

New Mexico Historical Review

Volume 2 | Number 2

Article 1

4-1-1927

Full Issue

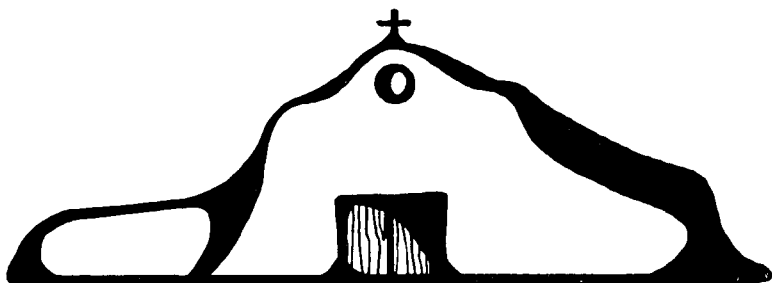
New Mexico Historical Review

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**NEW MEXICO
HISTORICAL
REVIEW**
REPRINT

APRIL 1927

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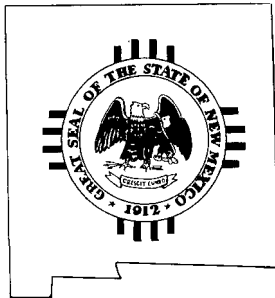
IN APPRECIATION

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

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

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

Donald C. Cutter
Chairman, Editorial Board, NMHR



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

The Historical Society of New Mexico

(INCORPORATED)

ORGANIZED DEC. 26, 1859

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CONSTITUTION

—OF THE—

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

(as amended - Dec. 15, 1925)

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

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

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

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

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

(c) **Life Members.** —In addition to life members of the Historical Society of New Mexico at the date of the adoption hereof, such other

benefactors of the Society as shall pay into its treasury at one time the sum of twenty-five dollars, or shall present to the Society an equivalent in books, manuscripts, portraits, or other acceptable material of an historical nature, may, upon recommendation by the Executive Council and election by the Society, be classed as Life Members.

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

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

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

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

Article 6. —Dues. — Each Member, upon election, shall pay a fee of two dollars, which shall include the dues for the current calendar year and annually thereafter a fee of \$1.00 payable in January of each calendar year. Members may be dropped from the rolls of the Society at the discretion of the Executive Council for non-payment of dues.

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

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

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

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

The Society meets in its rooms, Palace of the Governors, Santa Fe, on the third Tuesday evening each month.

Bulletins, as published, are mailed to members; at present, subscription to the REVIEW is additional.

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



THE LATE F. S. CURTIS, JR.,
Head Master Los Alamos Ranch School

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. II.

April, 1927.

No. 2.

SPANISH ARMS AND ARMOR IN THE SOUTHWEST by the late

F. S. CURTIS, JR.¹

A study of Spanish arms and armor in the Southwest is one which presents a number of difficulties, this for several reasons of which not the least is the small amount of actual material still in existence, especially on the armor side, as armor plates were all too easy to cut up and fabricate into other articles, once their original usefulness was at an end. A further hindrance to accurate statement is the peculiarity of technical terms and the loose use of them by early Spanish writers. Translators have often added to the maze by failure to grasp the proper significance of technical expressions which are capable of several interpretations and on the whole the subject matter available is in a rather painful state of disorder.

The present paper is more an attempt to start the work of clearing up the disordered conditions of our present sources and general information than to state categorically the actual arms and equipment of any given person on any specific occasion. It is, in all probability, by no means so free from error as a strictly scientific monograph should be, and it is to be hoped that such errors as may occur will arouse not only comment but authoritative correction and a more extended discussion of the subject.

The plan of the work has been to divide the Spanish

1. Mr. Curtis had prepared this paper for the history section of the State Educational Association, at its meeting in Santa Fe, Nov. 4-6. It was read at the November meeting of the Society, by his colleague, Mr. Bosworth.—The editors.

occupation into three periods, that of the Exploration and Conquest, that of Revolution and Reconquest, and that from 1693 to 1821, here called for convenience the Final Period. Within each period the subject matter has been divided into five groups, those of Swords, Staff-Weapons, Projectile Weapons (a designation applying only to guns, after the First Period), Helmets, and Armor, with a slight discussion of Artillery added, that branch of the military service having failed regularly to become of any real importance in the scope of our inquiries.

In each of the three periods such actual historical specimens as still survive have been examined so far as available, contemporary documents referring to armament taking second place and in such cases as were covered by neither type of information conclusions have been drawn from the general history of arms and armor during the period in question or, in some cases, slightly before it, a reasonable allowance being thus made for the delay in transmitting a knowledge of the latest improvements to points so far removed from their source.

Of actual equipment of the various expeditions in the Period of Conquest we know unfortunately little, since the members not only were markedly more able with sword than with pen but have not even left us many of the swords. As would naturally be expected, the Coronado expedition is much better documented than most, and the Oñate Entrada is best and most fully described of all, though even in the latter case our authors might very well be more specific in the information given.

Of Coronado's cavalry Mota Padilla is our clearest informant, telling us that they were "armed with lances, swords and other hand-weapons, and some with coats of mail, *salades*, and beavers, some of iron and others of raw-hide, and the horse with bardings of native cloth." Of the infantry he says, "There were 60 crossbowmen and arquebusiers, and others with swords and shields." He also states that the expedition had six *pedreros*, or small cannon, but does not consider it worth while to remark

further on these weapons, a valuation of them which was probably quite accurate.

This account, while one of the best, really tells us surprisingly little of Coronado's forces after all, and does present several interesting problems. What, if any, was the armor of the infantry? And there is very little indeed in the contemporary writers on the same subject that will help us at all toward an answer of any of these questions. A general survey of the whole field of arms and armor in the sixteenth century, however, enables us to fill in the gaps of Padilla's account and to answer the questions he suggests with a fair probability of reasonable accuracy.

Coronado himself and his chief officers probably went into battle clothed in full armor which covered them from sole to crown, discarding the less important portions while on the march and at all times protecting themselves by cloaks from the effects of the sun shining upon their steel cuirasses. The battle-helmet was probably used very little except when action was imminent, being replaced by a broad hat that was secretly reinforced by steel bands as will presently be shown.

For arms they had swords, daggers and lances, and very possibly made use of the dag or wheellock pistol, perhaps of the wheellock carbine as well, though the use of the matchlock is by no means likely because of the inconvenience of its use on horseback.

The cavalry, as we have seen, certainly had swords and lances, and the reference to other "hand-weapons" may mean pistols as well, and quite certainly includes daggers as these were an almost invariable adjunct to the sword. That they wore the *salade* type of helmet is a certainty, thanks to Padilla, and he also is an authority for their "coats of mail;" but what exactly does that phrase mean?

Originally the term "coat of mail" meant a coat or shirt of chain mail covering the wearer from neck to knees. This garment, however, had many disadvantages, and had been superseded long before Coronado's time — at least in military circles — by a coat of plate or cuirass. This

defence was commonly, though erroneously, called by the name of its predecessor, a usage perhaps not unreasonable, as it served the same purpose, but certainly confusing to one in search of really accurate knowledge. Even the term "coat of plate" is not as accurate as might be desired, for in the documents dealing with Oñate we several times discover that a man in a "coat of mail" was also wearing cuishes or thigh-armor. To presume that Coronado's cavalry were similarly equipped is by no means unreasonable, and if we add to the picture the protection for the arms which seems always to go with the use of cuishes we have them outfitted in what is technically known as three-quarter armor, covering the wearer from neck to knee, from which point heavy jack-boots completed the protection.

The horses are clearly stated to have been protected by bardings, or long, loose draperies which hung from the saddle and harness and furnished a partial protection against arrows and lance-thrusts, and it is not improbable that the horses of the officers had additional protection, on forehead, chest and croup, from steel or leathern plates.

We have already learned that the infantry were armed with crossbows and muskets, and some with swords and shields, and it is almost a certainty that the pike, the great standby of European infantry could hardly have been absent, while the halberd, the bill and the poleaxe, mentioned by Villagr  as part of Oñate's equipment, must almost necessarily have been included in that of the earlier expedition. In regard to the armor of the infantry we are left very much in the dark, the equipment of Fulano de Tal² and Juan Comosellama being invariably of very little consequence to any one who wrote of heroic deeds and noble personages, so that in this portion of the field we are pretty well reduced to conjecture and deduction. These uncertain turns offer us two answers in respect to armor, and of the two both may very well be correct, as army equipment in those days was by no means thoroughly standardized, either

2. A Bit of the author's dry humor.—Señor "So and So" and "Juan What's his name,"—Editors.

as to branches of the service or even as to undivided companies.

The question of helmets is relatively simple, as the morion and the pikeman's pot were in almost universal use. In Europe the infantryman was, when possible, equipped with a leather jerkin, a steel corselet, and (depending from the latter) a pair of tuilles, steel plates which hung almost to the knee. The New World, however, had invented a different type of armor which, for New World conditions, afforded very effective protection. This was a coat of tightly-quilted cotton, covering the wearer to the middle of the thigh, and effective to a large extent not only against the piercing effect of arrows and lances but also against the crushing blows of clubs and stone-hammers. The Spaniards found this type of armor in use among the Aztecs, and it is hardly to be doubted that its advantages in lightness, mobility and relative coolness caused its adoption to a considerable extent. So great an authority as Charles F. Lummis speaks of its use by the Spaniards, and the probability that at least some of Coronado's infantry wore it is reasonably strong.

The artillery of the whole First Period was fearfully crude, inaccurate and undependable, and in general more effective in its terrifying sound than in its actual destructive power, though Villagr  does report an instance, in the great  coma fight, where a *pedrero* liberally loaded with spikes did very respectable execution.

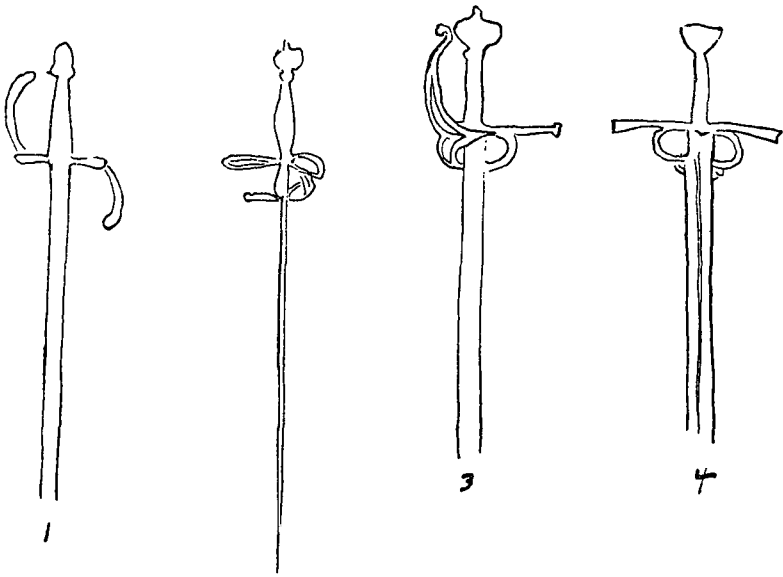
O ate's expedition is, in general, by far the best documented of the First Period, but unfortunately the careless terminology of the writers has, from our point of view, spoiled or made very difficult much of what they tried to convey. O ate's contract specifies a large number of military articles to be provided, among which we find leather shields, lances, halberds, coats of mail, cuishes, helmets with beavers, horse-armor, arquebuses, swords, daggers, complete corselets" — i. e., suits of full armor — war-saddles and leathern jackets, and his competitor, Don Pedro Ponce de Leon offers, in addition, steel shields and cross-

bows. We also learn from the papers of De Leon that flint arquebuses were used in the Indies, and that matchlocks were waning in popularity. Dr. Santiago del Riego, in a letter to the King regarding Oñate's expedition, says of the cavalry that at least every other man is to have helmet and beavor, a coat of mail with cuishes, horse armor and harguebus. Vicente de Zaldívar is mentioned as having charge of seventy arquebuses, thirty muskets (probably match-lock), a hundred coats of mail, a hundred pair of cuishes and fifty leathern jackets or hides for making them. The manifest of personal property taken by Don Luis de Velasco adds little to the list of major military articles, but is interesting in its mention of such minor ones as powder-horn, priming-horn, screws for drawing defective charges, bullet-molds, and keys for winding up the locks of the wheellock arquebuse, (an item which has evidently puzzled translators because of the change in the modern use of the term "*llave*."

From the whole mass of detail furnished we may assemble the conclusion that the officers were armed and armored much as those of Coronado, and that the cavalry too, had changed little from the earlier day except as to being armed with arquebuses. As to the infantry we are again left in the dark, the probability being that this arm of the service in Oñate's expedition was made up chiefly of Thascalan Indians. Villagrà, in Canto xxvii of his "Histlascalan Indians. . Villagrà, in Canto XXVII of his "History" gave a fairly complete summary of the weapons mentioned by the other writers quoted, but even he, complete and even verbose as he generally is, has nothing to say of the infantry.

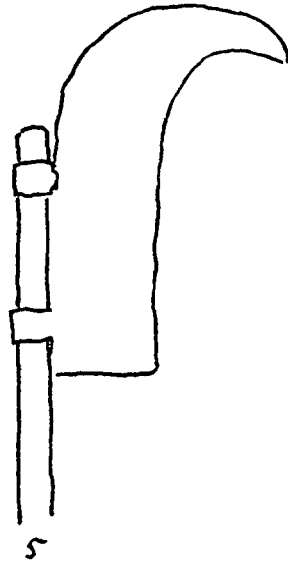
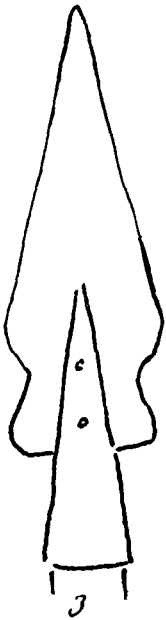
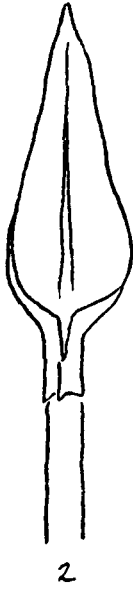
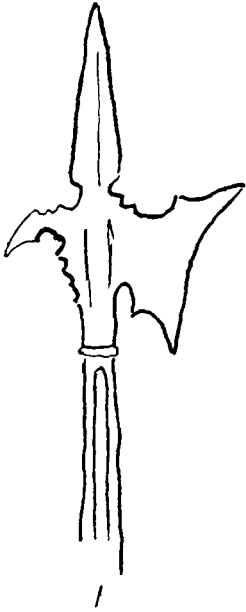
The accompanying plates recapitulate and illustrate the material dealt with up to this point, and to some extent clarify the meaning of the terms used.

In Plate I we have a group of swords of the 16th century, numbers 1 and 4 being used by the infantry numbers,



2 and 3 by either mounted or dismounted officers and requiring a certain knowledge of fencing to be managed effectively.

Plate II show a group of staff weapons, so called because affixed to the end of a staff five to eight feet long. Number 1, a halberd, was in theory a very dangerous weapon, as it offered possibilities of attack with the cutting edge, the hammer, hook or spike opposite the blade, and the pike-point at the top. In practice it survived longer than some of its contemporaries, but was outlived by both the lance and pike, illustrated by numbers 3 and 2 respectively. Both of these latter were used for the thrust only, but the lance was for the use of cavalry while the pike was purely an infantry weapon. Numbers 4 and 5, the poleaxe and bill, were also for dismounted men. Designed to crush and shear through armor, both were exceedingly heavy and developed great force in the hands of a skilled bearer, but that fearsome individual had to be allowed liberal elbow-room when in action or friends were likely to suffer equally with foes.



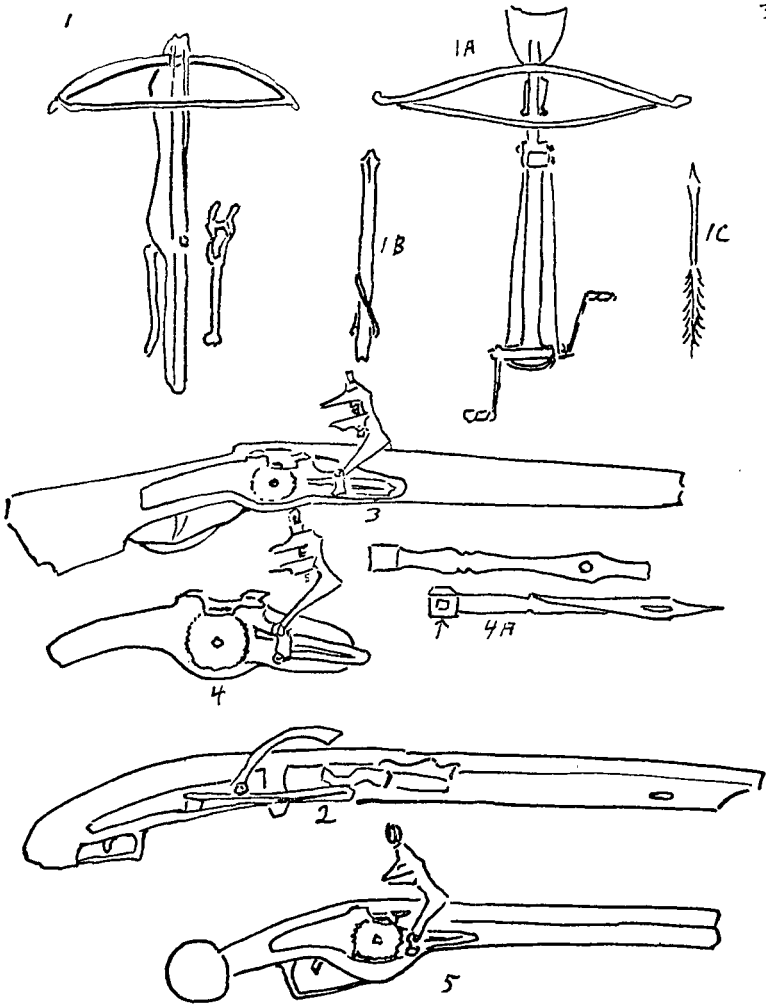


Plate III shows a series of projectile weapons which, in date of invention, cover a great span of centuries yet all saw use together during the First Period of our discussion. Numbers I and IA, crossbows, represent the chief projectile weapon of the European continent throughout the Middle Ages. Bow number I was cocked by the

oddly designed lever shown beside it, while IA submitted to the slower but more dependable process of tension produced by the crank and roller shown, the bow being held upright by placing a foot in the stirrup provided for the purpose. Both weapons shot the short, heavy "bolts" exemplified by IB and IC, the former being especially interesting because of replacing the fragile feathering by narrow vanes of leather.

Number 2 on this plate, the matchlock, is one of the first successful types of gun. The piece having been loaded from the muzzle, the pan at the right side of the breech was primed with fine powder which was then jarred into the flash-passage by a slap of the hand and the piece was then ready to fire. The firing was accomplished, as it is to this day, by a pull of the trigger, but in the case of the matchlock the descending hammer carried actual fire, namely the lighted end of a slow-match (the slack dropping around the gunstock or being carried in the musketeer's hand), resultant explosion occurring with reasonable certainty inside about fifteen seconds.

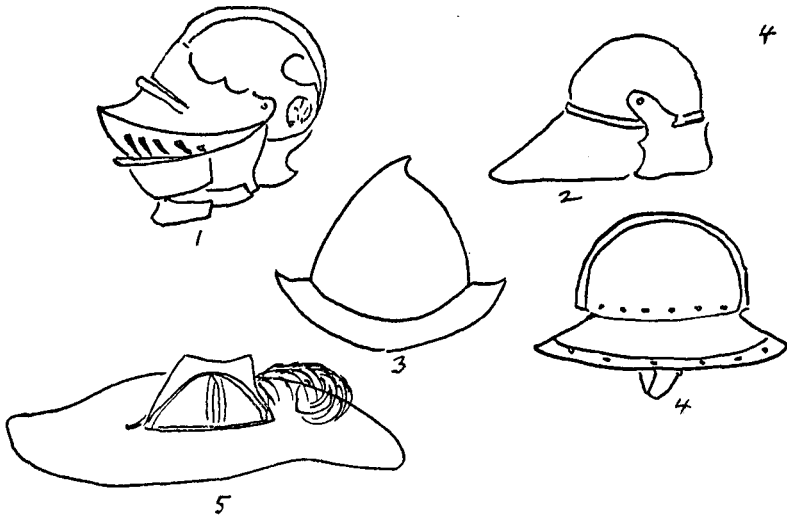
Numbers 3, 4 and 4A show the next stage in gun-invention, the wheellock gun together with an enlargement of its peculiar lock and the key which was used to wind it. The first step in the manipulation of the wheellock was the same as in its predecessor, to ram powder and ball down the muzzle, and similarly the second was to prime the pan and set the priming. Next, however, came an operation peculiar to the wheellock, that of winding. The key was fitted to the square stem projecting from the center of the wheel and a powerful spring on the inner side of the lock plate was wound to full compression. The key was then removed and the weapon was ready for action as soon as the hammer was cocked.

The wheel was either notched or grooved all along its circumference, and as may be seen, it projected into the pan. The pull of the trigger not only snapped the flint held in the jaws of the hammer down on the edge of the wheel but also released the coil-spring so that the wheel revolved

against the flint with great rapidity and force, insuring a plentiful shower of sparks and a fairly quick and certain explosion. Needless to say there was occasionally more explosion than was bargained for, owing largely to uneven powder and an undue optimism as to how big a charge the piece would carry, to say nothing of a shocking liberality in the number of bullets to a single charge. Villagr  records the use of four slugs to the load only because a careless comrade of the shooter happened to receive all four in his person, while the real wonder worthy of record is that the gun remained intact.

Number 5 shows the wheellock or dog pistol, similar in mechanism to the gun, but of even clumsier design, yet adjudged a "soveraygne defense in sodayne onfall or sur-prysall, whanne 2 dagges maye well save thee thye lyfe twyse over ere a rappier canne bee drawne."

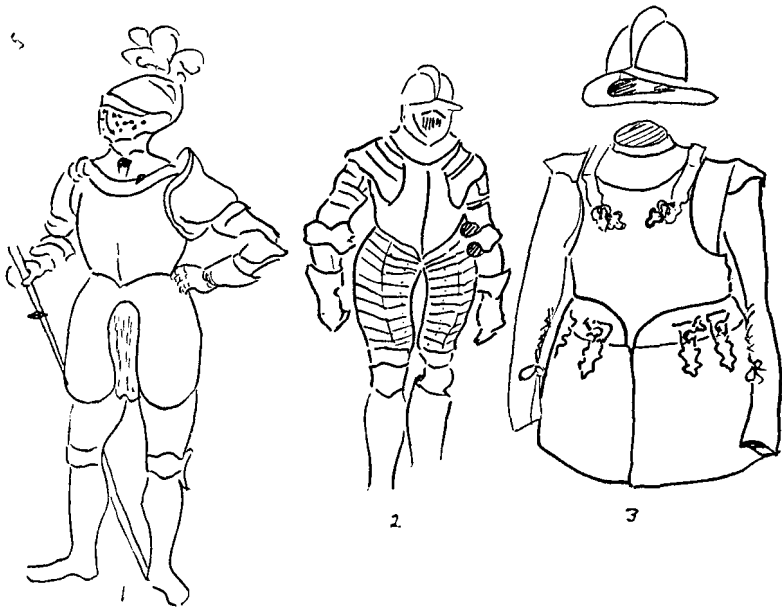
Plate IV shows the headgear of the First Period, num-



ber I being the armet, or close-helmet, used by the officers, light, fairly comfortable, and provided with a movable visor. Numbers 2 and 2A are the helmets of the cavalry, 2 being a salade with beavor and 2A a burgonet. 3 and 4

are, respectively, a morion and a pot-helmet (or pikeman's-pot), both largely infantry armor, but not disdained by officers on light duty. The favorite headgear of the officer at his ease, however, was the reenforced hat shown at No. 5, where the protection — no less effective because concealed — was furnished by an iron band encircling the head to which were affixed two more, one crossing the head from front to back and one from side to side, all well padded and sewn firmly inside the castor.

