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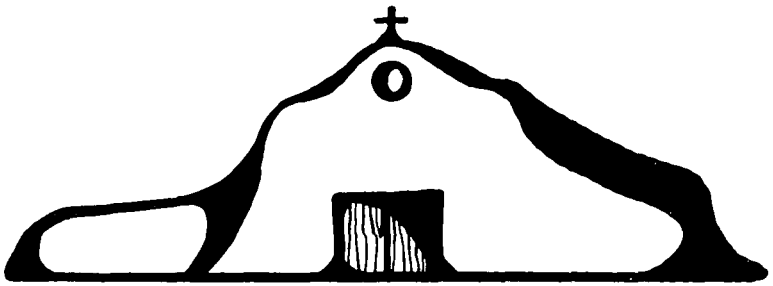


NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

REPRINT

JANUARY 1927

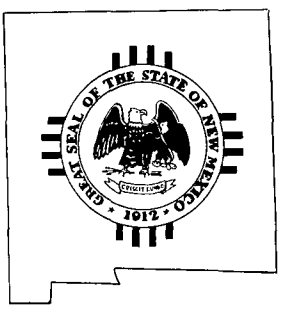
IN APPRECIATION

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—

HISTORICL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

(as amended - Dec. 15, 1925)

Article I. —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.

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

Vol. II. January, 1927. No. 1.

NEW MEXICO IN THE GREAT WAR

(Continued)

IX Life in Camp and Cantonment

Community life wanes in proportion to growth of community activity. The two manifestations, seemingly so closely related, hold each other in check or in balance, as it were. The more that the functions of social existence are assigned to community authority, the fewer and more formal the community gatherings and the more general becomes individualism, the tendency of "each man for himself." The result is that a few gather unto themselves the administration of community affairs, inevitable reaction sets in and the cycle begins again with a rebirth of community life which immediately sets to work to wrest power from the few who have usurped it and to restore community activity. That being achieved, the units of the community once more relapse into the individualism which permits the community to do everything for the group or individual but which at the same time stifles community life.

To the student of sociology, life in camps and cantonments during the Great War, was of intense interest. In this life, community activity had reached the stage where a few administered everything for the many, provided for their daily needs, their comforts, their play and even their religious needs. What was the reaction of the mass to this benevolent despotism created by the needs of Mars?

At first the mass liked it. Relieved of the necessity

of providing for themselves, of worrying about the tomorrow or what to do next, it seemed like a great vacation, a fine lark, such as many men dream of but seldom realize. The mass was relieved of every responsibility for community activities and at the same time had no need of worrying about individual needs. There was a manifestation of community life as a result such as America had not seen since the days that town meetings and quilting parties regulated life in New England. There was a joyous, good-natured abandon and many men learned for the first time what comradeship, "My bunkie," and other terms met with in literature really signify.

However, there were a few spirits in every camp and cantonment who at once chafed under the restraint of even the most benevolent despotism. Those inclined to lawlessness stole out of camp, overstayed their leaves of absence. The charges of technical desertion were comparatively many and insubordination was not rare. Those of constructive mind set to work to direct community activities and there were such things as "round robins" pointing out defects-real or imaginary-in camp management, suggesting innovations or improvements, while there were organized groups who initiated activities such as were not specifically maintained by the benevolent despotism of camp authority. How far this would have gone had the war continued or had the same divisions and regiments remained in their camps and cantonments for longer periods, is an interesting speculation for students who may find material for their research in studying what happened in Russia and later sporadically in some of the other belligerent armies; or they might consult the reports made to the governors of middle western states on conditions at Camp Cody or in the investigation of conditions at Camp Kearny by Governor W. E. Lindsey of New Mexico.

However, the average recruit accepted unquestioningly what authority prepared for him; he obeyed unhesitatingly the orders issued; readily adapted himself to the new

life; enjoyed it without reasoning very much about it, and caught a glimpse of phases of human existence that had been a closed book to him in his pre-war relations.

New Mexicans were to be found in nearly every cantonment and camp. They were scattered through some twenty divisions and possibly a hundred regiments. As all the camps and cantonments were built upon the some models and the regulations governing were made by the War Department at Washington without much consideration of environment, climate, or local conditions, life was very much the same in all of them except that climate and environment did assert themselves as they always do in the long run, and as one may learn by studying the health statistics and the death lists with the causes of death at the various sites. Whether one chooses therefore Camp Cody or Camp Kearny, Camp Funston or Camp Mills, for a description of the life of the men in training, the story is much the same. For the purposes of this chapter, a sketch of the life of the individual and of the group at Camp Perry, is perhaps, as typical and comprehensive as could be found.

Camp Perry is located on the shores of Lake Erie under the fitful skies of the Great Lakes region. It is pretty much isolated and far from the town and city life. Port Clinton is the nearest village and Toledo the nearest large city. It was quite inconvenient to reach either, involving a railroad or automobile trip with attendant money cost and loss of time. Drainage and sanitary conditions left much to be desired. On rainy days, and there were many such, some of the tents occupied by the men stood a foot deep in water or mud. Many tents had no floors and often leaked. The streets of the camp were almost bottomless when the downpour was heavy, and slippery and mucky for days afterwards.

Here was gathered every nationality and every stratum of society to be found in America. On one side of the camp were student officers selected from practically every camp in the United States, who had been commissioned and had

shown unusual fitness and who had been sent there for special instruction in small arms. On the other side of the Camp, were the Marines and the Sailors, each with their band, the civilian rifle teams representing every state in the Union, and squads of laborers of all nationalities and languages, organized into development battalions, to do "kitchen-police" duty and the menial tasks of the camp, to work the roads, tend the butts at practice, unload the freight cars and trucks, do the cleaning and the polishing, and whatever tasks required mainly muscular strength.

It was a heterogeneous mass, yet community life flourished. It must be admitted, however, that there was no "melting pot" flavor about it. Each group kept much to itself. There were dances for officers, for instance, and dances for privates. There was an officers' mess hall and a mess hall for the others who were not commissioned. There were camp fires for marines and boxing matches for the sailors. The civilian rifle teams mingled freely with each group and therefore saw more of every aspect of camp life than did the average private or officer in military service.

The absence of women and "women's nursing" was a characteristic of camp life and gave it an aspect that was, an answer to the assertion that the American army was "woman-raised" and therefore effeminate. For the few dances given in camp, matrons and girls came over from Port Clinton. Only occasionally did a mother or sister or a sweetheart find her way to Camp and these happy ones for an hour or so marched proudly about the rifle range or sat with their escorts on a bench in the Y. M. C. A. hut, but had to leave camp by 10 P. M. There were no camp followers in the sense that [European] armies had known them from time immemorial. There never had been an army with such lofty moral standards. There was an evident absence of such scandals and gossip as mar social life in every community and even at army posts. The few

sporadic cases which occurred happened despite, rather than because of, camp conditions.

At Camp Perry there were from New Mexico several officers who had just come from the Presidio Training Camp, including Lieutenants Caldwell and Chaves, the Civilian Rifle Team, consisting of sixteen men, and a number of older officers who had been in New Mexico and were still interested in its progress.

The daily routine was simple and as a rule the men fell into it readily, even as to the early rising and the primitive life, cheerfully doing without many of the conveniences that ordinarily are deemed essential. A New Mexico writer in the Santa Fe Daily New Mexican of September 14, 1918, gives a pen picture of this life as follows:

"Democracy as it works out in the United States is exemplified daily in Camp Perry. Millionaire stands shoulder to shoulder with pauper, university graduate rubs against the self-made man, each with a tin dish and tin cup in his hand, each takes his place and turn in the lines that rushes hungrily into the mess hall at meal time, each sits on the rough board bench at the rough table and dips his beans or pudding out of the same huge tin dish. Enjoy it? You bet your life—the millionaire and highbrow, if anything, growl a great deal less than the "pobre." At night, in the tepees on the iron cots with the tent walls flapping gaily like sails of a ship in a gale, how these same men sleep even though at home insomnia might have been their constant companion. Reveille at 5:10 A. M., sounds all too soon, but out and up they jump, shivering, but energetically taking their turns in carrying the buckets of water from the hydrants at street intersections and dashing the cold water into their faces, then drilling until breakfast at 6:15 A. M. These men wouldn't miss the experience for anything that luxury had previously thrown into their laps. They thrive on it, gain in weight and health and exclaim 'This is the Life'! And they mean it.

"What if the life is strenuous until 5 P. M., shooting

on one range after the other, lying prone in oozy mud or kneeling on a hard bank? The rapid fire, crackling like strings of fire-crackers, sounds all day from the lake front with the deeper, slower fire and the high-pitch of the revolver practice breaking out spasmodically in all directions. That the life agrees with the men, the ruddy faces, the sturdy stride, the good humor on every side, make apparent. Among 3, 700 men thus far there are only five hospital cases and some wonder how these five broke into the 'sick list' class!

"Just before supper—and it's breakfast, dinner, and supper in camp, no fashionable six o'clock dinner schedule-the Marine Band with an inimitable drum major at the head marches through the camp. It is followed by a 'crack' military band. At sunset 'retreat' is sounded as the flag goes down. Each and all of the 3,700 men drop whatever they may be doing and stand at 'attention' until the last strains of 'The Star Spangled Banner' die away upon the evening air. It is a thrilling moment, ever sacred to those who cannot help thinking of the men whose life-blood has been given to make those stripes so red, whose highest hopes went into those stars, whose sacrifice has made them so white, whose loyalty unto death has made holy the blue. Tears glisten in some eyes and souls are stirred with emotion. It is indeed a glorious privilege to be an American, either native-born or adopted.

"As darkness falls, lights gleam through hundreds of tents walls. From their interior come songs and laughter, tinkling mandolin with strumming banjo accompaniment. In the Oklahoma tents, next to the four tents occupied by the New Mexicans, a Kiowa war dance is being performed; the minister on the New Mexico team sings a Jemez Pueblo song. Other men are strolling down to the sandy beach, perhaps for a swim, and then to the Y. M. C. A. or the Knights of Columbus huts. There is always something doing, something clean, wholesome, something that cheers, something that recalls home, father, mother, wife, sweet-

heart, sister, brother, son, or daughter. Both places are always crowded. There is music - lots of it. There are books, magazines and papers, and high class entertainment. Wednesday is 'movie' night. Tonight at the 'Y' is a concert by a professional company. Last night the fun opened with a 'community sing.' It is a veritable revelation to hear hundreds of lusty, masculine voices join in 'Smile, Smile!' or in the gospel and the army songs. Last night they tried a new one, 'Ohio,' a state song that has a fine swing to it. Other state songs were called for and 'Miss Garrett's 'Oh, Fair New Mexico,' as well as Mrs. Bartlett's tuneful 'New Mexico Song,' caught the fancy of the crowd. After the 'sing,' a noted elocutionist recited 'Strong Heart,' which too had its special New Mexico appeal because of its Indian motive. But for a few officers' wives in the front seat, the elocutionist would have been the only woman in that hall so crowded with men that they sat and stood on the writing tables ranged along the four walls of the room. Except during the thunderous applause there was the closest attention, the deepest silence, no coming late or leaving early. The speaker declared that never had any audience in America or Europe so thrilled her.

"At the Knights of Columbus hut which is kept neat as a pin and most inviting all the time, with a hearty welcome for every one, a candlelight dance was the feature. A few young women from Port Clinton chaperoned by wives of officers had been drafted but furnished far too few partners so that many of the men danced with each other. Candles sputtered on the writing tables around the walls and every once in a while some fun-loving soldier would seize a candle and make the rounds of the girls, lighting up their faces, in order to detect his promised partner. The music was martial and included many of the newest war songs woven into dance music, so that dancers and spectators would join in singing them, the effect being inspiring and unforgetable.

"At the same time, the Marines had a camp-fire at

which the commanding officers of the camp and the New Mexico team were the guests of honor and squatted on low folding stools in the first circle around the burning logs. The entertainment was surprising because of its character. The reputation of the Marines as indomitable fighters so justified by subsequent events, led the crowd to expect something real wild and wooly. Instead, the opening number was a recitation by E. J. Feemster, a mild-spoken, mild-mannered, and mild-looking New Mexico crack-shot of the U. S. Biological Survey. He recited "When Ruby played the Piano." No one present seemed to think the number incongruous. The crowd followed every word and sentence with evident interest. The men laughed, shouted and applauded the clever impersonation. Even the Colonel wearing the Croix de Guerre and other decorations, laughed until tears rolled down his cheeks. Then came a sailor with an accordeon. He played not war songs, but ballads of home and mother. The marines and the rest of the crowd took up the songs with vigor. The favorite seemed to be "Silver Threads among the Gold," for it was called for again and again and each time it was sung with increased verve. Surely an inexplicable revelation of American character but that somehow fitted into sentimental traits that manifested themselves unexpectedly on all fronts during the war! As stated editorially in the Los Angeles Times:

> "In the finals it appears that the favorite hymn of the trenches was 'Abide With Me.' 'Tis a grand old hymn and the wide love of it shows there's a strain of reverence at the bottom of every careless and impulsive heart. It will be with us long after the jazz stuff has been pigeon-holed in the musical morgue."

