock this morning. The Virginia mess had a great deal of difficulty, their packs falling off, turning, etc.; they packed upon "aparahoes," and we had Indian pack-saddles, the latter are more simple and suited our purpose better, not being skilled in the art.[43] We travelled a few miles up the valley, then took a S.W. course through the mountains, following a trail. Found no water until we reached the new placers, where we encamped. These mines are said to yield abundantly, but owing to the scarcity of water, they cannot be worked to advantage. At present, the few men that are at work, employ Mexicans to pack the water up, upon asses, a distance of three miles. I saw a vial full of the ore, that was worth $177. A few days ago, a man found two pieces that weighed $19.20. There are a number of miserable adobe buildings here, and about 150 inhabitants. We saw an old mountaineer here, whom we endeavored to employ as guide; but he said he would rather roam through the mountains, with his rifle, and when hungry kill a deer, lay beside it and eat until satisfied, and then continue on his lonely way; traveling with mules, he said, looked too much like work. Procured some eggs, milk and fresh bread here; very poor grazing. Distance, 20 miles—902.

Tuesday, June 19.—Started about 12 o'clock. The road is tolerably good; the country very mountainous. Passed through San Pedro,[44] a small ranchero containing about a dozen houses, about sixty acres of land under cultivation; the wheat looks well, about 15 inches high. Encamped near a ranch, where we found a spring of water, but no grass.

42. For the number and personnel, see the entry of May 4 *supra*.

43. The *aparejo* was of Spanish origin and consisted of a wide leather pad, stuffed with hay or grass, which went across the back of the animal and some distance down the sides. It was secured by a cinch made of grass or leather and drawn as tight as possible. See Davis, *El Gringo*, 77. Just what the difference was between Spanish and Indian types is not clear.

44. This San Pedro must have been a little settlement near San Pedro Mountain, passed before they reached San Antonio. Lieut. J. W. Albert (Oct., 1846) visited San Pedro and a nearby copper mine, not then being worked. Twitchell, *op. cit.*, II, 182-3, note 124.

Saw some pine to-day, and a few oak saplings. This place is called San Antonio. There is an American living here, who is very comfortably situated in his adobe house; he raises grain, vegetables, etc., and makes lumber by horse power, for which he finds a ready market at Santa Fe. Distance, 15 miles—917.

Wednesday, June 20.—Our course S.W., through the mountains. We passed through San Antonio, containing about 150 inhabitants, and San Pedro, of about the same size.[45] We traveled down the bed of a dry stream for several miles, and through some cañons, the mountains on either side towering above the clouds. About 1 o'clock we emerged upon a large plain, sloping westward to the waters of the Rio Grande; here we had a beautiful display of that strange phenomena of nature, "mirage." We imagined we distinctly saw the waters of the river, long before we came in sight of it, which we did not reach until 5 o'clock.[46] We encamped on the flat, near the town of Albuquerque.[47] This noble river, so celebrated in history of late years, is nearly a mile wide at this point.[48] Its waters have been higher this season than ever known before, and although considerably abated, is still very much swollen, and more than bank full in many places. A pack-mule company of 80 men are about crossing at this place; they ferry their baggage and swim their mules.[49] The current is very swift, the water cold, and of a muddy or turbid nature. Albuquerque contains about 300 inhabitants and is the most cleanly, respectable looking Mexican village we have yet seen. There is a detachment of U. S. soldiers quartered here. Two American gentlemen, Messrs. West and Beard, from Kentucky, settled here two years ago. They purchased the governor's palace

45. The mention of San Pedro after passing San Antonio must have been a slip by Chamberlin. Probably he meant Tijeras, where the road emerged in the main cañon and turned west, winding down towards the Rio Grande and Albuquerque.

46. With the seasonal high water of late June, there is little doubt that they did actually see the river; they were fooled simply by thinking it was nearer than it really was.

47. This was Old Town, of course. New Albuquerque did not spring up until the coming of the railroad in the 1880's.

48. "Nearly a mile wide" shows how the river impressed the diarist; and anyone who has seen and heard the Rio Grande when it is "rolling along" in flood can appreciate his sensations.

49. So far as known, there was no bridge at this time at any point of the Rio Grande in New Mexico. Some attempt at bridging was made in Spanish and Mexican times, but probably the first permanent bridge was a military bridge at Bernalillo in Civil War times—a crude but sturdy piece of work which served for some sixty years, until replaced by a modern bridge. See L. B. Bloom, *Early Bridges in New Mexico* (Papers, School of American Research, Santa Fé).

and expect to make a fortune in a few years.[50] Labor is worth from $3 to $4 per month here, out of which the man is obliged to board himself. There is no wood in the neighborhood of the place, and it is worth about $30 per American cord; we paid $1.50 for enough to cook our supper and breakfast. The tillable land (what there is of it) produces well, and large herds of cattle, horses, mules, sheep and goats, feed upon the grass along the banks of the river; vegetables grow well here, and fruit comes to the greatest perfection. Distance, 25 miles—942.

Thursday, June 21.—Woke up this morning with my face very much swollen, caused by sleeping upon the damp ground, which had lately been overflowed. This morning a Dutchman by the name of John Franklin joined our company; he was very anxious to travel with us, being alone, and we took him along, more out of compassion than any other consideration. (He was a Polander by birth, and proved a very good fellow.) Started down the river this morning, which runs a due southern course. For the most part of the time we traveled through very heavy sand beds and hills, which was drifting, and almost suffocated us at times. This is the nature of the high ground on the east

50. By "the governor's palace" is meant the residence in Old Alburquerque of ex-Governor Manuel Armijo. Lieut. W. H. Emory, en route with General Kearny for California, entered in his *Notes of a Military Reconnoisance*, p. 46:

> At Albuquerque I was directed to call and see Madame Armijo, and ask her for the map of New Mexico, belonging to her husband, which she had in her possession. I found her ladyship sitting on an ottoman smoking, after the fashion of her country-women, within reach of a small silver vase filled with coal. She said she had searched for the map without success; if not in Santa Fé, her husband must have taken it with him to Chihuahua.

The above visit was made late in September of 1846; if the purchase here mentioned was made two years before Chamberlin saw the town, it would appear that the sale was effected in 1847 and therefore before the end of the Mexican War. However, other facts make it improbable that the deal could have occurred before the winter of 1848-49. From 1849 and until his death in 1854, Manuel Armijo made his residence in Lemitar, some miles north of Socorro.

The West here mentioned is, we are inclined to believe, Elias P. West who was one of the thirteen men who constituted the Convention of October 10, 1848 in Santa Fé. W. G. Ritch, in his *Blue Book*, shows him as attorney general in 1848-52 and U. S. attorney in 1851-53.

By "Beard," Chamberlin probably means Spruce M. Baird, although "Judge" Baird (as he was generally known) did not arrive in New Mexico until November 1848. If he was from Kentucky, he came by way of Texas—for he arrived with a commission from the authorities of that state to organize into counties of Texas all that part of New Mexico which lay east of the Rio Grande and to which the Republic of Texas (in 1836) had asserted boundary claims. The military commandant at Santa Fé bluntly advised him not to attempt to carry out this object. Baird reported the situation back to the Texas authorities, and then apparently decided to settle down in New Mexico. Various data indicate that he located in Albuquerque, although W. W. H. Davis was entertained overnight at his ranch down the valley towards Peralta. See *El Gringo* (1938 ed.), p. 197.

side of the river. As far as the eye can reach nothing but a bleak, barren continuation of sand hills is visible. We encamped this evening in a cottonwood grove, near a pool of water; had pretty good grazing for our animals. There is a large Mexican ranch near us, fine vineyard, fruit trees, etc.; the grove reminds me of an old Pennsylvania apple orchard—all but the fruit. Captain Jennifer lost his pack mule this morning, with all his effects, and broke down his riding mule in search of it. Assembled this evening for the purpose of reorganizing our company, and electing a captain, Major Green's term of office having expired when we reached the Rio Grande. After agreeing upon certain rules and regulations for the government of the company, James H. Dixon, of Baton Rouge, La., was duly nominated and elected captain, until we reached the "diggings." Distance, 21 miles—963.

Friday, June 22.—Today we passed through Puerto,[51] and several smaller Mexican towns, which are scarcely worth a description, having about the same appearance and characteristics; saw some Indians along the river, who I suppose live upon fish; their huts consist of a few poles set upright, and tied together at the top, over which are thrown a few loose skins; they are almost naked, and are wretched looking objects.[52] The channel of the river frequently narrows to 150 yards, where it runs very rapid, boiling, foaming and roaring, as its turbulent waters rush along. The sand hills frequently extend into the river, obliging us to cross them, and at times we cannot find the road for the drifting sand. We encamped on a flat, on the bank of the Rio Grande, where we had pretty good grazing for our stock, but were very much annoyed by mosquitoes, which swarm along the river in myriads, ready to attack any "flesh and blood" that may come in their way. Distance, 25 miles—988.

Saturday, June 23.—After passing a sleepless night, we were called up at 4 o'clock this morning; brought up our mules, eat breakfast, packed, and started at 6. Passed through Sabino,[53] and other Mexican towns. Very unwell today; suffered very much from cold in my head, and a

51. They were keeping down the east side of the river, and in "Puerto" we should probably recognize "Peralta," although the distance from Albuquerque is somewhat overstated.

52. We infer that these were Indians of the pueblo of Isleta who were out in their summer shelters—to protect their corn and melons from '49ers and other passers-by.

53. He doubtless means Sabinal, although that town was on the west side of the river. Perhaps he confused it with La Joya.

bealed jaw, which produced a severe headache. I had a chill during the forenoon, and notwithstanding the sun was almost insufferably hot to the others, I was compelled to wear my overcoat. In the afternoon I had a smart fever, and frequently felt as though I would fall from my horse; I longed to reach an encamping place, which we did not find until dark. We stopped at noon on the bank of the river, where the grass appeared very good, but after unpacking and turning our stock loose to graze, we found that they would not eat it, being of a salty nature; we were exposed to the rays of a burning sun, without a particle of shade, and almost devoured by famished mosquitoes; they also attacked our stock, which threatened to "stampede;" and we were soon glad to repack, and continue our toilsome journey. Encamped near a small Mexican town,[54] where we were supplied by the inhabitants with eggs at 3 bits a dozen, and goat's milk at 2 bits a quart. I was pretty near a "used-up" lad when I reached camp. Distance, 35 miles—1023.