Plate V shows the full, the three-quarter, and the half



suits of armor, the last supplemented by a leathern jacket and the addition of tuilles. The three-quarter suit was also pieced out with leather, as the boots were of that material, furnishing a protection lighter than the greaves and sabbatons of the full suit and of reasonable effectiveness.

By the time our Second Period is under way conditions in Europe had changed to such an extent that armor was rapidly fading from the picture, not so much from the development of firearms as from the introduction (by

the Great Gustavus) of the tactics of rapid movement and the average soldier's perennial distaste for lugging around any more than he had to. For the European soldier this was no doubt all very well; his enemy behaved according to rigidly fixed rules, moved on easily predictable lines, and there was seldom a marked inequality between forces that the weaker body could not quickly offset by retreat to a friendly city-fort. For the Spaniard in the Southwest the situation was, however, not the same. His chief enemy fought according to no rules at all, moved in a fashion absolutely impossible to foretell from one minute to the next and with a speed that the Spaniard could never hope to equal except in dreams, besides which the Spaniard was always in the minority and the distance between fortified places was always extreme. The Spaniard, then, still needed armor, and the testimony of 1680 tells us that he needed it very badly indeed. Armored against the Indian arrows and equipped with firearms the Spaniard could still cut his way through swarms of Indians, as the garrisons of Santa Fe and Isleta showed, but, when caught without a reasonable supply of both, the success of the Revolutionists elsewhere shows on what the Spanish strength depended, not that the Spaniards are at all backward in stating the facts in the case, either for Otermín's papers are full of references to the scarcity of both armor and arms as well as the poor condition of what little was available, and Garcia's main reason for abandoning Isleta was the hope of meeting the supply train from Old Mexico with its store of arms and munitions. Even the recapture of a miserably few lances and leathern jackets from the besiegers of Santa Fe was a matter for comment on Otermín's part, and well it might have been, for a statement laid before him later, at the camp of Salinetas, reveals that out of some 2500 persons present only 36 men were provided with armor while most had not even leathern jackets; a sword and musket were the arms of most of the 155 men who were considered "fit for service" and of that poor array many of the muskets are reported as broken and

dangerous to shoot. To describe the equipment of the troops by branches of the service was probably as much a problem to poor Otermín as to a more modern writer, for it was very evidently a case of every man making the best of what he had, the cavalryman trusting his tottering steed to last out the day, the infantryman nursing his broken gun with strips of rawhide, the officers encouraging their men with smiles frozen on their faces while they fingered their rosaries in prayer for courage to carry on, and everyone thinking of the armor and weapons that the Indians had captured.

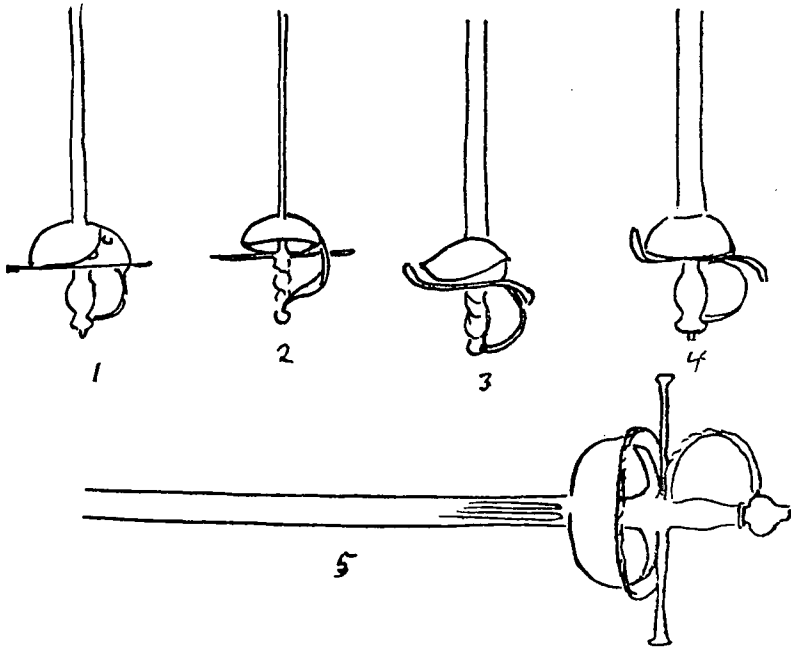
Of the expeditions made by the governors between Otermín and De Vargas we know very little on the equipment side except for the fact that on his first attempt at reconquest Otermín supplied somewhat the lack of armor of the conventional pattern by making some from boiled ox-hides, an ancient process which had been obsolete for years. That some of the European improvements had reached this country we may infer from the more frequent mention of artillery. Of the equipment of De Vargas, also, we know little specifically, though we know in general that his troops were considered well fitted out for their work and consisted chiefly of cavalry.

For the period in general we may fairly safely say that the cavalry wore headpieces — usually the morion — body armor ranging from three-quarter to the cuirass alone, and heavy leather gauntlets and boots, the officers being dressed much like the men and all armed with lance, sword, musket and possibly pistols. Infantry seem to have worn the cuirass and leathern jacket with morion or reenforced hat and carried pikes, halberds and muskets, the flintlock having pretty well superseded both match and wheellocks. Shields were still used by both mounted and dismounted troops, being an excellent defense against arrows.

Plate VI reveals the fact that the swords of the period were rather monotonously similar, all running to the double-edged blade, the cup guard and considerable length. There was little distinction between swords for military

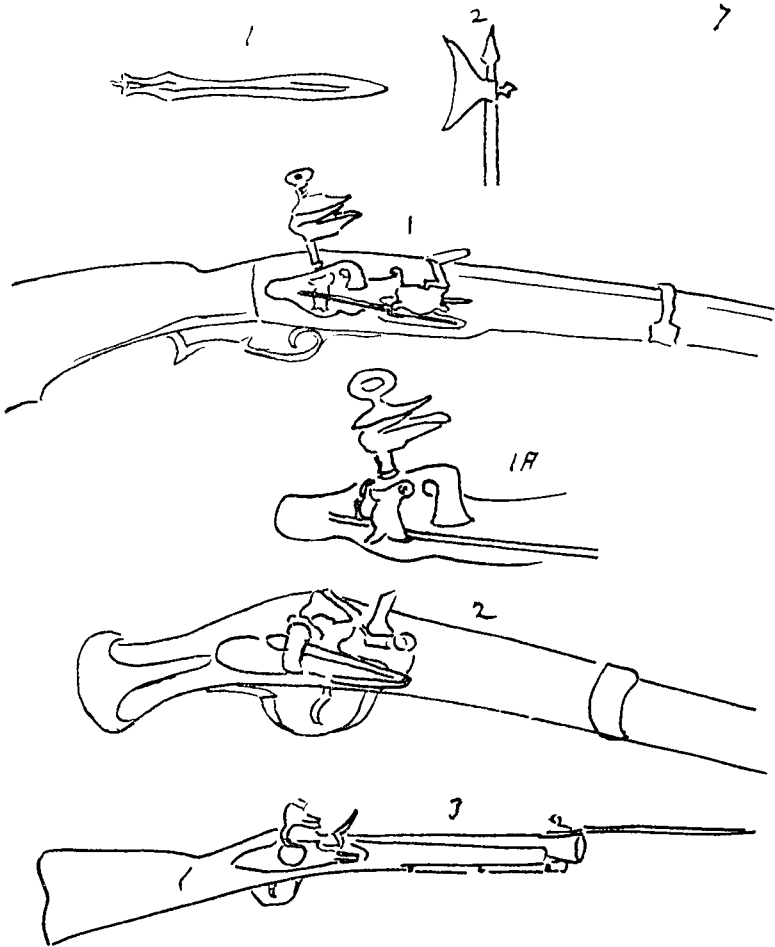
use and those for ordinary wear, or between the cavalry sword and that of the dismounted man. The first four illustrated all belong to this more or less standardized type, while the fifth, a horseman's blade, differs more in size and elaboration than in any essential detail.

6



At the top of Plate VII we have the head of a lance (drawn from a specimen in the collections of the Historical Society) and a halberd, these two articles being very nearly the only staff-weapons in common use in the Second Period as the infantry had pretty generally abandoned the pike, etc., for the bayonet, though the halberd was retained as the designation of the sergeant. Number I is a flint-lock musket and number 2 a pistol of similar mechanism,

number IA showing the singular type of lock common to both and characteristic of the period. Both weapons were loaded from the muzzle and primed at the pan, after which the pan-cover was shut down. The piece being cocked and



the trigger pulled, the flint held in the jaws of the hammer flew upon the frizzen (the rectangular piece rising at right angles to the pan-cover), forced open the pan and struck

a shower of sparks into the priming. That the jaws of the hammer sometimes served a purpose not originally intended we learn from the Otermín documents, in one of which it appears that an Indian prisoner showed some reluctance towards telling his captors what he knew of the Revolution. The governor, anxious for this man's testimony, ordered a gun to be brought, and, the flint being removed, the thumb of the recalcitrant Indian was placed in the jaws of the hammer. A few turns of the tightening-key removed the reluctance of the witness, and the length of his deposition would suggest that he had no desire for a repetition of his experience.

The flint blunderbuss shown in Number 3 is not certainly of the period in question, the lock in particular, with its mechanism chiefly concealed, varying sharply from that in the pieces previously considered. The general blunderbuss type however, was already well known and peculiarly useful at short range because of the rapid spread of a large charge of projectiles, and there can be little doubt that the blunderbuss was known and used here before the 18th century. The spring bayonet illustrated was a common and useful addition to both blunderbuss and pistol and was folded back along the top of the barrel when not in use.

It may be added here that the Historical Society of New Mexico is particularly fortunate in owning a number of guns of the type shown in 1 and 2. Especially characteristic of its origin and era and practically unknown outside the Spanish sphere of influence, remarkably easy to construct, fit and repair, this weapon and its lock are almost an embodiment of the Spanish colonist from the Pueblo Revolution to the 19th century.

Plate VIII shows such armor of the Second Period as was developed in that era, much armor having, beyond a doubt, continued in use from the previous epoch as well. No. 1 is a morion of somewhat more effective design than that previously shown, and was used by both mounted and dismounted troops. No. 2, a suit of half-armor, gives pro-

tection to the upper arm and thigh as well as the body, the lower arm being covered by elbow-length gauntlets of heavy leather and the lower leg by boots of similar con-



struction. No. 2A is half-armor in its simplest form, consisting of breast and back plates only, and protecting only the most vital organs of the body. No. 3 is a leathern jacket, reenforced at the shoulder and equipped with lacings at the waist to give a tight fit and so prevent folds or wrinkles in which the point of a weapon might catch. No. 4 is a shield or target, made of leather and studded with brass nails. Metal shields of a similar pattern were also used to some extent, but were less popular as giving little more protection to offset the greater weight.

The last period to be considered is not only long but one full of change. Enumeration of all the changes that occurred would be unduly tiresome, but a brief survey of the more important ones is relevant to the problem in hand. The sword worn with civilian dress became lighter and lighter, and the use of the edge was more and more discarded for that of the point until we have the small-sword or court-sword, and at last the civilian abandons the sword entirely. The military sword, on the other hand, becomes somewhat shorter and much curved and we have the sabre, using the edge almost exclusively and well adapted to unskilled use. The lance becomes slightly shorter and considerably lighter, and the pike vanishes from most places but is retained where poverty is a governing factor, as in our Southwest. The Historical Society has, also, a most interesting proof that the bill had not entirely disappeared, as a Spanish type of sickle, shaped much like the bill, in the collections in the Governors' Palace is so constructed as to be easily available for use as such a weapon. Home-made lances also were constructed here, the author having an excellent example the blade of which shows signs of having been originally a file. The author also owns a stone-headed club much of the type used by the Indians, which, according to the former owner, was commonly used by the local Spaniards in fighting the Navajoes and Comanches. The flintlock continued to reign as the weapon of the regular forces, but towards the end of the period the cap-lock or percussion-lock gained favor

among civilian users, while the militia in New Mexico had recourse to bows and arrows to an extent not inconsiderable, Kendall, in his account of the Texas-Santa Fe Expedition, mentioning them several times. Armor, too, was gradually disappearing, but that it was in use here to some extent may be reasonably supposed when we learn that in the American Period teamsters hauling hay along the military road from the Valle Grande to Santa Fe wrapped cowhides about their bodies as a defense from the arrows of raiders.

On the whole, any attempt to picture the military equipment of this Final Period in any fixed or even orderly manner would be almost impossible. While regular troops had a fairly definite requirement to meet, New Mexico had few regulars, and the militia seem to have armed themselves as best they could, their weapons belonging to all periods and many sources, as many of the flint and percussion guns of this era were imported from England and Belgium, as well as a few from the United States. Artillery, which had been brought by Napoleon to a state of efficiency not greatly exceeded until after our Civil War, was of little use in the type of fighting common in the Southwest, and there seem to have been very few pieces here.

Plate IX shows rather clearly the sword development in the Final Period. Numbers 1 and 2 are already lighter than the earlier swords; number 3 is a curious half-way marker, the portion nearest the hilt being wide to give strength in parrying and the lower two-thirds of the blade being very narrow to give lightness and mobility. Number 4 is the true small-sword, triangular in section, weighing barely a pound and using the point only. Number 5 is the heavy, rather clumsy sabre common to the first half of the Final Period, and number 6, a sabre of the latter half, is an example of the increasing tendency towards lightness and mobility.

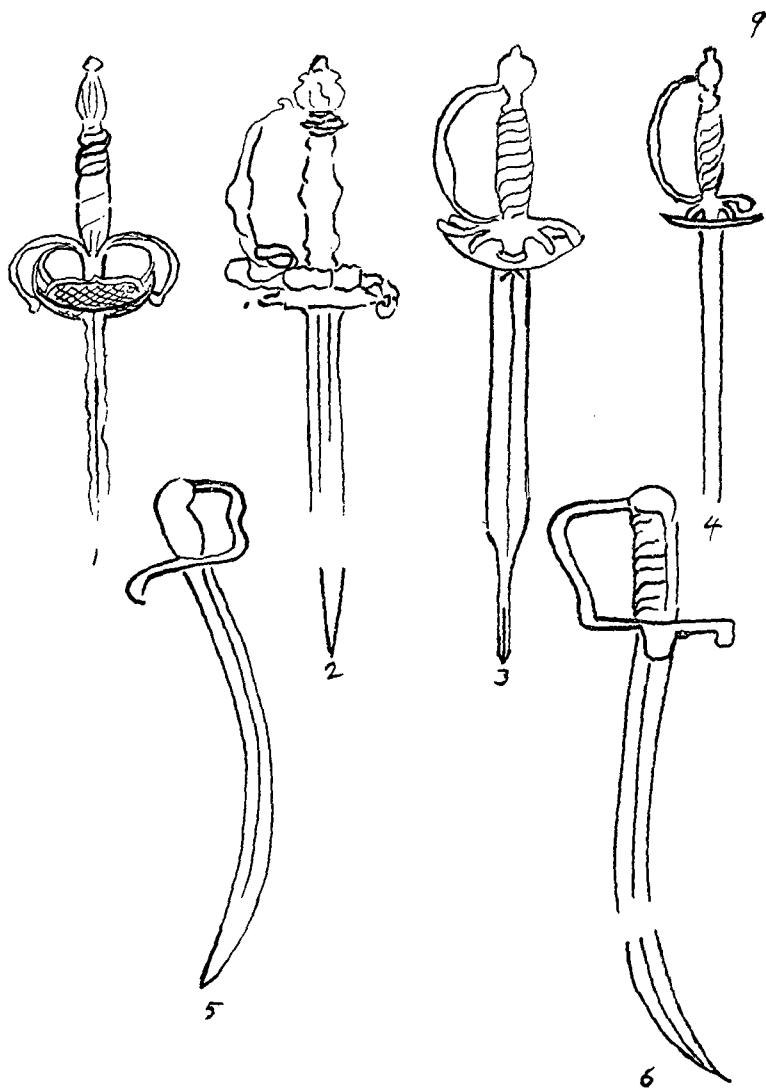
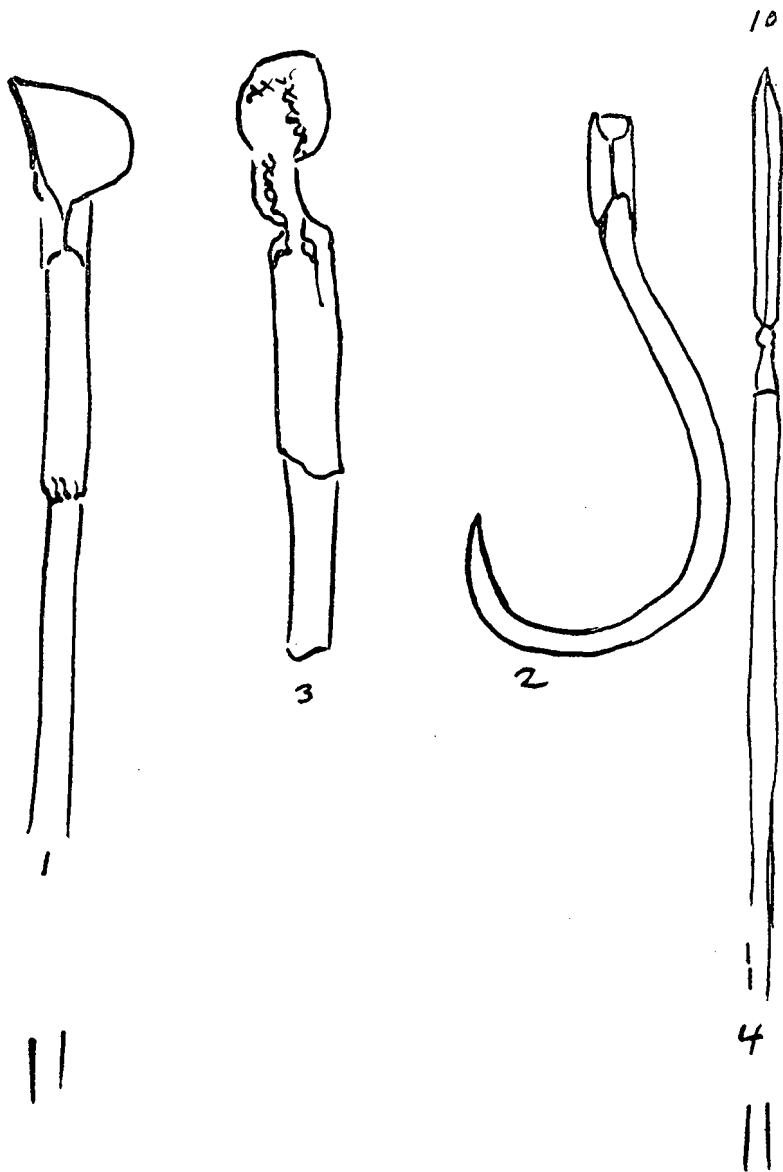


Plate X shows the final group of staff weapons. Number 1 is the homemade lance already mentioned. The staff



is pierced near the balance, very evidently for a thong to prevent loss, and the curiously shaped blade is so shaped and edged as to insure the infliction of a very severe wound. Number 2 is the combination of sickle and bill referred to previously, and number 3 the club or *macana*. Number 4 is a pike which may be claimed as an ancestor of the modern sword-bayonet, as it has a cutting edge in addition to its point.

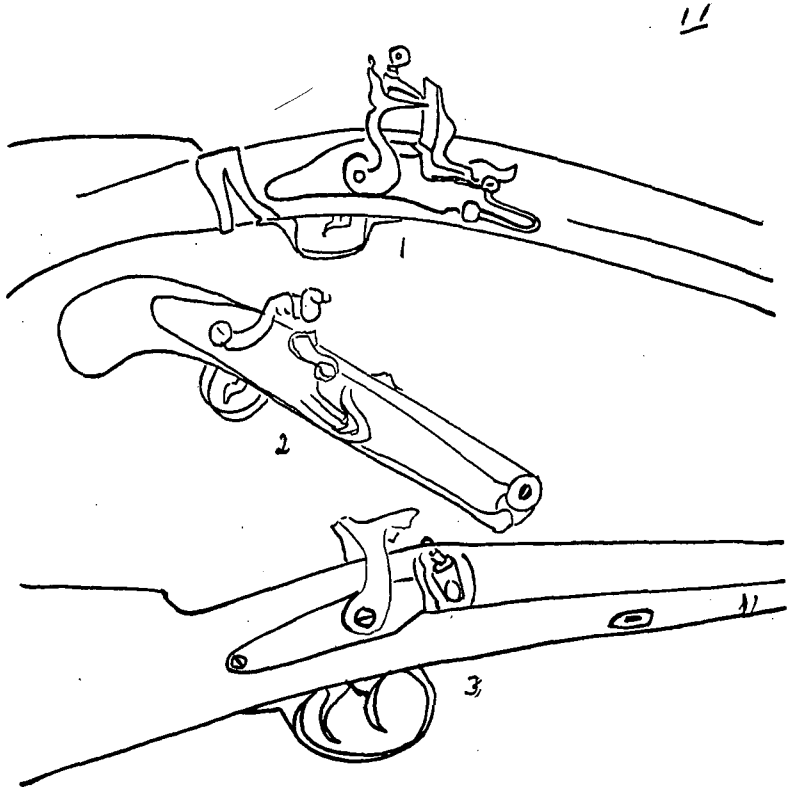
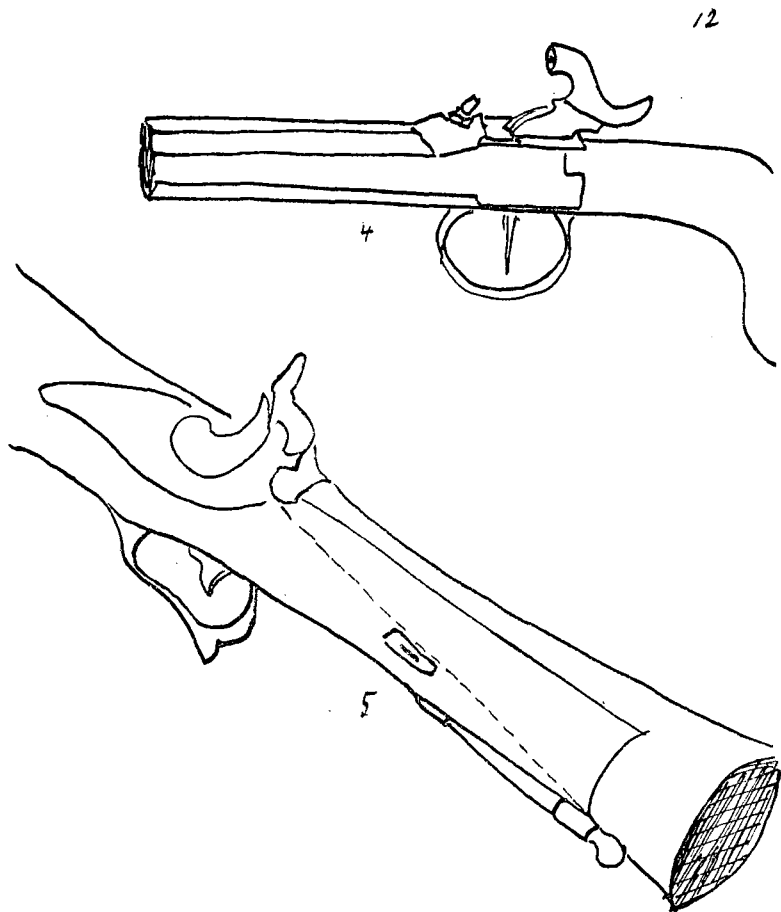


Plate XI, number 1, shows one of the English-made flint muskets which were imported into the Southwest, the whole design and finish of the piece showing marked advancement beyond the weapons of the Middle Period. Number 2, a pistol of the same era as number 1, also shows

the improvement in workmanship and design that a century or more had brought forth, though the dangers of more graceful construction are shown by the broken frizzen. Number 3 is a percussion or cap-lock shotgun, a piece in which the charge, loaded still from the muzzle, was fired



by the hammer exploding a bit of mercury fulminate contained in the head of a small copper cap that was fitted upon the nipple shown at the breech of the gun.