"In another part of the camp, the sailors had put on a boxing bout and a jiu-jitsu exhibition. The affair was conducted with the orderliness of a prayer meeting. At 9 o'clock 'taps' and by ten 'lights out.' Guards paced to and fro and their challenges sounding through the night air proclaimed eternal vigilance whether earth is fair with moonlight or shrouded by storms."

Another letter by a New Mexican in a New Mexico paper describes his first impressions as follows:

"The recruit is handed an Enfield rifle out of 'cosmoline' pickle. It oozes and drips grease all over. It is his task to clean the gun and it's sure some fun to watch how gingerly some men grasp the gun and to witness their evident agony in cleaning it, a good two or three hours job. Incidentally the recruit is learning more than perhaps he ever knew before about guns. Woe to him if at inspection he hasn't cleaned the rifle 'in'ards' and 'out'ards, and the inspecting officer finds as much as a tuft of lint in the bore. The recruit's next experience is at the commissary where he is doled out an aluminum kit of cup, fork, knife, spoon, patent plate and a tin wash basin. That is his entire eating and washing outfit and he sometimes failed to get the latter. At first it takes some resourcefulness to make these few utensils suffice for a bountiful breakfast like that of this morning which consisted of the following menu, all served at once however and not in courses, so that you had to pile it all on the plate, the lid, and in the cup:

Grapes. Dried Apricots.
Corn Flakes, Milk, Sugar.
Shirred Eggs. Hamburger.
Jam.
White Bread, Butter.
Coffee, Milk, Sugar.

"You get all you can grab and pile on your dishes. The men, it is certain, often gorged themselves, and that without suffering any discomfort. Because of the 'nippy' air at 6 a. m. the hot coffee is poured down by the pints. As each man finishes, he takes his dirty dishes and joins a line outside to take his turn at the out-of-doors dish-washing contrivance, consisting of three huge galvanized iron tubs placed on a primitive brick oven heated by wood-fire. Two of the tubs are filled with soap water steaming hot, while the middle tank has luke-warm rinsing water. After each

man has swung his dishes in the hot soap water several times and rinsed them he lets them dry in his tent.

"Tonight both the 'Y' and the 'K. of C.' huts were jammed to the doorknobs. A Toledo orchestra and 'jazz' band rendered a program at the former that pleased the men. At the latter there was an officers' dance in honor of the hundred and more men who had been commissioned that day. At the 'K. of C.' hut all the dances take place, averaging three or four a week, while the 'Y' is the center for music, lectures, and motion pictures, both huts being thronged all day with men writing home or reading the magazines and books. At both there are religious services every Sunday. Three thousand letters were mailed at the 'Y. M. C. A.' yesterday. Nine of every ten were addressed to women, one half of them to 'Mrs.' and the other half to 'Miss.' The 'Y' Secretary made the actual count. Draw your own conclusions, but it is evident that mother, wife, sister, daughter and sweetheart are mighty near to the men's minds while they are at the 'Y' and in the 'K. of C.' hut.

"In the Officers' Auditorium above their mess hall, there are lectures of a technical nature every evening. Attendance is compulsory. Military discipline is enforced and yet, before the lecturer appears on the platform, the men frolic and sing. Some one has said that Americans unlike other peoples do not sing, but in the camps there was singing at work, at play, and on the march. It did one's heart good to listen to those young officers singing the college and war songs and at times gospel hymns, with a vim that was overwhelming in its appeal. Tonight, a British officer lectured on 'Front Line Intelligence,' revealing an intricate and scientific system of gathering information about the enemy that requires long and careful training of men with special qualifications. Last evening, a French officer lectured on 'Scouting,' and disclosed that there is a good deal more of science and technique in modern warfare than there was in the wars of other days. In fact, the fighting forces are learning new wrinkles continually and

the reconnaissance scout is becoming a highly trained specialist. An American lieutenant-colonel gave an interesting lecture on 'sighting,' 'windage,' and other phases of rifle practice. Like all the other lecturers he had been in the actual fighting on the western front. A staff-officer, America's greatest authority on the rifle, the author of several books on rifle practice, spoke on his specialty. This morning in a group, the New Mexicans listened to a thorough explanation of the 22- and 45- automatic revolvers, wicked-looking and dangerous weapons at short range. As a matter of fact, the officers had much more of a grind each day than the privates. They had to conform to many a tradition that the privates had left behind them in civilian life, and they had in consequence much less fun out of camp life than did their men."

Merely another impression of Camp Perry as described in the Santa Fe New Mexican of September 17: "Today is a gloriously sunny day and many were the visitors to the rifle range, which is a vast, lush-green meadow, bounded on the north by the waters of Lake Erie and rimmed on the east and west with groves of trees and fertile fields. Above head circled one of the new battle planes from Camp Wright. She is a beauty with speed of 150 miles an hour and altitude record of over 10,000 feet. To the fore and to the aft, Lewis machine-guns are mounted. The whirr of the engines made a weird accompaniment to the uninterrupted fire on the various ranges. On the west of the field a nest of trenches, sand-bag embankments and concrete defense works had been built for instruction purposes. One force of infantry was trying to hold them, while another force was attacking. Nearby is a ruined 'French farmhouse,' while clumps of trees, windbreaks, stumps, towers, tanks, shell-holes, etc., give temporary cover to the attacking infantry. To the south, the rows upon rows of tents reflect the rays of the setting sun. Verily, one has 'seen the Glory of the Lord,' in this martial scene that symbolizes the might of a great Nation enlisted in a righteous cause."

The nerve center of the camp was in a modest two story frame building that served as camp headquarters. It was as busy as a beehive with clerks, and orderlies dashing to and fro, and typewriters clicked in every room. Regimental and company headquarters were in tents. The telegraph offices adjoined the headquarters building. Then came the postoffice handling as vast a volume of mail as big city offices but without near the facilities and but a fraction of the room and comfort to be found in any second class office. Next in line, on the main street, was the canteen and it was thronged all day long. It was a typical country department store, in which one could buy ice-cream cones and soft drinks and it was astounding how much of these were consumed daily. In the back was a short lunch counter and it simply coined money despite the liberal mess. The Knights of Columbus, the Y. M. C. A. huts, the railroad station, the officers' mess hall and auditorium,-a substantial concrete building,—were all on this street. The camp was adequately policed and there was a noteworthy absence of crime or even petty offences. It is a high tribute to American manhood, that there was a striking camaraderie, an avoidance of petty meanness, a punctual compliance with the rules for the welfare of the camp. How much of this spirit the men took with them into civil life when they were mustered out it is, of course, hard to estimate, but it justified perhaps, some of the extravagant predictions one heard of the change that the War would bring to community life and community activities.

In New Mexico, Camp Cody, with more than 30,000 men at one time, revealed other angles of communal life. The men coming from certain states being grouped together were more homogeneous. They came mostly from sections of the United States which in topography and climate, differ very much from the country round about Deming. There was some complaint about dust storms, about climatic rigors that the men had not expected to find so far south. There were delays in providing equipment at first, and

there was a lack of ordinary comforts, all of which was reflected in the camp life. There were occasional incidents that are not pleasant to record and which made work for the federal courts. There was much grumbling, so much so, that investigations were made personally by governors or delegations from middle western states. The New Mexico men stationed at Camp Cody were much more pleased with the Camp than were the middle westerners. In most respects, camp life at Cody, however, was very much as it was elsewhere, with the United War Work organizations looking after the welfare of the men, providing for them amusements and comforts. The State turned over to the Camp Community Service the national guard armory at Deming which was transformed into a club for the men. Dr. Walter H. Macpherson in charge of it visited cities in the Southwest to interest the public in his work. At Santa Fe he made a stirring address at the New Museum and there inaugurated a movement to send out traveling art exhibits to Camp Community Clubs, the Museum dispatching one of the first of such exhibits to Deming, whence it went to the Kkāki Club at El Paso. Camp Cody had its hostess houses with the Y. W. C. A. in charge, and also an A. L. A. library with several branches. New Mexico libraries contributed thousands of volumes for this work, the Camp Cody library being assigned to them especially.

Wherever troops were stationed, the men made themselves felt in the life of nearby communities. In New Mexico, for instance, hundreds of officers and men from Camp Cody made the pilgrimage to Santa Fe to-take the higher degrees of Scottish Rite Masonry and then to Albuquerque to be initiated into the Shrine.

Camp Kearny was classed as, perhaps, the most desirable camp of all. While it had its troubles too, and worked for the first few months under decided disadvantages, toward the end of the war it became a model camp, and from coast to coast probably nine out of every ten men would have chosen it in preference to others. Many of the New Mexico

men were at this camp, and here especially, development battalions, improvement and Americanization classes, and welfare work reached a high level.

At Camp Kitchener, Albuquerque, established by the State early in the War to receive the recruits for the federalized New Mexico national guard, camp activities were on the most primitive basis. It was before the days of Y. M. C. A. and other United War Work on the elaborate scale which it assumed later. The buildings and equipment were of the crudest, although the best that could be provided on so short notice and with inadequate means. Still the men enjoyed it and retain pleasant memories of their sojourn there.

New Mexico had its student army training schools at the University, at the State College, mechanical training classes at the latter also, and of course, capacity work continued at the Military Institute. At those institutions, life kept much of the aspect of college days, liberalized at one extreme by the military training, and made more rigid at the other by military discipline, but flowing on from day to day as in time of peace.

There were isolated posts and camps along the Mexican border, especially at Columbus and at Hachita, where many of the agencies that made life pleasant at the larger camps and cantonments were not at work and where life at times grew monotonous, but even there the community spirit asserted itself in various and pleasant forms.

As one reads the columns of "Trench and Camp" published in the larger camps and cantonments, or talks with the men who have been mustered out, or recalls days even amidst the discomforts and terrible scenes at the front, there is apt to be born the wish that the country might retain something of the community life that was fostered under the aegis of war; that even in days of piping peace, and feverish reconstruction, there might be an annual gathering of men in camps and cantonments to lead the life of the open under the discipline and with the simpli-

city of camp and trench. Among the right sort of men,-and it is certain that most men are of the right sort,-there was developed something fine in spirit, something big in outlook, which in New Mexico as elsewhere should become permanent in community activities and that should be made a part of the training of every youth before he essays into life. If the training was good for the rigorous demands of war it certainly would be beneficial in preparation for the multitudinous tasks of peace.

PAUL A. F. WALTER

X At the Front

Twenty miles north of Toul, France, is the little village of Roulecourt. There it was my privilege as a Red Cross out-post Canteen worker to see a number of our New Mexico boys in their first introduction to the front. It was a so-called quiet sector, the Kindergarten of war in France. There the 1st Division and the 26th made their debut; then the 82nd, whose officers were almost entirely made up of men from Georgia and Alabama,-ideal, brave Southern gentlemen, whose men were from the South and East. Then to my delight came the 89th — so many of whose officers were from the West — Gen. Wood's division, compelled, however, to serve without him — trained at Camp Funston, Kansas, and in the main composed of farm boys from Kansas, Iowa and Missouri — wonderful men. To my surprise, there were many boys from New Mexico mingled with these. To see the Mexican boys in that far away country, so far removed from the quaint little villages from which the greater number of them had traveled scarcely fifty miles before, and in this land of chilling rain — a desperate contrast to our almost perpetual sunshine — gave a little stronger tug at my heart strings than the sight of our other American boys. To have seen those faces light up

at the familiar sound of "Como Esta, Amigo" sprung unawares at them while patrolling a lonesome dark road in the beating rain, is never to be forgotten. There were boys from Mora, Las Vegas, Santa Fe, Las Cruces — every place in New Mexico seemingly represented in that one regiment in my district.