Sunday, June 24.—Remained in camp today. I busied myself in reading Emory's Route from the Rio Grande to California;[55] the journey is a more perilous one than I had any idea of, having never read a description of the Gila river route before. The citizens of the town have got up a Fandango this evening for our especial benefit, and invited all hands. After supper we started up. The señoretas did not make their "entree" until 9 o'clock. We found many of the inhabitants sleeping outside their dwellings for comfort, with small fires beside them to drive away the mosquitos. All the dwellings, walls, fences, etc., we have yet seen in New Mexico are composed of adobes. We frequently see the women upon the flat house tops, in the evening, with a shawl over their heads (their only headdress), reminding me of Bible descriptions of the manners and customs of the inhabitants of the east. Their agricultural implements are of the rudest kind; the most important article is a large steel hoe, (brought from the States), with which they build houses, cultivate crops, etc. It answers the several purposes of shovel, trowel and hoe. Their plow consists of a

54. The party was still on the east side of the Rio Grande, and from the following notes it is evident that this little town was across from Lemitar,—although the distance from Albuquerque (81 miles) is again overstated.

55. Young Chamberlin had gotten hold of a copy of Senate Executive Document No. 7, of the 30th Congress, 1st Session. This was *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance, from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego, in California, including parts of the Arkansas, Del Norte, and Gila Rivers*, by W. H. Emory. It had been published in Washington in 1848, only the year before these '49ers had started their journey.

simple piece of crooked timber, with one handle, to which they attach a yoke of oxen, and stir up the earth. Their wagons are a more clumsy, uncouth looking machine than I could have imagined. The wheels are cut out of a solid log, and the whole cart is made without an ounce of iron.

Monday, June 25.—Reached Tome about 9 o'clock this morning, and prepared to cross the river.[56] It is about 250 yards wide, and very rapid, at this point. The ferryman owned a large "dug out," in which ourselves and baggage were crossed in safety, for the trifling sum of $8; we gave several Mexicans $3 to swim over with our animals. Everything was landed upon the opposite side, which occupied the remainder of the day, and we encamped upon the bank; slept within ten feet of the water and had a cool breeze off the river. Exchanged saddles with a Mexican today. Distance, 6 miles—1029.

Tuesday, June 26.—Started early; passed through Lamatad [Lemitar], which is situated opposite Tome. After traveling a few miles, encamped within a short distance of Socoro;[57] but finding the grazing poor, we concluded to move to town, which we did this evening and encamped on the river, half a mile from the place, where we found good grass. We intend remaining here a day or two, to purchase and exchange mules, hire a guide to the Gila river, and supply ourselves with a few necessary articles, preparatory to setting out upon our yet long and somewhat hazardous journey, this being the last place of any consequence we will meet with. Distance, 8 miles—1037.

Wednesday, June 27.—Socoro contains about 200 or 300 inhabitants. There is a company of U. S. dragoons stationed here. The flat on the river here is almost a mile wide, affording a good stock range. There appears to be but little land under cultivation about the place. The Mexicans are very indolent, and would rather starve "a little" than work; the amount of food necessary to keep an American alive, would feast half a dozen "greasers." Socoro is a poor, destitute place. Some of our company succeeded in getting a little coarse corn melt [meal] at $6 per cwt. We exchanged seven pick axes, that we had brought from home for 4 pounds of sugar, the lot; jerked buffalo meat, 25 cents per pound;[58] no mules for sale or barter;

56. This is another confusion of placenames, for the only known "Tomé" had been passed a few miles south of Peralta.

57. It is interesting to find Chamberlin following Emory's *Notes* (Oct. 5, 1846 *et seq.*) in the spelling of "Socorro."

58. "Jerked buffalo meat" as a commodity for sale would suggest that considerable amounts were regularly packed in from the distant plains country to the east.

we can procure no guide at this place. A heavy shower threatened us, but ended in a gust of wind. Mr. Aubrey's teams came up, and encamped on the opposite side of the river.[59] The Virginian exchanged some animals with him.

Thursday, June 28.—Did not strike camp until 10 o'clock. When passing through Socoro, the mule that Fernando was riding threw him. "He thought himself killed," but after examining, we found that he was not seriously hurt; settled with him, gave him a present of five dollars, and left him in charge of a nurse. Continued our course down the river, passing through Lopez and San Antonio.[60] I met an old Mexican wood dealer, who offered me the best mule in his "caballada" and an old carbine, made in Lancaster, Pa., for my rifle. I needed the mule, but after a second thought, concluded not to part with my old friend. We tried to exchange our horses for mules at San Antonio, but the "greaser" asked two prices for his animals, and we were rather scarce on funds. We encamped on the river; had good grass, lots of mosquitoes, and used up a Mexican sheep-fold for fuel. Cloudy during the day, with a slight sprinkle of rain, which continued all night. Distance, 24 miles—1061.

Friday, June 29.—Remained in camp today. Engaged a Spaniard at San Antonio, to guide us as far as the Gila river, for which we are to pay him $60. We are anxious to be on the way, but our stock needs recruiting, and we are obliged to give them time. This evening we were "drawn out in military order" for the purpose of inspecting firearms, as we are soon to enter the country of the Apache Indians, and it is thought prudent to be on the lookout. We number 33 persons, and can fire 113 rounds at one discharge, besides which, we are pretty well armed with knives, etc. We also passed resolutions, with regard to the order of traveling, which will do "if observed." Our stock numbers 85 head, which we purpose driving in three separate gangs, but as compact as possible; two men are to ride some distance in advance of the company, as a "front guard," and four behind, as a "rear guard," the balance to lead and drive the mules. If any are obliged to

59. The better road for wagons continued down the east side and so reached the old stretch across the Jornada del Muerto. The lack of any further comment on Aubry suggests that he was heading for California with freight. Foreman (*op. cit.*, 265) quotes from a letter dated June 12, 1849 at "Rio Suienna", (?), about 60 miles from Santa Fè: ". . . The American merchants at Santa Fè have sent on a large train of wagons and pack mules to California . . ."

60. "Lopez" is not identified, but San Antonio was the site of an early Piro pueblo and of a Franciscan mission from the early seventeenth century.

stop to arrange packs, etc., the rear guard is not to pass them, but remain until this is done. A night watch to be appointed by the captain, whatever number may be required, to be on duty two hours each, also a person from each mess, to guard the stock, morning and evening, while grazing. Our guide came on this morning, but rain prevented our starting today.

CHAPTER IX

Saturday, June 30.—Rain during the night, very disagreeable; having no tent, or any kind of shelter, it is with difficulty we manage to keep our baggage and provisions dry. Started at 10 o'clock and travelled until 6, down the western side of the river. There is nothing but a trail to follow, and it would be impossible for wagons to get along here. The bottom land along the river becomes narrower as we travel down, and in many places the bluffs or table lands extend to the bank of the river. The country extending back is very broken and ends in a lofty chain of mountains; the appearance is very barren, but a short, dry grass grows here, which affords good pasture for sheep. The hills and plains are covered with a great variety of mezquite and other bushes, plants and flowers peculiar to the country, which are apparently all of a stunted growth. As we proceed down the river, the growth of cotton wood on its banks becomes more extensive, by which we can see the course of the river when a great distance from it. We encamped on the bank, where we had plenty of grass, wood and water. We are obliged to use the water of the Rio Grande, which would be excellent if filtered; the current carries a great quantity of sand with it, which makes the water dirty. Distance, 28 miles—1089.

Sunday, July 1.—Several very heavy showers last night; ourselves, blankets and everything else completely saturated. It was very cold during the night, which made it still worse. We suffered "awfully" and this morning look like a set of "drowned rats." We are obliged to lay by to-day for the purpose of drying out. The sun is favoring us by shining out clear and warm. By 10 o'clock our baggage was dry and ready for packing, but the majority of the company preferred lounging in camp to travelling. We are now out of the "settlements," our stock of provisions is light, and we can procure no more until we reach California. With the many examples of suffering and starvation on similar trips before us, it appears to me that it should be of the utmost importance to improve every

moment that we can, without injury to our stock; but many persons are so indifferent to the future that they will not act until forced by "stern necessity." By Lieut. Emory's description, we suppose we are encamped upon the spot where Gen. Kearney stopped several days to pack and send his wagons back to Santa Fe; it is opposite Fra Christobal mountain, and the flat contains about 200 acres.

Monday, July 2.—Started at 7 o'clock this morning and made a pretty hard day's march; heat very oppressive. We kept down the river, but for the most part of the day [our trail] was over the bluffs and through the arroyos that extend into it. The ascent and descent was very steep and rocky, which fatigued some of our stock and the packs frequently became disarranged; some of the company came into camp long after the main body. Game is very scarce; grass tolerable. Distance, 30 miles—1119.

Tuesday, July 3.—Travelled down the river 12 miles, and then bid farewell to the muddy waters of the Rio Grande del Norte, without a regret, although the road before us will no doubt be more difficult, and toil and suffering may be in store for us. Where we turned off there is a small flat, a high mountain on the opposite side, and the river cañons immediately below. We suppose this is the place where Gen. Kearney left the Rio Grande. Our course is now S.W. We ascended a very high bluff and the country for some distance appeared level, but we soon found out to the contrary. We crossed some very deep and difficult arroyos, which was very fatiguing to ourselves and animals. Encamped in one of these tremendous gulches, at a distance of 12 miles from the Rio Grande. The water is very fine, warm when we stopped but cooled after sun-down; it is the best we have used for a long while. There is a variety of trees in this ravine, among them oak and walnut, both the trunks and fruits of which would be considered a burlesque upon the same species in Pennsylvania.[61] We caught a few small fish in the stream, which tasted "natural." The water sinks a short distance below our camp. The country along the Rio Grande, at this point, is very broken but does not present as forbidding an aspect as those vast plains along the Canadian river. There is here a good deal of timber in the ravines and the plains are covered with a variety of shrubbery, cactus, beargrass and gramma, a species of dry grass which is said to be very nutritious feed for animals. Distance, 24 miles—1143.

Wednesday, July 4.—No firing of cannon, ringing of

61. The description sounds as if the party was here in Nogal Cañon.

bells, or other demonstration of joy this morning in this wild glen, to remind us, as formerly, of the dawn of the anniversary of our national birthday. Instead of making preparations to celebrate this ever welcome holiday in a manner most agreeable to ourselves, we are obliged to pack up, and be under way at 7 o'clock. Instead of listening to a patriotic oration, or joining in a picnic on the green amidst the fair forms and sweet smiles of the dear girls, the incessant "huppah mulah" is ringing in our ears as we plod along over the barren waste, or wend our way up and down the rocky heights. Instead of a bounteous dinner with our friends, or indulging in ice cream, mint julips, etc., we are confined to a scanty allowance of the bare necessaries of life, and wretched water from our heated canteens; and instead of being with and amongst our friends and acquaintances, enjoying all we are wont to do on similar occasions, we are an isolated band of adventurers, far away from civilization, in the midst of a savage country, inhabited by Indians, who are noted for their warlike and thievish propensities. But all this does not discourage us, although before starting from home we expected to eat a Fourth of July dinner in San Francisco. Our course is "westward," our watchword "onward," and we are determined as ever in prosecuting our journey, in hopes of reaching our destination, at least, "before the close of the year." The general appearance of the country much as yesterday. We stopped at noon in a small valley covered with tule, in which there was a pond of water.[62] Capt. Dixon called us together, as he said, to give us a 4th of July speech, instead of which, he tendered his resignation as captain of the company, saying that he had been elected for a week, and more than that time had expired. There was some misunderstanding about the matter. However, we elected him over again by a unanimous vote. When about leaving our nooning place, we were visited by a smart shower. Some of our stock is already "jaded," and we are determined to lighten our packs by abandoning every article we can dispense with. This evening we made a bon fire of books, clothing, etc. We have tolerable water at this encampment, and our stock is feeding upon gramma. Distance, 20 miles—1163.