Plate XII is really a continuation of Plate XI, showing

a cap-lock pocket-pistol and a cap-lock blunderbuss, the latter from the Borrowdale Collection and an exceptionally fine specimen of gunsmithing. The dotted line along the forestock gives a rough idea of the lower line of the barrel.

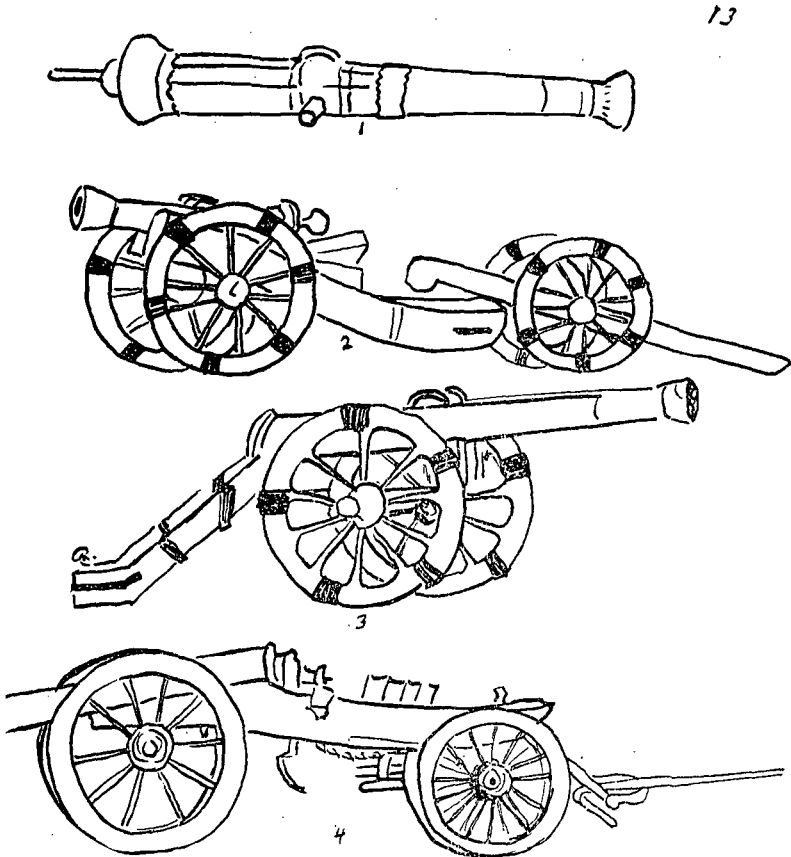
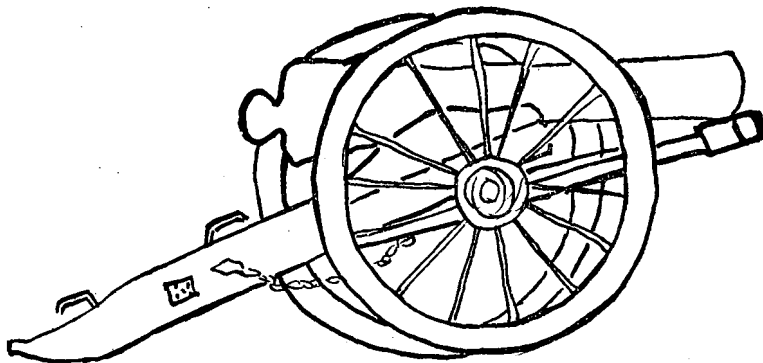
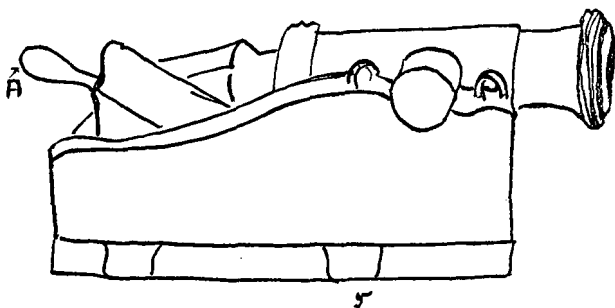


Plate XIII shows four examples of early cannon, the first being a 16th century piece, unmounted, the second a heavy gun of the same century on a field mount, the third a 17th century piece and the last an 18th century example. All are markedly heavy and clumsy, the chief item of dif-

ference being that the diameter of the bore increases as time goes on.

Plate XIV shows the contrast between the First and Final Periods, each of the pieces shown been classed as "light artillery" in its own century, the one above belonging to the 16th and the lower to the 19th. The first weighed little over two hundred pounds including the carriage and could be carried and operated by a crew of four men. The

14



second required a six-horse team and a gun crew of six to eight men, gun and carriage weighing about two thousand

pounds. The early piece had an extreme range of about 500 yards, the latter one of 2,000 with reasonable accuracy. Elevation or depression of the first was obtained by sliding backward or forward the quoin-block indicated by the arrow marked "A". In the second these operations were performed by a screw-mechanism which operated with mathematical precision, besides which the gunner's judgment of sighting was assisted by instruments devised for the purpose.

With the coming of the American, the Spanish influence in the Southwest soon vanishes, so far at least as arms and kindred articles are concerned, and with the American's devices of this nature we are not here concerned, since they have been dealt with elsewhere and by more capable hands. The story of the arms and equipment of the Spaniard, however, is no more than opened by the present discussion, and it is to be hoped that with the searching of more manuscripts and the discovery and recognition of more actual early specimens it may some day appear in the full and detailed fashion to which its importance entitles it.

THE FOUNDING OF NEW MEXICO

Chapter XI

The End of Oñate's Reign

Escobar Goes to Mexico for Aid. With the completion of the expedition to California Oñate's dream of reaching the sea had at last been realized. A fine port at the mouth of the Colorado river had been discovered, and it was "so large," says Father Zárate, "that more than a thousand vessels can anchor in it without hindrance to one another."⁶⁵⁶ Moreover great numbers of peaceful Indians lived in the region traversed. These would provide a splendid field for missionary activity, and this was not unimportant. In sent to report to the viceroy.⁶⁵⁷ But hold! Escobar did not bar, at the request of all the settlers in New Mexico, was sent to report to the vicery.⁶⁵⁷ But hold! Escobar did not go alone. Oñate accompanied him, going as far as San Bartolomé before reporting his presence or purpose to the viceroy.⁶⁵⁸ It was of no avail, however, to seek a personal audience with the king's representative. Montesclaros immediately ordered him back to New Mexico,⁶⁵⁹ and he had to be content with the efforts of others in his behalf.

The Firm Opposition of Montesclaros. If Montesclaros had reported unfavorably on New Mexico when he first studied the condition of the province, the new reports sent by Oñate regarding the sea did nothing but confirm his convictions. He felt that any good which might come from it could only be obtained by large investments which the crown must provide. To any such program his opposition was set.

Further, just before Escobar arrived Montesclaros had

656. Zárate's Relation, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 277.

657. *Carta á su Magestad el rey del cabildo secular*, June 29, 1605. A. G. I., 59-1-1.

658. *Copia de carta de Don Juan de Oñate al Marqués de Montesclaros*, August 7, 1605. A. G. I., 58-3-9.

659. *Copia de carta del Marqués de Montesclaros . . . á Don Juan de Oñate*, September 1, 1605. A. G. I., 58-3-9.

been compelled to send two friars, and supplies for three others, to New Mexico under an escort of twenty-four soldiers with half a year's pay. Such reinforcements, he informed the king, would have to be sent continually.⁶⁶⁰ Now came more requests for assistance. If the fortification of the newly discovered port should be attempted that would involve enormous expense. Montesclaros believed that the poverty of the northern country was steadily becoming clearer. Referring to Oñate's recent expedition to California he exclaims: "Nothing but naked people, false bits of coral, and four pebbles," were found.⁶⁶¹ He therefore recommended that a garrison of only six or eight soldiers should be left to guard the friars, and that a thorough exploration should be made of the gulf to see if any port suitable for the Philippine service might exist. "May your majesty provide what is most suitable. I shall not make another move in this matter without specific orders, for I actually go against my judgment."⁶⁶²

The Council Recalls Oñate.—The opposition of the new viceroy soon had the desired effect on the Council of the Indies. Early in 1606 it reconsidered the affairs relating to New Mexico and what had taken place during the past five years. The Council looked at the question in a very practical manner. In view of the questionable conduct of Oñate, Zaldívar, and a number of captains in various instances, and in view of the poverty of the land and its naked and primitive inhabitants, it recommended that Montesclaros be definitely instructed to discontinue the conquest of New Mexico, to recall Oñate for some good cause, disband his soldiers, and detain him in Mexico, to appoint a reliable and Christian governor in his place who would

660. *Carta del Marqués de Montesclaros á S. M.*, October 28, 1605. A. G. I., 58-3-15. The names of the friars are not given.

661. The four pebbles refer to some colored stones which had been brought back by Oñate's men for examination.

662. *Carta del Marqués de Montesclaros á S. M.*, October 28, 1605. At the same time Don Alonso de Oñate, who was now back in Mexico, appealed to the king for paid soldiers in order that the province be not abandoned. *Carta á S. M., de Don Alonso de Oñate*, October 29, 1605. A. G. I., 59-1-1.

favor the conversion of the natives, and to permit only the friars to make further explorations. Moreover the Council agreed that the *visitador* going to New Spain be empowered to investigate the crimes attributed to Oñate and his various captains.⁶⁶³ It was a sweeping program, marking a complete change in the vacillating policy which had been followed in regard to Oñate since the charges of misconduct had been made against him. The king gave his royal sanction to the new policy.⁶⁶⁴

These recommendations were not promulgated immediately. But on June 17, 1606, a *cédula* was dispatched to Montesclaros, embodying the Council's plans.⁶⁶⁵ At the same time a member of the Council of the Indies, the licentiate Diego Landeras de Velasco, was authorized to investigate thoroughly the crimes said to have been perpetrated by Oñate and others, and to pronounce sentence. Appeal to the Council was to be permitted.⁶⁶⁶

Oñate's Resignation, August 24, 1607. Before these developments were known in New Mexico⁶⁶⁷ a complete change had come over the little settlement. Oñate at length realized that nothing would be gained by remaining, for the meager reinforcements he had received clearly indicated that royal support on a large scale would never be given. For that reason he determined to give up the project and to return to Mexico. On August 24, 1607, his letter of resignation was tendered. Therein he informed the viceroy that "the coming of the missionaries and the *maestre de campo* with so few people caused such dismay among those who were in this *real*" that strenuous efforts were necessary to preserve the settlement. Oñate had not given up hope of the promised aid, in order to take advantage of the

663.- *Consulta acerca de lo que ha parecido o acreca de los excesos de Don Juan de Oñate y descubrimiento del Nuevo Mexico*, January 19, 1606. A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

664. Royal decree in response to *ibid.*

665. *Real cédula al Marqués de Montesclaros*, June 17, 1606. Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 413-415.

666. *Real cédula al licenciado Diego Landeras*, June 17, 1606. A. G. I., 87-5-1.

667. Such seems to be the case, though there was time enough for the *cédula* to reach New Mexico.

glorious reports from the interior and of which he was sending an account, but the soldiers were so wearied and, "they have lived on hopes so long that they neither do nor can wait any longer." The friars, Oñate reported, did not dare continue baptizing till it was seen what was to be done with the region. He and his relatives had spent over four hundred thousand pesos and were unable to keep up the game any longer. Moreover as it was important that the fruits of the eleven years of labor in extending the king's dominions and converting the natives be not lost, which was after all the principal object, he had determined to resign in order that a man able to carry on his work might be appointed. If this should not be done by the end of June, 1608, and the settlers had required this to be put in writing, he would be obliged to give them permission to leave New Mexico.⁶⁶⁸

The latter had drawn up a similar report. From the time Oñate's army was organized in 1595, they had been subjected to continual expenses. They had suffered the greatest hardships and risks and were ruined in fortune. Hope in the country beyond had not been lost. They still believed that the dominions of his majesty might be greatly extended there. But they had been reduced to a condition of such extreme necessity that it was impossible to remain. The colonists accordingly agreed to Oñate's resignation, and requested the king that a man of means be appointed in his place, or aid from the royal treasury be extended him. The alternative was the desertion of the settlement by June 30, 1608, "for there will not be anyone able to wait a day longer."⁶⁶⁹

668. *Copia de una carta que el gobernador Don Juan de Oñate scribió al virrey mi señor desde el real de San Graviel del Nuevo Mexico á veinte de Agosto demill y seiscientos y ocho [siete] años.* A. G. I., 58-3-16. Before writing this chapter I had the pleasure of reading Professor Bolton's article, *The Last Years of Oñate's Rule and the Founding of Santa Fé*, MS.

669. *Copia de carta que la justicia y regimiento y demas soldados que asisten en San Graviel del Nuevo Mexico escribieron al virrey mi señor en veinte y quatro de Agosto de 1607 años.* A. G. I.

When these reports were received in Mexico Montescalros was no longer viceroy. In his place had returned the same Velasco who had initiated the Oñate expedition in 1595.⁶⁷⁰ He now held a *junta* of three members of the *audiencia* to consider the recent dispatches from New Mexico. The decision of this conference was to accept Oñate's resignation, as that was in accordance with previous orders to Montescalros.⁶⁷¹ But Oñate was cautioned not to leave without further orders, which should be in his hands before the end of December, 1609, at the latest. To depart earlier would make him liable for desertion.⁶⁷² The reason for detaining him a while longer was that the king had to be consulted on some doubtful points. The *junta* further recommended that eight soldiers, paid by the crown, be sent to New Mexico with these messages, and that Father Ximénez, who had recently returned from New Mexico, be authorized to go with them. This party was also to bring some provisions for the colony till its fate was definitely decided.⁶⁷³

Juan Martínez de Montoya Replaces Oñate. It was now necessary to choose some one to act as governor of New Mexico. There was no rush of wealthy applicants as there had been in 1595, and Velasco chose one of Oñate's captains, Juan Martínez de Montoya, to serve in that capacity as long as it might seem desirable. He was instructed to promote the settlement and assist in the conversion of the natives. Further *entradas* against hostile Indians were prohibited. Only the missionaries were permitted to venture forth, and this only in case there were sufficient friars

670. Don Luis de Velasco's second term as viceroy of New Spain lasted from 1607 till 1611. Priestley, *The Mexican Nation*, 146.

671. *Auto* of January 18, 1608, in *Titulo de gobernador de las provincias del Nuevo Mexico en Juan Martínez de Montoya*, February 27, 1608. A. G. I., 53-3-16.

672. *Copia de una provisión real por la qual se manda á Don Juan de Oñate no saiga de las provincias de la Nueva Mexico por el tiempo que en ella se contiene sin orden de su Magestad.* February 27, 1608. A. G. I., 53-3-16.

673. *Auto* of January 18, 1608, in *Titulo de gobernador . . . en Juan Martínez de Montoya*, February 27, 1608. A little later food, cattle, and clothes were sent to New Mexico. See *Carta de Don Luis de Velasco á S. M.*, June 20, 1608. A. G. I., 53-5-16.

to minister to the natives who were peaceful and obedient. With Oñate the new governor was to remain on good terms, seek his experienced advice, and "honor and respect him in view of his quality and age."⁶⁷⁴

The above order was evidently opposed by Father Ximénez because of the prohibition on further entradas. He informed the viceroy that the Spaniards and Christian Indians were regularly harassed by the Apaches, who destroyed and burned the pueblos, waylaid and killed the natives, and stole the horses of the Spaniards. In order to continue the conversion and uphold the reputation of the Spanish arms it was necessary that permission be given to quell such disturbances. To meet this need Velasco revoked that part of his order which made a resort to arms unlawful, and granted the desired privilege.⁶⁷⁵

New Mexico in the Balance. It was a serious question in 1608, whether New Mexico should be retained as part of the Spanish Empire, or whether it should be given up as an extravagant and unprofitable possession. On March 7, 1608, Velasco had made a detailed report to the crown on the state of affairs in New Mexico.⁶⁷⁶ At that time Fray Lázaro Ximénez was in New Spain. He came as the agent of the entire colony at San Gabriel, religious and soldiers alike, and requested, in the name of all, that permission be given to leave the province, or that sufficient succor, both of men and provisions, be supplied for their relief. Father Ximénez was closely questioned by the officials in Mexico and they were impressed by his good bearing. He summed up the reasons for desiring to leave New Mexico, and they were of the following nature. The harvest of souls had been small and was likely to continue thus because of the hostility of the natives. The religious had

674. *Título de gobernador . . . en Juan Martínez de Montoya.*

675. *Mandamiento para que el gobernador de la Nuevo Mexico conforme al numero de gente y armas que obiere en aquel presidio procure que ande squadra que acuda al remedio de los daños que hacer los yndios Apaches de guerra en los amigos y cavallada de Spañoles, etc.*, March 6., 1608. A. G. I., 53-3-16.

676. A full summary of it is given in *El Consejo de Indias á S. M.*, July 2, 1608. A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

shown little disposition to learn the numerous native languages. It was not only difficult, but practically impossible, to bring supplies from Mexico because of the distance and the expense. Soliders would not serve voluntarily in New Mexico, for there was no hope of gain. Consequently it cost between 450 and 500 pesos each to maintain them there. No gold or silver mines had been discovered, it was a barren land altogether.

The Council of the Indies considered the whole project carefully and recommended in effect that New Mexico be abandoned.⁶⁷⁷ There was just one thing which caused some hesitation. Was it right to desert the province without making some provision for the Christian Indians? It seemed unjust to desert them, and to remove them bodily to some other province would cause great hardship and suffering. No final decision was made by the Council, but it recommended that they remain in New Mexico if some missionaries would stay there voluntarily, otherwise the Indians would have to be removed, either of their own will or by force. If they were moved they would be exempt from paying tribute for twenty years. In case these suggestions failed theologians and jurists in Mexico should be consulted as to whether it was better to leave the converts to revert to heathenism, or to remove them by force and save their souls.⁶⁷⁸

The question of removing the converts and abandoning the province took a new turn late in 1608. Father Ximénez, who had gone to San Gabriel that spring, had returned, evidently early in December, bringing enthusiastic reports of the progress made that summer. Instead of four hundred converts there were now said to be seven thousand. He also brought some samples of ore to be tested for their silver content. This news compelled the viceroy to consider the question anew, but he noted that the saving of souls was the biggest return which could be expected

677. *Ibid.* Embodied in a formal cédula on September 13, 1608. A. G. I., 53-3-16.

678. *Ibid.*

from the province for some time. As it was without gold or silver it would therefore have to be supported by the crown, "because no one comes to the Indies to labor and plow, but only to idle and eat."⁶⁷⁹

New Mexico Retained by Spain. This unexpected development caused the king to suspend the orders of July 2 and September 13, 1608, giving up the region, but he warned "that in no case can it be allowed that this entrada be made by the soldiers or as a conquest."⁶⁸⁰ The province was now taken under the patronage of the crown,⁶⁸¹ and Torquemada joyfully wrote: "and thus we understand that the conversion will now be a success, and there was needed an arm as powerful as is that of the King our Lord."⁶⁸²

In accordance with the king's wish not to give up New Mexico Velasco called into conference the licentiates Don Pedro de Ojalora, Diego Nuñez Morquecho, and Doctor Juan Quesada de Figueroa, of the audiencia, to consider the reinforcements which would have to be provided. It was the decision of this group to maintain about fifty *vecinos* in New Mexico. There were then sixty there, it was stated, and thirty of these were to be armed. For the present it was determined to send twelve soldiers on one year's pay to the province and to provide the arms necessary

679. *Don Luis de Velasco á S. M.*, December 17, 1608. A. G. I., 58-3-16. There were others who objected to giving up New Mexico. Fray Francisco de Velasco humbly petitioned the king not to abandon the province, but to erect a custodia there instead, and to reward the inhabitants of the land. His reasons for not abandoning the land were as follows. The fruits of Oñate's eleven years of labor would be lost; the Picuries, Taos, Pecos and Apache Indians were seeking the friendship of the Spaniards; the tribes near the Spaniards considered them self seekers, and if they deserted this would be true; the friars had promised the natives security in their land and homes and religious instruction; there was a great stretch of territory beyond New Mexico which provided unlimited possibilities for missionary work; there was the question of deserting the Christian natives; and finally Velasco said there were over 30,000 natives in more than 100 pueblos who might be reached by the friars. *Memorial de Fray Francisco de Velasco á S. M.*, February 13, 1609. A. G. I., 59-1-5. It was evidently written in Mexico.

680. Royal decree in Viceroy Velasco's report to the king of December 17, 1608. The order was formally dispatched May 16, 1609. *Lo que se respondió al virrey de Nueva España en 16 de Mayo de 609 cerca de las cosas del Nuevo Mexico.* A. G. I., 58-3-16.

681. The royal cédula to that effect was not issued till November 1, 1609. A. G. I., 87-5-2.

682. Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana*, I, 678.

for ten more. To carry on the work of conversion it was determined to send six missionaries and two lay brothers, with everything necessary for the journey, all at the king's cost.⁶⁸³ With such provision for continuing the work begun in New Mexico by Oñate, Torquemada had cause for jubilation.

Disobedience in San Gabriel. In the meantime the colony at San Gabriel was anxiously awaiting the order to depart. Since Montoya had been named governor, Oñate finally received permission to return to seek compensation for his services,⁶⁸⁴ but the rest of the settlement had to stay.⁶⁸⁵ When the new governor presented his commission in the cabildo, it is interesting to note, he was not permitted to exercise the duties of his office, for reasons which the colonists considered sufficient. They then turned about and elected their former governor, Oñate, but he declined to accept. Following his refusal the colonists in *cabildo abierto*, or town meeting, chose his son, Don Cristóbal, who acted as governor for a time.

With this arrangement the viceroy and his advisers were not satisfied. Don Cristóbal was too young and inexperienced, "and they say he scarcely knows how to read and write." Nor did he possess the wealth necessary to develop the land. The king was informed that a governor with suitable salary would have to be provided, and the viceroy added that he was searching for a suitable candidate.⁶⁸⁶ These decisions were duly approved by the royal Council. It permitted Velasco to name the governor's sal-

683. *Aucto sobre lo que se ha mandado que lleven al Nueva Mexico los padres Fray Lázaro Ximénez y Fray Ysidro Ordoñez*, January 29, 1609. A. G. I., 58-3-16.

684. *Licencia á Don Juan de Oñate*, January 29, 1609. A. G. I., 58-3-16.

685. When Peralta was going to New Mexico he was instructed to permit no one to leave the province except those absolutely necessary for Oñate's safety on the trip to Mexico. *Lo ultimamente proveydo sobre que se conserve la población de la Nueva Mexico*, September 28, 1609. A. G. I., 58-3-16.

686. *Don Luis de Velasco á S. M.*, February 13, 1609. A. G. I., 58-3-16. Cf. *Carta á S. M. del fiscal Don Francisco de Leoz* [February 2, 1609]. A. G. I., 58-5-12. The fiscal states that it was the interior rather than the South Sea which Oñate wanted to explore. One of the regions he had heard of was the kingdom of *los aijaos*.

ary and thanked him "for the zeal with which he manages the things for the service of the Lord and the exaltation of the faith."⁶⁸⁷

Don Pedro Peralta Becomes Governor. Before March 5, 1609, the viceroy chose Don Pedro de Peralta to take Oñate's place in New Mexico.⁶⁸⁸ His appointment marks a new step in the development of the province. The day of the get-rich-quick adelantado was over, and a settled policy of gradual development at royal expense was inaugurated. The viceroy particularly impressed Peralta with the necessity of favoring the conversion of the natives and avoiding expeditions against those Indians that had not yet been pacified. Only the friars were to be permitted to visit such tribes. In the same manner he was urged to found the new capital which had been discussed, in order that the colonists might live with greater security and regularity. Peralta was given a salary of two thousand pesos,⁶⁸⁹ and the sixteen soldiers who were to accompany him were paid four hundred and fifty pesos each. Some of these had been in New Mexico before.⁶⁹⁰

Instructions to Peralta. Peralta was instructed to leave Mexico city in the shortest time possible and to waste no time on the march as it was of great importance that he reach New Mexico quickly.⁶⁹¹ Having arrived in the new land he was to acquaint himself with the conditions there and "before everything else carry out the founding and establishing of the villa contemplated." He was to permit

687. *El Consejo de Indias á S. M.*, September 10, 1609. A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

688. *Libramiento á 16 soldados para el Nuevo Mexico*, March 5, 1609. A. G. I., 58-3-16.