Will they ever forget the towns of Roulecourt, Bouconville, Rombecourt and Xivray? Will the members of each battalion of the 356th regiment forget the first dark night when it formed in Roulecourt, the position of support, to march up to Bouconville and Rombecourt from which they entered the front line trenches for the first time — muddy, wet, chilled through, not knowing how far the German trenches were away (only 560 yards)? Can they forget the first daylight which revealed Mt. Sec a little more than a half a mile away — the supposedly impregnable position of the Boche? Those first eight days in the trenches! What a relief it was to march back to the town which was the position of rest six miles back of Roulecourt! I hope, too, they have not forgotten the hot chocolate it was my privilege to hand out to them as they passed back through Roulecourt at two in the morning — tired and sleepy from the strain of those first days and nights in the trenches. And the six military police stationed in the French town of Brussy — three of them New Mexico boys — can they forget that battered village and the picturesque old French fire place over which they cooked their meals?

One can imagine the natural feeling of timidity with which those boys first entered the dark, muddy ditches, but it is almost impossible to realize the change in them after the second time in, the confidence and then the eagerness with which they awaited the final step in their war training — going over the top. This they did with all the bravery we had expected of them on Sept. 12th, the start of the San Mihiel drive. Part of this Division, in which were a number of our New Mexico boys, was the 342nd Machine Gun Company, stationed in the woods to the right of Roulecourt,

located at intervals in little groups, each group with a machine gun, waiting for many days, totally ignorant of what the next move would be, shelled at intervals with gas and shrapnel. Many of these little machine gun posts contained one or more boys from this State. In those dismal woods was their first introduction to the war, and although tame in comparison to the real hell they went through later, those first impressions must ever remain with them. Further to our right other regiments of the 89th Division, the 353, 354 and 356, were badly gassed in similar woods. Eight hundred men were victims of it, among whom were many New Mexico boys. All this was before the beginning of their real work on September 12th.

The little town of Xivray — it was a town once but then only picturesque ruins — was located about three hundred yards out in "No Man's Land," and used only as an observation post where five men of the 356th were kept posted to guard against surprise attacks. Tobacco, sweet chocolate and magazines looked awfully good to whatever men were sojourning there for the three day watch. On one trip there I was accompanied by Marion Barker of Las Vegas of the 356th and to our surprise we found one of the five guards was a Pueblo Indian from Laguna, while the sergeant was also from New Mexico. So in that little out-post in "No Man's Land" that day, out of seven men, there were four of us from New Mexico.

I must not forget the 21st Regiment of Railway Engineers who had worked so faithfully in that sector from January until Sept. 12th, doing much of their work in the same interesting woods to the right of Roulecourt in which the 342nd Machine Gun Company was located. Many of these men were former employees of the Santa Fe Railway. Many had pulled trains through our New Mexico mountains. Oh, the pleasure and pride to see them in that ever dangerous, man's work, night and day, subject to aeroplane bombing, and artillery fire! The derailments on that happy-go-lucky but all important little narrow guage rail-

way were much more frequent than on our dear old Santa Fe system. Those of us from New Mexico all longed for a Harvey House meal occasionally!

At Boullionville, quite near Metz, where I moved to after Sept. 12th, a small flat field in front of my canteen was occupied by the supply company of the 353th regiment, 89th Division. Being invited to eat with a small group about a cheerful looking camp fire I was delighted to find a Spanish-American boy cooking the first meal I had with them. They took turns at this, however. Later they were forced to abandon this field as a picnic ground because the Boche formed an unpleasant habit of dropping a shell or two on the flat promptly at meal times.

Those of our New Mexico boys who return from the front — many will not — have endured what is impossible to describe adequately to those who had not the privilege of seeing them there — the danger of the submarine and that of the ever present German aeroplane, the terrors of the awful gas and the discomfort of being wet and chilled through, week after week, and more than once advancing through dark forests with a rain of machine gun bullets pattering around them. While viewing the daily aerial combats and when looking up at some allied plane hovering above us for our protection, we could not help wondering if among those aviators there might not be a New Mexico boy. Without doubt many a time there was one of them hovering 15000 feet up, helping protect, among others, boys from his own state.

Let us never forget those of them who lie buried in France. Let us never cease to honor those who return. I shall never forget the one or cease to honor the other, for I have seen them at their work.

ASHLEY POND

NOTE. It would please the writer greatly to hear from or see any of the boys he met who may remember him as the Red Cross Lieut. in charge of out-post No. 2 first located at Roulecourt and later at Boullionville. Those who

may remember my fellow worker, Lieut. Fred Barker, will I know grieve to learn that he was killed by a shell.

XI The Cost and the Gain

A final appraisement of either the cost or the gains of such an enormous enterprise as the late war, is impossible at the present time. Decades must elapse and conclusions must be reached in the calm reflection of the years. However it will be of interest and possibly profit to those who study the Great War in future time to have at hand the impressions of those who lived in the great years of 1914-18. This brief chapter will merely seek to reflect what appears to be the sentiment of thinking people at this time.

What the war cost us in effort, in time taken from our customary occupations, in money contributions directly and indirectly, has been to some extent set forth in previous chapters. In material possessions our people in New Mexico are not affluent. The average wealth per capita is low. The great majority live by simple industrial pursuits — small farming, stock raising, and various forms of wage earning.

Nevertheless, it has always been a matter of note that when it came to charity, to education or other public enterprises, taxation was never withheld and always popular subscription yielded surprising results. When the time came to raise the large sums necessary to meet the quota imposed by the various war services, it required something more than blind optimism, it required downright faith in our people; and that faith was justified. The promptness and excessive measure with which each call was met should stir the pride of every New Mexican. And when one thinks of the actual privation that was necessary in thousands of instances in order to share in the various patriotic services,

one must feel that the finest and noblest in all our national life is not to be sought in far and exceptional places, but is right here in the humble homes of our own communities.

However gratifying it may be to recall the liberality of our material contributions, it must be remembered that this was comparatively insignificant. War's imperative call is for men, and New Mexico responded with her full quota. Over seventeen thousand lives were tendered and of these five hundred and one were given up in the service of the country. These are New Mexico's immortals. "Tomorrow shall be the flower of all its yesterdays" runs the Spanish proverb. Truly, the tomorrows that we shall enjoy will be fragrant with the memory of the true and faithful sons of New Mexico who joined the almost innumerable company who died in these years of struggle.

And be it not forgotten, as we immortalize the heroes whose lives were accepted in the great sacrifice, that nearly seventeen thousand more freely made the same offer and went into the conflict with every reason to expect the same sacrifice. These met, like true men, the supreme crisis in our history. To them, sobered by heavy responsibilities and broadened by the vision of wider horizons, we of the older generation can, with the utmost confidence, submit the civic duties of the future. What greater safe-guard could there be of the people and of the state than this body of men disciplined to prompt and effective action, already tried and proven in a great crisis?

When we count the cost of the war, we may write off as of little consequence, all save the lives that were given. These were beyond price. No one can estimate the value of a life just ready to face the duties and opportunities of the world. What futures awaited some of those who sleep on European battle fields, who went down at sea, or who died in preparation for the day of action, no one need speculate, for no greater honor could have come to any one of them, no greater service would have been possible. Through all the ages, and doubtless it will ever be so, death on the

battlefield in defense of right has been esteemed the supreme glory to which men could attain.

In this connection there is one glorious fact which should be known in every home in this land. The Board of Historical Service for New Mexico received hundreds of letters from the parents, wives, and sisters of the young men who died in service and among them all, no matter how awful the loss, how great the deprivation, there is not a single instance of complaint that the nation asked so much, nor of regret that the cherished one went to the duty that claimed his life. On the contrary, in the words of deepest grief one invariably detects the note of exultant glory in the life bravely given for country and humanity.

In all the records of this war there will be none more precious than the letters above referred to, answering our inquiries concerning the boys killed in action or who died in service from other causes. The note of modest affection and pride, and that of restrained religious feeling is noticeably prevalent. "He was just an honest, sober Christian boy who loved his home and was good to all of us. Everybody liked him. He was so anxious to go that he could hardly wait to be called. We are very proud of our soldier boy." These words epitomize these letters. They reveal the fact that there were spiritual forces in this war that are vital to its history which may not be overlooked in writing the record for posterity. If America had the finest, cleanest army ever put into the field, it was because her soldiers had the finest, cleanest homes of the world in which to develop their manhood.

Thus while in a very real sense we find the cost of the war immeasurable, there is that incalculable compensation in exalted patriotism and consciousness of noble sacrifice that is beyond price.

Turning to the immediate gains, we are first struck with the fact that from the standpoint of material profits, we return from Europe empty handed. Former foreign wars have yielded us enormous possessions. From

this one we do not expect a dollar of indemnity for the billions spent, nor would we accept the cession of a square-yard of territory. It would seem at first thought an enormous adventure resulting in total loss.

But money is not everything. Its limit as a measure of value is soon reached. Ultimate worth must be expressed in other than monetary terms. There is a set of values that are both economic and moral. Of this class were the various conservation activities. In addition to the economic considerations, the war taught us that waste, improvidence, is downright immorality. It is a substantial gain to a people to experience the satisfaction of laying something by, of owning something that will safeguard the future. Investments in Liberty Bonds and thrift stamps and the conservation of food and other materials for the general good, are potent factors in character making.

Closely related to economic conservation is the question of human improvement. Never before have we had a thorough appraisement of our human resources. For years systematic evaluation of economic resources has been customary. The prospective crops, of grain and live stock, are estimated and reported months in advance, but there has been no exact knowledge of the available man power of the country. No one could give much information as to the condition of the children or their prospects for reaching useful maturity. The unnecessary loss of children was appalling; the amount of preventable disease and consequent misery and poverty among adults no less so. Of a million men in the prime of life, sacrcely half were fit for duties requiring high efficiency.

The war brought these questions to the front and in such an imperative way that they at once ceased to be debatable and commanded instant action. The army called for men of maximum power; men free from disease, clear eyed, alert in all their senses. Health was promptly made obligatory. Army traditions of long standing were swept away wholesale; the moral code of the soldier became higher

than that of the college student of past years. Army life was freer from vice than civilian life. Eagerly our young men obeyed the call to physical and moral cleanliness. It became the pride of the soldier. It seems a bit strange that it was not to the colleges and universities that our young men went to learn and prize the highest attributes of manhood, but to the training camp. What university executive will take the lead in demanding that student life shall be as clean as soldier life is now required to be?

The prospect of huge losses of the male population turned attention to the saving of infant life, and from one end of the country to the other the physical and mental examination of the children was started. As a result, childhood is in a fair way to get a square deal. The right of the child to a clean ancestry, to a wholesome birth, to protection from infection, to freedom from physical, mental and moral contamination during the period of helplessness, to sanitary food and clothing and shelter, and to education is a mandate of our time. The state that lacks child conservation laws will soon be considered uncivilized. Banish the handicaps of childhood — bad heredity, infections, malnutrition, ignorance, and the fight against poverty and crime is won.

Women gained in four years what they have been struggling centuries to obtain. As the women of the country silently stepped into place in every line of activity, short of actual battle, and with marvelous devotion and unsuspected endurance stood up to the hardest tasks, it became obvious that here was a line of defense not to be ignored. In every sense they were fighters. They fought to send subsistence to the front. They fought disease. They fought for the lives of the wounded. They toiled with needle and sewing machine until they were ready to drop, but none ever fell. If called to danger they faced it boldly, for the risk of life is no new experience to them. Courageous, determined, quick-witted—they were from the first like veterans in the promptness and precision with which they

went to their tasks. They did not wait to be mobilized. "Drives" were not necessary to spur them to action. They reached to the uttermost limits of the war; not a returning soldier but testifies that whether in camp or cantonment, on land or sea or in the air, in front line trenches and in the valley of the shadows, he was never beyond the reach of what women were doing for him. In the fires of this conflict mens' souls have been purged and the New Chivalry is born. Count this among the supreme gains. It is safe to say that henceforth no civilized country will underrate the worth of its women in public affairs, and even in war their place will be as important, as honorable, as that of the men.

Accompanying the rapid development of the human welfare movement, it was inevitable that the question of state, and ultimately of national prohibition, should come to the fore. It was met by the State of New Mexico a few weeks prior to our coming into the war with a state prohibition law, to be followed up, as everyone knows, in the early days of 1919, with a nation wide prohibition amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Looking back over the ages of self-destruction, of inhuman abuse of women and children, of crime in every form, of waste and disease and degeneracy chargeable to the liquor business, it seems unbelievable that the fight should have been so long a well nigh hopeless one. That the sudden ending of this vast curse was contemporaneous with the great war was no mere chance. It required the discipline of that vast conflict to plant the idea of race preservation in the public mind. The victory of prohibition equals the triumph over the enemy. In material gains alone it has already paid the cost of the war.