Thursday, July 5.—Ascending a long, narrow valley this morning, with a broken range of mountains on either side; at the head of this gentle slope we found a spring of cool, delicious water, and also met a family of Apaches. They were apparently much frightened on first seeing

62. Perhaps we may identify this stop with the "Lake Valley" of today.

us, but saluted us in Spanish with the word "buena" (good), and made many signs of friendship. We returned the salutation, after which they came up to us. They spoke Spanish pretty well, and Capt. Dixon held a long talk with them, through our guide and interpreter. They said that any number of Americans could pass through their country without molestation, if they (the Americans) did not first give offense or trespass upon their natural rights. How much this can be relied upon is unknown, for they are said to be very deceitful Indians. I have no doubt, however, that in more than half the difficulties with the Indians, their enemies are the first aggressors. There was eight in number—the old chief, his squaw, and children, all mounted on ponies; they had one gun, and all were armed with bows and arrows. Their dress was similar to that of the Indians on the frontiers of the States, except the blankets and some other articles, which were of Mexican manufacture. They were all bare-headed. The old squaw rode astride her animal, with a large basket of pannier lashed on each side, in one of which lay a papoose, as well contented as though rocked in the finest cradle of the east, encased with down. Their moccasins were beautiful, made of buff buckskin, and displayed a good bit of skill in the manufacture. After leaving the spring we crossed a high, dividing ridge, and descending by an indifferent trail through a long, rocky defile, between the mountains, for a distance of 10 miles. Our animals suffered severely and Mr. Burrell abandoned his riding horse, which had become entirely useless. We met several Mexicans driving a lot of sore-backed, broken-down horses and mules, which we suppose they had picked up along the trail, having been abandoned by parties of emigrants in advance of us. They have no doubt been brought here from the States, and if grazed for a few months will make first-rate stock. Encamped on the Rio Mimbres, a small mountain stream of clear, excellent water. We caught some of the trout which abound in it; they do not resemble the mountain trout of the States, being a black, scaly fish, and take the bait very freely. Our encampment is at the foot of the Dome—a mountain so named by Lieut. Emory, which is very appropriate from its peculiar shape.[63] There is a fine growth of grass on the flat, at which our stock is feasting. The Rio Mimbres is skirted with cottonwood, walnut and other timber. For several

63. This landmark was doubtless what is better known as "Cooke's Peak." Cooke brought his famous wagon-train this way some weeks later than Emory made his notes.

days we have been giving away, abandoning and making bon fires of as many articles as we conclude we can dispense with, for the purpose of reducing our packs. Our guide has "cached" a great many goods which we have given him, and intends packing them home on his return. He will be better supplied with cooking utensils, tools, clothing, etc., than any Spaniard I saw in New Mexico. Rain this evening. Distance, 22 miles—1185.

Friday, July 6.—On account of rain we did not start until 3 o'clock p.m. This morning we were visited by 12 Apaches, mounted upon fine ponies, armed with lances, bows, and arrows and knives. Some of our men showed an eagerness to trade with them, which they took advantage of and we could not effect a single exchange. We gave them a number of small presents and they remained about our camp until we started. One of the men wore an American officer's "military undress" coat, for which he said he had given a fine mule. He appeared very dignified in his foreign dress. We took a trail to the left of the Dome; Kearney's route being on the right. We leave the copper and gold mines on the north, about a day's journey distant.[64] Saw several flocks of quails; they differ from those of the States in color, are somewhat larger, make a different noise, and the male bird has a beautiful "top knot" on the head. Our course lies over a comparatively level country. Passed through a deserted Indian village of about 50 wigwams; these consist of small rods or poles stuck in the ground at one end and lashed together with bark at the other, in the form of a bake oven, and about the same size; this frame is covered with grass. The grass on the plains is now dead, giving them the appearance of old stubble fields. Encamped on a tule swamp without wood, obtained a little water, "such as it was," by digging a hole at the edge of the swamp and leaving it stand until settled. Distance, 15 miles—1200.

CHAPTER X

Saturday, July 7.—Started at daylight, intending to stop at the first wood and water we came to, but did not find any until 10 o'clock, when we encamped on a small ravine, near a spring of pretty good water. This was a hard day's march on our animals. Howard's riding horse gave out this afternoon, and he was obliged to leave him behind. Shortly after reaching our camping place we en-

64. This reference to the Santa Rita copper mines would indicate that the party swung to the south perhaps more than was necessary.

tered a narrow defile down which runs a small rill of clear water, surrounded on all sides by wild, savage-looking hills and mountains. We followed down the ravine for some distance in hopes of finding some grass for our animals. Maj. Green and Fox were some distance behind the company, bringing up a jaded mule, when suddenly several mounted Indians emerged from the hills and rushed upon them with poised lances. We being at too great distance to render them any aid in time concluded that it was "all day with them," when the foremost Indian rode up alongside the Major and handed him a small paper, containing the articles of a "treaty" with the Americans, which was signed by some unknown persons. By this time other Indians began making their appearance around us, coming upon us from all quarters, simultaneously, rising out of the earth, as it were. They were all on horseback and well armed with guns, lances and bows and arrows. From their hostile appearance and manoeuvering we concluded that they meditated an attack upon us. As quickly as possible we "herded" our pack animals, around which we placed ourselves as guard, and commenced loading our guns and making preparations to repel an attack, in case any should be made. Seeing the cool manner in which we received their visits they made signs of friendship, and directed us to a good camping place. We did not put much confidence in their pretensions and watched them closely. They remained at a respectful distance until we had unpacked and prepared to cook supper; they then came around us and showed a disposition to trade. In the meanwhile a number of squaws had made their appearance, all seated astride their ponies leading mules and carrying baskets containing jerked horse meat and mezcal, which they wished to exchange for clothing, etc. This mezcal is prepared out of the bulb of a large plant of the same name, which is baked in a kiln and cut up into small slices to dry. It has a sweetish taste and is no doubt very nutritious, being their principal article of food. The mezcal wine, so common in Mexico, is a product of the same plant. We exchanged a number of worn-out stock for fresh, giving one, two and three for a good mule, and always some clothing, pistols or something else into the bargain. They had some very fine mules, but preferred horses, which favored us in exchanging. They were very eager to get strips or patches of red flannel, but preferred a white shirt to a red one. We procured a fine mule (American) of them, which had been left by Gen. Kearney three years ago. They were dressed in a variety of styles; some of the men wore a

headdress trimmed with gray feathers, but the majority, and all the squaws, were bare-headed. What few articles of clothing they had were principally Mexican goods. Some of them wore buckskin shirts, others a simple breech cloth "girt about their loins," while the children were entirely naked. They all wore moccasins, some of which extended almost to the knees. Some of their horses are "shod" with rawhide, to protect the hoof from the sharp stones. One of the squaws had a child lashed fast in a very roughly constructed wicker basket, which she swung upon her back by means of a band across her forehead. Out of curiosity some of us took particular notice of the papoose, caressing it, etc., which instead of flattering the mother, amused her very much. I suppose that their "lords" never deign to notice the papoose, thinking it out of place, unmanly, and beneath their dignity. Like all other Indian tribes, the females are the drudges. There was a boy amongst their number, about fifteen years old, that particularly attracted our attention. The color of his hair, complexion, features, etc., plainly bespoke that he was the child of white parents. By what means he came amongst these roving savages, is more than we can learn, but he was no doubt stolen by them when very young, for he cannot speak English and is not a Mexican. He appears more intelligent than the rest, who paid him a great deal of deference, consulting him in all their trades. He appeared very intimate with a good looking squaw of about the same age, who seemed to share his superiority. Her features were regular, with a fine, intelligent expression of countenance, only wanting a becoming dress to give her a civilized appearance. The rest of the squaws were of low stature, coarse featured and uncomely. The old chief visited our camp in the evening and after holding a talk respecting our road through his country, etc., ordered his people to leave, and in a few moments not an Indian was to be seen. The squaws carried off the newly acquired goods, animals, etc.; the men mounted the horses and rode at full speed. It surprised us to see the spirit and animation which our jaded animals assumed in the hands of their new masters. They rode without a bridle, and are the most expert horsemen we have yet seen, excelling the New Mexicans. While exchanging for a mule which had a squaw in charge, she saw me display to another a lot of red beads; after the bargain for the mule was closed, she gave me to understand that she wanted the beads she had seen as a reward for her interest in the trade, and would have all the beads or keep the mule. Of course I was obliged to yield, for procuring fresh animals

was of utmost importance to us. They are very avaricious and have little regard for their word of honor when self-interest is at stake. They care nothing about money and prefer a new brass button to a half eagle. They had a little money among them, but did not know the value of it. We had one display of "etiquette" worthy of imitation by a more civilized race of people. While the old chief was holding his talk with our captain, the Mexican guide ventured to say something on the subject, when the chief ordered him to "hold his tongue," saying that it was enough for one man to speak at once. Aware of their reported treachery, and not putting much confidence in their protestations of friendship, we doubled our night guard, but were not molested. In the morning we found a few small articles had been stolen while trading with them; but upon the whole, our falling in with this band of savages was the most fortunate circumstance that happened to us on the whole route. Distance, 24 miles; 1224 miles out from Fort Smith.

Sunday, July 8.—Started at eight o'clock and moved off in fine spirits, well satisfied with the results of yesterday's "fair." I suppose more than 200 Indians had visited our camp during the afternoon. Our course west, over a very rough, broken country; then ascended and crossed a high mountain, which is the dividing ridge that separates the waters which empty into the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. We then descended a long ravine and encamped about 1 o'clock on a small, pure stream, and had pretty good grass for our animals. The surrounding hills are covered with trees of a stunted growth, shrubbery and gramma. The main stalk of the beargrass grows to a great heighth. This the Indians use for lance handles, which are from 10 to 15 feet long, and very firm when dry. Mr. Hart, an old California gold miner, thinks that the earth indicates an abundance of gold in this region. We found specimens of copper and iron ore. Distance, 15 miles—1239.