689. *Provisión para proveer persona en lugar de Don Juan de Oñate*, March 30, 1609. A. G. I., 58-3-16. The reading of the document would indicate that the founding of a new capital had been agitated for some time.

690. On September 28, 1609, the viceroy instructed Peralta to continue his journey. This was in response to reports recently brought from New Mexico by Fray Josepe Tavera, and Ensign Juan de la Torre. Peralta had by that time left Mexico, for there were also reports from him. However, we are not informed as to what place he had reached. *Lo ultimamente proveydo sobre que se conserbe la población de la Nueva Mexico*, September 28, 1609.

691. *Instrucción á Don Pedro de Peralta gobernador y capitán-general de la Nueva Mexico en lugar de Don Juan de Oñate*, March 30, 1609.

the inhabitants to elect four *regidores*, and they in turn were to choose two *alcaldes ordinarios* annually. A plaza was to be selected where the public buildings would be erected, and further specific orders outlining the organization of the new city were detailed. The Indians might be given in encomienda, though those given by Oñate were not to be molested. Moderation was urged in collecting tribute, and efforts should be made to teach the Indians the Spanish language in order to overcome the difficulty of the many native tongues.⁶⁹²

The Founding of Santa Fé, 1609. The villa founded was Santa Fé. It is unnecessary to recall the efforts of numerous writers to place the founding of Santa Fé around the year 1605⁶⁹³. It was not established until 1609, that is certain. The documents used in this chapter cover every year to that time and there is no reference to any city in New Mexico except the capital at San Gabriel. Just when the capital was transferred to the new site at Santa Fé we do not know. Peralta's instructions in regard to establishing the new villa were very definite, and he probably effected the transfer at once. That is as much as we are able to say with the documentary evidence available.⁶⁹⁴

A Decade of Gradual Progress. Not much is known of New Mexico during the decade following the founding

692. *Ibid.*

693. Professor Bolton has such a summary in his paper, *The Last Years of Oñate's Rule and the Founding of Santa Fé*, MS. Bancroft, in 1889, could only state that Santa Fé was founded between 1605 and 1616. *Arizona and New Mexico*, 158. Bandelier, in 1890, was convinced of the date 1605. *Final Report*, I, 124 note 1. He later changed his opinion and in 1893 thought it might have been founded in 1608. *The Gilded Man*, 286-287. Twitchell, in 1911, clung to the date 1605. *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, I, 332. Prince and Read, in 1912, accepted the same conclusion. Prince, *A Concise History of New Mexico*, 104. Read, *Illustrated History of New Mexico*, 246. Those who have accepted 1605 as the correct date have relied on a statement of Father Posadas who wrote eighty years after the event took place. Bloom, in 1913, first advanced the date 1609, which was accepted by Twitchell in his last book, *The Story of Old Santa Fe* (1925). An interesting discussion of the point is found in the quarterly *Old Santa Fe*, vol. I, 9; 226-227; 336-337. See also Vaughan, *History and Government of New Mexico*, 52-53; and Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*, 177.

694. The writer among others has diligently searched the Spanish archives for some information to clinch the matter, but without success.

of Santa Fé. The only references to the province in the documents available concern the appointment of new governors and the question of expenses. Moreover these notes are very meager and disappointing in content when we recall the tendency of Spanish officials toward voluminous correspondence and interminable discussion. In 1620 the king instructed the Marquis of Guadalcázar, who was viceroy from 1612-1621, to cut down expenses wherever possible, and New Mexico felt the effect of that order. The king required that the expenses of the Franciscans in New Mexico be reduced to the same amount as their brethren in Sinaloa received. Matters were adjusted when the provincial of the Franciscans agreed to cooperate, and the viceroy reported that arrangement to the king.⁶⁹⁵

Some progress continued to be made in spite of the obstacles encountered. By 1617 eleven churches had been built and there were fourteen thousand converts in the province. In this period also a controversy developed between the royal officials and the ecclesiastical authorities, "the custodio assuming the right to issue excommunication against the governor, the latter claiming authority to appoint petty Indian officials at the missions and both being charge with oppressive exactions of labor and tribute from the natives." The matter was brought to the attention of the audiencia and both parties were rebuked.⁶⁹⁶

In February, 1621, Guadalcázar sent a lengthy report to Governor Eulate in regard to these matters. Both the custodian and the governor were exhorted to stay within their proper and legal bound in spiritual and temporal affairs. When the elections were held in the pueblos both sets of officials were to stay away. The governor was required not to meddle in matters pertaining to the friars. He was to courtesy in case any of the religious preached in his presence. No new tributes were to be levied without the viceroy's approval, and for the time being Zuñi and

695. *El Marqués de Guadalcázar á S. M.*, February 19, 1620. A. G. I., 58-3-18. The viceroy stated that the cost of each reinforcement sent was about 38,000 pesos.

696. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 159. This was January 9, 1621.

Moqui were entirely exempted from paying any. He was to see that friars were sent to the churches on Sundays and holidays to say mass. The Indians were not to be treated harshly. Military escorts were to be provided the friars whenever they deemed it necessary, either in visiting the pueblos or in going to Mexico. The cattle must be kept out of the corn fields of the Indians. And a proposal to move the capital at Santa Fé to some other point was prohibited without further orders.⁶⁹⁷

By 1620 the region had been erected into a custodia, and seventeen thousand Indians had received baptism. The work was carried on by sixteen missionaries supported by the crown. There was a monastery in Santa Fé, and smaller ones in the pueblos.⁶⁹⁸ By 1622 the number of friars had been increased to twenty-four, six of whom were lay brothers.⁶⁹⁹

Aside from the missionary activity described nothing occurred in New Mexico to attract the attention of Spanish settlers. The rumors of mines continued to be circulated, but the viceroy reported that they had not yet been verified with any certainty. Santa Fé remained the only Spanish settlement, and it contained only fifty *vecinos*. New governors were appointed by the viceroy every four years. Guadalcázar felt that they ought to serve that long because the trip from Mexico was too costly to be repeated oftener. On August 5, 1613, *el almirante* Bernardino de Zavallos, was named to succeed Peralta as governor, and in 1617 his place was taken by Don Juan de Eulate, who ruled till 1621.⁷⁰⁰

697. *El Marqués de Guadalcázar á Don Juan de Eulate*, February 5, 1621. A. G. I., 58-3-18.

698. *Guadalcázar á S. M.*, May 27, 1620. A. G. I., 58-3-18. "Los quales tienen un convento en la villa de Santa Fee, y otros mas pequeños en los dichos pueblos de yndios, para que se provee todo lo necessario, y el gobierno de los religiosos está reducido á una custodia." Bancroft, Bolton, and others state that the custodia of San Pablo was established in 1621.

699. *Memoria de las doctrinas que ay en esta provincia del santo evangelio*, July 21, 1622. A. G. I., 96-4-2.

700. *Guadalcázar á S. M.*, May 27, 1620. A. G. I., 58-3-18. The date of the nomination of Zavallos is given in a report by Martín López de Gauna, May 20, 1619. A. G. I., 58-3-18. Bancroft, following Simpson, says the governor passed El Morro

The Punishment and Exile of Oñate. After Peralta's appointment as governor in 1609, Oñate probably did not remain long in New Mexico. In fact an order had been issued by the viceroy requiring him to depart within three months of Peralta's arrival. What befell him in Mexico during the next few years can only be imagined, but it is clear that his *residencia* was finally carried out. In 1607 Landeras de Velasco had been authorized to investigate the charges against him, but he was soon excused from carrying out the task. By a royal cédula of December 9, 1608, the same order was then given to the licentiate Don Juan de Villera, but as the visitation could not be held till Oñate had returned nothing was done, and the business was turned over to the archbishop Fray Diego Guerra. Before February, 1612,⁷⁰¹ the latter commissioned Don Francisco de Leoz, the alcalde of the audiencia, to continue and terminate the case, and he accordingly began to make the necessary investigations. But it was a very difficult matter. "because the guilty are among the most powerful and most widely related by marriage in this kingdom." For that reason, evidently, Don Francisco de Leoz was relieved of his burden, and Viceroy Guadalcázar, on June 1, 1613, was instructed to finish the business.⁷⁰²

The Marquis of Guadalcázar had been appointed viceroy in 1612, and soon fulfilled the king's order in regard to Oñate's case. Don Antonio Morga, one of the members of the audiencia whom Montesclaros had recommended for the position, was appointed legal adviser, and soon the investigation of the charges against Oñate as well as those against his accomplices, was completed.

Thirty complaints were made against the former governor of New Mexico, and on twelve of these counts he was

on July 29, 1620, and gives the names of some who inscribed their names on the rock. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 159. Eulate was governor till 1621, but his name is not among them.

701. Archbishop Guerra died in February of that year. Priestley, *The Mexican Nation*, 146.

702. *Real cédula al Marqués de Guadalcázar*, June 1, 1613. A. G. I., A. G. I., 87-5-2.

held guilty. He was accused of giving glowing accounts of the land when it was really poor; he had prevented the auditor-general Gines de Herrera Orta and others from exercising their offices granted by the viceroy; he had called Monterey his deadly enemy and spoken ill of him; Salazar had been caricatured by the mulattos with the expedition while it was at the San Pedro river; robberies had been committed by the soldiers in the army between Zacatecas and Santa Bárbara; Peñalosa had been held prisoner till he would say that the deserting colonists had forced him to permit their departure; Oñate had lived shamefully with women in the colony; he was responsible for the death of the soldiers hanged by Villagrà and Márquez near Santa Bárbara; for the death of Captains Pablo de Aguilar and Alonso de Sosa; for the hanging of two Indians at Ácoma without cause; and for the indiscriminate slaughter of innocent and guilty alike when Ácoma was destroyed by Zaldívar.

For these crimes Oñate was condemned to perpetual banishment from New Mexico, to exile for four year from the city of Mexico and its vicinity for five leagues around, to pay a fine of six thousand Castilian ducats and the costs of the case.⁷⁰³

The Conviction of Oñate's Accomplices. Vicente de Zaldívar was convicted of the death of Captain Sosa; of whipping three soldiers rigorously in his house; of the death of Andrés Martín near San Bartolomé; of undue severity against the Ácoma Indians; and some other charges. He was condemned to banishment from New Mexico for eight years, from Mexico City and vicinity for two years, to pay a fine of two thousand ducats and the costs of the case.⁷⁰⁴

Villagrà, the poet and historian of the expedition to New Mexico, was also among the guilty. He was accused of complicity in the death of Manuel Portugués and Juan

703. *Sentencia contra el adelantado Don Juan de Oñate, in Testimonio de las sentencias, May 16, 1614. A. G. I., 58-3-17.*

704. *Sentencia contra el maestro de campo Vicente de Zaldívar Mendoza in ibid.*

Gonzáles near Santa Bárbara, who had fled from Oñate's army, and of writing beautiful but untrue accounts of the land just conquered. He had to suffer exile from New Mexico for six years, banishment from Mexico City and vicinity for two years and pay the expenses of the trial.⁷⁰⁵

Captain Gerónimo Márquez was involved in the death of Manuel Portugués and Juan Gonzáles, and of killing three others and some Indians before reaching New Mexico. He was sentenced to perpetual exile from New Mexico, to exile from New Spain for ten years, and to pay a fine of five hundred ducats. In addition he was to be imprisoned till the fine was paid.⁷⁰⁶

Four other captains were convicted for being implicated in the deaths of Captains Aguilar and Sosa. They were: Alonso Nuñez de Ynojosa, Juan de Salas, Alonso Gómez and Dionisio (or Domingo) Bañuelos, and were sentenced to perpetual banishment from New Mexico, to exile from Mexico City and vicinity for four years, with the exception of Bañuelos whose sentence was only two years, and to pay a fine of five hundred ducats each.⁷⁰⁷

There were three others, Francisco Vido, a mestizo, Augustín, an Indian, and Luís Bautista, a negro, who were also convicted of aiding in the murder of Captains Aguilar and Sosa. They were sentenced to exile from both New Mexico and New Spain and to two hundred lashes in the streets. Augustín escaped with one hundred.⁷⁰⁸ In that manner the arm of the law was extended to distant New Mexico and the wrongs committed there during Oñate's rule rectified.

Oñate's Reinstatement. In 1622, after Guadalcázar's long viceregal rule of nine years was over, Oñate sought to be exonerated of the judgment rendered against him. The audiencias of Mexico and Guadalajara submitted records of the services of the Oñate family for the king, in his be-

705. Villagrà's sentence, in *ibid.*

706. *Sentencia contra el capitan Gerónimo Márquez*, in *ibid.*

707. See the sentences against each of these captains, in *ibid.*

708. See the sentences against each one, in *ibid.*

half. He had already paid the fine and had not violated the sentence, and the Council of the Indies recommended that the judgment be removed. But the king was opposed and withheld his sanction.⁷⁰⁹ Three months later the Council again brought the subject to the king's attention, only to be turned aside once more.⁷¹⁰ Oñate did not give up, however, and made new appeals to the Council. But though it favored leniency the king's opposition was not overcome.⁷¹¹

This is all the evidence available regarding Oñate's pardon, but there is some reason for believing that it was granted before 1624. At that time he was entrusted with the visitation of mines in Spain. In view of such official favor it might be inferred that the king had pardoned his former adelantado of New Mexico, the title which he still bore at that time.⁷¹² But the evidence is circumstantial and not conclusive.

709. *Consulta en el Consejo de Indias*, and royal decree, April 6, 1622. A. G. I., 66-5-10.

710. *Consulta en el Consejo de Indias*, and royal decree, July 2, 1622. A. G. I., 66-5-10.

711. *Consulta del Consejo de Indias*, and royal decree, November 25, 1622 A. G. I., 66-5-10.

712. Royal decree, June 18, 1624. A. G. I., 58-3-2. In May, 1624, Oñate sought compensation for his services. He desired membership in one of the military orders and a governmental position in Mexico, Guadalajara, or the Philippines. For that reason he had come to Spain to press his cause, but evidently nothing was done at that time in regard to these matters. *Consulta del Consejo de Indias*, May 19, 1624. A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

APPENDIX A.

Official List of the Soldiers who Accompanied
Oñate to New Mexico in 1598, in Alphabetic Order.

At the mines of Todos Santos, on January 8, 1598, and within the church of said pueblo, Señor Juan de Frias Salazar commissary-general and visitor-general of the people on the expedition to New Mexico for the king our lord and his lieutenant captain-general took the muster-roll and made a list of the people that Don Juan de Oñate, governor and captain-general of the said expedition, brought forward and said he had for that purpose in the following manner.*

(Aguilar) Captain Pablo de Aguilar Hinojosa, 36 years old, son of Juan de Hinojosa Valderrama, native of Ecija, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, with his arms and another complete outfit which he gave to a soldier.

Pedro Sánchez de Amiuro, 21 years old, son of Pedro Sánchez de Amiuro, native of Ribadeo, of good stature beard growing, a wound above the left eye, with his arms. He said he was a native of Sombrerete.

Luis de Araujo, 30 years old, son of Juan López de Araujo, native of the city of Orense in Castile, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, with his arms.

Asensio de Arachuleta, 26 years old, son of Juanes de

* In this list are the names of 129 men, 130 including Juan de Oñate the governor. Peculiarly enough no description is given of the chief leader of the enterprise. The number of soldiers thus agrees with the "Memorial." See note 332. The name of Oñate's son, Cristóbal, nowhere appears in the official records, though Villagrà and others note his presence.

It is possible that this official list is not actually complete, for occasionally we find the names of soldiers in New Mexico who do not appear in any of the official records. Some of these instances have been indicated in the notes. There is no record of the women and children who accompanied the men on this expedition. The document from which this list was taken is in A. G. I., 58-8-14.

Arachuleta, native of Ybar, of medium stature, black bearded, a slight wound in the forehead, with his arms.

Diego de Ayardi, son of Bartolomé de Ayardi, native of Guadalajara in this New Spain, tall of stature, chestnut colored beard, pock-marked, one injured finger on the left hand, without arms or harquebus. The outfit he had the governor had given him, he said.

Juan del Cazo Baraona, native of Mexico, son of Sancho de Baraona, 50 years of age, graybearded, appeared with his arms and the other things he had declared, except an harquebus.

Juan Gonzáles de Bargas, son of Francisco Martínez, native of Carmona, of medium stature, scant beard, one tooth missing, 22 years of age, with all his arms and also a short jacket.

Alvaro de Barrios, son of Luis Gonzáles, native of Coimbra, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, with a scar on the right side, 26 years of age, with a complete set of arms which he said the governor had given him.

Diego Blandin, son of Diego Gonzáles, native of Coimbra, of good stature, grayish, over 40 years of age, with a knee length coat of mail from the governor and an harquebus and sword of his own.

Captain Juan Gutierrez Bocanegra, son of Alonso de Cuenca, native of Villanueva de los Infantes, tall, blackbearded, with a blow from a stone above the left eye, 44 years of age, with his arms and extra harquebus. The other things he gave to a soldier.

Captain Joseph de Brondate, son of Clemente Gregorio Brondate, native of Aragón, of medium stature, chestnut colored beard, over 25 years of age, with his arms including an engraved and gilded coat of armor.

Juan Pérez de Bustillo, 40 years of age, son of Simón Pérez, native of Mexico, of small stature, swarthy, graybearded, a wart on the left side, with his arms.

Simón de Bustillo, 22 years of age, son of Juan Pérez

de Bustillo, native of Mexico, swarthy, little beard, freckly faced, of medium stature, appeared with his arms. He said the governor had given him his outfit.

Juan Velázquez de Cavanillas, son of Cristóbal de Hidalgo de Cavanillas, native of Zalamea de la Serena, of small stature, chestnut colored beard, 24 years old, went with arms, except cuishes, which he said the governor and *maese de campo* had given him.

Francisco Cadino, 36 years old, son of Pedro Cadino, native of the town of Sailices de los Gallegos, of good stature, blackbearded, freckly faced, [something omitted in original] although he brought them [arms?] he said the governor had given them to him.

Pedro López Calvo, son of Alvaro López Calvo, native of Molina Seca, of medium stature, a large wound in his forehead, 20 years of age, with all his necessary arms.

Juan Camacho, native of Trigueros, son of Anton Sánchez, a man of good stature, graybearded, 50 years of age, appeared with his arms and an extra coat of mail and a small lance.

Juan López del Canto, 25 years old, son of Pedro López del Canto, native of Mexico, of good stature, blackbearded, a cross in his forehead, without arms except for a suit consisting of coat of mail, cuish and beaver which he said the governor had given him.

Ensign Juan de Victoria Carbajal, son of Juan de Carbajal, native of the town of Ayotepel in the Marquisate of the Valley, of medium stature, chestnut colored beard, 37 years of age, with his arms.

Martín Carrasco, native of Zacatecas, son of Martín Carrasco, of medium stature, bright reddish beard, 30 years of age, appeared with his arms.

Gonzalo de la Carrera, son of Lope de la Carrera, native of Alcaldá de Henares, of medium stature, chestnut colored beard, 25 years of age, with all his arms.

Bernabé de las Casas, native of the Isle of Teneriffe, tall of stature, son of Miguel de las Casas, blackbearded, 25 years of age, appeared with his arms complete.

Diego de Castañeda, son of Juan de Castañeda, native of Seville, tall of stature, beardless, changeable eyes, 19 years of age, with all his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Francisco Martínez de Castañeda, son of Bartolomé Martínez, native of Berganza, of medium stature, beardless, 18 years old, with all his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Miguel Montero de Castro, son of Augustín Montero de Castro, native of the city of Mexico, of good stature, redbearded, reddish eyes, 25 years of age, with all his arms.

Juan Catalán, 32 years old native of Barcelona, son of Antonio de la Cruz, bright reddish beard, wounded in the right arm, appeared with his arms.

Captain Gregorio César, native of the city of Cádiz, son of César Cesaar (sic) 40 years of age, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, appeared with his arms and a set of arms which he had declared before today. He said he had given it to a soldier who had no arms.

Ensign Diego Nuñez de Chaves, 30 years old, son of Juan de Chaves, native of Guadalcanal, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, some of his upper teeth broken, with his arms.

Juan Velarde Colodio, son of Juan Velarde Colodio, native of Madrid, of medium stature, chestnut colored beard, 28 years of age, with all his arms.

Antonio Conde, son of Antonio Conde de Herrera, native of Xerez de la Frontera, tall of stature, beardless, 18 years of age, with all his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Francisco Hernández Cordero, 22 years of age, native of Guadalajara in New Galicia, son of Rodrigo Fernández Cordero, of good stature, beardless, with his arms. The beaver was given him by the governor, he said.

Marcos Cortés, son of Juan Martínez, native of Zalamea de la Serena, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, with a wart on his right cheek, 30 years old, with all his arms.

Juan de la Cruz, son of Juan Rodríguez, native of the Valle de Toluca, partly swarthy, beardless, tall of stature, 19 years of age, with his arms and an extra shield which he said the governor had given him.

Manuel Díaz, 20 years old, son of Manuel Díaz, native of Talavera, beardless, of good stature, fat, with his arms except cuishes.

Juan Pérez de Donis, *secretario de gobernacion*, 58 years old, native of Cangas de Onis in Asturias, son of Francisco Pérez Carreno, of medium stature, graybearded, with a wound in his forehead.

Captain Felipe de Escalante, 47 years of age, son of Juan de Escalante Castilla, native of Laredo, of small stature, short and fat, swarthy, grayish, with his arms and other things he had declared.

Don Juan Escarramad, son of Don Juan Escarramad, native of the city of Murcia, small of stature, changeable eyes, chestnut colored beard, 26 years of age, with his arms.

Captain Marcello de Espinosa, 21 years old, native of Madrid, son of Antonio de Espinosa, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, appeared with his arms. The other things which he had declared he had gambled away, he said.

Captain Marcos Farfán de los Godos, 40 years of age, son of Gines Farfán de los Godos, native of Seville, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, appeared with his arms, and the other things which he declared he said had been given to his soldiers.

Manuel Francisco, 30 years old, son of Francisco Pérez, native of Portugal, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, and one finger of his left hand half withered, with his arms.

Francisco García, native of the city of Mexico, son of

Martín García, of good stature, redbearded, 35 years old, appeared with his arms.

Marcos García, 33 years old, son of Tomé García, native of San Lucar de Barrameda, of good stature, grayish, swarthy, with his arms.

Hernán Martín Gómez, son of Hernán Martín Gómez, native of Valverde de Reina, tall of stature, very grayish, with his arms except cuishes.

Enisgn Bartolomé González, son of Juan González, native of the Corral de Alamguer, of medium stature, chestnut colored beard, 29 years of age, with his arms and what else he had declared.

Juan Griego, 32 years of age, son of Lazaro Griego, native of Greece in Negropote, of good stature, graybeard, a big wound in the forehead, with his arms.

Cristóbal Guillen, son of Diego Guillen, native of Mexico, of medium stature, beardless, 20 years of age, with his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Francisco Hernández Guillen, native of Seville, son of Hernán Pérez, of good stature, redbearded, grayish, with a mark on the right side, 50 years of age, appeared with his arms except cuishes.

Gerónimo de Heredia, 38 years old, son of Diego Hernández de Heredia, sargeant of Captain Márquez' company, native of Córdoba, of medium stature, reddish beard, a mark above his left eye-brow, with his arms.

Antonio Hernández, 33 years of age, son of Francisco Simón, native of Braga, tall of stature, chestnut colored beard, an injury on two fingers of the right hand, with his arms.

Gonzalo Hernández, son of Pedro Alonso Falcón, native of Coimbra, of good stature, gray-haired, 50 years of age, with all his arms and an extra harquebus and some cuishes.

Bartolomé de Herrera, son of Miguel de Herrera, native of Seville, of medium stature, beard growing, 20 years

of age, with all his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Cristóbal de Herrera, son of Juan de Herrera, native of Xerez de la Frontera, tall of stature, swarthy, smooth-chinned, 19 years of age, with all his arms, which he said the governor had given him.