EDGAR L. HEWETT

MUSIC TEACHING IN NEW MEXICO IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The Beginnings of Music Education in the United States

Although historians of American music have unanimously proclaimed Boston as the cradle of American music and music education, such statements have been made only through ignorance of facts established by existing Spanish historical documents which give that honor to New Mexico. It has merely seemed logical, since writers of United States history trace all movements westward from the Atlantic coast, to assume that music education should have followed the same general direction. Such an assumption, however, disregards the fact that the Spaniards began the conquest of North America a century before the English; that the Spanish frontier had been pushed northward from Mexico City to beyond the Rio Grande before the Pilgrims landed; and that music was employed, on no small scale, by the Spaniards as a means of conquest.

While the Spaniards were musical people, it was not the personal tastes of the conquistadores which determined the attention given to music in North America in the 16th and 17th centuries. The first missionaries who landed at Vera Cruz in 1523 found that music was one of the most direct and effective means by which the Indians could be induced to accept the semblances of Christianity and civilization. By 1527 Pedro de Gante had established in Mexico City a school which gave special attention to the training of musicians. In this institution, especially during the next half century, singers and players of many instruments were prepared to serve the church in its missionary ef-

forts.[1] Prayers were taught to the natives set to some familiar chant; orchestras were employed to add charm to the services; and song and dance were encouraged as diversions among the people.

As the mission work spread beyond the Valley of Mexico, schools, monasteries, and churches continued to further the efforts of church officials to teach the natives music. In this they had the united support of the king and the Council of the Indies. In response to petitions of the missionaries, Charles V wrote the provincial of the Franciscans in Mexico City in 1540 to send out, to those best fitted to use them, singers and players of reed instruments "because with music they will be able to attract the Indians . . . more quickly to a knowledge of our Holy Faith."[2] In 1573 a decree was passed directing the authorities in Mexico to employ music of singer and instruments for the purpose of "soothing, pacifying, and influencing" the Indians who were indisposed to accept peacefully Catholicism and Spanish rule.[3] This was especially applicable to the Indians of northern Mexico who, being wandering tribes, had to be attracted to mission life before there could be hope of educating them along any line.

Five years before Charles V authorized the sending of singers and musicians to take part in the conquest, news had come to the viceroy of Mexico of a wonderland far to the north. Thither Fray Marcos de Niza wended his way, only to return with still more glowing accounts. To secure this region for the Spanish king, Coronado was sent north in 1540 with an army of followers. Up the west coast and the Yaqui River, then across the Gila, and northwards they traveled in quest of the Great Quivira, but it was only a lure; Quivira was not found. Instead, Indian

1. Spell, L., "The first teacher of European music in North America," in *Catholic Historical Quarterly*, New Series, II, (Oct. 1922) 372-378.

2. *Fragmentos de la Crónica de la Provincia de Franciscanos de Santiago de Xalisco*, Tomo I. In *Colección de Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, reunidas y publicados por el Lic. Eufemio Mendoza (Mexico, 1871), 333-334.

3. *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias* (Madrid, 1681), Lib. I, tit. I, ley iiii.

towns of thatched huts, or the homes of the pueblo dwellers, met the disappointed gaze of the Spaniards who had come in search of gold, jewels, and a great civilization. After two years of search for the dream city, all returned to Mexico except a few priests who were permitted but a short lease on life before meeting the certain doom which awaited a European among the Indians of New Mexico. Among the victims was Juan de Padilla, who only a few years before had been active in training Indian singers on the western frontier.[4]

During the next half century it seemed that New Mexico was almost forgotten except by some few adventurers and missionaries. But by the time the outlying missions had reached the Conchos River in Chihuahua, Oñate, a conquistador, braved the unoccupied regions beyond and entered New Mexico. With him went, at the king's expense, a band of friars supplied with bells and musical instruments; these Franciscans were scattered among the Pueblo Indians as soon as the towns were reduced to submission. Their efforts at pacification were but a repetition of those of the first missionaries in the Valley of Mexico, but due to the difference in type of the Indians with whom they labored in New Mexico, the results were neither so rapid nor so remarkable.

As far as available records show, the first music teacher who worked within the confines of the present United States was a Mexican, Cristóbal de Quiñones, who belonged to the Franciscan order. He probably entered New Mexico as a member of Oñate's colony between 1598 and 1604,[5] for Vetancurt tells us that before his death in 1609, he had learned the language of the Queres Indians; erected the church and monastery at San Felipe, installed an organ in the chapel there, and taugh many of the natives

4. Tello, Antonio, *Libro Segundo de la Crónica Miscelanea* (Guadalajara, 1891), 204. Also *Fragmentos*, 59; and Beaumont, Pablo de, *Crónica de la Provincia de los Santos Apóstoles S. Pedro y S. Pablo de Michoacán* (Mexico, 1873), III, 503-4.

5. Benavides, Alonso, *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides* 1630 (Chicago, 1916), 198. Notes by F. W. Hodge.

so successfully that they were skilled singers of the church services.[6] At the time that Jamestown was founded, and thirteen years before the Pilgrims set fort on the Massachusetts coast, New Mexico could not only boast of a music teacher who had enjoyed the benefits of a musical education such as the church schools of that day afforded, but was in possession of an organ.

The next music teacher of record in New Mexico is Bernardo de Marta, a Spaniard who came to America about 1600. He was sent to New Mexico in 1605. One of the old chroniclers tells us that "he was a great musician and was called the organist of the skies; he taugh many of the natives in various towns to play and sing."[7] This work he continued until his death in Zia, September 18, 1635.

Among the other teachers of music in New Mexico, Friar García de San Francisco y Zúñiga deserves especial mention. He was in New Mexico by 1630, for in that year he was left in charge of the church and monastery which his companion, Antonio de Arteaga, founded at Senecú. In this church, an organ was installed by Friar García.[8] In December, 1659, he founded the mission of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe at El Paso, of which the chapel was dedicated in 1668. At this mission Friar García remained until after 1671. He died and was buried at Senecú in 1673.[9] While no direct statement has been found that Friar García had an organ in this church, or that he engaged in music teaching while at the El Paso mission, his evident interest in the music of the church, as shown by the installation of the organ at Senecú, suggests that he did no less for the mission which he served for over ten years.

The most famous of the missionaries to New Mexico was Alonso de Benavides, whose memorial to the king of

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6. Vetancurt, Agustin de, *Menológio Franciscano* (Mexico, 1698), 43.
7. *Ibid.*, 103.
8. Vetancurt *Teatro Mexicano, Chrónica*, pt. 4, trat. 3. cap. xxviii, 98.
9. *Ibid;* Hughes, A., "The Beginnings of Spanish Settlements in the El Paso District," in *University of California Publications in History*, I, no 3, 306-309. See also notes to Ayer's translation of the Benavides *Memorial*, 205.

Spain in 1630 gives the best existing account of the province at that time.[10] Santa Fe was still the only Spanish settlement. There were friars working in twenty-five missions which served ninety pueblos comprising some 60,000 Indians. At each mission a school similar in type to that of Pedro de Gante was maintained — here the Indians were taught reading, writing, manual arts, singing and instrumental music. Monasteries had been established among the various tribes. In connection with each monastery there was always a school in which music was taught; sometimes special music schools were maintained.

Among the Piros three monasteries had been founded; one at Senecú—evidently that supplied with an organ by Friar García, one at Pilabó, and one at Sevilleta. Each of these had under its charge the neighboring pueblos. In the monasteries the friars taught singing, reading and writing, with insistence that the Indians live in civilized fashion.[11] Among the Tiwas, there were two monasteries, at San Francisco de Sandia and at San Antonio de Isleta. "At these," Benavides says, "there are schools of reading and writing, singing, and playing all instruments."[12] These monasteries and their chapels were especially costly and beautiful. In the monastery of the Pecos district the Indians were well trained in all the crafts, in reading, writing, singing, and instrument playing.[13] In connection with the conversion of the Navajo Apaches, the use of bells, trumpets, and clarions is mentioned. Benavides comments here on the success of the missionaries as music teachers, "for it is [a thing for which] to praise the Lord to see in so little time so many chapels with the organ-chant."[14]

Benavides himself commenced the church and monas-

10. Benavides, Alonso, *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides* 1630 (Chicago, 1916). Translated by Mrs. Ayer.

11. *Ibid.*, 17-19.

12. *Ibid.*, 19-20

13. *Ibid.*, 21-22

14. *Ibid.*, 67. Cf. Benj. Read's translation in his *History of New Mexico*, pp. 695 and 708. He translates *canto de órgano* as "singing with organ accompaniment." Even the Ayer translation might be improved here.

tery at Santa Fe in 1622. Of the latter he tells us that in 1629 the "Religious teach Spaniards and Indians to read and write, to play [instruments] and sing . . . ." As evidence of the progress wrought by Christian teachings, he says:

> . . . and the boys and girls who always come morning and evening to the Doctrine, attend with very great care [and] without fail; and the choristers in the chapels change about by their weeks [week by week], and sing every day in the church, at their hours, the Morning Mass, High Mass, and Vespers, with great punctuality.[15]

From such evidence it seems safe to conclude that there were schools in New Mexico before 1630 in which music was taught. As in central Mexico, probably more attention was given to music than to any other subject of the curriculum; at any rate it is reasonable to believe that as regards the instruments taught and the general importance of music in the curriculum of the monastic schools, the schools of New Mexico did not differ materially from other schools of the era concerning which there is extant a greater wealth of data.

Much of the history of New Mexico after 1630 is still unwritten, but various items gleaned from miscellaneous unpublished documents throw some light on the progress of the work of the church in connection with music. In reporting on conditions in New Mexico, Juan Prado, a Franciscan, states that the Indians were taught to sing with such success that it was indeed marvellous to find so many "bands of musicians to sing with the organ" and the services in such small churches performed with so much care and devotion.[16]

But trouble was already brewing in the province. The governors and the representatives of the church were not

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15. *Ibid.*, 23 and 32.

16. Testimony of Juan Prado before the Inquisition, Sept. 26, 1638, in *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya, and Approaches thereto, to* 1773. (Collected by Adolph F. A. Bandelier and Fanny Bandelier. Edited by C. W. Hackett. Washington, 1923), II. *In press.*

in accord: and, as time passed, the dissensions increased. The poor Indians bore the brunt of the trouble. In their ignorance. they knew not which master to obey, but found it impossible to serve both. As a result, the efforts of the missionaries in the educational field were continually hampered by orders of the governors; the Spaniards were forced to side with one or the other faction. As early as 1639 the cabildo of Santa Fe complained to the viceroy of Mexico of the conduct of the religious, charging that they were appropriating church funds to their own uses. The report proceeds:

> The same thing occurs in other things that are given for the divine worship in the church of this town, for they say that an altar ornament, an organ, and other things have been given, but they are not there.[17]

So the breach widened as the years passed, until the power of the Inquisition was called to the aid of the missionaries, and the governor of the province, Bernardo de Mendizabal (1657-1661), was impeached and taken to Mexico City for trial. In the evidence introduced, he was accused by the friars of having encouraged the Indians in the continuance of their worship of idols and other forms of heathenism, such as dancing the Catzinas — a dance pronounced indecent by the church, but which Mendizabal characterized as harmless and innocent. He was also accused of preventing the singing of mass by having, on one occasion, ordered that the singers who were sent from Cuarac to the Humanas to sing for a special festival should be given fifty lashes each; the natural result being that no more singers would officiate for fear of receiving a similar punishment. All of these charges Mendizabal denied on the witness stand; he asserted that the churches had all the volunteer singers they could use; and that, in addition to a singer and a sacristan, there was also an organist

17. Report of the cabildo of Santa Fe to the viceroy, Feb. 21, 1639, in Hackett, *His. Docs.* II.

wherever there was an organ. All such persons were excused from both tribute and labor, by order of the royal *audiencia*. He proceeded to say that when he reached Santa Fe and found no organ in the church there — a condition he found very improper — he advised the church authorities that, if the instrument was not too expensive, he would pay the expense of bringing one there; in any case that he would bear half of the expense. Much evidence was presented by both sides, but before a verdict was reached, Mendizabal died.[18]

Another document setting forth the grievances of the missionaries and some of the accusations against them throws some light on the means sometimes employed in securing funds for the purchase of musical instruments.