Monday, July 9.—Our guide led us in a winding course through ravines and across difficult hills, until we found ourselves traveling down the bed of an arroyo, which gradually widened and deepened, until we suddenly emerged and bivonaced upon the bank of the Rio Gila (Hela). In the bed of the arroyo we saw a great variety of cactus or prickly pear, loaded with ripe fruit; also several varieties of trees, walnut, elder, oak, etc. There is little doubt but the country we pass over to-day will at no distant period prove an immense gold placere. The hills are composed of a sand rock and red clay, intermixed with sand and small

flint stones; in the ravines we saw the slate rock cropping out, made bare by the action of the water, and large quantities of quartz, which is said always to accompany a deposit of gold. We did not "prospect" any, for the want of water, and very likely we should not have known how to examine for the precious metal. Indeed, we think but little about gold or gold digging, it being a subject rarely introduced for "camp gossip." Traveling has become as natural as doing "day labor;" it is indeed very laborious, and when we reach camp we are very much fatigued and think of nothing else than rest. Our stock of provisions is disappearing rapidly, and unless we are fortunate enough to obtain a supply of the Pjona [Pima] Indians, we shall certainly suffer, and we are beginning to think this a much more important consideration than the gold of California. The banks of the Gila, like all other rivers we have seen since leaving the Ohio, are fringed with cottonwood. At this point it is about 12 yards wide and 18 inches deep, and runs upon the first rock and gravel bed we have seen since leaving Pennsylvania. It is a swift flowing stream of clear, pure water, and abounds in trout, some of which are of a very large size. As soon as we encamp a number of our men prepared themselves with rod and line and went to "try their luck" amongst these strangers of the finny tribe. They soon returned and reported favorably, having caught enough to supply "all hands" for both supper and breakfast. Hill Dixon caught one that measured four inches between the eyes and weighed about 30 pounds. The country is very mountainous on both sides of the river, and but little flat land along its banks, which at this point is covered with a luxuriant growth of weeds, indicating a good soil. This is the encamping ground of the Mexicans who come out to trade with the Apaches. We can find no grass and we fear our animals will suffer while traveling down the river. Here our guide, Joseph Jarvis, leaves us to return home, having fulfilled his contract faithfully, and we are left to "go it blind" the rest of the way. Distance, 23 miles—1260 *(sic)*.

Tuesday, July 10.—After giving Jarvis a letter of recommendation signed by each member of the company, and furnishing him with enough crackers and bacon to last him to the Rio Grande, he started home and we continued our journey. Crossed the river and continued down the bank, through underbrush and weeds, for several miles, then re-crossed and ascended a high, difficult bluff and kept upon the high lands, crossed several deep arroyos and again

encamped on the river bottom, opposite Steeple Rock.[65] The highlands or plains are entirely destitute of timber, but are covered with a sparse growth of gramma. If this first day's march on the Gila be a "sample" of "what is to come," we will "see sights" before we reach the "other end." Distance, 30 miles—1290.

Wednesday, July 11.—The trail laid along the north side of the river and was a comparatively good road. This flat is from one to two miles wide and probably 20 miles long. Passed through some patches of good grass, but the greatest portion of the valley is a barren waste. Judging from the great number of ruins we discovered, this place was, at some remote period, densely populated. We saw the stone foundations of walls, that once enclosed large towns. Some of the houses, which were no doubt built of adobes, had stone foundations. Save these marks, and the immense quantities of broken pottery strewed around, there is no trace or vestage of the country ever having been inhabited. The buildings are all level with the earth.[66] I believe there is no satisfactory accounts of these once extensive settlements on historical record. Probably these were colonies established in the early days of Mexico, and when in successful operation, were overpowered and driven off, or totally destroyed by savage Indians, and their improvements demolished and laid waste. It may be that gold mining was extensively carried on in this region of country, and the ore packed to the City of Mexico, to decorate the halls of the Montezumas, their churches, etc. It certainly would be interesting to know what ever induced people to settle in this isolated portion of the world—in a place where the earth would not produce enough to supply a small population. At present there are only a few deserted Indian wigwams along the river bank. About 3 o'clock we turned in to water, and found 40 men of the Knickerbocker company encamped.[67] They had attempted to explore a more southern route, but after suffering severely for want of water, losing one man and a number of stock, they concluded to shape their course due north for Gila, which they reached a few miles below our last night's camp. Good grass. Distance, 28 miles—1318.

Thursday, July 12.—Our course is down the valley of

65. "Steeple Rock" had been so named when the Army of the West passed this way. It was recognized by Chamberlin from the description which he had in Emory's *Notes*, p. 63.

66. Chamberlin seems to have anticipated seeing such evidences of prehistoric life from his reading of Emory's *Notes*, pp. 64-65.

67. See pages 36, 39 *supra*.

the river, occasionally leaving it for a short time to cross the bluffs that extend into the bank. We crossed the river three times to-day and encamped on the south side. Passed a company of 25 New Yorkers and Virginians encamped on the bank of the stream. Passed a great number of ruins described yesterday. The extensive ranges of mountains on both sides of the river present a variety of shapes and picturesque appearance. We are encamped at the point where we leave the river to cross the rough and trying part of the road called the "Devil's Turnpike."[68] Here the mountains close in upon the river, which has cut a channel through solid rock, in places more than 100 feet high. Through these cañons its restless waters rush, making it impossible to continue our course down the river. We drove our stock to the top of the mountain to feed upon gramma, where those of us not on guard were prevented from sleeping and completely drenched by a very violent thunder storm, which lasted several hours. Distance, 20 miles—1338.

CHAPTER XI

Friday, July 13.—We started at 9 o'clock this morning, and immediately ascended a high mountain. Our course was over mountains and through ravines, down the rocky beds of which we frequently traveled for miles. Our mules scrambled along the sides of mountains and precipices where I thought it would be impossible for man or beast to venture; but they are a sure-footed animal and we did not meet with a single accident during the day. The trail for the whole distance is covered with a sharp, angular-shaped black rock and small sharp stones, which severely lacerated the hoofs of our animals, and they could have been tracked for miles by the blood upon the stones; but we all arrived safely in camp without losing a single mule. Gen. Kearney lost 15 in the same march 3 years ago. In some of those deep, dark chasms, through which we passed, it would (with the aid of a little fire and brimstone) require but a slight stretch of the imagination, to think one's self on the brink of the infernal regions. We descended into a deep, gloomy ravine, the bed of which was but a few feet in width, and the sides towered perpendicularly to the clouds. Night came on while we were thus imbedded in the "bowels of the earth," but we finally groped our way to

68. Under date of Oct. 26, 1846, Emory wrote: "The men named this pass 'the Devil's turnpike,' and I see no reason to change it." *Op. cit.*, p. 65.

the river, whither it led us, crossed over and encamped, having traveled 10 hours without intermission and made but 16 miles. The "Devil's Turnpike" is a very appropriate name for to-day's route; it is not "graded" but well "set" with sharp rocks. This has indeed been a difficult and trying day's march, on both man and beast. We walked all day and were almost worn out on reaching camp. We stopped on a sand bar, without a spear of grass for our weary and hungry stock, and their incessant cries during the night for something to eat were truly painful. We did not see a single living animal today; indeed, we have met but little game since leaving the buffalo region, on the plains of the Canadian river. Since leaving the Rio Grande we have seen an occasional antelope, hare, or a flock of quails. Of the reptile kind we have seen rattle snakes, horned toads, lizards, tarantulas, and scorpions in abundance. To-day we had some extensive views of this wild region of country. Nothing could be seen as far as the eye could reach but mountain upon mountain, apparently barren, which gives this desolate waste a most forbidding appearance. From the amount of drift and other indications, the Gila rises to a great height during the wet season. Distance, 16 miles; 1354 miles out from Fort Smith.

Saturday, July 14.—This morning we find ourselves encamped on a small sand bar, with impassable cañons above and below us, and enclosed on either side by tremendous mountains. We have been following the trail of a company a few days in advance of us, which has brought us into the difficulty. The suffering condition of our animals compels us to make our way out of this "trap" as soon as possible. Several of us started in search of a trail leading out, but found none. Our only resort was to ascend a high and rugged mountain, the summit of which we at last gained, after incredible toil on the part of our mules and selves. We continued along the dividing rise in a southern course, in hopes of getting out of this "turnpike" region in a short time. Our tender-footed beasts hobbled along as best they could, but all the mules that had been shod at Santa Fe lost their shoes during yesterday and to-day's march. After traveling several miles in this way we intersected a good trail, which led us directly to the river. We suppose this to be General Kearney's old route, he having left the river further to the north. After a long but pretty gradual descent we again reached the waters of the Gila and traveled down the stream crossing it nine times, when we emerged upon a flat, which widened out, and is covered with mezquite and other bushes, but not a spear of grass.

Here again we found a great number of those ruins, formerly spoken of, large quantities of broken pottery, etc. It is impossible to judge the shape of the vessels of which these fragments form a part; very likely, however, these buildings were roofed with this material. It resembles the common red crockery now in use in the States, being ornamented and striped in a variety of styles. Not a piece was to be found of a larger size than a man's hand. We encamped on a small patch of green grass about a mile from the river. It is a fortunate circumstance we found this, it being the first we have met with for several days. The base of Mount Graham is about 10 miles distant, on the south side of the river.[69] The waters of the Gila have been increased by the addition of the Prieto and Don Carlos rivers;[70] the latter stream is strongly impregnated with salt. Saw an abundance of blue quail and a great many turtle doves; the latter bird we have met with in every part of the country since leaving the States. Distance, 20 miles—1374.

Sunday, July 15.—The Virginians lost a mule yesterday, and Capt. Dixon found a good one running loose. The bank of the river is so beset with underbrush and drift that we cannot get a supply of water without extreme difficulty. Remained in camp to-day to rest and graze our animals. Some of our men tried to catch some fish, but met with poor success. I preferred gunning and killed a few quails, doves, etc., saw a great many long-eared hares, but they were very wild. I spent several hours in wandering over the site of these ancient settlements, but could find nothing but the pottery and foundations of buildings, denoting the existence of a once numerous people. The weather for some days has been excessively warm, and the indifferent shade of a mezquite bush is the only protection we have from the scorching rays of the run. We would prefer traveling, if we could do so in justice to our animals.

Monday, July 16.—Trail continues down the valley of the river, which is from one to three miles wide. Passed more ruins, which were in a greater state of preservation than any we had yet seen—broken portions of walls and posts are yet standing. We also saw some large stones, hollowed out in the shape of a mortar; these were no doubt used for grinding grain. The valley of this river was once inhabited by thousands—perhaps millions of human beings,

69. There would be no difficulty in recognizing Mount Graham from the illustration in Emory's *Notes*, p. 67.

70. This observation is similar to that made by Emory, *op. cit.*, 66. "Don Carlos" is a slip for San Carlos.

now wholly extinct. They cultivated the soil, which required irrigation, and some of their ditches can be seen to this day. The sand and dust in our trail is very deep, and so heated by the rays of the sun that an egg could be roasted in a few minutes. The barrels of our guns became so hot that we could scarcely touch them, and our bridle reins almost blistered our hands. We passed along between the base of Mt. Graham and the river. The top of the mountain is immersed in clouds and showers are falling around its summit, while it is perfectly clear in the valley. The water which falls around the mountain flows down the ravines, in which there appears to be some verdure, and at the base there is said to flow a subterranean creek. Encamped on the river bank, had some grass, but the water of the Gila is very warm and blackish. Distance, 30 miles—1404.