Ensign Alonso Nuñez de Hinojosa, son of Alonso de Santiago, native of the city of Plasencia, redbearded, of good stature, with all his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Ensign Domingo de Lezama, 27 years of age, son of Juan de Obregón, native of Bilbao, tall, redbeared, a wound on the nose, with his arms.

Francisco de Ledesma, native of Talavera de la Reina, son of Juan Fernández de Ledesma, of medium stature, black bearded, 25 years of age, appeared with his arms and an extra coat of mail.

Juan de León, native of Cádiz, son of Antonio de León, says he is a native of Malaga, of good stature, redbearded, a wart on the right cheek, 30 years of age, appeared with his arms.

Cristóbal López, 40 years old, son of Diego López de Avilés, native of Avilés, of good stature, corpulent, swarthy, blackbearded, a gash above the left eye, with his arms complete. He said he was a mulatto.

Juan Lucas, 18 years old, son of Juan Lucas, native of Puebla, freckled, of good stature, beardless, with his arms. He said the governor had given him the harquebus.

Francisco Martín, native of Ayamonte, son of Bonifacio Gómez, of good stature, aged graybearded, hairy, 60 years of age, appeared with his arms except harquebus which he said he did not have.

Hernán Martín, 40 years old, son of Hernán Martín Serrano, native of Zacatecas, tall of stature, little beard, pockmarked, with his arms.

Hernán Martín son of Hernán Martín Gómez, native of Verlanga, of medium stature, beardless, 20 years of age, with his arms. He said the governor gave him the coat of mail and harquebus.

Alonso Martínez, native of Higuera de Bargas, son of Benito Díaz, of medium stature, blackbearded, scant beard, 46 years of age, appeared with his arms.

Juan Medel, native of Ayamonte, son of Fernan Medel, graybearded, small of stature, 43 years of age, appeared with his arms.

Captain Alonso Gómez Montesinos, 38 years old, native of the town of Villanueva de los Infantes, son of Gonzalo Gómez, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, appeared with his arms.

Baltasar de Monzón, 20 years old, son of Baltassar de Monzón, native of Mexico, of good stature, the beard growing, with his arms which he said the *alguacil real* had given him.

Juan Moran, son of Juan Moran, native of Mora de Toro, tall of stature, chestnut colored, thin, 27 years of age, with his arms except harquebus which he said Captain Bocanegra had given him.

Lorenzo de Munuera, 28 years old, native of Villa Carrillo, son of Gil de Munuera, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, with his arms and an extra coat of mail.

Alonso Naranjo, 42 years old, son of Diego Carrasco, native of Valladolid in Castile, of good stature, tawny beard, a wound in the face, with his arms.

Francisco de Olague, son of Miguel de Olague, native of Panico, with a mark above the left eye, beardless, of medium stature, 17 years of age, with his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Juan de Olague, son of Miguel de Olague, native of Panico, of good stature and figure, beard growing, 19 years of age, with his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Juan de Pedraza, 30 years old, son of Alonso González, native of Cartaya, swarthy, tall, blackbearded, a big wound above the left eye, with his arms.

Captain Alonso de Sosa Peñalosa, 48 years of age, native of Mexico, son of Francisco de Sosa Albornoz, grayish, swarthy, appeared with his arms. The rest which he had declared he had given to a soldier, he said.

The royal ensign Francisco de Sosa Peñalosa, 60 years old, of medium stature, graybearded, son of Francisco de Peñalosa, native of Avila, appeared with his arms and a strong leather jacket. He said his sons were bringing the other things which he had declared.

Andrés Pérez, 30 years old, son of Andrés de Cavo, native of Tordesillas, of medium stature, chestnut colored beard, fat, with his arms and the other things he had declared.

Juan Pineiro, ensign, son of Manuel Pineiro, native of the town of Fregenal, of medium stature, chestnut colored beard, 30 years old, with all his arms.

Alonso de Quesada, captain of a company, son of Don Pedro de Quesada, native of Mexico, redbearded 32 years of age, with his arms and an extra coat of mail. The rest which he had declared he had given to a soldier, he said.

Francisco Ramirez, native of Cartaya, son of Gómez de Salazar, small of stature, redbearded, blind on the left eye, 24 years of age, appeared with his arms.

Martín Ramirez, 33 years of age, native of Lepe, son of Juan Leal, a man of good stature, chestnut colored beard, without arms, because those which he might bring the governor was to provide.

Juan Ortiz Requelmo, 28 years old, son of Juan López Ortega, native of Seville, of short stature, chestnut colored beard, a wound above the left eye, with his arms.

Pedro de los Reyes, 18 years old, son of Sebastian de los Reyes, native of Mexico, beardless, tall, pockmarked,

with his arms given him by Captain Aguilar except sword which he did not have.

Lorenzo Salado de Rivedeneira, native of Valladolid in Castile, of medium stature, redbearded, 23 years of age, with his arms.

Pedro de Ribas, son of Juan de Ribas, native of Puebla de los Angeles, of good stature, beardless, 20 years old, with all his arms which he said the governor had given him, except sword which he did not carry.

Pedro de Rivera, son of Francisco Miguel de Rivera, native of Zacatecas, of medium stature, scant blackish beard, 19 years of age, with all his arms.

Alonso del Rio, 28 years old, son of Estevan Arias, native of Puerto Real, of good stature, bright reddish beard, with his arms and one cuish which he said the governor had given him.

Ensign Pedro Robledo. 60 years old, native of Maqueda, son of Alejo Robledo, of good stature, entirely gray-haired, with his arms.

Diego Robledo, 27 years old, native of Maqueda, son of said Pedro Robledo of above, of good stature, redbearded, with his arms.

Alonso Robledo, 21 years of age, son of Pedro Robledo, native of Cimapan in New Spain, of good stature, redbearded, with his arms.

Pedro Robledo, 20 years old, son of Pedro Robledo, native of Temazcaltepeque, of good stature, scant beard, appeared with his arms.

Francisco Robledo, 18 years old, son of Pedro Robledo, native of Valladolid in New Spain, smooth-chinned, appeared with his arms except cuishes, powder-flask and small flask.

Antonio Rodríguez, son of Silvestre Juan (sic), native of Canas de Señorío in Lisbon, of medium stature, chest-

nut colored beard, 28 years of age, with all his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Juan Rodríguez 40 years of age, native of the city of Oporto, son of Gonzalo González, of medium stature, grayish hair.

Juan Rodríguez, son of Gerónimo Sánchez, native of Sombrerete, tall of stature, chestnut colored beard, 23 years old, with all his arms.

Sebastian Rodríguez, son of Juan Ruiz, native of Cartaya, of good stature, redbearded, long mustache, 30 years old, with his arms.

Ensign Bartolomé Romero, 35 years old, son of Bartolomé Romero, native of Corral de Alamguer, of good stature, swarthy, blackbearded, with his arms.

Captain Juan Moreno de la Rúa, 44 years old, son of Hernando Moreno de la Rúa, native of Salamanca, of medium stature, fat, reddish beard, with his arms.

Juan de Salas, son of the accountant Alonso Sánchez, beardless, of good stature, 20 years old, with his arms.

The accountant Alonso Sánchez, 50 years of age, native of the town of Niebla in Castile, son of Alonso Márquez, of medium stature, graybearded, appeared with his arms. He said his children were bringing the rest of the things he had declared.

Alonso Sánchez, son of the accountant Alonso Sánchez, native of La Puana, of good stature, beard growing, 22 years old, with all his arms.

Cristóbal Sánchez, son of Gerónimo Sánchez, native of Sombrerete, of medium stature, chestnut colored beard, with a mark on his nose near the eye-brows, 27 years of age, with his arms.

Francisco Sánchez, 30 years of age, soldier of the said Captain Alonso Gómez, native of Cartaya, son of Diego de Sánchez, of good stature, blackbearded.

Francisco Sánchez, son of Gerónimo Sánchez, native of Sombrerete, of good stature, beard growing—chestnut colored, 24 years of age, with his arms.

Matia Sánchez, son of Gerónimo Sánchez, native of Sombrerete, of good stature, beardless, 15 years of age, with all his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Pedro Sánchez, 50 years old, native of Mexico, son of Hernán Martín de Monrroy, of good stature, graybearded, appeared with his arms and the rest he had declared.

Pedro de San Martín, son of Antonio de San Martín, native of Zacatecas, of good stature, swarthy, blackbearded, pockmarked, 25 years of age, without arms except for those he brought, which included coat of mail, beaver, harquebus and powder flask. He said the governor had given them to him.

Antonio de Sariñana, son of Pedro Sánchez de Amiciro, native of Galicia, small of stature, scant beard, 19 years old, with his arms. The governor gave him the coat of mail and beaver.

Hernando de Segura, 27 years of age, son of Francisco Díaz de Villalobos, native of Condado de San Juan del Puerto, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, with his arms except cuishes and powder-flasks.

Sebastian Serrano, 28 years old, native of Mexico, son of Juan Alonso, with his arms.

Estevan de Sosa, son of Francisco de Sosa Peñalosa, native of Havana, tall of stature, scant beard, 21 years of age, with all his arms, which are the ones his father Francisco de Sosa declared besides his own.

Francisco Yllan de Sosa, son of Francisco de Sosa Peñalosa, native of the Valle de Altillo, beard growing, tall of stature, 23 years of age, with his arms.

Gaspar López de Tabara, son of the *Comendador* Gaspar López de Tabara, native of the city of Lisbon, *alugacil real* of the said expedition, chestnut colored beard, 30 years

old, with all his arms. The rest which he declared he had given to a soldier, he said.

Lucas de Tordesillas, son of Juan de Tordesillas, native of Zacatecas, tall of stature, fat, swarthy, blackbearded, a mark between the eye-brows, 30 years of age, with his arms.

Leonis de Treviño, son of Baltasar de Banuelos, native of Zacatecas, of good stature, scant reddish beard, 26 years of age, with arms, for although he brought them he said the governor had given them to him.

Alonso Varela, native of Santiago de Galicia, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, 30 years old, son of Pedro Varela, appeared with his arms.

Pedro Varela, native of Santiago de Galicia, son of Pedro Varela, 24 years of age, of good stature, redbearded, appeared with his arms.

Francisco Vázquez, native of Cartaya, son of Alonso Alfran, of good stature, redbearded, 28 years of age, appeared with his arms and an extra coat of mail.

The treasurer Don Luís Gasco de Velasco, 28 years old, son of Luís Ximenez Gasco, native of the city of Quenca, of medium stature, redbearded, appeared with his arms.

Rodrigo Velman, son of Francisco Velman, native of Trimonía Framenco, of medium stature, bright reddish beard, 33 years of age, with his arms which he said the governor had given him.

Francisco Vido, son of Gerónimo Vido, native of Mexico, swarthy, beardless, of medium stature, 20 years old, with all his arms, which he said the governor had given him.

Captain Gaspár de Villagrà, son of Hernán Pérez de Villagrà, native of Puebla de Los Angeles, of medium stature, graybearded, 30 years of age, with all his arms.

Francisco de Villalua, son of Juan Miguel Galindo, native of Cádiz, beardless, of good stature, 20 years of age, with his arms, which he said the governor had given him except for the arquebus. He brought a scythe.

Miguel Rodríguez de Villaviciosa, son of Juanes de Villaviciosa, native of Rantaria, of medium stature, beard growing, with a small wound above the left eye-brow, 20 years old, with his arms.

Juan Ximénez, son of Francisco Ximénez, native of Trujillo, of medium stature, blackbearded, 30 years of age, with a suit and sword of his own and harquebus. The rest he said the governor had given him.

Isidro Xuárez, son of Pedro Xuárez Montano, native of Xerez de los Caballeros, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, 20 years of age, with all his arms, which he said the governor had given him.

Hernando de Ynojos, son of Juan Ruiz, native of Cartaya, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, 36 years of age, with all his arms and the other things which he and his brother Sebastian Rodríguez had declared, except a coat of mail, which he said had been given away.

León de Ysasti, son of Juanes de Ysasti, native of the Valle de Haro, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, with a small wound above the left eye-brow, 23 years of age, with his arms.

The *maestro de campo* Don Juan de Zaldívar, 28 years of age, son of Vicente de Zaldívar, native of the city of Zacatecas, a man of good stature, chestnut colored beard, appeared with his arms and displayed the other arms which he had declared except an harquebus which he said he had given to a soldier.

The *sargento mayor* Vicente de Zaldívar, 25 years old, son of Vicente de Zaldívar, native of Zacatecas, of medium stature, chestnut colored beard, appeared with his arms.

Rodrigo Zapata, son of Francisco Hernández Piquete, native of Azuaga, small of stature, chestnut colored beard, with two or three marks on his forehead, 23 years of age, with all his arms.

The purveyor-general Diego de Zubia, 36 years of age, native of the city of Guadalajara in New Galicia, son of Juan de Zubia, of good stature, chestnut colored beard, with a wound in his forehead, appeared with his arms.

APPENDIX B.

Official List of the People who Went to
New Mexico in 1600.*

First passed Juan Guerra de Resa, lieutenant adelantado, governor and captain general of New Mexico, on horseback, the reins in one hand with a staff of command in the other; near him a page completely equipped with arms, - coat of mail, buckskin leather jacket, cuishes, helmet, beaver, harquebus and a horse armed in tanned buckskins.

Company of Captain Bernabé de las Casas.

Captain Bernabé de las Casas, who goes as leader of the said army. He departed from the provinces of New Mexico to lead the people. He was equipped with all arms - coat of mail, cuishes, helmet, beaver, cavalry arms and was on horseback with his harquebus, the horse armed in natural bulls' or cows' hides, which he said came from the church of Teneriffe from the Canary Islands. He was the legitimate son of Miguel de las Casas; is a man of good stature, swarthy of feature, blackbearded, 30 years of age.*

Bernabé Benitez de Azebo, son of Andrés Benitez, a noble, native of Alcazar de Cezeres, fully armed like the rest, 20 years of age, tall of stature, swarthy of feature, well armed. I say he is 34 (sic)

Gonzalo Fernández de la Banda, son of said Benhumea.** with his arms and horse like the others, beard growing, 20 years of age.

Gonzalo Fernández de Benhumea, son of Gonzalo Fernández de Benhumea, native of the town of Cazalla, grayish, short of stature, 53 years of age, fully armed like the others.

* As each man appeared before the inspecting officers he took an oath that the arms were his own, for use in New Mexico.

** There are 80 soldiers in this reinforcement, including Juan Guerra de Resa, who did not go to New Mexico, however. Thus Oñate fulfilled the bond given at Avino, January 21, 1598. See ch. v of this study. The document from which this list was taken is in A. G. I., 58-3-14.

** That is, Gonzalo Fernández de Benhumea.

Sebastian de Benhumea, son of said Benhumea, with his arms like the rest, 18 years of age.

Cristóbal de Brito, the legitimate son of Triminez de la Calle, native of the Isle of La Palma, tall of stature, blackbearded, 25 years of age, fully armed like the others.

Bernabé de las Casas, see above.

Juan Ruiz Cáceres, son of Pedro Ruiz, native of the Isle of La Palma, long-visaged, well bearded, tall of stature, 30 years of age, fully armed like the others.

Diego de Castellanos, son of Domingo de Castellanos, native of Puebla de los Angeles, of medium stature, beardless, well featured, 18 years of age, completely armed like the rest.

Pedro Gómez Durán, sargeant of the said company, equipped with all arms like the rest. He said he was a native of Valverde of the jurisdiction of the Grand Master of Santiago, the legitimate son of Hernán Sánchez Reco. He is a robust man, of good feature, 50 years old.

Antonio Fernández, son of Francisco Simón. He is a native of the city of Braga, tall of stature, well featured, 35 years old, completely equipped with arms like the rest.

Juan Ruiz Fernández, son of Hernando Ruiz de Rojas, native of Espinosa de los Monteros, scant beard, of good feature, medium stature, 23 years of age, fully armed like the others.

Manuel Ferrara, soldier, son of Manuel Ferrara de Figueroa, native of Puebla de los Angeles of New Spain, of good stature and feature, tall, beard growing, 20 years of age, fully armed like the rest.

Gregorio de Figueroa, son of Diego Ruiz de Figueroa, native of the city of Mexico, short of stature, beard growing, 21 years old, armed like the rest.

Domingo Gutierrez, the legitimate son of Domingo Gutierrez, native of the Isle of La Palma, short of stature, round-faced, well bearded, 30 years of age, fully armed like the others.

Juan de Guzmán, son of Luis Andino, native of the port of Santa Maria, short of stature, swarthy of feature, 20 years old, armed like the rest.

Captain Antonio Conde de Herrera, *sargento mayor* of the said relief force, fully equipped with arms, personal and horse, including harquebus, native of Xerez de la Frontera in the kingdom of Castile, son of Xines de Herrera Corta.

García Lucio, soldier of the said company, with his arms and horse like the rest, the legitimate son of Rodrigo Lucio, native of Alcantara, rough beard, well featured, 30 years old.

Juan Luxán, son of Francisco Rodríguez, native of the Isle of La Palma, short of stature, 27 years of age, armed like the others.

Miguel Martín, son of Lucas Martín, native of the city of Escalona, blue eyed, beard growing, 22 years of age, equipped with arms and horse like the rest.

Baltasar Martínez, *cogedor*, son of Juan Sánchez, *cogedor*, native of the town of Vudia in the kingdom of Castile, tall of stature, well featured, beard growing, 22 years old, armed like the rest.

Captain Gerónimo Márquez, *maese de campo* of the said relief force, with his arms, both personal and horse. He said he was a native of San Lucar de Barrameda, the legitimate son of Hernán Muñoz Zamorano, 40 years of age, swarthy of feature, blackbearded.

Juan López de Medel, son of Pedro López de Medel, native of the Isle of La Palma, tall of stature, blackbearded, 36 years old, armed like the others.

Antonio Mexía, son of Luis Mexía, native of the city of Seville, 18 years of age, beardless, of good countenance, fully armed like the rest.

Bartolomé Montoya, son of Francisco de Montoya, na-

tive of Cantillana, fully armed, blackbearded, short of stature, 28 years of age.

Luís Moreno, ensign, son of Luís Fernández Moltaluo, native of the Isle of Teneriffe, well featured, tough beard, tall of stature, 26 years of age, fully armed like the rest.

Juan Muñoz, ensign, enlisted with his arms and horse like the rest, with a standard of red damask in the hand having two emblems of Our Lady and St. James, the border of gold and silk. He said he was a native of Xerez de la Frontera, son of Cristóbal de Bargas. He is a man tall of stature, very fat, round-faced, blackbearded, 40 years of age.

Francisco Díaz de la Peña, son of Francisco Díaz de la Peña, native of the city of Toledo, beardless, blue-eyed, short of stature, 18 years old, armed like the others.

Pedro Rodríguez, native of the Isle of La Palma, short of stature, tough beard, of good feature, 30 years old, fully armed.

Juan Baptista Ruato, leader, with his arms and horse like the rest, native of the Isle of Teneriffe, the legitimate son of Amador Balez, of medium stature, fine reddish countenance, light blue eyes, well bearded, 30 years of age.

Bartolomé Sánchez, native of Llerena, the legitimate son of Bartolomé Sánchez, equipped with all arms for person and horse like the rest, tough beard, well featured, 28 years of age.

Bernabé de Santillan, son of Hernando de Olivar, native of Madrid, tall, beard growing, swarthy, 24 years of age, armed like the rest.

Tristán Vaez, son of Amador Vaez, native of Puebla de los Angeles, of this New Spain, beard growing, short of stature, 20 years old, fully armed like the rest.

Juan Rodríguez Vellido, son of Francisco Nuñez, native of Xibroleon in Castile, well bearded, with a scar below the left eye, 40 years of age, fully armed like the rest.

Estevan Pérez de Yranzo, son of Vicente Pérez de Yranzo, native of the town of San Martín in New Galicia, of good stature, rough beard, fully armed like the others, 30 years of age.

Captain Villagrá's List.

Captain Gaspár de Villagrá, procurator-general of the expedition was armed in coat of mail, cuishes, iron beaver and had a short lance. The horse was armed in bulls' or cows' hides. He made a demonstration of his entire company. . . .

Francisco de Algecira, ensign, son of the licentiate Diego de Algecira Ricaldo, 20 years old, of good feature, beard growing, armed like the rest.

Captain Juan de Victoria Carbajal, who went to the said provinces of New Mexico and is now returning thereto, member of the council of war. He is a son of Juan de Carbajal, well featured, with a mark on the right side of the face above the eye, 38 years of age, completely armed like the others.

Captain Francisco Donis, the legitimate son of Gaspár Donis, native of Los Angeles, with a mark in his forehead, of good stature, tough beard, 33 years of age, armed like the rest.

Cristóbal González de Flores, sargeant, son of Anton Alonso, native of Seville, blackbearded, tall, 40 years old, armed like the others.

Diego Martínez de Guevara, sargeant, son of Benito Martínez de Guevara, native of Burgos, 21 years of age, short of stature, tough beard, blue-eyed, armed like the rest.

Juan de Herrera, son of Francisco de Herrera, native of the city of Mexico, medium of stature, round-faced, beard growing, 20 years old, armed like the others.

Juan López Holguin, ensign, son of Juan López Villasana, native of Fuente Obejuna, of good stature, blackbearded, with a mark on the left eye, 40 years old, armed like the rest.

Juan de Lara, son of Francisco de Pineda, native of Antequera, 20 years old, beardless, blue-eyed, medium of stature, armed like the others.

Captain Juan Martínez de Montoya, son of Bartolome Martínez de Montoya, native of the town of Nava la Camella in the jurisdiction of Segovia in Castile, tall, of good feature, blackbearded, 40 years old, armed like the rest.

Juan Rangel, ensign, son of Cristóbal Gaspár Anriquez, native of the city of Mexico, 25 years of age, tall of stature, well featured, fully equipped with arms for man and horse like his captain [Villagrà] and with a standard in his hands.

Captain Francisco Rascon, son of Francisco Rascon, native of the city of Los Angeles in New Spain, tall of stature, well featured, 25 years old, armed like the others.

Don Pedro Gallegos Truxillo, ensign, son of García de Truxillo de Gallegos, native of Xerez de la Frontera, 23 years of age, armed like the rest.

Captain Cristóbal Vaca, the legitimate son of Juan de Vaca, native of the city of Mexico, of good stature, swarthy, well featured, 33 years of age, with his arms like the rest.

Andrés Gutierrez Valdivia, ensign, son of Cristóbal Gutierrez Valdivia, native of San Lucar de Barrameda, of good stature, well bearded, swarthy of feature, 32 years old, armed like the others.

Blas de Valdivia, son of Juan de Valdivia, native of Seville, beardless, round-faced, beard growing, 20 years of age, armed like the rest.

Captain Alonso Vayo, son of Juan Dominguez, native of San Juan del Puerto in Castile, with a mark on the left cheek, tall, 25 years of age. He enlisted with a buckskin leather jacket, adorned coat of mail, harquebus and came on horseback, behind him a servant, completely armed, both man and horse, with a lance in the hand. He requested that he be given testimony of this.

Alonso de la Vega, sergeant, son of Juan de la Vega, native of Carmona, short of stature, tough beard, 26 years of age, armed like the rest.

Captain Villagrá, see above.

Captain Ortega's List.

Then appeared Captain Juan de Ortega with a squadron of armed men on horseback, the horses also being armed. . . . The squadron was ordered to march to the encampment [San Bartolomé]. This was done, the harquebuses being discharged now and then. The commissaries, having seen the captain and force, ordered them to place themselves face to face, and they were enrolled in the following manner.

Captain Juan de Ortega, son of Hernando de Ortega, native of Los Angeles, medium of stature, of good feature, redbearded, 27 years of age. He enlisted with his arms, harquebus, coat of mail, cuishes, beaver, dagger and sword, leather shield and buckskin jacket. The horse was armed in bull's or cow's hide.

Juan Alonso, soldier, son of Juan Méndez, native of Seville, of good stature, well bearded, 24 years of age, armed like the rest.

Diego Hernández Barriga, son of Juan Fernández, native of Moguer, a well built man, well bearded, 25 years of age, armed like the rest.

Diego Díez, son of Diego Díez, native of Havana, 18 years old, fat, beardless, armed like the others.