> Another charge is brought against us, it being said that in some places the Religious receive a few antelope skins in exchange for sustenance or for the crop; we do not deny this charge, as they call it, but indeed it is in very few places that this occurs, and where it happens it is done for the purpose of obtaining for the value of the skins certain ornaments, trumpets, and organs. For one hundred and fifty pesos a year are not sufficient for this as we have to buy wine, wax, incense, and other things, nor would it be fitting, since we can obtain these extra things by this means, for us to insist that everything should be given to us by his Majesty, who is in such need. The same kind of calumny is current this year, for God is good enough to allow certain pine nuts to grow in the forests of five or six towns in this country, and the minister is accustomed to ask his parishioners to gather some of them for the churches, giving them abundant sustenance while they are doing this. From the pine nuts which are gathered and sent to Mexico the proceeds are given to God, for instance recently there was bought a fine orgain for the convent of Abó . . . [19]

From succeeding events it seems that other governors continued to regard the missionaries as enemies, and to

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18. Hackett, *His. Docs.*, II. *In press.*

19. Letter of the father custodio and definadores of New Mexico to the Viceroy of New Spain, Nov. 11, 1659. In Hackett, *His. Docs.*, II.

breed all the trouble possible. The Indians were weary of the friction between the governing forces; perhaps they were weary of being governed at all. Uprisings were frequent, and each became increasingly dangerous to the few Spaniards and missionaries scattered over a vast extent of territory and protected by but few troops. Requests were made to the viceroy for reinforcements, but before any action was taken by the never-too-speedy government in Mexico City — it was too late. By a pre-arranged plan, the natives rose in rebellion in 1680, killed many Spanish settlers and friars, burned their homes, missions, monasteries and churches, and drove those who survived down the Rio Grande. Fifty years of friction between the state and church had brought its reward. The Indians were temporarily free once more from both.

During the last two decades of the seventeenth century the Spaniards attempted to regain control of New Mexico, but their efforts were not crowned with the success which had marked their occupation of the country a century before. For us, the only interest is in the monasteries which survived the rebellion. Among these were Senecú, Alamillo, Sevilleta, Isleta, Alameda, Puray, and Sandia. To these the ever hopeful missionaries returned to take up anew the work of conversion and civilization. Music teaching was continued, but, as the power of Spain declined, there was not the money to carry on the work as widely as had been the case when Spain was at her height. Fewer teachers could be detailed to give musical instruction, and fewer musical instruments were shipped from the capital.

Still, the earlier efforts are worthy of notice. Through them European music was introduced into the United States. The first European music teacher and the first organ ever seen north of the Rio Grande were to be found in New Mexico. Before 1630, many schools were in operation which included music in their curriculum. The first

boy-choirs within the present United States were those which supplied the music for the mission churches of New Mexico. Churches and monasteries were supplied with organs which were transported overland from Mexico City, a six months trip in those days. A century before Boston claims to have had an organ (1713) there were many organs in the "great unknown North," as the Spaniards termed the land of the Pueblos. As far as Spanish dominion extended, there was music. And as in no other respect did Spain leave her impress more indelibly on the life of the people whom she governed, so it seems unlikely that the music of the natives could have escaped from being affected to some extent by the music of the Spaniards which had for them such a great fascination. It may be that closer study of the music of the Indians of New Mexico will reveal many traces of the music of the Spaniards who were their first European teachers. For a love of music was a characteristic alike of the conquered Aztec, the treacherous Apache, the ceremony-loving Pueblo, and the European Spaniard who was their master thru three centuries.

LOTA M. SPELL

The University of Texas

THE FOUNDING OF NEW MEXICO

(Continued)

Chapter IX

The Desertion of the Colony[531]

Oñate's Return from Quivira. It was a sadly depleted capital which welcomed the governor back from his extensive search for new and wealthy provinces in the north. Nearly all the inhabitants of San Gabriel, discouraged and broken in fortune, had taken advantage of his absence and escaped to Santa Bárbara. The poverty of the land and the discipline maintained by Oñate contributed to their misfortune. The story of this episode has never been told in detail. Torquemada gives a brief account of the escape of the settlers, and subsequent writers have followed his narrative.[532]

It is now possible to add to this story some of the details. Two lengthy documents from the Spanish archives, and drawn up by two opposing groups, give biased accounts of New Mexico and of the reasons for thus fleeing without authority. The one is a dreary account, seeking to justify the move. The other pictures New Mexico as a remarkable land and condemns as traitors those who deserted.[533]

Oñate's Admonition to the Settlers. Before starting for Quivira care had been taken to provide for the permanence of the capital. As lieutenant-governor and captain-

531. This chapter, now slightly revised, was published in the January, 1925, number of the Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota.

532. Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana*, I, 673; cf. Bancroft, *Arizona and New Mexico*, 150-151; Twitchell, *Leading Facts* I, 330.

533. The one is entitled: *Auto del gobernador de Nuevo Mexico y diligencias para que se levante el campo.* San Gabriel, September 7, 1601. The other reads: *Información y papeles que envió la gente que allá quedó haciendo cargos á la que así venia.* San Gabriel, October 2, 1601. Both are in A. G. I., 58-3-15.

general Oñate had appointed Francisco de Sosa y Peñalosa, who up to that time bore the rank of captain and royal ensign. Peñalosa was a man of quality. He was one of those with the largest equipment of personal property of any in the expedition.[534] Oñate, however, did not stop here. He took the precaution personally to impress those who remained with the great importance of maintaining the settlement as a base for future operations. "To all those who remained here the governor, with tears in his eyes, entrusted the protection of this settlement as a thing of great importance for the service of his majesty."[535] Peñalosa failed in that duty, apparently because he felt that it was hopeless to remain in a barren province and that the movement to desert was therefore justifiable.

Rebellion in the Colony. There is evidence to show that rebellion had been brewing before Oñate left San Gabriel in June, 1601, and that he realized the danger. Perhaps he hoped to checkmate the plans of those suspected of disloyalty by taking them along to Quivira. But if he did succeed in catching some, others with equally bad motives escaped. The most prominent among the latter were the purveyor Diego de Zubia, and captains Pedro Alonso and Alonso Quesada. "Because of the entreaties of the religious he left them in this settlement.[536] There they soon stirred up the glowing embers of discontent into open revolt.

Before sedition broke out openly secret plans for deserting were cherished by some of the leaders. Zubia, in particular, was anxious to leave, and soon broached the subject to Sergeant Alonso de la Vega. Both were from

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534. Peñalosa came from the Chalchuites mines. He joined the expedition when it was first organized, and had remained loyal throughout the long period of suspension. He was accompanied by his wife, Doña Eufemia, and two sons, Francisco de Sosa Peñalosa and Estevan Yllan de Sosa, aged 24 and 21, respectively. His daughter was Zubia's wife. He possessed twelve carts, (Oñate had only twenty-four) a numerous herd of live-stock, and a large retinue of servants.

535. Testimony of Sergeant Alonso de la Vega on article seven, in *Información y papeles.* Six witnesses swore that Oñate had personally entrusted them with the honor of guarding the capital.

536. Statement of La Vega, in *ibid.* This would indicate that the missionaries were aware of the feeling in the colony.

Durango. At an opportune moment in a conversation when the topic turned to matters at home Zubia exclaimed: "Señor Vega, your grace should not go on the expedition [to Quivira], for it is more important that we return to the land of peace."[537]

Zubia then unfolded his plan. It happened that he was troubled with a boil on his leg. This unpleasant fact provided him with an excellent excuse for going to Santo Domingo to see a surgeon, the lay brother Damian. Once at Santo Domingo, which was on the road to Mexico, he would feign illness, send for his wife, and then, being fully prepared, depart for New Spain. Vega paid no attention to his scheming, but went with Oñate as he had intended. After having gone about fifty leagues, however, he became ill and had to return. Thereupon he was at once approached by Captains Conde, César, Alonso, and Zubia, who informed him of their secret preparations for going away. They were merely waiting to gather some wheat before starting. Again Vega declined to join them, but within two or three weeks saw that most of the soldiers, aided and abetted by the friars, were publicly talking of abandoning the land. By that time these leaders had succeeded in drawing practically the entire population of the colony to their support.[538]

The Movement to Desert. It naturally took some time before the plotters dared to make their schemes public, but they do not seem to have encountered much opposition. About do not seem to have encountered much opposition. About two months[539] after Oñate's departure for Quivira they had made such progress that public meetings were being held to determine what course of action to pursue. The missionaries took a prominent part in these matters.[540] It was

537. *Ibid.*

538. *Ibid.*

539. Oñate started for Quivira on June 23, 1601. If La Vega accompanied him fifty leagues he probably returned to San Gabriel about August 1, or shortly afterwards. That would place the outbreak in the latter part of August.

540. Nearly every page of the papers sent to Mexico both by those who de-

soon agreed to move the entire settlement to some better place, and to inform the king and viceroy of the legitimate reasons for leaving New Mexico.

Early in September, 1601, a public meeting was held in the church. It was attended by the officers, soldiers, and five of the missionaries, Fathers San Miguel, Zamora, Izquierdo, Peralta, and Damian Escudero, the latter a lay brother.[541] Two other missionaries were with Oñate.[542] Another had returned to Mexico a few weeks earlier.[543] Father Oliva's name is not mentioned at all. This leaves only Father Escalona, the commissary, unaccounted for, it seems. That he was fully in sympathy with the movement to leave the province is perfectly clear. He declined to take an active part in the movement, probably because of his official position, but the report which he sent to his superiors in Mexico left no doubt of his feelings. Starvation had compelled the colony to go, he pleaded, and so it "became my imperative duty to allow the missionaries who were here to go with them . . . ; and they do not go with the intent of leaving and abandoning this land altogether, but only constrained by necessity."[544]

The gathering was held in order to draw up in proper form the reasons for deserting. The missionaries clearly took the initiative. After mass had been said, Father San Miguel made a speech in which he "discussed many causes, repeating many and diverse times, that it was right that the entire army should leave."[545] Peñalosa also commented upon the agreement of the soldiers and the missionaries

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serted and those who remained bears witness to this fact. The viceroy made the same report to the king. "Discurso y proposición," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 45

541. Statement of Peñalosa, September 7, 1601, in *Auto del gobernador de Nuevo Mexico.*

542. Fray Francisco de Velasco and Fray Pedro de Vergara. "True Account of the Expedition of Oñate Toward the East," in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 251.

543. Fray Luís de Maironos, who had been sent to Mexico with reports. *Carta de Don Luís de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601.

544. "Carta de Relación," October 1, 1601, in Torquemada, *Monarchía Indiana*, I, 674.

545. Statement of Peñalosa, September 7, 1601, in *Auto del gobernador de Nuevo Mexico.*

to leave.[546] He thereupon ordered that the opinions of the latter as well as of the military officials, "who were ready to follow the religious," should be taken and recorded.

Testimony of the Friars. The missionaries were first called to the witness stand by Peñalosa to explain their reasons for giving up the work of converting the heathen.[547] The vice-commissary, Father San Miguel, took oath in due form to tell the truth regarding the province and what ought to be done to escape its misery. He charged, and seemingly with truth, that instead of finding a spirit of kindliness in the colony toward the natives they were treated with utter disregard. The result was that the Word of God was blasphemed and not blessed. He had begun to learn four of the native languages and had worked hard to secure converts.[548] In these efforts he had experienced the greatest difficulty because the soldiers "leave them nothing in their houses, no wheat, nothing to eat, nothing that is alive."

It was the old trouble, the military offending the natives, making it extremely difficult for the missionaries to do anything. Father San Miguel testified that he had seen many pueblos entirely deserted because of fear of the soldiers, and the cruelty practised by them when coming to rob the natives of their food. Remonstrances against such injustice had availed nothing because "the land is so poor and so miserable that the governor has not been able to remedy" the situation. He confessed that Indian chiefs had been tortured and many killed in order to make them tell where their maize was concealed. Thousands

546. "It has come to my notice that many captains, officers and soldiers of this town, in agreement with the missionaries . . . who are in these provinces, have frequently said that it was proper for the service of God our Lord and his majesty that this entire capital should get ready and depart. . . . . ." *Ibid.*

547. Peñalosa was present in the church while this testimony was taken. He conducted the entire proceeding and signed the declaration made by each witness. A month later when the soldiers who remained loyal wished to take testimony to present before the viceroy, Peñalosa permitted it, but otherwise remained aloof.