Tuesday, July 17.—Meeker and Bornean[71] abandoned their worn-out riding horses yesterday. Our course is down the river, the trail pretty solid. In the afternoon we crossed a rocky point extending into the river and encamped a few miles below, directly opposite or north of Mount Turnbull.[72] This afternoon we intersected a large trail, which we suppose is that traveled by Sonora traders to barter with the Indians.[73] Saw the "frames" of a number of cattle and horses lying along the route. Today we again passed the Knickerbocker company, many of whom are on foot, two or three of them packing one horse, and that probably on its "last legs." We had a cool breeze today and got along very comfortably. Distance, 30 miles—1434.

Wednesday, July 18.—Kept down the river with a good road until 12 o'clock, when the river cañoned and we were "brought to a stand." We, however, found a small trail leading south, around the western side of Mt. Turnbull, and started on it, but unfortunately, neglected to water our animals and fill our canteens, expecting to strike the river again in a few miles. In this we were disappointed. We continued traveling south, leaving the river behind us, and

71. At page 40 *supra*, this name appears as "Bornan."

72. Emory, *op. cit.*, p. 69, wrote under date of Oct. 30: "Mount Turnbull, terminating in a sharp cone, had been in view down the valley of the river for three days. Today about three o'clock p.m., we turned its base, forming the northern terminus of the same chain in which is Mount Graham."

73. Again we quote Emory (p. 76): "The dry creek by which we crossed to the San Pedro river was the great highway leading from the mountain fastnesses into the plains of Santa Cruz, Santa Anna, and Tucsoon, frontier towns of Sonora. Along this valley was distinctly marked the same fresh trail, noted yesterday, of horses, cattle, and mules."

ascending the mountain upon mountain. Found no water and it was too late to return to the river. On looking back we could see the Gila flowing off to the S.W., and the Rio San Francisco emptying into it directly north of us. The latter appears to be a considerable stream, running south through a small valley. We still keep our course up the mountains in hopes of finding water, but fearful of having to camp without it. The mules belonging to the Virginia and Heddenburg mess began to fail; they halted in a ravine and declared they would go no farther, but return in the morning to the river. The Texians, Capt. Dixon's mess[74] and ourselves went on, toiling up the ravine, and finally came to what was apparently the end of the mountain we were upon. Two or three persons descended in search of water, and after the delay of an hour reported an abundance of water in the ravine. This was joyful news to us; we had had none since morning, although none of us were suffering for want of it. We wound around the end of the mountain and descended several hundred feet into a deep, dark, rocky defile, in the bottom of which ran a small but pure rill of water. Here we encamped and turned our animals up the side of the mountain to graze upon the scattered bunches of gramma that grows amongst the rocks. We here found several deserted Indian huts, where they had encamped to prepare their mezcal, which grows in great abundance amongst these mountains. They had a furnace of stone built in which to bake it. The mezcal plant resembles the pine apple somewhat in appearance, but is of more luxuriant growth, and send up a long, straight stalk, from 10 to 20 feet high, bearing on the top a number of handsome yellow flowers. We sent word of our good fortune to those we left behind, but they failed to come up; think that their animals will require several days rest before they will be able to proceed. A mutual division of our small company must take place, which is much to be regretted, after having traveled so far together. Our provisions are fast disappearing, which obliges us to push forward while they have a pretty good supply. We have little breadstuff left and but 4 or 5 days' rations of bacon in this desolate region. There are some sycamore trees in this ravine, resembling the same species in the States excepting the leaves. Distance, 30 miles—1464.

---

74. For the constituent groups of their party to this point, see p. 40 *supra*.

CHAPTER XII

Thursday, July 19.—The first step this morning was to ascend the high and almost perpendicular mountainside, out of this ravine, which in all probability the rays of the sun never reach. We almost despaired of accomplishing the task, but after a hard struggle the mules reached the summit. One poor animal, with a heavy pack, lost its equilibrium, fell down a precipice and rolled over several times, pack and all, but soon recovered his footing, and again commenced the toilsome ascent. We then continued ascending and descending one rugged steep after another. As far as the eye could reach nothing presented itself to our vision but high mountains and corresponding ravines. Our trail is very indistinct, branching in different directions, which satisfies us that we are followng an Indian path, perhaps never trod by the foot of white men before. Occasionally we could catch a glimpse of the Gila on its course, far off to the north. We all walked, leading our animals. It has been a most toilsome day's march on man and beast. We crossed several small streams of water, in the beds of arroyos, which run a short distance and then sink in the sand. The prickly pear, loaded with fruit, has been very abundant for some days. When ripe it is a deep red color, full of seeds and of a pleasant taste; but beware of the small, sharp prickles with which the fruit and stalk is armed. About 12 o'clock we reached the top of the mountain and passed between two high and rocky pillars, which towered upon our right and left. Here our further progress appeared at an end. The path led down into a deep chasm, from which there did not seem a single point of egress. Several of us started in search of a passage in the direction we wished to travel, others ascended the pillars to "view the landscape o'er." When out of each other's sight they commenced "hallooing," and were immediately answered by some Indians in the ravine in front of us, who soon made their appearance. After signs of friendship had passed between us, we advanced to hold a talk with them. They were entirely naked, both male and female. We gave them to understand that we wanted to reach the Gila river, at the mouth of the Rio San Pedro. They directed us upon a trail running down the ravine to the S.W.; this we descended with little difficulty for a few miles and encamped with water and grass. The day has been cloudy and pleasant. Distance, 16 miles—1480.

Friday, July 20.—Continued down the ravine without much interruption until we reached the Gila. Here the

river comes foaming and tumbling out of one cañon and immediately enters another. We crossed and commenced climbing the mountain on the north side. This is the point where Gen. Kearney reached the river, after four days of toilsome travel over the mountains, on the north side of the river, to avoid the cañons above. During the same time, they lost a great number of animals. We have accomplished the same object on the south side in two days, and by traveling less than half the distance. He had the celebrated Kit Carson for guide; we had none. The inexperienced will sometimes fall into good luck. Again passed the Knickerbocker company, many of whom are destitute of provisions, and were "nooning it" upon the fruit of the prickly pear—a flimsy substitute for food. To-day we met with the first of a new and singular kind of cactus. It is a tree without limb or leaf, but with branches similar to the main stalk, putting out about half-way up the trunk; it is evergreen, fluted and armed with prickles, or barbs. There are great numbers of these peculiar yet beautiful trees growing out on the south side of the mountain. We are now in the Piñon Lanos range.[75] They are high, rocky, barren and very difficult to pass, of which we had a specimen this afternoon. We climbed three successive mountains, and then descended all at once, for a distance of two miles, over rocks, sharp stones, cactus, etc., and encamped in an arroyo near the river, down which ran a small, clear stream of pure, cold water, which was a gratifying treat to us, after a hard day's march beneath a burning sun. There is no grass in the neighborhood for our suffering animals. There is cottonwood, ash and willow growing in the ravine. We found some small sour grapes, and saw a humming bird, a wren, and a ground squirrel. Distance, 20 miles; 1500 miles out from Fort Smith.

Saturday, July 21.—After crossing the point of a most precipitous mountain we again reached the Gila, and then commenced the winding descent of the river, for through these apparently impassable cañons is now our only course. We crossed the stream 30 times in the course of to-day's march, sometimes swimming our mules, wetting our packs, etc. The bed of the river in places is very rocky, and in others composed of quicksand, which makes it unpleasant to ford. In places the current was so rapid as to wash the legs of the animals from under them and carry them bodily down stream; but they invariably recovered and reached

75. Emory has quite a little to say about the "Piñon Lano range on the north side of the Gila," and of the tribe of that name. *Op. cit.*, 71, 73, 74, 77, 78 *passim*.

the shore in safety. In these tremendous cañons nature displayed her powers in the wildest form. The stupendous rocks, reared perpendicularly above each other for hundreds of feet, present a grand but gloomy spectacle to the beholder. Nothing like vegetation or animal life cheer the solitude of the scene, except the lonely cactus trees, which has the appearance of so many sentinels, stationed by the infernal powers to guard these dark passes. We measured one of the trees that had been blown down and found it to be 39 feet in length and 25 inches in diameter. Some of them have five or six arms, generally two or three, sometimes one and frequently none. These single stalks raising out of the earth to the height of 40 feet, and two feet in thickness, are an odd looking "vegetable." We found a species of nut to-day, resembling the almond in taste, which sickened some of the boys who ate of them. We met five naked Apaches, who were about taking dinner when we came upon them. The "prepared dish" lay in the sand, around which they were seated. It consisted of several yards of the entrails of a dead horse, containing all the filth, roasted in the ashes. On this dainty morsel they feasted, pulling it off in pieces with their claws, and ate with apparently good relish, until they were as "full as ticks," the "seasoning" running down their faces all the while. They kindly offered to share their meal with us, but having yet a small supply of more palatable food, we thanked them. No doubt this would have been an "affecting" sight to persons of weak stomachs, but we have become indifferent to "sights," and do not know how soon we may be compelled to imitate their example. We traveled further than we intended today, in hopes of finding more grass, but were obliged to encamp at last without a blade in view. This is certainly hard food for our mules, but we cannot remedy it. We were visited this evening by some "poverty-struck" Apaches, mostly squaws and children; they wore no clothing but the breechcloth, which is made of buckskin. We ordered them to leave at dark. Distance, 16 miles—1516.

Sunday, July 22.—This morning the Indians again visited us. They had nothing to trade but some jerked horse meat, which we did not relish if we were out of meat. They were very curious, handling and examining everything within their reach. We gave them some trifling presents, with which they were much pleased. Several of the young squaws were passably good looking, having regular features and expressive countenance, etc. One of them had a paint stone, resembling red chalk, suspended from her neck, with which they striped themselves in our presence, using their

fingers for a brush and spittle to mix with. After descending the river through a number of cañons, and crossing 6 times, we emerged from the mountains upon a barren, sandy flat, opposite where the Rio San Pedro empties into the Gila on the south side. We are much rejoiced to find ourselves again in an open country, after several days of incessant toil to ourselves and animals. Passed Saddle-Back Peak,[76] which is situated on the south side of the river, a short distance above the mouth of the San Pedro. This mountain has been appropriately named, for the summit very much resembles the seat of a saddle. Here the Gila, which has for some time been running almost south, changes its course to N. of W. We found a few bunches of coarse grass about 1 o'clock, when we stopped and rested until 5, then packed up again and traveled until dark; saw numerous flocks of quails and doves. This flat is covered with mezquite, timber, weeds, and but little grass. The weather is very hot, no air stirring. Distance, 12 miles—1528.

Monday, July 23.—There being a little grass here, we concluded to rest for the day, and graze our stock, for from all accounts we will find but little feed on the balance of our route. The day was excessively hot, and the small mezcal trees afford us but poor shelter from the burning sun. The Virginians came up and passed by us to-day; the New York company also passed by us.