Isidro Suárez de Figueroa, ensign of this company, son of Pedro Suárez Montano, native of Xerez de los Caballos. He came from New Mexico. He is of good stature, swarthy, long-visaged, recently bearded, 24 years old, with arms similar to his captain's

Juan García, native of Puebla de los Angeles, beardless, thin, 20 years old, with his arms like the others.

Don Alonso de Guzmán, sergeant of said company, son

of Antonio de Guzmán, native of Cuenca, of good stature, well bearded, 22 years old, fully equipped with arms for man and horse like the rest.

Juan Jorge, son of Juan Jorge Griego, native of the town of Los Lagos, tall of stature, swarthy, 35 years of age, armed like the rest.

Cristóbal de Lizaga, son of Juan de Lizaga, native of Tépez in New Spain, of good feature, tall, beardless, 22 years old, with his arms.

Mateo López, son of Juan Marcos, native of Madrid, 20 years of age, beard growing, swarthy, round-faced, with his arms.

Antonio de Manzaneda, son of Luís de Manzaneda, native of Los Angeles, tall, beardless, 18 years old, enlisted like the rest.

Sebastian Martín, son of Francisco Martín, native of Seville, of medium stature, beard growing, 21 years old, with his arms.

Juan Martínez, son of Juan Martínez, native of Talavera, of good stature, somewhat bearded, 23 years old, enlisted with his arms like the others.

Juan de Melgar, son of Lorenzo de Melgar, native of Zacatecas, tough beard, of medium stature, lame in one leg, 26 years of age, enlisted armed like the rest.

Luís de Morales, son of Francisco de Morales, native of Los Angeles in New Spain, of good stature, with a scar from a wound on the left side of the beard, 23 years old, with his arms.

Captain Juan de Ortega, see above.

Francisco Ruiz, native of Espinosa de los Monteros, 20 years old, of good stature, beard growing, enlisted with his arms.

Francisco Sánchez, son of Juan Sánchez, native of Mexico, beardless, of good feature, 18 years old, with arms and horse like the rest.

Francisco Suárez, son of Diego Suárez, native of Garachico on the Isle of Teneriffe, of good feature, tall, beard growing, 20 years old, with his arms, i. e., coat of mail, beaver, cuishes, harquebus, dagger, sword, and horse which was armed like the others.

Of the following nine soldiers we have no descriptions. The first and fifth enrolled late, the others departed early.

Pedro de Angelo.	Juan Gregorio.
Juan Fernández.	Juan Hurtado.
Alvaro García.	Pedro Pérez.
Simón García.	Robledo.
Juan Gil.	

List of Married Women.

Doña Francisca Galindo, wife of Captain *sargento mayor* Antonio Conde Herrera.

Doña Anna Galindo, Doña Gerónima Galindo and Doña María Galindo, sisters of the said Doña Francisca, unmarried.

Doña Margarita and Domingo de Castellanos, children of the said captain.

Juana Gutierrez, wife of Gerónimo Hernández de Benhumea.

Doña Anna de Mendoza, daughter of Doña Luisa de Mendoza, native of Mexico, wife of the ensign Gregorio de Figueroa.

Doña Anna Ortiz, daughter of Francisco Pacheco, wife of Cristóbal Vaca, native of Mexico. Here three daughters and son, named Juana de Zamora, Ysabel and Maria de Villarubia, and the boy Antonio. She brings an unmarried servant Anna Berdugo, natives of Mexico.

Francisca de Valles, wife of Juan Ruiz Fernández,

Maria de Zamora, legitimate wife of Bartolomé de Montoya, with five children, three boys and two girls, all under sixteen, named Francisco, Diego, Joseph, Lucia and Petronilla.

Anna India, native of Puebla de los Angeles, and Paul Hernández, her natural husband, from the said town, with two little children, María and Estevan; servants of Juan Baptista.

Juana Fernández, unmarried, sister of the aforesaid, in service of Juan Baptista.

Beatriz de los Angeles, unmarried, servant of Cristóbal de Brito; and Juan Tarasco, servant of the same man.

Anna, living with an Indian named Francisco belonging to Captain Bernabé de las Casas.

A girl named Ines, 10 years old.

María, unmarried, servant of Juan López. She has a girl named Mariana.

Catalina, sister of the aforesaid spinster. She has a girl called María; is in service of Juan López.

Agustina, her sister, married to Francisco servant of Juan Lopez.

Francisco, an Indian, servant of Captain Bernabé de las Casas.

Francisca, unmarried, servant of Bartolomé Sánchez.

Francisca Ximénez, unmarried, servant of Juan Lujanes.

A girl called María.

Madalena, unmarried, servant of Pedro Rodríguez.

Mateo, a mulatto, in service of Juan Baptista Ruano.

Isabel, a mulatto woman, unmarried and free.

MILITARY ESCORTS ON THE SANTA FE TRAIL

FRED S. PERRINE

Without doubt the romance of the Santa Fe Trail appeals to a great many readers who are interested in the days of the pioneer, and the settlement of the great Southwest.

Covering a period of practically three decades; the history of the Santa Fe Trail is replete with Indian attacks and hair-raising adventures.

The first military escort furnished the Santa Fe trade by the federal government, was in 1829, when four companies of the 6th Infantry, under the command of Major Bennett Riley, left Jefferson Barracks, Mo., May 5, 1829, to protect a caravan of about 79 men and 38 wagons. Riley's command had 20 wagons laden with flour, and 4 ox-carts with camp equipment.

The best contemporary account we have of affairs on the Santa Fe Trail is Gregg's "Commerce of the Prairies," Early Western Travels Series, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites. Gregg states as follows, Vol. xix, p. 187:

"This escort under Major Riley, and one composed of about sixty dragoons, commanded by Captain Wharton, in 1834, constituted the only government protection ever afforded to the Santa Fe trade until 1843, when large escorts under Captain Cook accompanied two different caravans as far as the Arkansas river," but on p. 107, Vol. xx, he contradicts himself as follows:

"We had just reached the extreme edge of the far famed, 'Cross Timbers' when we were gratified by the arrival of forty dragoons, under the command of Lieut. Bowman, who had orders to accompany us to the supposed boundaries of the United States." This was in 1839, and Gregg's caravan, this year, did not follow the regular route to Santa Fe, but left Van Buren, Arkansas, crossing the

Arkansas River, striking westerly toward the North fork of the Canadian, which they struck near its confluence with the Canadian. Thence westerly along the north bank of the Canadian to Santa Fe, which was practically due west from Van Buren.

Of the first military escort, under Major Riley we have his official report, dated Cantonment Leavenworth, Nov. 22, 1829. This report was published in *American State Papers, Military Affairs*, Vol. ix, pp. 277-280, but in a garbled condition. Efforts are now being made to ascertain if the original manuscript report of Major Riley, together with the communications mentioned in his report, are still extant in the records of the War Department.

The report of Major Riley, as published in *American State Papers*, above mentioned, will be included in this article, with remarks and notations, and in case the original reports and communications are located, they will be embodied in a later article.

Between 1829 and 1834, there are no *government* records showing that United States troops were used as escorts on the Santa Fe Trail, although the following appears in the *St. Louis Republican*, under date of April 23, 1832:*

“Many of our enterprising young men have already left, and others are preparing to take their departure for Santa Fe. The upper country will also send out an unusual number of traders. They are to rendezvous at the round prairie, near the Missouri line, on the 15th of next month; when they will be escorted as far as the boundary between the U. States and New Spain, *by a detachment of the U. S. Army.*”

Other than Gregg's “*Commerce of the Prairies,*” Niles “*Weekly Register,*” and the contemporary files of the *St. Louis newspapers*, give the most information of the doings along the Santa Fe Trail. Many papers of the time protested against the furnishing of military escorts to the

* Bancroft in “*History of Arizona and New Mexico,*” p. 335, note 36, states: “Chas. Bent is named as capt. of a caravan of 93 wagons in '33, escorted by a company of rangers:” giving as his authority Niles' *Register* xliv, 374.

trade on account of the expense; and the traders banded themselves together for their mutual protection against the Indians.

The next military escort furnished the Santa Fe trade was that of Company A, United States Dragoons, under the command of Captain Clifton Wharton, in 1834. Captain Wharton's report, which has never been published, has been unearthed through the efforts of Hon. Chas. L. McNary, senior senator from Oregon, Mr. Grant Foreman, and the writer of this article. This report of Captain Wharton will be taken up after the Riley report.

Between the years 1834 and 1843, a hiatus exists, at least as far as government records are concerned, relative to military escorts on the Santa Fe Trail.

There is no government record of the escort furnished Gregg's expedition in 1839, under the command of Lieutenant James Monroe Bowman, and as far as the writer has been able to ascertain, Gregg is the only one who makes any mention of it.

The next record of United States troops escorting Santa Fe caravans, is furnished by Gregg, who states: "Large escorts under Captain Cook* accompanied two different caravans, as far as the Arkansas river."

The writer of this article is under many obligations to Hon. Chas. L. McNary, U. S. Senator from Oregon, Mr. Grant Foreman of Muskogee, Okla., and Miss Stella M. Drumm, of the Missouri Historical Society, and hereby heartily acknowledges the same.

Report of four Companies of Sixth regiment of the United States Infantry which left Jefferson Barracks on the 5th of May 1829, under the command of Brevet Major Riley,¹ of the United States army, for the protection of the trade of Santa Fe.

* This was Philip St. George Cooke, whose experiences during the escort of the caravans referred to, are found in his "Scenes and Adventures in the Army," now out of print, and not easily available. A brief resume of this book will follow the report of Captain Wharton.

1. Bennett Riley, born in Maryland, was appointed ensign in the Rifles, Jan. 19, 1813. After serving through several grades, Captain of the 5th Inf., June 1,

Cantonment Leavenworth, November 22, 1829.

Sir: I have the honor to report my arrival here with the United States troops I have the honor to command, on the 8th of this month, all well, and in good spirits, but rather thinly clad for the season. The command left this place on the 3d of June, and the opposite side of the river on the 4th. The reason for my crossing the river and going to the other side I have already stated in my communications to the department that is, from the information I could get, that it was the best side; but on my return I found that the people had given me wrong information of the road. However, we had little or no trouble except with the oxen, they being of different ages, some old and some young, and not used to be put together, and the teamsters not accustomed to drive them. All these things combined troubled us a little, but after five or six days we had no trouble. Nothing occurred worthy of notice until the 11th, when a cart, which had been purchased by the assistant quartermaster, Lee,² broke down, and on examining it we found that the inside of the hubs was entirely decayed, and the boxes had become so loose that it could not be repaired on the prairie.

I directed my assistant quarter-master, Lieutenant Brooke,³ to have it left behind, rather than lose time by calling a board or trying to repair it. On the same day we fell in with the company of traders, at a place called

1821. Shortly after was transferred to the 6th Inf., and after that he served in the 4th and 2nd Inf., until he was appointed Colonel of the 1st Inf., on Jan. 31, 1850. He served through the Seminole and the Mexican Wars, and died June 9, 1853.

2. Francis Lee, born in Pa., a West Point graduate. Served in the 7th, 4th and 6th Inf., and on Oct. 18, 1855, was appointed Colonel of the 2nd Inf. Served through the Mexican War, and was brevetted for gallant and meritorious conduct in this conflict. He died Jan. 19, 1859.

3. Francis J. Brooke, was born in Virginia, graduated from West Point, class of 1826, served first in the 6th Inf., then in the 7th Inf., appointed First Lieutenant of the 6th Inf., on May 6, 1835, and was killed in a battle with the Seminole Indians at Okeechobee, Fla., December 25, 1837.

Round Grove,⁴ consisting of about 79 men and 38 wagons, which we took under our protection, and on the 12th left the Grove. (Please to see, per journal, the arrivals, and departures, and progress of each day.)

On the 20th we left Council Grove.⁵ After going some miles we found a piece of bark stuck up in the road, that had written on it, "The Kansas have been attacked a few days since by the Pawnee Picks, and one of them has been killed." We saw several of their camps as we passed along, but after this we saw but one, which we took to be the camp of some other nation of Indians, and concluded that they had gone back; but on our return we learned that they had pushed ahead and waited for me at Cow Creek,⁶ the place where we saw the last Indian camp, where they had stayed two or three days, and then, being out of provisions, had crossed the Arkansas lower down than where we struck it, and had gone low down on the Semirone,⁷ so that we missed them altogether.

I had followed your instructions inviting the Kansas, Ioways, and Shawnese, to accompany the expedition without pay or rations, but to have my protection on their hunts, but received no answer from either of them; if I had, I should have sent a runner ahead to inform them that my command was at hand. In a few days after that we lost six horses belonging to individuals, and some of the

4. Also called Lone Elm, and The Glen. On the head waters of Cedar Creek, between Olathe and Gardner, Kan., about 35 miles from Independence. Farnham, in his "Travels in the Great Western Prairies" calls this Elm Grove. This point was on the Oregon Trail as well as the Santa Fe Trail.

5. Council Grove, now seat of Morris County, Kan., an important stop on the Santa Fe Trail. Here the traders met, organized, elected officers, etc., also here were generally secured timber for axles, wagon tongues, etc., as no serviceable timber was to be obtained further west. For a description of this place see "Thwaites' Early Western Travels," Vol. xix, p. 201, also xxviii, p. 63.

6. Distance from Independence, according to Gregg, about 249 miles. Was similar in character to the Little Arkansas, with high banks and miry bottom. Flows from Barton County, southeast across Rice County, Kan. Hutchinson, Kan., is at its confluence with the Arkansas. The Santa Fe Trail crossed the headwaters of several of its tributaries.

7. Cimarron River, also called Semirone, Salt Fork of the Arkansas, Red Fork, Grand Saline, etc., was at most times entirely dry, water flowing under the sand except in times of freshets. From the Arkansas to the Cimarron was the most dreaded part of the entire trail.

traders reported that they had seen signs of Indians, which determined me to abandon the idea of sending an express after we should have left Turkey Creek,⁸ which you will see was for the good of the service. On the 9th of July we arrived at Chouteau's island⁹ where the traders determined to cross the river. The next day I received the enclosed communications, marked A and B. The next day, the 11th, I delivered them the enclosed copy of a letter to the governor of Santa Fé, marked C, and received the enclosed communication, marked D. The communication marked D, I thought was requisite, in order that I should know where and when they were to meet us. They crossed the river on the 10th, and on the 11th I went across to see them, and at about one o'clock they started.

I had given them my views and advice of the manner they should proceed, and they promised to adhere to it, but it was soon forgotten. I told them that they must stick together, and not leave their wagons more than one hundred yards, without they sent out a party to hunt, but it had no effect; for at about half-past six of the same evening an express arrived from them, stating that Mr. Lamme,¹⁰ a merchant from Liberty,¹¹ was killed, and they were only

8. Branch of the Little Arkansas in McPherson County, Kan., and about 212 miles from Independence, according to Gregg. There were two or three Turkey Creeks in this vicinity, viz; Little Turkey, Big Turkey, and Running Turkey.

9. Chouteau's Island was at the upper ford of the Arkansas River, just above the present town of Hartland, Kearny Co., Kan., according to Thwaites' "Early Western Travels," Vol. xix, p. 185; while Coues, in Pike's Expedition Vol ii, p. 440 states: "Most of the older maps mark hereabout the large island in the Arkansas called Chouteau's, somewhat W. of the 101st Meridian, and apparently near Deerfield," and he further states as follows, in the "Journal of Jacob Fowler," p. 32: "Chouteau's, whose name was long borne by a large island in this vicinity, not easy to locate exactly. If there has been but one of this name, Chouteau's Island had floated a good many miles up and down the river, at least in books I have sought on the subject. Inman locates it near Cimarron, Kansas, p. 42, at the mouth of Big Sandy Creek, Colo., on p. 75; and his map agrees with the latter position."

10. Samuel Craig Lamme, a merchant of Franklin, Mo., who had recently come thither from Harrison County, Ky. (Thwaites' "Early Western Travels," xix, p. 186.)

11. Liberty, Mo., the county seat of Clay County, was settled in 1822, but up to 1826 had only about a dozen houses; it was incorporated in 1829. During the Mormon troubles in the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, Liberty rose to prominence. The town is set back about six miles from the river, on the high salubrious uplands. Liberty Landing on the river, was, in the days of the Santa Fe trade, of considerable importance. (Thwaites' "Early Western Travels," Vol. xxii, p. 249.)

six miles off, and the Indians were all around them, and if I did not go to their assistance that they expected to be all killed and scalped. I could not hesitate, but struck my tents immediately and commenced crossing; but, unfortunately for my oxen, the river had risen about two feet during the day, so that we had some difficulty in getting across, but eventually succeeded. I reached them with the first division, composed of companies A and B, with the six-pounder and ammunition wagon, at about eleven o'clock at night, and the second division, under the command of Captain Wickliffe," in about an hour after, with companies F and H, and the rest of the baggage and wagons. We found them in a very dangerous situation, surrounded by very high sand hills, with deep ravines running in every direction; so that, I think, if they had been attacked by any other enemy but the Indians of that country they must have been all killed and scalped; but fortunately for them, in the midst of misfortune, the Indians run off after having killed and scalped Mr. Lamme. As soon as I arrived I selected the best position I could, and remained under arms all night, but saw no Indians.

At reveille some of the traders gave an alarm, and said that they saw the Indians in great numbers, but we could see nothing of them. They expressed a wish that I would go further with them. I consented to travel with them two days, or until they should reach the Semirone; they appeared to be very well satisfied, and after burying Mr. Lamme, about ten o'clock a. m. we took up our line of march. The next day, the 13th, we reached a little creek, where there was good grass and water, which was very fortunate for us, for thirteen yokes of oxen had given out on that day. We rested in the 14th, and the traders stayed with us, when in the evening I received the enclosed communication, marked E, and I herewith enclose a copy of my answer to all their communications. We parted on the

12. William N. Wickliffe was born in Kentucky, and his military service was confined to the 6th Inf., in which he rose to a Captaincy, Feb. 15, 1826. He resigned July 31, 1837.

next day and I arrived at Chauteau's island on the 16th, after a fatiguing march of five days since we left the river. We encamped on the Mexican side for six or eight days, during which time we found it necessary to have the oxen unyoked and herded in good grass. We re-crossed at the expiration of the time above named and encamped a little above, opposite Chauteau's island. The position was as good as we could get at that point. The above was a little too near, but we had to encamp there for the purpose of giving our cattle a chance of gaining strength and spirits, there being good grass and wood there. We remained quiet until the 31st of July, when four discharged soldiers, Simmons, Fry, Colvin, and Gordon, started for the settlements. They, had, a few days previous, asked my advice about going in. I told them that they ought not to think of such a thing, for that I had given up sending expresses, and that was a proof of the danger but they added that they were citizens, and to do as they pleased; but if they wished to stay they should have something to eat. All this had no effect; they wanted to go.

I wrote to the department and told you everything, and added at the bottom that it was very doubtful if you ever got the letter. At night of that day three of them only got back to camp, and I think it very doubtful, if it had not been for a hunting party under the command of Lieutenant Searight,¹³ whether any of them would have got back or not. They stated that they had not gone more than eight or ten miles when they discovered about thirty Indians riding across the river. They landed and soon galloped up to them, when one of the men made a sign of peace, which they returned, and the parties shook hands. Then the Indians made signs for them to go across the river, which they declined, and started on their journey, the Indians still making signs for them to cross the river.

13. Joseph Dondaldson Searight, was born in Maryland, and appointed to West Point from Pennsylvania. He graduated in the class of 1822, and served in the 4th and 6th Inf., in which latter regiment he rose to a Captaincy, Dec. 25, 1837. He resigned from the Army November 7, 1845, and died Jan. 22, 1885.

George Gordon looked back and said they were all friends, and that he would go and shake hands with them again; the others told him not, but in the act of shaking hands with them a second time, he was killed by another Indian with a gun. The other three immediately took off their packs and prepared to defend themselves. The Indians began to ride round and cut capers on their horses; the three men fired one at a time at them, and retreated towards my camp, and met Lieutenant Searight's party. They said they killed one of the Indians.

The next day, 1st August, I sent Captain Wickliffe, with about forty or fifty men and one of the discharged men, in search of the body of Gordon, and he returned in the evening without effecting his object. The man that went with him was so alarmed that he could not find the place. On the 3d, in the morning, I determined to make another search, and if possible to find and bury the bones of the man who had been killed. Accordingly, I ordered Lieutenant Isard,¹⁴ acting adjutant, to take charge of a party of forty men, and the two other discharged men, to proceed, search for, and bury the bones if he could find them. Whilst he was absent with his company, between one and two o'clock p. m., the Indians made a desperate charge on horseback on our cattle and their guard, which was about four or five hundred yards from our camp. It was a perfect level; there was nothing to obstruct the advance of anything, or prevent us from seeing at the first onset. I immediately ordered light company B., that was armed with rifles and commanded by Captain Pentland,¹⁵ to advance and skirmish with the enemy until I could form

14. James Farley Izard, born in Pennsylvania, and from the same state was appointed to West Point, graduating in the class of 1824. He served in the 2nd Inf., and on March 4, 1833, received a commission of first Lieutenant in the Dragoon Regiment. He died March 5, 1836, from wounds received on Feb. 28, 1836, in action with the Seminole Indians at Camp Izard, Fla.

15. Joseph Pentland, born in Pennsylvania, appointed to West Point from the same state, graduating in the class of 1818. He served only in the 6th Inf., receiving his appointment as Captain, October 31, 1827, and was dismissed from the Army, April 22, 1830. Died in 1833.

the line, thinking at the time that they intended a general attack. Lieutenant Cooke,¹⁶ with his guard, was ordered to that point, for the cattle guard was in great danger; but the promptness of the movement checked the charge of the enemy. They had, however, wounded Samuel Arrison, a private in grenadier company A, 6th regiment. He was brought in by some of light company B, and died of his wounds a few hours after. These wounds were nine in number. In the meantime I had formed company H, commanded by Lieutenant Waters,¹⁷ and company F, commanded by Captain Wickliffe, and marched them forward at double quick time towards the thickest of the enemy; and when about one hundred and fifty yards fired a volley. At that moment I discovered that the Indians were around my camp. Lieutenant Searight was playing away with the six-pounder with good effect, and changing his position as circumstances required. I gave the command of the two companies to Captain Wickliffe, and went to the right flank, where I directed grenadier company A, commanded by Lieutenant Van Swearingen,¹⁸ to protect it, which was promptly executed. In the meantime, Captain Wickliffe, with great presence of mind, had crossed his company to the island to protect the rear, and opened a fire on the enemy. The Indians, seeing that we were well guarded on every side, began to gallop around and to move off. Our cattle and horses had taken fright at the first onset, but a great part of them had been stopped by the company in the rear. On the right flank there were about twenty, and very few Indians about them. I thought probably they

16. Philip St. George Cooke, a Virginian, graduated from West Point in 1823. He served successively in the 6th Inf., the Dragoon Regt, 2nd Dragoons, and 2nd Cav. Served in the Mexican War, and through the Civil War. Was brevetted twice for gallant and meritorious conduct, and retired a Major General by brevet, October 29, 1873. Died March 20 1895.

17. George Washington Waters of Massachusetts, graduated from West Point in 1819. Served only in the 6th Inf., where he rose to the rank of Captain. Resigned April 30, 1837, and died March 14, 1846.