548. Testimony of Father San Miguel, September 7, 1601, in *Auto del gobernador de Nuevo Mexico.* Father San Miguel's province included Pecos, the salines, and the Jumano pueblos. "Obediencia y vasallaje á su Magestad por los indios del

of Indians had already died from starvation. They had been reduced to such extremity that he had seen them eating branches of trees, earth, charcoal and ashes. That was rather gritty food, indeed. "If we wait much longer the natives, and all who are in the province, will die of starvation, cold and nakedness."[549]

Fray Francisco de Zamora gave equally discrediting testimony. He also insisted that attempts to Christianize the Indians had been made, but that the poor results obtained, due to the terrible injuries inflicted on the natives by the soldiers in order to secure food, had rendered their labors futile. The Christian religion had been degraded and converts were few.[550]

Father Izquierdo recounted at length some of the calamities which had befallen the miserable natives. In addition he testified that some of the settlers had spent so much money in the conquest of New Mexico that it would have been enough to undertake the subjugation of another province. In return for these sacrifices there was no compensation. On the contrary they had been compelled to steal the food and blankets which the natives required for their own needs. The only alternative to this procedure was starvation and death, or the desertion of the province for better lands.[551] Such were the reasons for giving up the fight for souls in New Mexico.

The Complaints of Four Captains. Following the missionaries four prominent captains related to Peñalosa their enormous sacrifices. The treasurer Alonso Sánchez testified that he had sold his extensive possessions near Nombre de Dios at a sacrifice in order to join Oñate's expedition with his entire household. Two of his daughters were married to officers in the army; three who were not married, and two sons also accompanied the expedition. In

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pueblo de San Juan Baptista," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 113-114.

549. Testimony of Father San Miguel, in *Auto del gobernador de Nuevo Mexico.*

550. Testimony of Father Zamora, in *ibid.*

551. Testimony of Father Izquierdo, in *ibid.*

New Mexico he had served on most of the trips of exploration which had been made and had found that there was no chance for profit in the land. It was a sterile country without gold or silver.[552]

The purveyor-general, Diego de Zubia, an inhabitant of Durango, had soon decided to join Oñate's expedition, when the news of its organization reached him. He sold his large estates, normaly worth 12,000 ducats, married Doña Juana de Trejo, a daughter of Captain Sánchez, and went to New Mexico on his honeymoon.[553]

Captains Bernabé de las Casas and Gregorio César, both of Mexico, told of joining the army and spending large sums of money in the enterprise. All had finally been reduced to the same level in a state of abject poverty, and were now petitioning the king to have mercy upon them by permitting their return to New Spain.[554]

Peñalosa Sanctions Desertion. Peñalosa was in a rather uncomfortable position as lieutenant-governor, and in his communications to the viceroy tried to make a safe explanation of his own conduct in the crisis. He could not blame Oñate, who was far away in the king's service in search of new provinces to conquer. He could not hold the missionaries responsible for what had happened, nor was it of any use to blame the soldiers. They took sides with the missionaries, or alleged that the things condemned were necessary in order to exist in such a fruitless and sterile region.[555]

The capital was thus torn with dissension, and though it was Peñalosa's duty to preserve order he did nothing whatever to hinder the progress of the rebellion. We must conclude, therefore, that he was fully in accord with what was going on. Nevertheless, he would be compelled to re-

552. Testimony of Captain Alonso Sánchez, in *ibid.*

553. Testimony of Diego de Zubia, in *ibid.* Zubia testified that he was captain and *alcalde mayor* of the "province of Santa Bárbara" when Oñate began recruiting in that locality.

554. Testimony of Captains Las Casas and César, in *ibid.*

555. *Copia de una carta de Francisco de Sosa Peñalosa escrita al Conde de Monterey,* San Gabriel, October 1, 1601. A. G. I., 58-3-15.

main, together with the father-commissary, and such as refused to desert to Santa Bárbara till relief or authority to depart should come from Mexico. Peñalosa appealed to the viceroy that unless such aid was received within five months they too would be forced to desert. Captain Luís de Velasco, who had vigorously urged the abandonment of the province, was delegated to present the information in Mexico.[556]

A Part of the Colony Remains Loyal. The few faithful soldiers who remained in San Gabriel, indignant at the course events had taken, were entirely helpless to prevent the deserters from carrying out their plans. They did, however, determine to present their side of the case to the viceroy. In order to do this effectively it was neccessary to send a representative to Mexico, and for this purpose they chose Captain Gerónimo Márquez. Peñalosa readily granted him permission to go.[557]

In order to have accurate information to present in Mexico, Márquez prepared an interrogatory containing twenty articles on which testimony was taken.[558] His purpose was to counteract the information being sent to Mexico by the missionaries and others. It was thus necessary to give a favorable report of the province, and this was done in the most glowing terms. At the same time the loyal soldiers deplored the cowardice of the deserters and sought to brand them as traitors.

Besides Peñalsoa and the father-commissary there appear to have been about twenty-five soldiers in the group which remained in San Gabriel.[559] Ten of these appeared

556. Peñalosa characterized Velasco as a worthy and reliable man on whom the viceroy could depend. *Ibid.* Velasco was accompanied by Jusepe Brondate, Marcelo de Espinosa, Juan de Ortega, and the licentiate Gines de Herrera Orta. They departed March 23, 1601. See their testimony, in *Copia de una información que hizo Don Francisco de Valverde.*

557. Petition of the soldiers and reply of Peñalosa, October 2, 1601, in *Información y papeles.*

558. "Interrogatorio" of Captain Gerónimo Márquez, in *ibid.*

559. Petition of the soldiers, in *ibid.* They were: Alonso Gómez Montesinos, Bartolomé Romero, Cristóbal Vaca, Martín Gómez, Gonzalo Hernández, Hernán Martín, Acencio de Arechuelta, Alonso Varela, Alonso de Chaves, Pedro de Angulo,

as witnesses before Captain Márquez. A large portion of their testimony dealt with the activities of the friars. On that subject Márquez asked each witness the following question: "Do you know if the holy Gospel has been preached to the natives of this land, and how it was received by those who understood a little."[560]

The First Efforts of the Missionaries. In view of the fact that the testimony of all the witnesses showed passive or outspoken hostility to the friars, among others, their actions can quite readily be understood. All stated that the Gospel had been favorably received wherever any preaching had been done, but that very little had been attempted. Captain Cristóbal Vaca insisted that the friars had never gone over two leagues beyond the capital to preach, and that they were unwilling to do so. This selfish spirit was emphasized by nearly all the witnesses.[561]

There was one outstanding exception. Father Alonso de la Oliva at Santo Domingo had made a real attempt to bring salvation to the Indians. Eight soldiers spoke of his work. He had made so much progress that at the sound of a bell the natives would gather for religious instruction. At Jemez Father Lugo and a lay brother, a Mexican Indian, had built a church where the neophytes also assembled at the same signal. Captain Romero, who had been there, stated that they listened to the preaching of the lay brother and were also learning the prayers.[562]

Among the Picuries some success had been achieved by another lay brother, and at San Ildefonso, where it seems Father San Miguel was laboring,[563] a church had been erected. Moreover, it was testified that one of the soldiers,

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Juan Luxán, Baltasar de Monzon, Diego Diaz, Juan de Medina, Alvaro García, Alonso Barba, Rodrigo Correa, Juan Pérez, Juan de Salas, Juan López Deguin, Pedro Locero, Juan Fernández, Simón Pérez de Bustillo.

560. Article two, in "Interrogatorio" of Captain Márquez, in *Información y papeles.*

561. Testimony of Captain Vaca and others on article two, in *ibid.*

562. Testimony on article two, in *ibid.*

563. Testimony of Romero, Montesinos, and Hernán Martín on article two, in *ibid.* Father San Miguel never went to his own field, according to Captain Brondate. See his testimony, in *Copia de una información que hizo Don Francisco de Valverde.*

Hernán Martín, had learned the language of the Queres and had explained matters of doctrine to them. "If the padres had fulfilled their duty the Indians would all have been Christians by this time," exclaimed Captain Montesinos.

Some had accepted the forms of Christianity, notably the natives of San Juan. A few days before the talk of leaving the province broke out, two baptismal ceremonies had been held. At the first of these the children of the women led into slavery at Ácoma, and those near the capital who served the Spaniards, were baptized, and the next set likewise consisted largely of women slaves. All the witnesses, some of whom had acted as sponsors,[564] so stated, and added that the neophytes fled when they learned of the proposed abandonment of the land. They feared to be taken away from native surroundings. If no effort should be made to reassemble these converts, said the soldiers, in order to continue their instruction in the faith they must inevitably relapse into heathenism very soon. All of these calamities, they maintained, had been caused by the determination of a few to forsake the land.[565]

In the bitterness of the moment the loyal soldiers placed much of the responsibility for this state of affairs on the friars. During the organization of the expedition and after reaching New Mexico they had always told the colonists of the great service the latter were doing for God and king by staying in the land and assisting in its conversion. The missionaries had compared them to Christ's Apostles and urged their cooperation in Christianizing the natives. That spirit had suddenly changed, was the charge, and the padres had used their great influence in the cause of desertion.[566]

The Ringleaders. In the report which Márquez carried

564. Hernán Martín, Martín Gómez, and Alonso Gómez Montesinos.

565. Testimony on article twenty, in *Información y papeles.*

566. Article twelve and testimony, in *ibid.* As late as August 2, 1601, Monterey had apparently received no idea of dissatisfaction among the missionaries. Up till that time the latter had simply reported that there were many docile Indians who were desirous of becoming Christians. *Monterey á S. M.*, August 2, 1601, A. G. I.,

to the viceroy an effort was made to identify those who were responsible for fomenting dissension. Four captains, Don Luís de Velasco, Bernabé de las Casas, Alonso de Quesada, and Gregorio César, were unanimously acclaimed as being among the ringleaders. Several others had been working with them, however. Nine of the witnesses accused Antonio Conde, eight included Zubia, and six named Alonso Sánchez and Pedro Alonso among the guilty. The friars were specifically mentioned by only three in this connection.[567] On other questions, however, five told of hearing the missionaries preaching desertion, while four others stated that they were present and witnessed all that took place while the rebellion was developing. The tenth witness, Juan Sánchez, reported that both parties, priests and soldiers, cast the blame on the other party.[568] It is clear that both the religious and military authorities were responsible for the flight of the colony.

Making Desertion Compulsory. Captain Márquez further charged that the missionaries, in their sermons and discussions, had exhorted the soldiers to abandon the province. Gerónimo Hernández told how Fray Lope de Izquierdo had tried to bring him over to their purpose by stating that all the missionaries wanted to go to Mexico. Later he heard him preach the same message from the pulpit. Fray San Miguel likewise made futile efforts to change his mind.[569]

The captains were evidently more unscrupulous than the missionaries. They went about the colony practically compelling everyone to sign the "roll of the deserters." It was their practise to take someone aside, inform him that all had signed with the exception of himself, and that not a soul would remain behind. Such was the experience of Alonso de la Vega who was taken to Fray Lope's cell by Captain Don Luís de Velasco. He was there told to sign

567. Testimony on article eleven, in *Información y papeles.*
568. Testimony on article nine, in *ibid.*
569. Testimony of Gerónimo Hernández, in *ibid.*

as he was the only one who had not done so. Gerónimo Hernández and Hernán Martín testified that they were explicitly informed that not a soul would remain, not even the lieutenant-governor nor the father-commissary.[570] The royal standard would no longer wave over the capital at San Gabriel.

By such means did the party of desertion formulate their plans to give up New Mexico. However, their carefully matured efforts broke down in part. When it was seen that some were reluctant to go and that neither Peñalosa nor Fray Juan de Escalona were leaving, as had been vouchsafed, a few determined to stay. Those who had been hoodwinked into signing the deserter's roll now cast their lot with New Mexico and Oñate.

The Flight. After most of the colonists had been persuaded to leave, the group forsook New Mexico in September or October, 1601. Santa Bárbara was their destination and thither they hurried.[571]

Oñate Returns from Quivira. Meanwhile, Oñate returned from Quivira late in the following November, not a whit richer than when he set out. His soldiers, many of whom bore the marks of their clash with the Kansas indians were a weary band of knight-errants indeed. In San Gabriel further disappointment was in store for Oñate, and he must have listened to the news of the colony's departure with bitter chagrin. Just as new hopes had appeared on the horizon, to take advantage of which more men were needed, a part of his force had fled. His own men and horses were sadly in need of rest and there were neither to take their places. Nevertheless, plans were soon set in motion for dealing with the situation.