Tuesday, July 24.—Our camp had been pitched in a thicket of mezquite and weeds, and making an early start this morning, we had traveled several miles before we discovered that one of our pack mules were missing. After packing, it no doubt wandered into the thicket and was left behind. Three of us started back, but there were several Indians ahead of us, who no doubt found the prize and drove it off into the mountains. We engaged Piñon Lanos Indians to go in search of it, offering them a large reward, and amongst other things a gun with powder and ball, upon which they exclaimed "mui bueno" (very good) and set off at full speed, promising to bring it into camp this evening. But neither the Indians or the mule came, and we have given up all hopes of ever seeing it again. It was a good mule, belonging to the company, and carried the most valuable pack. We estimate the loss at about $400. All the most necessary and valuable clothing belonging to Armstrong, Howard, Musser, and myself were upon it, including my gold watch and chain, and other articles of

76. Emory (p. 75) says: "so named by us from its resemblance to the outline of a saddle."

value. My individual loss is not less than $175. The pack also contained some business letters of introduction, and many small but useful articles which we had packed into India rubber bags for preservation. Altogether, we considered it a serious loss in our private situation. It is the first stroke of ill luck we have yet met with; I hope it is not the commencement of a series. We had not traveled far to-day before the river again cañoned and we were obliged to ford it 21 times during the march. We encamped on the south side and turned our animals upon the hills to feed on the gramma, which is very thin but better than none. We crossed Mineral creek this afternoon. It is a small stream, emptying into the Gila on the north side. This stream is said to abound in gold and other minerals; but we did not stop to explore. Distance, 22 miles—1550.

Wednesday, July 25.—No tidings of the lost mule and packs, and we have given up all hopes of recovering either. No doubt my watch already bedecks the tawny bosom of some squaw, of no more value to her than a brass button. After passing through a number of cañons and crossing the river 10 times, we once more reached where the river "spreads out its valley." The dust on the trail is almost knee deep, which, with the intense heat, makes traveling difficult and oppressive. To-day we met two Pigmo [Pima] Indians. They said they were out after horses and mules to exchange with the American emigrants. Encamped on the river bank. Distance, 25 miles—1575.

Thursday, July 26.—Dust and underbrush annoyed us very much in our course down the valley. This afternoon we entered Gen. Cook's wagon road, which comes up from the east. This evening a pack mule company by Capt. Day came up by that route. They gave a very favorable account of the route, which must be preferable to the one we have traveled. They had passed through a number of Mexican villages, and had an abundance of feed for their animals. Capt. Day has his wife with him. She is a Spanish woman, and the first female emigrant we have seen on the route. She was mounted upon a mule, riding in the train covered with dust, holding an umbrella over her head and a child in her arms. Distance, 25 miles—1609.

CHAPTER XIII

Friday, July 27.—Early this morning we were visited by a number of Pigmo (pemo) Indians of both sexes. We find we are encamped within a league of their principal village.[77] We have found a small patch of coarse grass, that has been repeatedly grazed off by the animals of companies in advance of us, but it is much better than we have met with for many days. The condition of our stock, and the prospects of obtaining a supply of provisions, requires us to remain here a day at least. We have been on short allowance for some time. We have had no bacon for two weeks; the last of it had melted away, until there were little left but the skins. Our supply of coffee is beginning to fail. We are obliged to drink it very weak, without sugar, which with a scanty allowance of Mexican flour has constituted our entire fare for sometime. The flour was ground by hand power, and contains all the bran. Could our empty provision sacks be replenished with a sack of flour, and a few pounds of bacon, we would feel as happy and contented as lords, nor envy the epicure enjoying his choicest luxuries. This is a pretty fix to be in, wanting the bare necessaries of life; but we have no reason to complain, Providence has favored us thus far, and we are once more where we can obtain something to sustain life. Could mules travel the Gila river route and carry heavy burdens, we might have reproached ourselves for leaving Santa Fe with so small a supply, but that is impossible; we have seen no emigrants on the route who have fared better than ourselves, and many far worse. We were not long in commencing to barter with the Pigmos, who showed a very friendly disposition. They brought us small quantities of wheat flour, very coarse, some green corn, and watermelons, for which we gave them shirts and other articles in exchange. We could not procure meat of them, it being the article we most needed. Being an agricultural people, they require what few animals they have for that purpose. We had hoped to exchange some of our weary mules for fresh stock, but were disappointed, and will have to perform the balance of our journey, with our broken down animals, as best we can. The Pigmos resemble most other Indian tribes we have met, but are not so finely formed, athletic, and dignified as the Apaches, of whom they are in great dread. I was amused upon offering them a pair of buckskin leggins, which I had purchased of the Apaches; they instantly recognized them by the or-

77. Compare Emory, *op. cit.*, 82 *et seq.* Chamberlin's use here of the term "league" is curious.

naments, and appeared actually afraid to touch them, exclaiming, "Apache's, Apache's malo! mui malo!" They are disposed to be peaceful. The more savage tribes steal their stock, which is very unfortunate for them. They have some animals left by Gen. Kearney, Major Graham and Cook. The dress of these Indians is very simple, and many wear but the simple breech cloth. A shirt is the height of their ambition in the dress line. The climate is so mild the year round, that much clothing would be superfluous. At present the heat is very oppressive; our thermometers stand at a 126° above zero in the shade. These Indians appear to be perfectly honest. The old Chief or Governor visited us to-day, and took dinner with us. He wished to know how his subjects behaved towards us, and said that if we caught them pilfering or misbehaving, we should inform him, and that he would punish them accordingly. Thus do this singular and simple people live in peace and contentment, enjoying the fruits of their labors, in this isolated portion of the world, and if ignorant of many blessing attending more enlightened nations, are alike unacquainted with their vices.

Saturday, July 28.—We had traveled but a short time before we entered the village. It is scattered over a large portion of the river flat, which is about fifteen miles wide at this point. The village is situated on the south side of the river. There are a number of springs or marshes, by which they irrigate the land. We saw no running streams. Their wigwams are composed of a kind of wicker work, thatched with straw or reeds, and the whole covered with earth. They have each a summer house, which consists of four posts set in the ground, cross pieces, and the top covered with straw. These form very comfortable shades, and it was a rich luxury to sit under one of them and eat watermelons, boiled wheat, beans, &c. These people speak the Spanish language pretty well, which I suppose they have learned from their intercourse with the trade between Mexico and California, this being an important point upon the route. They enter their bake-oven-shaped huts through the only aperture, at one end, and in them they live, eat, drink and sleep, "up to their eyes" in sand, the earth being of a sandy nature, and very barren appearance. They grow cotton, and manufacture it into coarse cloth, their weaving apperratus being very simple. They use the wooden Mexican plough, and fence with poles and brush, and their little patches display more taste than those in New Mexico. We saw some of the men at work, but the majority of the laborers were women. They do all the drudge work, carrying

immense burdens upon their heads, grind wheat, corn, &c. Saw but few fire arms among them; they have all bows and arrows, but seldom carry any about them. This afternoon we passed through a part of the Marakopa [Maricopa] tribe. We saw many of them engaged in playing cards. These tribes of Indians have been represented as having all the virtues and none of the vices of the whites. This was either exaggeration, or they have degenerated greatly within a few years. We have found them to lie, cheat and steal. They handle cards with a great deal of dexterity, know the value of money, and used it in betting at their games. After a long search for pasture, we saw a deserted cornfield, in which we encamped. Our animals relished the fodder very much. We found a small run of water near, which was very blackish. The river is about two miles to the north. At this point the road crosses the mountains, a jornada of about fifty miles, cutting off a large bend in the river. Distance, 30 miles—1630.

Sunday, July 29.—Concluded to keep Sunday, for from all accounts we will not find another "cornfield" soon. Although we have passed through all the villages, we were visited to-day by a number of Marakopas, bringing corn, panol [*pinole?*], melons, &c., for exchange. We failed of procuring meat from these Indians, of which we are very much in need, in our present condition. We exchanged several broken down horses for others very little better, giving more "to boot" than both were worth. We were well enough supplied with corn and melons, and ten of us consumed several dozen to-day. The old proverb "either a feast or a famine," applies to us. A number of Indians have laid about our camp all day, watching every opportunity to pilfer. They ate the rinds of the melons which we threw away.

Monday, July 30.—Left the cornfield, and kept the trail, following the course of the river. We feared our mules were inadequate to the task of crossing the jornada, although it is a great "cut off." A large portion of the valley is here covered with a saline deposit. The impression of horses' hoofs are visible in every direction, being filled with salt, which it is said the Indians collect for use. The heavy growth of weeds in different places denotes a rich soil. Mezquite timber is becoming more abundant. This tree resembles the locusts in the States. It bears a bean, which is sweet and very good feed for animals. The Indians are fond of them. After a long search, we found a "bare spot" large enough to encamp upon, on a small island in the river. We turned our mules out to browse upon willows and weeds.

This is pretty hard fare after a fatiguing day's march, but we can do no better. The day has been very hot, and the water of the Gila so warm, that we could not drink it, did not necessity require it, it being also very brackish. Distance, 25 miles—1655.

Tuesday, July 31.—Crossed the river, but swamps interrupting our course on the north side, we were obliged to recross. Excepting the course of the river, which is still marked by a growth of cotton wood, willow, underbrush, mezquite, and rank weeds, the general appearance of the country is most sterile and forbidding. The sunburned summits of the mountains are entirely destitute of vegetation. The heat very oppressive, and being some distance from the river, we are almost choked from thirst. In addition to our canteens, each person procured a gourd from the Pigmo Indians, but with all our vessels we were unable to carry a day's supply of water. This afternoon we had every sign of a fine shower, which would have been very refreshing, but it ended in a gust of wind. The sand flew in all directions, blinding, and almost suffocating us for a time. It must almost have equalled the "monsoons" on the deserts of Africa. Not a drop of rain fell. The country is in a "parched up" condition, and from every appearance, no rain has fallen for several months. From "signs," driftwood, &c., we can see that the Gila rises to a great height during the rainy season. Passed the Salt and San Francisco rivers, which unite and flow into the Gila on the north side.[78] The Rio Francisco is a considerable stream. At a distance in advance of us the appearance of the country—the ever-changing scenery, is truly beautiful. The valley of the river appears covered with herbage, interspersed with groves of wood, and surrounded with low chains of picturesque mountains. But the eye deceives the senses; all changes as we travel along, plodding through the sand almost knee deep, annoyed by the numerous prickly shrubs, the thorns of the mezquite tree scratching us and tearing our clothes, whenever we come in contact with it. Our hands "have to suffer" when we gather the beans for our mules. They are very fond of them, being a pretty good substitute for grass. They contain a great deal of saccharine matter, and are no doubt very nutritious. Encamped in a mezquite thicket and fed upon beans. We are some distance from the river, and have great difficulty in going to it

78. For a good description of this region and of the relation of the streams named, see Emory's notes written when Kearny's force was camped "on the dividing ground between the Pimos and Maricopas." *Op. cit.*, 85-86.

from our camp, through the weeds, underbrush, drift, &c. Thermometer stood at 114° in the shade. After clearing away some of the brush and thorns, we managed to "turn in" upon "level ground." We had scarcely rolled our weary bodies up in our blanket, when our ears were saluted by the music of an old acquaintance. The serenade, though familiar, sounded harsh, and in a moment we were all upon our feet, determined to silence the "minstrel." We lighted a fagot and after considerable search succeeded in dislodging and beheading the bird. He was the largest rattlesnake I ever saw, being four feet in length and numbering upwards of twenty rattles. We had laid down within a few feet of him. It is said that they usually go in pairs, but we were not to be cheated out of our "roosts" by such notions, and again turned-in and were soon lost in "refreshing sleep," "nature's sweet restorer," and the goddess of dreams was not long in transporting our imaginations to "other scenes and to other times." To no persons do the "hours of rest" pass more quickly by than they appear to the way-worn traveler. Too soon are we aroused by the unwelcome voice of the captain, calling upon "all hands" to get up, prepare breakfast, pack, and be off by sunrise. So we go. Distance, 25 miles—1680.