18. Joseph Van Swearingen, of Maryland, also graduated from West Point in 1819, served in the 1st and later in the 6th Inf., in which latter regiment he rose to the rank of Captain. He was killed December 25, 1837, in battle with the Seminole Indians at Okeechobee, Fla.

might be saved. I directed Lieutenant Van Swearingen with his company to advance, and if possible to recover them; after he had got some distance from camp, and knowing that he had a good bugler with him, I ordered my bugler to sound double quick, he did, and Lieutenant Van Swearingen's bugler mistook the call, and the company returned without the cattle. By this time the enemy was retiring after a loss of eight killed and one wounded. Our loss, one man wounded, who died in a few hours after, fifty-four oxen, ten public horses, ten private horses, and a few public mules. Think what our feelings must have been to see them going off with our cattle and horses, when if we had been mounted, we could have beaten them to pieces; but we were obliged to content ourselves with whipping them from our camp. We did not get any of the killed or wounded, but we saw the next day where they had dragged them off. They have said since that our fire from the big gun killed five or six. Lieutenant Brooke, my assistant quartermaster and commissary, seeing that there was very little to do in the staff, shouldered his rifle, marched out with the companies, and fought with them. The pitching of our tents was according to regulations, so that they formed a square. The cannon was in front of company A, on the right flank; company F, in the rear; companies B and H on the left flank. Lieutenant Brooke very promptly marched his guard to its proper place in front, after he, with his guard, had assisted in charging the first onset of the enemy. I have never seen officers and men more anxious to have a good fight. Every officer seemed to vie with each other who should do most for his country. After all was over I had the men formed and gave them an extra gill, and signified my satisfaction at their conduct. The Indians were about three hundred strong, well mounted, and with guns, bows, and spears; and our force about one hundred and thirty or forty. Lieutenant Izard being absent with his command, about forty men. The nation or nations we could not tell, but I have reason to believe that there

was a part of the Camanchies, Arapahoes, and Hiaways, as one of my men's tin pans was found with some of these three nations that attacked the traders on their return, as also King's powder horn, that was recognized by some of my men when they showed things they had taken from the men killed in battle. We moved down the river in three or four days after this affair. On the 10th Corporal Astor came to us and informed us that he and Nation had been sent with an express, and that on the 23d July they were attacked by about fifteen Indians, who succeeded in getting the mail and horses and wounding them both, Nation dangerously, by a spear in the breast, and him slightly in the wrist by an arrow. He reported that Nation then laid sick with his wound, about ten miles off, and that he had been wandering about since the attack of the 23d in hopes of finding us. He also stated that they had fed on snakes and frogs a great part of the time. He says that somewhere about the Council Grove they saw some Indians who showed them something of hostility, but did not attack them. I immediately ordered a company of forty men, and Lieutenant Swearingen to command them, and to take a cart and bring in Nation. He returned at about nine or ten o'clock at night with him; he was very low; he reports that his joy, at seeing the party, was beyond expression; he shed tears, and tried to make a noise, but was unable in consequence of his weakness. The next day, 11th August, between 10 and 11 o'clock in the morning, we saw some Indians about two miles and a half from the camp, walking in and out of a ravine; and, after a little, saw some leading horses. They would sometimes come up the river and then go down again. It was evident that they wanted to decoy us from our camp. I had sent three or four men across the river a little above our camp, to lay under the bank, about four or five hundred yards, for the purpose of killing buffalo, which I had done every day since we had been at this camp with a great deal of success. On the appearance of the Indians I had the recall sounded,

and they returned and reported that they had killed three buffaloes. The Indians having disappeared, about one or two o'clock, I directed a party of sixteen men, an officer, and a non-commissioned officer to be detailed, and to take with them a wagon and team and bring in the buffaloes that had been killed. Shortly after Captain Pentland reported to me that he had been detailed to go on the command; I directed him to take bugler King, of company A with him to show him where the buffaloes laid, as he was one of the party which assisted in killing them; which, with the teamster, made the party twenty in number. I gave him instructions, stating that he had seen the Indians in the morning, and that he must keep his party together and not be dispersed; that in case he was attacked he must fight the enemy, and that I should support him in a very short time; but added again, "keep your party on the alert;" but, instead of that, as soon as he had crossed the river, King saw a buffalo crossing to the river, and obtained Captain Pentland's permission to leave the party and try to get a shot at him. In the meantime our camp was attacked by about one hundred and fifty Indians. I had the command turned out and formed as before, of one company on each side of the square. They did not, however, come within musket shot.

Lieutenant Searight had commenced a fire with the 6-pounder with some effect. I had told Captain Wickliffe that if he heard a fire on the other side of the river he, with his company, must move to support Captain Pentland. The enemy having gathered to the left flank of the C. P. was moved to that point. Captain Wickliffe marched in the direction of Captain Pentland's party. When he approached the river he discovered that the party had crossed to a sand bank near the side of the river, and understood by one of the party that belonged to the company that King had been killed. On my hearing that King was killed, and that Captain Pentland had retreated across the river, I despatched my adjutant, Lieutenant Izard, to direct

Captain Wickliffe to cross the river and secure the body, thinking that they had in the skirmish no time to take his scalp, and also directed Captain Pentland, with his party, to support him. As Captain Wickliffe crossed the river he was fired at by about fifteen or twenty Indians, and he returned the fire from his company. He then saw the wagon and team running down the river. He directed Captain Pentland to recover the body of King and he would with his company recover his wagon and team, after exchanging several fires with the enemy. In the meantime Captain Pentland had recovered the body and brought it into camp. On the first fire of Captain Wickliffe, I directed company B, under the command of Lieutenant Sevier,¹⁹ (his captain being on detached service and his lieutenants on guard,) to support Captain Wickliffe, which he did, and reached the point of support in about four or five minutes. Captain Wickliffe seeing that the enemy had dispersed, had the buffaloes cut up and brought into camp. It is said by the men, and I believe, that there was not more than fifteen or twenty Indians on that side of the river, and as soon as they were discovered in pursuit, Captain Pentland ordered his party to retreat. There are two instances in this report in support of my opinion, that in the case of the discharged soldiers, when four were attacked by thirty, and they got off safe, after they showed resistance, and the case of Arter Nation, two attacked by fifteen, and when a show of resistance was made they went off. The way Nation was killed was in shaking hands with them, and in the act of giving tobacco. I am thus particular to show the government that I have done the best in my power, and that my arrangements in this case were as good as they could be, but unfortunately they were not carried into effect as they will be seen in the report. The loss on both sides was

19. Robert Sevier, of Tennessee, a member of the West Point class of 1824, served only in the 6th Inf., being appointed First Lieutenant August 10, 1836, and serving as regimental Adjutant till his resignation on October 31, 1837. He died May 16, 1879.

equal in number. Mathew King, a bugler in grenadier company A, 6th regiment; one Indian killed by the 6-pounder under the direction of Lieutenant Searight.

After the enemy had dispersed I directed Captain Pentland to hand in a written report; he did, and I have the honor to enclose it, marked K. He says he was attacked. I venture to assert that he was not fired on by the enemy, neither did he fire at them; then how could it be called an attack. They killed King about two or three hundred yards from the party, it is said. He says in his report that there were forty-six or fifty Indians. Admit there were in the name of God, cannot twenty Americans whip fifty Indians? I answer yes, that they can whip one hundred such as we came in contact with in that country.

After this we kept moving every day to get grass and to find buffalo, which we had the good fortune to find plenty to have supplied five hundred men. It was not fat, but our men fattened on it. They had as much as they could eat the whole time, and half ration of flour and salt. Nothing of moment occurred from the 11th of August until the 11th of October, except the death of Nation, which took place a few days after he arrived. The last of September and first of October we were engaged in overhauling our wagons and carts. By a board of officers they have condemned five wagons and three carts, which they say are entirely unfit for service. There being no purchasers, according to the regulations, I ordered them to be burned, and the iron cached in a safe place, which was done. You will see by the enclosed, marked D, that we meant to wait until the 10th of October, but we staid a day longer, and did not move until the 11th. Early in the morning of the 11th, the moment this transportation having been put in as good order as it could be in at that place, with fifteen day's full rations of pork, beans, salt, vinegar, soap, candles, and about twenty-eight days of flour and bread, with about thirty-two of dried buffalo meat, which I had ordered the company to save during the time we were lying still.

On my arrival at Chateau's island, on the 9th of July, I had directed the company to lay by fifteen days full rations, in order that, if at any time we were obliged to abandon the expedition, we should have plenty to eat. Shortly after our departure on the 11th we received an express from the traders, stating that they were only one days march from us, and they had a Spanish escort with them, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Viscarra.²⁰ I ordered a halt, pitched my tents, and waited for their arrival, which was on the next day, the 12th. When the colonel got nearly across the river, I had my line formed parallel to it, and received him with presented arms. I had sent my adjutant, on his landing, to escort him down to the line. After he had passed I dismissed the battalion, and received and welcomed him to the territory of the United States, and invited him and the secretary of state of Santa Fé to my tent, where we exchanged civilities and he left us awhile to see the pitching of his camp. That evening he visited some of the officers, and appeared to be pleased. The next day I had a short battalion drill, and after a company of light infantry drill. I was very anxious to show the character of the American troops, and, from his and the secretary's appearance, I succeeded. In the evening he had his troops formed, and invited me and my officers to accompany him. He took us down the line, they at present arms, and fired several time with a brass 4-pounder which he had. After that we went with him to his marquee, and partook of an excellent cup of chocolate and other refreshments. During that day I had shown him everything about my camp. He was particularly pleased with the cannon, the carriage, and implements, which were entirely different from his. He looked at it several times.

20. Lieut.-Col. José Antonio Viscarra was *jefe militar* of New Mexico from October, 1822, to February, 1825, and also *jefe político* from November, 1822, to September, 1823. He was again appointed to the military command about August, 1829, and served till the summer of 1833. See the quarterly, *Old Santa Fe* , I, 275 and index. Further data on Viscarra, given by Cooke, (*Scenes and Adventures in the Army* , pp. 34-88,) are quoted freely in Twitchell, *Leading Facts of N. M. Hist.* , II, 21-26.

He said he was very sorry that we did not come into Santa Fé. The secretary handed me the enclosed document (G) from the governor, in answer to mine of the 10th of July. The other that he alludes to was a letter of introduction to him by Mr. Bent.²¹ The documents marked H, P, T, are the returns and statements of his force, and of the caravan which he had under his command. The next morning (13th) we parted, he for Santa Fé, and I for this place, not without mutual professions of friendship, and hopes of seeing each other in the Spanish country next year. The caravan I received from the detachment amounted to about two hundred thousand dollars worth, probably of different kinds. One Spanish family, eight or ten other Spaniards, who were punished by their laws for having been born in old Spain, all of which, in my humble opinion, would have been destroyed and the people killed if it had not been for the Mexican escort. They were attacked, as it was, near the Semirone spring on their return, but the colonel, with his troops and Indians beat them off. He lost one captain and two privates killed of his command. The traders say that they killed eight Indians; but there are several stories about it. It is hard to know which to believe, but it is certain that they killed some. We travelled on with them under our protection until we parted, which was at the Little Arkansas.²² On the fifth or sixth day after we started our oxen began to fail, and we were obliged to leave some on the road every day until we got in. I cannot account for it, unless it was that hard night's drive across the Arkansas, or after the attack of the 3d of August, for we had to keep them yoked and tied to the wagon wheels every night until our return; and another thing is, that we had to diminish the extent of range from necessity. In fact, it was impossible to protect them any distance from camp.

21. This was undoubtedly Colonel Charles Bent, who was appointed first American governor in New Mexico, in 1846.

22. The place where the Santa Fe Trail crossed the Little Arkansas, was below Little River, in Rice County Kan., and was estimated by Gregg to be about 229 miles from Independence. Though narrow its steep banks and miry bottom made crossing bad. Wichita, Kan., is at its mouth.

We only got in with twenty-four yokes, and most of them could not have drawn another day. Our strong ground for the above reasons being correct is, that I let Mr. Bent have a yoke on the 10th of July, (that was not in those hard times) and he writes in that he went through to Santa Fé better than the mules; and he had sent them back to me in good order, but they were stolen or strayed in the mountains. I let Mr. Bent have them to try whether oxen in future, if we could get them, would answer, they are so much cheaper. One team of three yokes of oxen will not cost more than two mules. On the 8th of November, at night, got to the end of our journey at Cantonment Leavenworth.

I have the honor to be, with great respect and esteem, your obedient and humble servant.

B. RILEY, *Major United States Army commanding.*
Brigadier General Leavenworth.

From the above report of Major Riley, several conclusions may be drawn.

It is safe to assume, that had the traders carried out his instructions with regard to keeping a keen lookout, keeping together, in a country which they knew to be dangerous, there would, in all probability, have been no attack by the Indians. But the opportunity was too good to be lost on the part of the hostiles. The fact that the traders had left their escort behind them on the other side of the Arkansas River, and advancing as they evidently were in a loose formation, they were an easy prey to any band of hostiles in the vicinity.

Major Riley had given good advice, but was it heeded?

The fight of August 11th., would undoubtedly not have occurred except for the disregard of orders given Captain Pentland by Major Riley.

Between the lines of the report of this day's occur-

rence, can be read Major Riley's implication of cowardice on the part of Captain Pentland. Riley was undoubtedly a good officer, and a brave one, and one cannot but admire his vehemence in this matter.

According to Heitman's Historical Register, from which I have secured the records of the various officers mentioned in this article, Captain Pentland was dismissed from the Army April 22, 1830, probably as a direct result of this report.

(to be continued)

BIENNIAL REPORT

TO

THE GOVERNOR OF NEW MEXICO

1925-1926

Santa Fe, New Mexico, January 3, 1927.

HONORABLE RICHARD C. DILLON,
Governor,
Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Sir:

The Historical Society of New Mexico during the past biennium, 1925 and 1926, has prospered in its endeavors for the preservation of historical records and objects, in enlisting the interest of the public far and wide, in publishing the results of its historical research, in teaching history and inculcating patriotism. Its work has reached out to every portion of the State and at the same time it is building up a treasure house of inestimable value for the present and future generations. Every Commonwealth deems it a public duty and takes justifiable pride in preserving its historical records, some of them expending many times as much as New Mexico can afford, in order to maintain historical museums and societies. Yet, not another commonwealth has such a wealth of historical material, so splendid and continuous a history, so glorious a record of achievement. In its historical landmarks, in its history, New Mexico has an asset that is being capitalized to a greater extent with each year and today brings into the State thousands of visitors, untold treasure and has cen-

tered the attention of the world on this commonwealth, its people and its resources.

The membership of the Historical Society has more than doubled since the last biennial report. It can be multiplied several times during the next two years if the Society is given the comparatively small appropriation it asks for clerical and stenographic help, which has become the more necessary because of the increase in publication so advisable in order to give the world facts regarding New Mexico history and traditions. A year ago was begun the publication of the *New Mexico Historical Review*, a quarterly that won instant recognition and which is carrying the fame of New Mexico to the farthest corners of the earth. Its success is most gratifying and it has attracted contributors of eminence from other parts of the country, contributors who are delving into archives and chronicles to rescue from oblivion New Mexico history and records of much interest. Other States have such publications and the *New Mexico Historical Review* compares favorably with the best of them. None of the contributors are paid for their articles and the editors, with the President and the Secretary of the Society in charge, give their time and effort without cost to the state. In addition to the *Quarterly*, which is published in co-operation with the School of American Research, the Society has issued the customary number of historical monographs and pamphlets for which there is a continuing demand and which preserve for generations to come something of the record of the men and women who have made or are making history in the Southwest.

The historical exhibits have been completely rearranged during the past two years. As far as space and means permitted, an effort has been made to classify the exhibits, to arrange them chronologically and scientifically, to label them properly and to exclude such objects as do not bear on the history of the Southwest. When more room is available, it is planned to have one or more rooms of the Palace furnished in period style so that a complete visuali-

zation of life in early days may be brought to every visitor and especially to school children and the students of history. The cataloguing of the fine and large library to which many important additions are being made all the time, in the way of maps, manuscripts and books, has been completed. Such units as the historical library of the late Colonel Ralph E. Twitchell have been purchased. Catalogues of dealers in old books are scanned diligently and every once in a while a treasure is secured, so that now the historical library is one of which every New Mexican may well be proud. However, it is inadequately housed and difficult of access. In fact, all the libraries in the museum buildings should be brought together and given the care and attention of a professional librarian, one who would serve students and the general public, making known and securing more far-reaching use of the treasure house of New Mexicana and of historical, anthropological, archaeological and linguistic lore contained in the thousands of volumes. In its class it is unsurpassed by any library in the Southwest. The transfer of the archives from the office of the adjutant general to the State Museum and the return from the Congressional Library of the Spanish archives, have made the combined libraries a repository of original sources of great value not only to students of history but also to those interested in social sciences, in genealogical research and kindred pursuits. The fact that Secretary Lansing Bloom has been enabled to aid many veterans of Indian and other wars to obtain pensions to which they were rightfully entitled, and to aid many families to verify the records of service of some member, in itself has repaid the State many times the modest appropriation made for the maintenance of the work. These combined libraries also include the official record of the seventeen thousand and more men and women from New Mexico who served in the Great War. That this record is priceless and becomes more valuable each year, needs no argument. However, sufficient means should be provided to keep up the work so well begun by the Historical Service.

With a more liberal appropriation, many records and books bearing on the Southwest and its history could be rescued before they are irretrievably lost.

The Historical Society has added to its large number of portraits of Governors and other notables in New Mexico history, paintings by the artist, Gerald Cassidy; of Kit Carson; Juan Bautista de Anza, the Duke of Albuquerque and of Villagras. These works of art will be appreciated more and more as the years go by and as room is provided for more artistic and satisfactory display.

An important piece of work of the Historical Society, without cost to the State for supervision and handling, was the distribution of trophies of the Great War allotted to the State by the War Department. The variety of trophies, the complexity of local demands, made the task an intricate one, but we believe it was handled to the satisfaction of everyone. Every town and city of the State and every State institution, that had put in a request, now is in possession of trophies of the Great War that should be prized as a perpetual heritage. Too much praise cannot be given the Secretary, Mr. Bloom, for his conscientious and competent handling of this duty assigned to the Society by legislative act. His report is hereto appended.

The Historical Society has undertaken the placing of bronze tablets with the names of the fifty-one martyrs who gave their lives so that Christianity might be brought to the Indians in the Southwest. The tablets will be installed in the pediment of the Cross of the Martyrs on Cuma Heights, overlooking not only the Capital City but the ancient pueblo world as far west as Jemez, as far south as the Manzanos, east to the magnificent pinnacles of the Blood of Christ Range and north to Abiquiu Mountain and beyond. The dedication of these tablets is to take place on the evening of August 4, 1927.

As far as possible, regular monthly meetings of the Society have been held. Many of these were attended by persons of distinction from a distance. During the annual

convention of the New Mexico Educational Association, a Kit Carson exhibit by the Society drew thousands to the Historical Rooms. Members of the Society presented papers before various sections of the Convention. Every effort is being made at all times to be of assistance to teachers in the teaching of New Mexico history in the public as well as parochial and private schools of the State. At every meeting of the Society, one or more papers or talks of historical interest were given. Among these have been the following the past two years:

Hon. F. T. Cheetham

- "Laws of Spain in New Mexico"
- "First American Court at Taos"
- "Trial of the Assassins of Governor Bent"
- "Centenary of the Santa Fe Trail"
- "Los Comanches"

Col. R. E. Twitchell

- "Exhibit of English Documents from Cromwell's Time to the Days of George III"
- "De Vargas Papers"

Miss Blanche Grant

- "One Hundred Years Ago in Old Taos"

Fayette S. Curtis

- "The Arms Collections of the New Mexican Historical Society"
- "Baltazar de Obregon"
- "New Mexico War Trophies"
- "Spanish Arms and Armor in the Southwest"

Sylvanus G. Morley

- "Documents in Mexico City Appertaining to Early History of New Mexico"
- "Recent Discoveries in the Maya Region of Yucatan"

Lansing Bloom

- "Apache Campaign of 1880"
- "Expedition of Pedro Vial"
- "The Early Annals of the New Mexico Historical Society, 1859-1863"

Etienne B. Renaud

"Place of Man in Nature from Standpoint of Physical Anthropology"

Paul A. F. Walter

"John Mix Stanley, New Mexico's First Portrait Painter"

"Diary of E. E. Ayer"

"The Marmaduke Expedition"

"The First Meeting of the New Mexico Educational Association in 1886"

Father Theodosius Meyer

"Franciscan Martyrs in New Mexico"

Miss Bess McKinnan

"The Raton Toll Road"

Secretary Bloom has just returned from a lecture tour in the East and Middle West at which his theme was "Spaniard and Indian in the Southwest."

Two memorial meetings were held during the past two years, one for Colonel Ralph E. Twitchell, the President of the Society, whose death robbed New Mexico of its foremost historical writer and the Historical Society of a President who had during a few years given it wide fame; the other for Fayette S. Curtis, who was an indefatigable research worker in New Mexico history and who had given abundant promise of a brilliant career as a historian and writer. The death of Mrs. L. Bradford Prince, Col. W. M. Mills, ex-Governor W. E. Lindsey and Mr. Roberts Walker also deprived the Society of life members and generous friends.

The accessions of the Society during the past two years were many, most of them being by gift. The display of weapons was handsomely augmented by the Borrowdale Collection placed in the Society's care by the Museum of New Mexico and the School of American Research, and by the addition of war trophies, so that it is now the most complete in this part of the United States. A number of New Mexico newspapers continue to send the Society their pub-

lications. The files of periodicals possessed by the Society are of great value. It is hoped that adequate funds will be available to bind them substantially and sufficient room to make them accessible to visitors to the Library.

Exchanges are maintained with most of the Western historical magazines and with Government publications. Scattered throughout these are many interesting references - historical and otherwise - to New Mexico. These will be catalogued eventually, provided sufficient clerical assistance is provided from the means placed at the disposal of the Society. Many books from publishers and authors also come as donations to the Library. In fact, the Society is the recipient of many gifts, which otherwise would go to beneficiaries outside of the State.

A glance at the register maintained by the Society will bear evidence to the increasing number of visitors from all parts of the earth, who find the Museum and library of the Society of interest and who carry away with them impressions of New Mexico and its past that must redound to the credit and benefit of the Commonwealth and its people. Not less than thirty thousand people, it is estimated, view the historical collections each year.

One cannot express in money values the worth of the achievements of the Historical Society of New Mexico, but analysis will prove that, directly and indirectly, it has been the means of interesting people in the State who afterwards expended large sums in development or who became residents and citizens contributing mightily to the up building of the State. That it has raised New Mexico in the estimation of many thousands of Americans, is also certain. Quoting from the President's Inaugural address:

"It might be well at this time to set forth and emphasize briefly the objective that should be the goal of the Historical Society. For many years the Historical Society of New Mexico has done yeoman work under enthusiastic leadership, and its achievements are a matter of record, although, strange to say, that record is not nearly as complete as it should be. A historical society, so it has been

recently said, and I quote from an address of Director Arthur C. Parker of the Rochester Municipal Museum, 'is an organization devoting itself to the task of recording, preserving, interpreting and publishing historical records.' The history of our own times will have to be written some day, and for the sake of the future historian let us be faithful in preserving the official records of the present. It is indeed a pity that this Society does not have in its archives the official papers of the Governors of the State, and that such work as that of the Historical Service during the War is not being maintained now. The Spanish archives recently returned to Santa Fe are an example of how much more punctiliously the forefathers kept official records than we do. One of the objects of the Society, therefore, should be the recording of present day history, a most difficult task I admit, but in part realized by keeping up files of New Mexico newspapers and by gathering official documents. An effort should be made to obtain the official files of each State administration. Possibly, legislation might be had that would prevent the burning of official letters, such as the press reported after the death of President Harding. Of course, the records of our own meetings, memberships and acquisitions should be models, and I believe will be, henceforth.

"We have made a good start in publishing historical records, and it is my faith that henceforth this Society will always maintain a periodical publication such as the New Mexico Historical Review which will make available to all of those interested, both source material and the work of those who are writing Southwestern history. As a rule, historical publication is not profitable, and much interesting and valuable work has been lost for lack of publication.

"The indexing of the vast amount of historical material that this Society has gathered and preserved, and to which it is adding daily, has been begun in a scientific manner. That it should be continued and in much greater detail than the mere enumeration of titles of books and authors, is advisable. Much material of consequence never appears in book form. Again, in many a book is hidden material not suggested by title but which throws a flood of light upon a given historical topic. We already have volunteers who will undertake the indexing of files of New Mexico newspapers, a task that should prove most interesting.