The Deserters are Condemned. Judicial proceedings were instituted against the deserters and they were sentenced "as the treason against his majesty demanded," ac-

570. See their testimony on article ten, in *ibid.*

571. See letters of Fathers Escalona and San Miguel given in Torquemada's *Monarchia Indiana*, I, 676-678.

cording to Zaldívar.[572] Father San Miguel asserts that they were to be beheaded.[573] After the sentence had been pronounced the former was ordered to overtake the rebels and bring them back. But he was too late. They had already reached Santa Bárbara. There they had been taken care of by Captain Gordejuela at the viceroy's order,[574] and Zaldívar, though complaining of ill health, set out for Mexico to make a personal report to the viceroy.[575] Should he fail to secure satisfaction from the latter he planned a trip to Spain to appeal directly to the king.[576]

Serious Charges Against Oñate. From Santa Bárbara the condemned colonists made strenuous efforts to save themselves. Reports were made painting Oñate in the blackest colors. Father San Miguel informed his superior that everyone in the colony was compelled to bow to Oñate's slightest wish, and that even the friars were forced to worship him. He charged that the land was inhospitable and that it was impossible to live there under the circumstances. The governor, in order not to lose

his reputation, makes use of a thousand falsehoods, . . . sends thousands of souls to hell, and does things not fit to be mentioned by Christians. . . . In all the expeditions he has butchered many Indians, human blood has been shed, and he has committed thefts, sackings, and other atrocities. I pray that God may grant him the grace to do penance for all his deeds.[577]

The Viceroy Consults the Theologians. Monterey did not take upon himself full responsibility for settling this

572. Vicente de Zaldívar to Monterey, Sombrerete. February 28, 1602. A. G. I., 58-3-15.

573. Letter of Father San Miguel, in Torquemada, *Monarchía* Indiana, I, 677.

574. Some had preceded the others and informed the viceroy of their action, and he then ordered them detained till the matter could be investigated. *Copia de un capitulo de carta del virrey de Nueva España . . . á S. M.*, March 8, 1602, A. G. I., 58-3-15.

575. Zaldívar to Monterey, February 28, 1602.

576. Zaldívar to Cristóbal de Oñate, Luís Nuñez Pérez and Cristóbal de Salazar, February 28, 1602, A. G. I., 58-3-15.

577. Letter of Father San Miguel, in Torquemada, *Monarchía Indiana*, I, 676-677. Part of this passage is quoted by Bolton in his Spanish Borderlands, 175.

delicate matter. On the contrary he consulted various theologians and jurists. He wanted to know, in particular, whether the fleeing colonists had committed the crime of desertion, and whether some of them, at least, ought not to be punished. The wisemen whom he consulted held that those in question were not full-fledged soldiers but settlers who could not be called military deserters. Moreover, as it was the first offense, they considered it best to spare them.[578]

Nor did the theologians feel that the escaped colonists could or should be compelled to go back to New Mexico, even if they were given supplies and provisions. They had exercised an inalienable right and made certain accusations which ought to be investigated by some higher tribunal.

Nevertheless, they felt that the land should not be given up. The natives who had already been Christianized ought to be protected. A few soldiers might be sent for this purpose, "not as an army, nor with the clang of arms," but only enough to protect the friars. In the future there should be no restriction on communication with Mexico. There ought to be free recourse to both the viceroy and audiencia in Mexico, as well as to the king and Council of the Indies in Spain.[579]

These opinions of the theologians supported the viceroy's first move to protect the settlers from Oñate's wrath. Consequently the adelantado never got back his colonists. The complaints which they had made cast a serious shadow on his reputation. He and his friends made efforts to disprove the charges and to regain royal favor, but only with indifferent success. The desertion of the colony and the pent-up opposition which it unloosened were important factors in rvealing the true nature of Oñate's achievement in New Mexico. The illusions of fabled wealth which had circulated generally up to this time were dispelled and the way prepared for the permanent growth of New Mexico as a missionary field.

578. *Copia de los puntos que se consultaron á teologos y juristos . . . y tambien de la respuesta de los dichos geologos*, January 6 and 31, 1602, A. G. I., 58-3-15.

579. *Ibid.*

Chapter X.

Onate's Difficulties and the Expedition to California

Prosperity of the Colony. In the account of the flight of Oñate's colonists it was necessary to deal with much of the sordid side of life in New Mexico. But our story is not all of that nature. At times we find pleasant reports of the fertility and excellence of the land. Some interesting facts of that nature were sent to Mexico in 1601. It was then pointed out that never before had there been such ample provisions on hand in the colony. The harvest that year would bring the Spaniards fifteen hundred fanegas[580] of wheat, it was predicted. This was only five hundred less than the annual requirements. The Indians also were harvesting and would have enough to tide them over. There were three thousand head of stock in the province, and the gardens were full of fruits and vegetables. In the three years since the Spanish occupation greater amounts of grain and vegetables had been grown each year. True, the harvest was not yet completed, but all felt assured of a heavy yield.

During the first year in New Mexico Oñate's settlers seeded only seven *fanegas* of wheat. In the second about fifty *fanegas* had been cultivated, with a return of nearly one thousand. In 1601 almost one hundred *fanegas* had been planted, and the indications pointed to a good harvest. The situation was therefore better than during the first year when they had to rely entirely on the Indians for maize.[581]

Trouble with the Jumanos. Of a different nature was

580. A *fanega* contains one and six-tenths bushels.

581. Testimony on articles thirteen and fourteen, in *Información y papeles.* This testimony is given by those who refused to desert New Mexico. It is therefore the rosiest side of the picture. But even so they admitted that some corn must still be furnished by the Indians.

a conflict with the Jumanos. This arose when five soldiers fled from the capital, hoping to escape to New Spain. On the way the Jumanos attacked them, killing two of the fugitives and over twenty of their horses. Castañeda and Santillan were the victims.[582] The three survivors, whose names are not given, hurried back to San Gabriel to inform the governor of what had taken place.

Within a short time of their return it was learned that the Jumanos were planning to attack the Spanish capital, hoping to wipe out the intruding settlement. When this became known all the soldiers petitioned Oñate to suspend his proposed journey to the east till the Jumanos could be punished and security reestablished in the province. This request was granted and Zaldívar was accordingly sent to Abó, here called a Jumano pueblo, in order to punish those guilty of killing the Spaniards.[583]

The Indians quickly learned that Zaldívar was on his way. Calling their friends they assembled in the pueblo of Agualaco,[584] to await developments. Zaldívar approached the place without suspecting that it was filled with enemies, due to the fact that it had sent friendly representatives to him. As he was nearing the pueblo about eight hundred natives suddenly sallied forth and compelled his force to face a dangerous attack.[585] Such an insult must be punished, otherwise the natives would become insolent and haughty and make the land unsafe.

Plans for the battle were carefully laid and the soldiers

582. Article sixteen and testimony, in *ibid.* In one place the name Salvatierra is substituted for Castañeda, but there is no record of a man by that name in the colony. Santillan reached San Gabriel in December, 1600, with the reinforcements. Therefore the incident occurred after that time — and before June 23, 1601, when Oñate went to Quivira.

583. Articles sixteen and seventeen, in *ibid.* "Para que fuse á los jumanas al pueblo de abo á castigar á los delinquentes . . . . ." Hodge calls Abó a Tompiros division of the Piros. *Handbook*, I, 6.

584. Article seventeen and testimony, in *Información y papeles.* Agualaco is doubtless identical with the Acolocú mentioned when the pueblos rendered obedience. It was said to be in a province called Cheálo. See "Obediencia y vasallaje á su Magestad por los indios del pueblo de Acolocú," in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 117-118. Hodge places that province in the vicinity of the salines. *Handbook*, I, 239.

585. Article seventeen, in *Información y papeles.*

sought divine aid before going into battle. Then Zaldívar offered peace to the Indians, promising them many things if this offer would be accepted, but nothing came of it. The Indians hurled rocks and arrows, indicating their refusal of the terms. The battle began at once. It lasted six days and nights before the natives acknowledged defeat.[586] Nine hundred had been killed, and their pueblo burned. We are told that Zaldívar pardoned all the men and women engaged in the battle save those most guilty. These seem to have numbered two hundred, nevertheless.[587] One captive was given to each soldier, but as soon as they had been taken to San Gabriel many fled. Within a brief period all save seven or eight had escaped.[588]

Writing in March, 1601, Captain Velasco reported that this struggle with the Jumanos was very recent,[589] and occurred because they refused to furnish blankets and provisions. This fray is not to be confused with Oñate's tussle with the Jumanos in the summer of 1599, when Zaldívar was on his way to the South Sea. The battle described above took place just before Oñate went to Quivira.

Zaldívar in Mexico. Following these events and the flight of the colony Vicente de Zaldívar was sent to Mexico with requests for aid and support in order to maintain and extend what had already been won in New Mexico.[590] He asked for a reinforcement of three hundred soldiers to be provided at the king's expense, and offered to add one hundred to this number at Oñate's cost. More missionaries must also be provided. But Monterey and the audiencia threw cold water on these plans within a month. It was their opinion that the discovery should not be con-

586. Article eighteen and testimony, in *ibid.* Another account of the battle says that it lasted five days and nights, and that the Indians did not give up till their water supply was cut off. In the final struggle to capture that point about forty Spaniards were wounded. Zaldívar was one of them, having suffered two wounds and a broken arm. Petition of Vicente de Zaldívar, 1603, A. G. I., 103-3-23.

587. *Carta de don Luis de Velasco á S. M.*, March 22, 1601.

588. Article eighteen and testimony, in *Información y papeles.*

589. See his letter, *op. cit.*

590. He arrived for Easter, before April 10, 1602.

tinued at such expense, but that the region already pacified in New Mexico should be maintained, even at some cost. It presented a fine field for missionary endeavor, and would serve as a base "from which to receive news of the settlements that are said to be in the north in that great expanse of country, which may truly be said to constitute a large fraction of the earth's surface."[591]

Oñate Appeals to the King. Meanwhile it should be noted that Oñate had long maintained an agent in Spain, seeking favors from the king. This was his brother Don Alonso, who was procurator-general of the miners of New Spain.[592] He was in Seville in March, 1600, long before the desertion of Oñate's colony or before the new province began to look like a profitless venture. He brought papers and reports from New Mexico, and strongly urged the king to favor his brother Don Juan.[593] He was seeking confirmation of Oñate's contract as made with Velasco and the restoration of the limitations made by the Count of Monterey. He insisted that his brother had fully met his obligations as shown by the Ulloa inspection, and that the subsequent inspection by Salazar was not fairly conducted. "Only by the mercy of God could Don Juan and his army bear such treatment. For this reason alone, he deserves that your highness do him the favor of confirming said capitulations." Don Alonso also requested that the title of adelantado be given his brother. He had earned it, and it had been promised before the conquest was undertaken.[594] Moreover he asked that missionaries of all orders be permitted to enter New Mexico. He insisted that no trouble would arise if the Franciscans were limited to those places then in their possession.[595]

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591. "Memorial sobre el descubrimiento," in *Col Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 200-201.