Wednesday, Aug. 1.—The river inclines strongly to the south. We crossed several points of mountains which were covered with sharp, black rocks, which made the footing insecure for our animals and the traveling difficult. Found a "litter" upon which the company in advance of us had carried a man almost from the source of the Gila—a distance of several hundred miles. He had been badly wounded by the accidental discharge of a gun. Passed a river to-day which emptied into the Gila on the north side—we do not know the name of it. Encamped in a mezquite grove and fed upon beans. We scarcely see a blade of grass in a day's march. The depth of the sand and intense heat made this a hard day's march. Shot a few quails for supper. Camp a mile from water. Distance, 20 miles—1700.

Thursday, Aug. 2.—River bears due south. Sand very deep. Encamped this evening where the Gila takes a western course. Here we again intersected Gen. Cook's wagon route, which crosses the jornada before mentioned. It is but forty-eight miles from this point to the Pigmo village, while we have traveled one hundred by following the course of the river. The road through the cut-off is said to be very good and can be crossed in twelve hours. There are six men here that started in at six last evening and were here at twelve to-day, resting half the night; while we have

been four days making the same distance toward the end of our journey. Our company picked up a small stray mule this evening. We were obliged as usual to gather beans for our mules. Distance, 25 miles—1725.

CHAPTER XIV

Friday, August 3.—The road pretty good, and we travel with more ease and speed than in the narrow Indian path. We are on the south side of the river, which now runs north of west. Crossed the point of a mountain, which projects into the river; on the west side there is a mound, composed of large black rocks, upon which there are engraved a great many rude characters and Hieroglyphics.[79] From all appearances other hands than those of the present inhabitants of this region have traced them there, and centuries have elapsed since the work was done. Did not reach the river until after dark. By the light of the moon we succeeded in finding a few mezquite trees at the base of a mountain, where we encamped. No sooner had we turned our mules loose, than they commenced "nickering" and wandering about from tree to tree, which satisfied us that there were no beans about, no grass, nor browse, and we heard them wandering off in search of food. The weeds were so high, and dense, that we could not see them. Something was said about being left on foot in the morning, to make the balance of our way as best we could; little attention was paid to it, however, and we all "turned in." The inclination to rest and repose after a long and fatiguing day's journey, entirely overcomes the necessity of guarding against difficulty in future. Being obliged to reach water, made this a longer march than we should have made in justice to ourselves and animals. Although we are yet in the Apache Indian range, and are approaching near the Yumas, we have given up "keeping guard" around camp. The labor of packing and unpacking, several times a day, all the while exposed to a burning sun, walking more than half the time, over mountains and through deep sand, drinking the hot brackish water of the Gila, and living upon our light and limited diet, all combine to reduce and debilitate us in mind as well as body. We have become entirely indifferent to danger. The object of our journey seldom enters our mind, and when the gold of California is spoken of, it is only in connection with—"If we were only where

79. Illustrations of these are found in Emory's *Notes*, pp. 89-91.

people lived, and we could get something to eat and drink, the de'il might have all the gold"—"I would give all my interest in the diggings for a month's supply of good provisions"—"I have made up my mind long ago, that we are upon a wild goose chase"—"If the Sierra Nevada mountains were made of gold, they cannot repay us for what we have endured on this journey," &c., &c. Travelling has become as natural as the labor of the mechanic, and the time on Saturday afternoon when he can "knock off work," is not met with more pleasure, by the young apprentice, than we hail the camping place at the end of each day's journey. I have often read of, but never believed, until I learned by experience, the changes that are produced upon the nature and temper of men, under these circumstances. A person would suppose, that men so far from the borders of civilization, would usually depend upon each other for mutual aid, comfort and protection, and find pleasure in doing so; but, in nine cases out of ten, it is the reverse. Companies of emigrants, pledged to stand by each other, have been divided and sub-divided by most trifling circumstances, which produced contention among them. Messes from the same neighborhood at home, have been separated; and I have even seen brothers quarrel, divide their "plunder," and each pursue his own course. Men that were formerly of the most mild, obliging dispositions, have become crabbed, fretful, and overbearing. And never have I been in a more perfect school of profanity; preachers and members of churches are not exempt from this all prevailing spirit, but appeared to become the most hardened. The decided change in life, the trials, hardships, and difficulties of an overland journey, but I believe nothing has so powerful an effect, as the scanty allowance of food. I am happy to say that our own mess have travelled together, and have reason to believe that none of the dissentions so common on the route will enter our little band. Yet we all saw, felt, and acknowledged, that we were not the persons we "used to was," in spirit, temper, and body, and have concluded that it will take considerable good "feeding," and intercourse with civilization, to restore us to our former condition. Distance, 30 miles—1755.

Saturday, August 4.—When we awoke this morning, not a horse or mule was to be seen. After scouring the country until ten o'clock, we found them, some six or eight miles from camp, still wandering about, having found no food. This afternoon we met several hundred Indians, on their way up the river—men, Squaws, and children. They appeared to be removing their goods and chattels, for every-

thing belonging to an Indian camp, they had upon their backs. What tribe they belong to, or are, we could not learn. They are a more rude and abject looking race, than any we have yet seen. The only clothing of male and female was the simple breech-cloth, and many were entirely naked. Their "fig-leaf" was the shreds of the inner bark of the tree, formed into a kind of fringe. The Squaws were carrying very heavy loads upon their backs, or rather on their foreheads, by means of a strap to which the weight is suspended, resting on their back. When trudging along, in the necessary stooped form, they very much resemble packed Sonorian Burros, (jackasses). The men were only encumbered with their bows, and a few of them were on horseback. I gave a squaw a silk handkerchief for a gourd, but they had nothing in the way of provisions that we could procure. While on the Rio Grande, I had covered my India rubber canteen with flannel, which I have since found to be a valuable improvement. By wetting the flannel, when I fill it, and hang it upon my saddle, the water becomes tolerable cool. Green, Musser, Armstrong and myself, had remained behind to trade with the Indians; Armstrong traded horses. When we started on, we could not find the company, who we supposed had turned off the road to encamp. After a fruitless search of two or three hours, we concluded to tie up for the night. We had eaten nothing since morning, and a scanty breakfast that was. Our animals fared better than ourselves, having abundance of beans. We spread our blankets on the sand, and "turned in," wishing for a portion of humble camp fare. Distance 15 miles—1770.

Sunday, August 5.—Rose early, saddled up, and started; followed the road for several miles, when we concluded to wait until some company came up, from whom we could get something to eat, not knowing whether our train was in advance or behind us. If behind, we fear they will wait, thinking that the Indians have detained us. We set about to kill some birds, but did not succeed very well; however, we should not have suffered, as long as beans were so abundant. About 10 o'clock our company came up; our first inquiry was for something to eat, which they fortunately had handy, and started, eating our breakfast on horseback; they had left "signs" in the road when they turned off to encamp, which we had overlooked. The general course of the Gila to-day has been south. We stopped twice to rest and graze our animals, and did not reach camp until 9 o'clock p.m. Crossed the points of several mountains; suffered from thirst; a laborious day's march; Charles Gath-

wait lay down in the road, during the evening, said he was sick, and would rather die on the spot than attempt to go farther. I was some distance behind the company when I came up with him, being detained, driving along a jaded horse. I urged Charley to mount his mule and go along, but it was vain to try to persuade him; I found that he had a burning fever on him, gave him a portion of the water left in my canteen, and started on to overtake the company. We were rejoiced when we again reached the river, and immediately encamped. Not finding any feed, we were obliged to tie our suffering animals up to "rock fodder," for it is better to have even a poor mule than none at all. Gathwait came up during the night. John Franklin, the Polander, also fell behind the company by some means, during the day's march. He is on foot and alone, we having brought his mule along in the train. He has not come up. Distance, 30 Miles—1800.

(To be continued)

NECROLOGY

Mrs. Ruth Hanna Simms.—Wife of former Congressman Albert G. Simms, herself at one time a member of the national house of representatives, Mrs. Ruth Hanna Simms had won distinction in diverse fields and her death on the last day of 1944 was a distinct loss not only to her adopted state, New Mexico, but to the nation. As stated by ex-President Herbert Hoover: "Never was one more devoted to the welfare of the country. Her passing will leave a gap in American life."

Mrs. Simms was born in Cleveland, Ohio, on March 27, 1880, the daughter of United States Senator Marcus A. Hanna and Charlotte A. Rhodes. Her education was gained in private schools at Dobbs Ferry, New York, and Farmington, Connecticut. She was twice married. Her first husband, U. S. Senator Medill McCormick, whom she wed June 10, 1903, died February 25, 1925. The second marriage was to Albert G. Simms, who had served a second term in congress at the same time that Mrs. Simms was a member. The wedding took place on March 9, 1932, the marriage also being the second for Mr. Simms, lawyer and banker of Albuquerque.

Her father's pupil and associate, Mrs. Simms was thoroughly informed in political strategy and legislative procedure. Active member in Republican women's organizations, she lobbied for child labor laws in the Illinois legislature in 1915 as representative also of the Illinois Consumers' League. Three years before, she had joined the Progressive Party and was active at headquarters in its 1912 campaign. Rejoining the Republican ranks, she became Republican national committee woman from Illinois, 1924 to 1928. Then followed her service in the house of the 71st congress, 1929 to 1931, as the member-at-large from Illinois. She was the Republican nominee for the United States senate from that state in 1930. Continuing her political activities after taking up her residence in New Mexico she was a delegate from New Mexico to the Republican national convention in Chicago in 1944.