"The accumulation of historical records makes necessary proper safekeeping of such archives. Unfortunately, the Historical Society does not command vaults or even

adequate library room. It is my hope that the next two years will see not only the building of a wing across the east end of the patio of the Palace of the Governors, but also the acquisition of the present Armory building and connection with the Public Library of the Santa Fe Woman's Board of Trade. By bringing together all the libraries, and by providing proper facilities for students and readers, something will have been achieved for the Commonwealth that will go far to make it known as a seat of culture. Fortunately, the buildings mentioned are so located that there are no insuperable difficulties in the way of providing adequate space and co-ordination at comparatively small outlay. A concerted effort in the next legislative assembly may bring about the much to be desired expansion and improvement. Imagine the east end of this venerable building extended to the walls of the Armory and that building included in the room available for the Historical Society, its library and archives and connected with the buildings that house the fine accumulation, not only of current literature, but of books and magazines of current history, travel and science. Let us make that one of our goals!

"Ordinarily, it is not the business of a Historical Society to maintain a museum, but force of circumstances has put the Historical Society into the museum business. Here is the distinction: 'The Historical Society is concerned with records and writings of and about men and events; the museum is concerned with exhibiting actual objects and explaining their relations and meanings.' A historical museum therefore is mainly concerned with the exhibition of objects that will illumine the history of the region covered. Fortunately, too, we now have the whole-hearted co-operation of the State Museum, which will make the task of maintaining a historical museum so much easier and more satisfactory. In time, I hope to see at least one room in this Palace fitted up in the style of the Spanish colonial days. As far as possible, we are arranging exhibits chronologically, so that a person entering the west end of the Palace will logically proceed from exhibits illustrating the culture of the earliest primitive days to the exhibits of Pueblo culture, thence to Spanish Colonial and American Occupation periods, the Great War and the present day, and thence into the Library where the student may find everything appertaining to New Mexico, a library such as Dr. J. A. Munk has collected for Arizona and at present housed in the Southwest Museum at Los Angeles.

Let New Mexico never lose its opportunity to possess the most complete collection of New Mexicana, such as Arizona has lost to California.

"The exhibits should be arranged scientifically and placed in harmonious cases and groups. At present, unfortunately again, our exhibits are too crowded, our exhibition cases have been picked up at random from bargain counters. Our labeling should be as precise and informative as that to be found in the best museums of the country. I propose that a beginning should be made at once that will result in all historical material being brought to the east end of the Palace, all ethnological material to the central portion, and that archaeological exhibits be confined to the west end of the Palace as far as possible; or, that a new building be provided for them and the entire Palace of the Governors be given to history and historical exhibits and library. Assurance is had that the Museum authorities will not only cooperate but will readily transfer, as they already have in part, historical material. The Pueblo Pottery Fund has been approached for the loan of some of its finest specimens to complete our pottery exhibits, and the Museum has given such cases as it could spare to be placed in the Pueblo pottery room. However, sooner or later, and we hope that it will be soon, the Museum should have an ethnological building for the display of pottery and other Indian artifacts and art. Can you not visualize a Museum of the Southwest, as is herewith suggested, which measures up to the best in the country, both scientifically as well as in interest and beauty, and that at the same time is as distinctive as the Palace in which it is located?

"Let us be courageous in declining objects offered us for exhibit that have nothing to do with New Mexico history or that are merely curios. We cannot hope to maintain a museum of natural history, or of industry, or of art, or even of archaeology. Nor do we want to maintain what one writer has characterized as 'disorderly collections of junk.' Quoting from a recent number of 'Museum Work:': 'Documents, maps, pictures and old manuscripts become almost forgotten, and an ungodly hodge-podge of good, bad and indifferent things - principally indifferent - assume great importance and their exhibit becomes the jealous concern of the historical society. Wander through the halls of one of the oldest historical societies in America, that in the metropolis itself, and behold Egyptian mummies, sacred bulls, Indian costumes, and other extra-limi-

tal material. One wonders what these things have to do with the history of Gotham. The time to standardize has come, the day of the curio cabinet has gone.'

"Fortunately, the Historical Society of New Mexico has but little material that is not of value, and that does not appertain to the history and culture of the Southwest. The fact that we have applications for membership from almost every state in the Union and even from abroad, attest to the interest and esteem in which this organization is held. In view of all this, should we not set ourselves a goal of a thousand members within the next two years? Surely, every person of education and culture in New Mexico owes it to himself or herself to be interested in what we are doing for the commonwealth, and we are justified in asking for their membership and support."

In conclusion, the President desires to acknowledge the great value to the Society and to the State of the co-operation given by the Museum of New Mexico and the School of American Research. Not only has the Director Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, placed at the service of the Society the time and work of its Secretary, Mr. Lansing Bloom, but also of the other members of the Museum and School staff. With their aid, exhibits have been classified, scientifically arranged and catalogued. With their aid, the libraries housed in the Palace of the Governors and the Art Museum are to be brought together. Possessions and exhibits of the Museum and School of greater historical interest than of archaeological or anthropological importance, have been placed in the care of the Society and added to its displays. Heat, janitor service and the supervision of the Museum superintendent have made the Historical Society rooms more comfortable and presentable. Best of all, there is now complete co-ordination of all activities, doing away with duplication, waste and embarrassment, and rendering to the State a service of increasing and priceless value.

Three recommendations the President would make to the Governor and Legislative Assembly:

A statute providing that a copy of every official re-

port, document and publication be placed in the historical library.

A more liberal appropriation to permit the Society to perform for the benefit of the State and its people the functions and duties of a well-conducted historical society and museum.

The building of a wing to the Palace of the Governors extending across the east end of the Palace patio, from the present Museum building to the National Guard Armory, providing vaults for manuscripts and precious gifts, and room for library consolidation together with adequate and well-lighted reading room.

Respectfully submitted,

PAUL A. F. WALTER

President.

TROPHIES OF THE GREAT WAR

The last state legislature made an appropriation of \$1,500 for the receiving and distribution of the war trophies which had been allocated by the war department to the State of New Mexico, and the officers of the Historical Society were asked to handle this matter for the state.

As soon as the appropriation was available, which was in the early spring of 1926, letters were sent out to ascertain where the trophies were desired, and distribution was made upon the basis of the replies received.

The chief difficulty was with regard to the major pieces of artillery. A total of twenty-five were asked for, which had to be satisfied with only six which had been given to New Mexico. Requests for additional pieces were unsuccessful, and the six pieces were placed as follows:

- 2 minnewerfers with mounts, 250 millimeter E. Las Vegas and the State University
- 1 heavy howitzer, mounted, 150 millimeter Military Institute
- 1 short howitzer, mounted, 105 millimeter State College

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- 2 minnewerfers with mounts, 250 millimeter E. Las Vegas and the State University
- 1 heavy howitzer, mounted, 150 millimeter Military Institute
- 1 short howitzer, mounted, 105 millimeter State College

- 1 light field gun, mounted, 77 millimeter Santa Fe
- 1 minnewerfer, mounted, 76 millimeter Silver City

The balance of the trophies, 683 items in all, were distributed to the above named places and also to Dawson, Tucumcari, El Rito, Bernalillo, Gallup, Belen, Socorro, Willard, Carrizozo, Alamogordo, Artesia, and Carlsbad. In July the chief of ordnance advised the Historical Society that an additional lot of small trophies had been assigned to New Mexico. These were received and distributed in October to the above centers. Some duplicate trophies, however, have been held by the Historical Society in case other towns send in belated requests for small collections.

The entire lot consisted chiefly of machine guns of various types, rifles, sword and sabers, Uhlan lances, helmets and helmet ornaments, canteens, gas masks, brass cartridge cases of different sizes, steel projectiles of two sizes, grenade throwers, trench lanterns, wooden and metal ammunition boxes, "Gott mit Uns" buckles, and a number of other items.

Besides the piece of field artillery for Santa Fe, which was placed on the Catron School grounds, a representative collection of trophies was kept for exhibition in the State Museum.

This collection includes:

- 1 trench mortar, German, 57 millimeter
- 1 grenade thrower
- 1 aircraft machine gun, German Maxim
- 2 machine guns, German Maxim, model 1908-15
- 1 antitank rifle, German Mauser, 13 millimeter
- 1 gas mask
- 1 officer's sword
- 4 enlisted men's sabers
- 1 brass cartridge case, 210 m/m howitzer
- 4 brass cartridge cases, 150 m/m howitzer
- 1 brass cartridge case, 173 m/m railway
- 8 steel helmets
- 1 Uhlan helmet

2 Uhlan lances
5 canteens, infantry and medical
1 grenade, potato masher, dummy
10 steel belt boxes, machine gun
6 wooden belt boxes, machine gun
1 belt-loading machine
1 coffee or tea container
1 trench lantern
1 fuse, inert
1 flexible saw, leather case
20 belt buckles, "Gott mit Uns"
2 eagle ornaments, helmet
84 side ornaments for helmet, 3 kinds
6 projectiles, 173 m/m
3 projectiles, 150 m/m
1 Spanish express automatic pistol
1 Mauser automatic (shoulder piece serves as wooden
holster)
1 piece of body armor
29 bayonets, plain and saw-tooth
62 rifles and carbines

These trophies, and others which have been received at the State Museum by gift or loan from Dr. S. D. Swope, Miss Helen Straughn and others, were mostly catalogued by the late F. S. Curtis, Jr., headmaster of Los Alamos Ranch School. As already stated, many items are duplicates, but the miscellaneous lot of rifles and carbines shows a surprising variety when classified by type, arsenal and model. One example even of Japanese make has been identified.

So far as present case and floor space allow, the collection has been installed in the War Memorial room of the Old Palace and in the ethnological room of the Historical Society. In the latter room also are the Borrowdale collection of weapons and the similar collection belonging to the Historical Society.

LANSING B. BLOOM

NECROLOGY

MAJOR GEORGE H. PRADT

Major George H. Pradt, a veteran of the New Mexico plains in the early 70s, passed away in death at his Laguna Pueblo home early Sunday morning, January 9, 1927, after an illness extending over a period of several years, at an advanced age in life —80 years and over, and it was a most active, exciting life.

George H. Pradt, in after years known as Major Pradt, in after years known as Major Pradt, who was a well-known surveyor and civil engineer, came to New Mexico as early as 1869, with a commission in his pocket to make a survey of the Navajo Indian reservation for the national government, and that survey was harassed by a number of hair-breadth escapes from scalping knives, not only from small roving bands of renegade Navajoes but from bands of marauding Apaches, who were then on the warpath.

However, Mr. Pradt, with his force of surveyors and engineers, found a warm friend in the Navajo chief, Manuelito, and thru his friendship for the whites the Pradt party completed the survey of that reservation. He carried his report back to Washington, where it was used in after years on a number of important occasions in the settlement of disputes.

In 1872 he returned to New Mexico, located at Santa Fe, and soon thereafter became attached to the territorial surveyor general's office. For the four years he was connected with the surveyor general's office, he was principally engaged in government surveying and civil engineering of public lands, reservations and the like, and on the completion of the survey of the Laguna Pueblo Indian reservation, for the government at Washington and the archives of the surveyor general's office at Santa Fe, he took up his permanent residence at Laguna and married into that pueblo of Indians.

For a term or two he was governor of the Laguna village, and did much toward cementing a lasting friendship between the invaders from the states (the whites) and the Pueblo Indians.

The deceased was elected surveyor and civil engineer of Valencia county during the regime of Hon Tranquilino Luna, who was then in the congress of the United States from New Mexico, and besides acting for that county did quite a bit of private surveying and general engineering work for others.

He was often called into conferences by Pitt Ross and other early-day surveyors and civil engineers of Bernalillo county. He was also engaged in the cattle business, and was successful, but retired from this business, devoting most of his time thereafter to surveying and civil engineering, which he had mastered, and to general merchandise and post trading, he being connected with Walter and Robert Marmon in this business.

George H. Pradt's military career is a fine one. During the Civil war he served as corporal in Company A. 49th Wisconsin Volunteer infantry, and also company K of the 40th Wisconsin Volunteer infantry participating in many engagements along the Mississippi river in Tennessee and farther south, principally against bush whackers.

When the G. K. Warren post, G. A. R., was organized in Albuquerque in the early 80s, Mr. Pradt joined the local post, and altho a resident of Laguna he always maintained pleasant relations with his old army comrades whenever he came to Albuquerque to attend post meetings.

The deceased served in the New Mexico militia, besides organizing a company of Laguna Indian soldiers to hold the village against marauding Apaches and Navajoes, and was first lieutenant in Company I, Second regiment of infantry in 1882; after this he was an officer in the First and Second regiments of cavalry. New Mexico militia, up to 1890.

In 1892 he was appointed major and inspector of rifle

practice on the territorial governor's staff, and served two terms on the staff in these capacities. During these exciting early days he was the efficient deputy United States marshal out west, and was justice of the peace, in the name of the United States, for several terms at Laguna.

Major Pradt was born in Pennsylvania, and when quite young was taken to Wisconsin by his parents. From that state he came to New Mexico.—W. T. McCreight.

The following report of Major George H. Pradt, is published through the courtesy of the Hon. Amado Chaves, an old friend of Major Pradt:

REPORT OF OPERATIONS DURING THE APACHE CAMPAIGN
OF 1885

Laguna N. M. July 10th 1885

Lieut. Col. W. G. Marmon,
1st Cavalry Regiment N. M. V. M.
Commanding Battalion

Sir:

I have the honor to submit the following report of operations of the troops under my command, during the month of June of the present year. Pursuant to orders, on May 30th. I went to Grants Station, on the A. & P. R. R., where I met Troops Land K from San Mateo, San Rafael, commanded respectively by Capt. Dumas Provencher and First Lieutenant Ireneo L. Chaves. I assumed command and after outfitting with provisions, pack animals, ammunition etc., marched on the evening of June 2nd. to San Rafael, 4 miles, where thanks to the liberal spirit of the citizens, the command was provided with comfortable quarters for men and horses.

The route from San Rafael was southeasterly over a good wagon road across the Lava bed, thence along the east edge of the Lava bed to the Cebollita ranch, a distance of 25 miles: Here the command found wood, water and grass in abundance. From the Cebollita ranch I marched with a detail of ten men and two officers by trail across the mesa, 12 miles, to the Cebolla ranch, for the purpose of ascertaining if there were any renegade Navajos in the vicinity; the main body of the command going with the pack train by wagon road around the mesa, about 20 miles: I arrived at Cebolla at 8 a. m. on the morning of June 4th.,

and found 8 herders with a family of women and children; The herders were all armed and on the lookout and were expecting an attack from Apaches at any moment.

At this place two men were killed and a woman and child taken prisoners during the last raid of Victorio's Apaches. A number of Navajos were with the Apaches at the time and took part in the murders and outrages that were committed, as appeared by the testimony of the woman, who escaped after about a year's captivity.

At 4 p. m., the main command arrived and after detaching a sergeant and seven men as a guard for the Cebolla ranch and to do additional scouting in the vicinity, I marched south over a good trail about 10 miles and went into camp, finding good wood and grass but no water; on the 5th the command marched by the Estacado spring to the Belleville ranch on the Alamocita creek about 22 miles southeasterly, over a rough trail, passing a good spring about half way, and arrived at the Belleview ranch at 4 p. m. and reported for further orders. On the 6th, I marched over a good wagon road ten miles, south, to the Perea spring near the summit of the Gallinas ranch, where I established camp, finding abundance of wood water and grass. From this point scouting parties were sent out, northeast to the Alamo spring, where 6 or 7 families of Navajos are farming; south to the San Augustine plains and southwest to Baldwin's ranch in the Datil range.

A number of settlers leaving this part of the new country had left their homes, and among those remaining a feeling of insecurity prevailed, and many rumors were current as to the movements of the Apache. On the 10th, Capt. Provencher while scouting on the plains south of the Gallinas ranch, found the trail of 4 mounted horses going north towards the mountains; he followed this trail until it was lost in the rough ground, and the next day two scouting parties under Capt. Provencher and Lieut. Chaves were sent out to find out if possible who the parties were; at the same time reports were brought in to camp, that a party of four men had visited several places in the vicinity at night, returning immediately to the roughest part of the mountains; The search for this party was kept up until I was satisfied that they had left that part of the country. I afterward learned that they had gone north towards the A. & P. R. R., and one of them a renegade Indian from Laguna, had stolen a horse near Cubero Station, and gone in to the San Mateo mountains; He was pursued by some

of the people of the neighborhood and killed, and the horse recovered; Before dying he boasted that, with his companions, he had committed depredations and murders in several localities in the vicinity of the San Mateo range southwest of Fort Craig and in the Black Range and further west; taking advantage of the Apache outbreak to make a raid on their own account. From these circumstances I think it very probable that the men said to have been murdered at or near the Cuchillo Negro, were killed by this party, and that the other depredations further west, and attributed to the Apaches, were committed by them.

Scouting parties were sent also to the Trinchera on the Rito Quemado road, and afterwards the main portion of the command was taken to Magdalena to have the horses shod. At the latter place I met Colonel Blake of the 2nd. Cavalry, N. M. V. M., who had recently returned from a scout to the Mogollon mountains. I learned from him that no traces of Apaches had been seen in the vicinity of Magdalena or on the plains west and south from there.

After returning from Magdalena, scouting parties were sent out south and west to various points but no traces of Apaches were found.

On the 21st. a letter from Adjutant General to yourself was brought to me by a Laguna Indian courier, directing you to march the battalion to the Railroad and disband.

I sent four men from Troop I. to find your camp and deliver this letter, and as I was uncertain where you could be found, decided to move at once with my command. Accordingly the several scouting parties were called in and on the evening of the 25th. the command moved north about 4 miles and camped. On the 26th. the trail to Acoma was taken and on the 29th. the command reached Grants Station. The Adjutant General was notified as soon as possible of this movement and he approved it by a letter of the 23rd. inst. The command was disbanded on the 30th. at Grants Station.

I wish to express my thanks to Capt. Dumas Provencher and to Lieuts. Ireneo L. Chaves, Jose Leon Telles and Roman L. Baca, for the faithfulness and zeal with which they performed the various duties of the campaign and for the pleasant social relations that existed between us throughout the expedition.

My thanks are due also to the men for their ready obedience to orders, their intelligent co-operation in all movements and their cheerful endurance of the hardships

attending a campaign in a rough and comparatively desert country.

Very Respectfully,

Geo. H. Pradt.

Major, 1st. Regt. N. M. V. M.

Family records show Major Pradt's descent from Isaac Stearn born in Yorkshire, England, about 1600, who came over in the Ship *Arabella* with Gov. Winthrop in 1630 and settled in Watertown, Massachusetts.

Major Pradt was born April 23, 1864, in Jersey Shore, Lycoming County, Pennsylvania.

Military Record.

In the spring of 1864 he enlisted in the 40th. Wisconsin Infantry to serve 100 days, (Emergency troops) serving as a private and corporal. His company was made up of school boys. The Regiment was stationed at Memphis, Tennessee, where it did picket scout and train guard duty. In August they fought against General Forrest and captured his two gun battery. Pradt was slightly injured by a piece of shell.

In February, 1865, he enlisted in the 49th. Wisconsin Infantry as a private but was on detached (clerical) duty the whole time. The regiment was stationed at Rolla, Missouri, on guard and scout duty. Later it was stationed at St. Louis, awaiting orders to go with General Sheridan to Mexico.

In New Mexico, Pradt served as 1st. lieutenant and captain of the Laguna Indian Scouts (Militia); afterwards as major and lieutenant colonel in a New Mexico cavalry regiment. He spent one month in command of two troops of cavalry in the Geronimo Campaign, also scouted at various times after Apaches and train robbers. From 1877 to 1887 he was major on the governor's staff at various times. Dates of commissions in The Volunteer Militia of New Mexico:

1 Under Administration of L. A. Sheldon.

April 10, 1882—First Lieutenant, Co. "I," 2d Regt.

February 10, 1883,—Captain Co. "I", 2d Regt.

October 1, 1883—Major, 1st Cavalry.

2 Under Administration of E. G. Ross.
November 10, 1885—Lieutenant Colonel.

3 Under Administration of L. Bradford Prince.
August 24, 1890—Captain Co. "C," First Regt.
August 8, 1892—Major on Governor's Staff as Inspector
of Rifle Practice.

4 Under Administration of W. T. Thornton.
July 14, 1893—Major on Governor's Staff as Inspector
of Rifle Practice.

Civilian Appointments in New Mexico:

October 22, 1881—United States Deputy Surveyor for Dis-
trict of New Mexico.

August 28, 1885—Justice of the Peace, Valencia County.
July, 1890—Census Enumerator, Pueblo of Zuñi.

April 30, 1890—United States Deputy Land Surveyor, Dis-
trict of New Mexico.

September 13, 1897—United States Deputy Marshal.

November 17, 1898—United States Deputy Mineral Sur-
veyor.

July 21, 1905—Notary Public.

November 2, 1907—Court Commissioner, second Judicial
District of New Mexico.

July 10, 1909—Notary Public.

Major Pradt also served as county surveyor, and held
various other county appointments.

P. A. F. W.

REVIEWS AND NOTES

St. Francis and Franciscans in New Mexico. By Rev. Theodosius Meyer, O. F. M., (The Museum Press, Santa Fe, 1926) 44 pp., ill., \$0.50. This booklet has been a labor of love on the part of Father Theodosius, based upon extensive reading and study, not only of the numerous books already published upon the life of St. Francis, but also upon voluminous old church records of New Mexico. The author's purpose has been to give a sympathetic sketch of the foun-

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der of this great order and an analysis of his character and spirit which inspired his followers to their heroic labors in the Southwest, as well as in other parts of the world. With this background, Father Theodosius then gives what data he has been able to gather, meager in some cases and yet illuminative, regarding the 51 Franciscan missionaries of New Mexico who suffered martyrdom during the period from 1542 to 1731. Father Theodosius has done a real service in this piece of historical research, both in the individual sketches and in the two tabulations of the 51 martyrs at the close.

When the massive "Cross of the Martyrs" (which overlooks *La Villa Real de la Santa Fe de San Francisco* from the eminence north of the city) was erected some years ago, this information — even the list of their names — was not available. Bronze tablets carrying the 51 names have been ordered and are to be placed on the Cross this summer, and the Historical Society hopes to secure funds sufficient also to place a flood-light which will illuminate it not only for residents but for travellers many miles out on the highways from Las Vegas and Albuquerque.

The total cost will be about \$500.00, and this amount is to be secured by the sale and distribution of this special publication, as well as by contributions. Orders for one or more copies, and contributions, should be sent to the Historical Society, Santa Fe, New Mexico. This special fund, at this writing has only \$42.50, and promptness on the part of those who wish to participate will be appreciated.

L. B. B.

CUSTODIAN OF PUBLIC ARCHIVES

New Mexico is one of the few states which have hitherto made no provision for proper care of their public archives. The following act, passed unanimously by house and senate in the recent legislature and signed by the governor, will be of interest to members of the Society and students of the Southwest. Unfortunately another measure which would have enable the State Museum and the Historical Society to establish a unified library was vetoed

by Governor Dillon, so that requests for transfer of public archives must be seriously limited for the present. However, it may be possible to make a beginning in this important service to the state and to historical students.

HOUSE BILL No. 338

(introduced by R. L. Baca, Clement Hightower, Alvan N. White, F. T. Cheetham, and O. A. Larrazolo)

A N A C T

To Provide for Care of Valuable but Non-current Public Records

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of New Mexico:

Section 1. The Historical Society of New Mexico is hereby made the official custodian and trustee for the State of New Mexico of the public archives of whatever kind which may be transferred to it from any public office of state, county, city, or otherwise.

Section 2. For the purpose of safe custody, better preservation and historical study of such archives, any state, county, or other official shall transfer to the Historical Society of New Mexico, upon its request and in its capacity as trustee and custodian for the State, any non-current records, documents, original papers, manuscripts, newspaper files or printed books not specifically required by law to be retained in the office of such official as a part of the public records.

Section 3. On behalf of the State of New Mexico and its trustee, the Historical Society of New Mexico, the state attorney general may replevin any papers, books, correspondence, etc., which were formerly part of the records or files of any public office in the Territory or State of New Mexico.

Section 4. Custodianship by the Historical Society of New Mexico shall be legal as well as physical. After such transfer of any records or other material, photostatic or transcript copies thereof, certified by the secretary or other authorized representative of the Historical Society, shall have all the force and effect as if made by the official originally in custody of them.

ERRATUM

Pg. 134, line 10, *read:*

“order to make the most of the new discovery, **Father Esco-**”



New Mexico Historical Review
University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, NM 87131