One of the owners of the *Chicago Tribune*, Mrs. Simms was also president of the Rockford (Ill.) Consolidated Newspapers and of Radio Station W R O K. Her interest in education led her to the founding of the Sandía School for Girls near Albuquerque, erecting fine buildings for the school, which was taken over later by the War Department and is now planned to be the home for a State Hospital, recently authorized by the New Mexico legislature. Founder of the Manzano Day School in Albuquerque she was also a trustee of the Fountain Valley Boys School in Colorado Springs and had been a member of the board of regents of the Museum of New Mexico in Santa Fé. Among her other civic activities were included membership in the Women's Trade Union League, the Business and Professional Women's Club, the American Association for Labor Legislation, Women's Clubs for Civic Improvement in Chicago, the Cuarto-Centennial Coronado Commission of New Mexico, and other organizations. A friend and patron of art, Mrs. Simms maintained an art gallery at her beautiful home on Los Poblanos Ranch near Albuquerque and was a patron of an annual summer music festival held there. Her friendships and acquaintanceships included statesmen, political and educational leaders, painters, writers, musicians of national fame.

In addition to these activities, Mrs. Simms with her husband was deeply interested in agricultural and livestock improvement, not only at Los Poblanos Ranch but also on the great Trinchera cattle and sheep ranch in southern Colorado on the northern New Mexico border of which she was the manager. It was while on the ranch that she was thrown by her horse, an accident, which it is believed, brought on her fatal illness, although she had been discharged from the hospital for the fracture she had suffered from the fall. She was a member of the American Livestock Association and the Holstein-Friesian Association, active in developing pure-bred Holstein cattle.

Besides her husband, there survive Mrs. Simms two of her daughters by her first marriage: Mrs. Peter Miller of Chicago, and Mrs. Cortlandt (Katrina McCormick) Barnes

of New York. A son, Medill McCormick, 21 years old, was killed on a mountain-climbing expedition in the Sandía Mountains in 1938, his body being found only after days of search. A great boulder, brought at Mrs. Simms' direction from the Sandías, marks the little ever-green shaded plot in Fairview Cemetery, Albuquerque, where she was interred beside her son. The funeral services took place in St. John's Episcopal Cathedral in Albuquerque, conducted by Bishop James M. Stoney, U. S. Circuit Judge Samuel G. Bratton pronouncing the eulogy. The active pall bearers were: Gustave Baumann, Clifford Dinkle, Hugh B. Woodward, Robert Dietz III, William G. Sganzini and James F. O'Connor.

From a tribute paid Mrs. Simms by Raymond Moley, noted publicist and journalist, in the *Wall Street Journal*, the following excerpt is taken:

"The late Ruth Hanna McCormick Simms had many claims to distinction. But probably the greatest of these was the fact that she inherited from her father the most astute knowledge of political facts and forces that any woman has had in our time. As a young women she was Mark Hanna's companion, assistant and confidante. She was at his side in the epochal campaigns in which he was a principal figure. She saw him as those of his generation knew him—not as the mythical figure which our generation has created out of its imperfect memory. For while Mark Hanna brought to the support of his party the money and the glory and the primitive power of the business community, he was far from being an exponent of boodle and reaction. As an employer he was known as fair with labor, and in his later days as a Senator he was giving attention to the establishment of sound relations between capital and labor. His advocacy of ship subsidies was a far-sighted effort, after the United States had embarked on its Pacific adventure, to build up a great merchant marine as a supplement to a great and necessary navy. If Congress had spent a few of the millions Hanna wanted it to spend then, billions of dollars' worth of hastily constructed ships in 1917 and 1918 might have been saved.

"Ruth Hanna became a mighty factor in the career of her first husband, Medill McCormick. They followed T. R. out of the Republican party and, later, McCormick was a member of the House and, still later, a Senator. After his death, his wife won a brief Congressional career of her own. Her business interests since her retirement from active politics were extensive and successful.

"Mrs. Simms spent nearly 50 years in real political activities. When she achieved public office she did it on her own. She knew the infinite labor of organization, the wear and tear of speech-making, the careful thought which should precede political decisions. To know her was to respect her powerful sense of public reactions, her liberal views on public policies and her intimate knowledge of all sorts and conditions of people. There was nothing spasmodic, emotional or impulsive about her judgments. She thought in terms of long-range policy. And nothing so distinguished her as her warm sympathy for the average human beings who, after all, are the proper beneficiaries of wise political action."

P. A. F. W.

John R. McFie, Jr.—Report by the U. S. War Department that John R. McFie, Jr., was killed on February 7, 1945, by enemy action during the shelling by the Japanese of the Santo Tomás internment camp at Manila on Luzón in the Philippines, has brought sorrow not only to his immediate family and other relatives but also to the large number of friends who esteemed him for his fine personality.

The deceased was the son and namesake of the late Judge McFie, a veteran of the Civil War, who for many years was a justice of the Supreme Court of the Territory of New Mexico, one of the founders of the Agricultural College and (later) a founder and regent of the Museum of New Mexico and the School of American Research.

John R. McFie, Jr., was born in Las Cruces, County of Doña Ana, on April 25, 1889. He was a prep. student at the Territorial College (1904-5), but the family home had been moved to Santa Fé in 1899 and there he graduated from

High School. Later at Albuquerque, he completed the business course at the University of New Mexico. Taking the law course at the University of Michigan, he graduated from that institution in June, 1914, and was admitted to the New Mexico Bar, practicing his profession in Santa Fé, Gallup and Albuquerque. A regent of the University of New Mexico, he resigned to join his brother, Ralph, a quarter of a century ago in the Philippine Islands. At Manila he engaged in the practice of law and in extensive business activities, including a hemp plantation on Mindanao.

McFie served in World War I, was cited at Verdun for bravery and was commissioned a lieutenant. In 1928, at Kobe, in Japan, he was married to Dorothy Podmore who was interned with him in Santo Tomás University but was freed by the U. S. troops who took Manila. She was reported seriously ill, but has since then arrived in Los Angeles where she is near the older son, Merwin, a lieutenant in the U. S. Air forces. The other son, Colin, aged 15, is with relatives in Honolulu, Hawaii Islands. Surviving McFie also are a twin sister, Mrs. Lawrence B. Lackey, and Mrs. Lansing B. Bloom (both of Albuquerque) and Miss Amelia McFie of Los Angeles.

On January 30, 1941, McFie was installed as most worshipful grand master of Masons in the Philippines, for the Masonic year 1941-42. *The Cable Tow* of February 1941, published in Manila, supplies some additional data which indicate his professional, business and social activities:

. . . past secretary New Mexico bar association, 1917; admitted to the bar of the Philippines May 1, 1922; past president American bar association of the Philippines, 1934; associated with law firm of Fisher, DeWitt, Perkins & Brady, 1922-25; member of law firm of Ohnick & McFie, 1926-29; head of his own law offices, 1929-41; member of advisory judicial council, 1934; member, board of bar examiners of the Philippines, 1928, 1934, 1935.

Volunteer, First World War; 2nd lieut. 140th Tr. Hq. & M. P. Co. (1917-18); 1st lieut. 159th Inf. 40th Div. U. S. Army, A. E. F. (1918-19); lieut.-comdr., U. S. N. R.,

L-V(S) 1938-41; 1st vice-comdr. Manila Post No. 1, American Legion (1941).

President, Mineral Enterprise, Inc.; pres., Pasig Boulevard Development Co.; vice-pres., Manila Building & Loan Assoc.; member of B. P. O. E., Army & Navy Club, Manila Polo Club, Manila Golf Club, Wack Wack Golf & Country Club; member, Phi Gamma Delta fraternity.

P. A. F. W.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

La Villa de Santa Fé.—Our apologies to the imagination of Ralph Twitchell. Our friend, the Colonel along with his other suave and genial qualities, was not lacking in imagination at times; but we have found that we were mistaken in thinking that he had no authority for the longer form of name for Santa Fé (p. 108, *supra*).

While scanning through W. W. H. Davis' *El Gringo* for some other information, we were startled to find that Chapter II closes with the remark, "and shortly we were within the limits of the city of the Holy Faith of Saint Francis." And again, at the opening of Chapter VII, we find: ". . . Santa Fe, or, as it is sometimes written, *Santa Fe de San Francisco*, the city of the Holy Faith of Saint Francis . . ." This takes us back to 1856—and the query now is, where did Davis get it?

Knowing that he had drawn freely from the classic of Josiah Gregg, we turned to the *Commerce of the Prairies* (ed. 1845), and in Vol. I, p. 143, is the statement: "We sometimes find it written *Santa Fé de San Francisco* (Holy Faith of St. Francis), the latter being the patron, or tutelary saint."

Unfortunately Gregg does not tell us where he had seen the name written in this form, or by whom. Someone may have introduced the change during the short Mexican period (1821-46); certainly the invariable useage during the long Spanish period, so far as our observation goes, has been to write the name without any qualifying phrase.—L. B. B.

Grollet, Grole, Grule, Gurule.—It seems to have been Bandelier who first called attention to three Frenchmen who, as unmarried youths, were members of the ill-fated La Salle expedition of 1684-85. They were among the few survivors who were found by the Spaniards in the hands of Texas Indians. After they had been examined and released, either from choice or compulsion they decided to remain in New Spain; and some years later, they all showed up in New Mexico.

Twitchell, *Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, I, 12-15, quotes at considerable length from an article by Bandelier which appeared in the *Nation* of August 30, 1888. It seems that Bandelier had found among some old papers at Santa Clara pueblo an "Ynformacion de Pedro Meusnier, frances —1699." The names of Juan de Archeveque and Santiago Groslee appeared as witnesses, and among other facts brought out was the fact that all three had come from France with La Salle in 1684. In 1699, Meusnier and Archeveque were soldiers of the garrison in Santa Fé; Groslee was a resident of that town.

Said Bandelier further: "There was only one L'Archeveque in La Salle's ill-fated expedition, . . . while Groslee seemed to be Grollet, the sailor," native (as he deposed) of La Rochelle. "I have since found the latter as Grolle and Groli in two official documents now in my possession. As late as 1705 he was a resident of the little town of Bernalillo."

It seems beyond any reasonable doubt that Grollet did settle in the lower valley, and left at least one son named Antonio. The name appears in various documents of the next thirty years and with variant spellings. In fact, the name was then in transition from the French to the Spanish form. In a litigation over water rights in 1733 in "the jurisdiction of the Villa of Alburquerque," one of those involved was named regularly as "Antonio Grole," yet his signature in the same papers is found in the two forms, "Antonio Grule" and Antonio Gurule." (Twitchell, *op. cit.*, II, doc. no. 379) But still more interesting, the same man participated in a council of war at Alburquerque on January 29, 1734, and we find the statement: "Antonio Grolet se conforma en todo con el parecer de el Capitan Martín Hurtado, y lo firma.—Antonio Gurule (rubric)" (Twitchell, *op. cit.*, II, doc. no. 396) It would seem, therefore, that the fairly common family name in New Mexico today traces back to the Frenchman Grollet.—L. B. B.