592. *Memorial que Don Alonso de Oñate . . . envia á S M.*, [October 8, 1600] A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

593. *Carta á S. M. de Don Alonso de Oñate*, Seville, March 2, 1600, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

594. Don Alonso to the president of the Council of the Indies, in *Col. Doc. Inéd.*, XVI, 320-321.

595. Don Alonso de Oñate to the king, May 24, 1600, in *ibid.*, XVI, 316-319.

The Opinion of the Council, June, 1600. These matters were referred to the Council of the Indies and duly considered by it. Monterey's limitations were allowed to stand with one exception. The encomiendas granted in New Mexico, which Monterey had ordered confirmed within three years, were extended. It was not customary to limit them and the members of the Council voted to free Oñate from the restriction.[596]

The Council further agreed that the honor of becoming hidalgo should be extended to the descendants of those who died before the required five year period of service was up. It conceded that the title of adelantado should be given, in justice, to Oñate. Of the numerous additional privileges requested in the contract made with Viceroy Velasco, which the Council also passed on, some were partially granted. The royal fifth on the precious metals was reduced to a tenth for twenty years. Exemption from the *alcabala* was allowed for twenty years. But the king's decree suspended all these matters and referred them to the Count of Monterey for his opinion.[597]

Don Alonso fairly bombarded the king and the Council of the Indies with letters and petitions. He charged that Monterey had continually sought to destroy the expedition. It was for that reason that Oñate's contract had been limited, that Salazar had been sent to hold a second inspection, that Father Martínez who went to Mexico for reinforcements, was detained till he gave up in disgust, and that the whole project had been unnecessarily delayed all along. He pointed out anew that everything limited by the Count was granted in the royal ordinances, and that there was accordingly no reason for withholding these concessions.[598]

Opinion of the Council, October, 1601. Nearly a year elapsed before the king ordered the Council to reconsider

596. *El Consejo de Indias á S. M.*, June 9, 1600, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.
597. Royal decree in response to *ibid.*
598. Two memorials of Don Alonso de Oñate [October 8, 1600], A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

this question, which was continually being urged by Oñate's friends. Accordingly it once more reviewed the modifications made by the Count and recommended some changes. The Council would now permit Oñate to be immediately subject to the Council of the Indies, except that appeal in governmental and judicial affairs to the audiencia of New Galicia must be permitted. For two years from the beginning of the conquest he might appoint royal officials in New Mexico and name their salary; he might recruit troops with the viceroy's sanction; bring two ships to his province yearly, again with the viceroy's approval; levy the tribute, without consulting the prelates, provided it did not exceed ten reales per year for each of those who had to pay it; and exercise absolute freedom in giving encomiendas. The king, however, was unwilling to concede the last point, and ordered that confirmation must be sought within three years.[599]

Don Alonso was dissatisfied with the king's action and immediately presented new remonstrances. He ridiculed the two year concession for appointing officials in New Mexico, as the conquest had begun four years before that was ordered. This was accordingly changed so that Oñate could name the officials for once only. In regard to the right of giving encomiendas Don Alonso had the Council on his side. It agreed that Oñate or his friends should not be obliged to ask confirmation of their encomiendas, "for it has not been done, nor is it done by any of the presidents or governors who have power to grant encomiendas."[600] Nevertheless the king modified the Council's decision and required the encomenderos to ask for confirmation within six years.[601]

The partial concessions which filtered through the king's fingers one by one evidently served to keep Don Alonso fighting for more. At any rate he made further

599. *El Consejo á S. M.*, and royal decree, October 17, 1601. A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.
600. *Junta particular á S. M.*, November 24, 1601, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.
601. Royal decree in response to *ibid.*

requests that the viceroy be instructed to send soldiers to Oñate, and that they be given the privileges of first settlers. Moreover it was again asked that the Carmelites be allowed to enter New Mexico. When these questions were considered by the Council it strongly recommended that Oñate be given the necessary reinforcements, and that the other requests be also granted.[602] Numerous points still in doubt had just been referred to Monterey for his opinion.[603]

Oñate's Loss of Prestige. On this occasion the decision of the Council was upheld by the king and he ordered that it be carried out. This was on June 22, 1602.[604] But about the same time news of various disorders and crimes said to have been committed by Oñate and others in New Mexico reached Spain and was considered by the Council on July 7, 1602. Presumably these reports dealt with the severe punishments Oñate had inflicted, and other irregularities.[605] The upshot of it all was that the king ordered Monterey to make a secret investigation. If Oñate was so guilty that it would be improper to leave him in New Mexico he was to be punished, but the conversion of the natives was not to be stopped for that reason.[606] In view of such unfavorable reports the king countermanded the order of June 22, and decreed that the entire business then sanctioned be delayed[607] It is just possible that information of the desertion of the colony had been received by that time and influenced his decision.

The Title of Adelantado. Before these disturbing reports were received in Spain Don Alonso had succeeded in wringing a few concessions from the crown. Early in 1602, before the scandal about Oñate was known in Spain,

602. *Junta particular*, June 22, 1602, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

603. Royal cédula, June 7, 1602, A. G. I., 139-1-2.

604. Royal decree in response to *junta* of June 22, 1602, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

605. See chapter VIII of this study.

606. *El Consejo de Indias á* S. M., April 22, 1603, 1-1-3/22.

607. Royal decree, August 12, 1602, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22. The viceroy had already been informed of the above orders, for he shortly reported to the king that he had refused to permit the entry of the Carmelites into New Mexico. He gave as his reason the danger of conflict with the Franciscans. *Carta á su Magestad del virrey de Nueva España*, December 12, 1602, A. G. I., 58-3-15.

he had the satisfaction of sending a bit of "glory" to his brother in New Mexico. It was the title of adelantado which the king then conferred. The honor was to last through Oñate's lifetime and that of his son or heir.[608]

Moreover his independence of the viceroy and audiencia of Mexico was formally decreed, with appeal to the audiencia of New Galicia.[609] The right to levy tribute without consulting the religious was likewise promulgated, provided it did not exceed ten reales a year for each tributary,[610] and the ennoblement of the children of those conquerors who died before the title of hidalgo had been legally won was officially sanctioned.[611]

Monterey Resents the King's Action. Viceroy Monterey first heard of these concessions through Oñate's friends in Mexico in the fall of 1602. He was greatly displeased, particularly that Oñate had been freed from his control. But the notification was not official, and lacking such notice he determined to act as formerly in regard to New Mexico. The audiencia concurred in this decision, and Monterey went on with his plans of sending three or four friars to the north. New Mexico was still in a very precarious situation and in danger of being deserted by the few who had remained there.[612] The missionaries were shortly sent, probably reaching San Gabriel in May, 1603. Besides these there were already two in the province, we are informed.[613]

Zaldívar's Pilgrimage to Spain. When Zaldívar failed to secure the desired assistance from the royal officials in Mexico he departed for Europe, evidently in 1602, armed with reports on New Mexico and with the opinions of the audiencia and Monterey. The latter urged the king that

608. Royal cédula, February 7, 1602, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 397-399.
609. Royal cédula, July 8, in *ibid.*, 405.
610. Royal cédula, July 4, 1602, in *ibid.*, 403.
611. Royal cédula, July 8, 1602, A. G. I., 139-1-2.
612. *Carta á su Magestad del virrey de Nueva España*, December 12, 1602.
613. *Monterey á S. M.*, May 28, 1603, A. G. I., 58-3-14. Oñate had made urgent requests that the Jesuits be allowed to enter New Mexico, but Monterey refused to permit it.

the *maestre de campo* be given attention at once, for it was expedient that a decision one way or the other be reached without delay.[614]

Zaldívar soon informed the crown of Oñate's dire distress. He insisted, in particular, that there were too few soldiers to continue the discovery. Four hundred additional soldiers would not be too many to reap the fruits of what had already been discovered, and the king was asked to provide three hundred of these. The rest would be furnished by Oñate, even though his expenses for the past six years had been enormous. But in spite of Zaldívar's glowing accounts of New Mexico and the country beyond, the Council was not convinced that such a heavy drain on the royal treasury was warranted. The reports of scandals said to have been committed by Oñate left a bad impression. It was probably for that reason that the Council refused to consider the matter and recommended that the entire question of New Mexican affairs be left to the viceroy's discretion.[615] The responsibility would then devolve on the Marquis of Montesclaros, newly appointed viceroy of New Spain.[616]

Though unsuccessful in getting the crown to send more men to New Mexico, Zaldívar's voyage was not entirely in vain. In a *junta de guerra* of May 23, 1603, the Council recommended a loan of thirty or forty thousand ducats to Oñate, that the conversion of the natives might not be hindered.[617] It also approved his plan to recruit some musketeers and shipwrights in Seville and San Lucar, as there were none of these in the Indies. He was only allowed forty men, though his request was for seventy. They were to sail with the fleet, the expense of their passage and

614. *Carta á su Magestad del virrey de Nuevo España*, December 12, 1602. Vicente de Zaldívar was *sargento mayor* of the expedition to New Mexico, but was also given the title of *maestre de campo* after the death of his brother Juan at Ácoma in December, 1598, and he was usually referred to by that title while in Spain.

615. *El Consejo de Indias á S. M.*, April 22, 1603, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22.

616. Montesclaros reached Mexico in September, 1603. Bancroft, *Mexico*, III, 5.

617. *La Junta de Guerra de Indias á S. M.*, May 23, 1603. This was approved by the king, but I have no record that it was carried out.

freight being paid by the crown. Only fifteen hundred ducats, however, could be expended for this purpose.[618]

The Council also approved Zaldívar's request for two experienced pilots to be hired at Oñate's cost. They were to be used in making voyages of discovery on the North or South Seas. In addition he was allowed to bring a quantity of military equipment with the fleet, but it was evidently purchased at his own cost.[619]

Zaldívar did not remain long in Spain. Little had been gained and he departed with the fleet in 1603, leaving Don Alonso to represent Oñate's interests there. Nor had he been able to enlist the forty musketeers, shipwrights, and two pilots before the fleet sailed. Don Alonso took over the task and requested that he might assume the privileges granted to Zaldívar.[620] The king permitted the favor and allowed the small group to sail in December or January in a tender of eighty tons.[621] Moreover it was decreed that the boat might bring a small amount of merchandise in order to make the trip less expensive.[622]

Oñate's Residencia is Postponed. When Monterey received the orders from the king to investigate the charges of misconduct preferred against Oñate he should normally have ordered the latter's *residencia.*[623] But he determined not to do so, with the approval of the audiencia, because of the danger of discrediting the new region so thoroughly that it would be given up in disgust. He felt that the *residencia* could be held with fewer disadvantages some time later.[624] The stand taken on the subject was approved by

618. *El Consejo de Indias á S. M.*, and royal decree, May 17, 1603, A. G. I., 1-1-3/22; cf. royal cédula of June 23, 1603, in Hackett, *Hist. Docs.*, 407.

619. Authorized in two cédulas of June 12 and June 23, 1602, A. G. I., 139-1-2. The equipment consisted of sixty harquebuses, thirty muskets, one hundred coats of mail, one hundred cuishes, fifty helmets with beavers, one hundred swords and daggers, fifty buckskin jackets or buckskin for making them.

620. *Don Alonso de Oñate á la Casa*, August 19, 1603, A. G. I., 139-1-2.

621. Royal cédula, September 8, 1603, A. G. I., 139-1-2.

622. Á la Casa, January 19, 1604, A. G. I., 139-1-2. There were some married men among those enlisted and they were permitted to bring their wives and children.

623. The *residencia* was an official investigation to determine whether an officer had been true to his trust.

624. *Copia de los advertimientos generales q se le enviaron al virrey Marqués de Montesclaros*, March 28, 1604, A. G. I., 58-3-15.

the crown, and when Montesclaros became viceroy he was instructed to favor the New Mexico enterprise as the charges against Oñate were uncertain.[625]

Montesclaros Reports on New Mexico. Montesclaros soon found it necessary to make a complete study of the affairs relating to New Mexico. In order to do so with all possible care he conferred with three of the most disinterested judges of the audiencia and with the fiscal in secret sessions. Criminal as well as other charges were considered and a report drawn up and sent to the king.[626] Some of the findings of this committee follow.

The conference judged that the land and its inhabitants were, on the whole, poor. It reported that the silver ore sent to Mexico by Oñate contained nothing but copper; that any returns from the province were dependent on the duration of the occupation; that Oñate would not be able to pay even the fourth of the cost of a reinforcement of soldiers; that the charges against him were not bad, but sufficient that he should not continue the conquest; that a judge or alcalde of the audiencia ought to go in person to report on the province and its mining possibilities; that such an official should have power to take Oñate and his guilty relatives prisoners; that in any event a presidio should be established in New Mexico; that if Oñate was not found guilty he should be authorized to continue the conquest; and that in case a *visitador* should be sent either Doctor Morga, alcalde of the audiencia, or the licentiate Morquecho, a judge of the same tribunal, or both, should be named. After the investigation, neither should be permitted to return to the audiencia.[627]

The Expedition to the Gulf of California. Oñate's province was thus coming to be regarded as a "white elephant" which would have to be supported by the crown. No wealth in gold, silver, or precious stones had been found, nothing but a fairly large number of half naked Indians.

625. *Carta del Marqués de Montesclaros á S. M.*, March 31, 1605, A. G. I., 58-3-15.
626. *Ibid.* The opinion of the *junta* was given in fourteen numbered paragraphs.
627. *Ibid.*

His rule was under the shadow of serious mismanagement. But there was yet one hope of overcoming these misfortunes. Plans of reaching the South Sea had long been contemplated, and Oñate assembled his depleted force in preparation of another hunt for the "Golden Fleece."[628]

With thirty soldiers, and accompanied by Father Escobar, the commissary of the missionaries, and Fray Juan de San Buenaventura, a lay brother, he left San Gabriel on October 7, 1604,[629] following the route opened by Farfán and Zaldívar some years earlier. The party passed through the province of Zuñi, fifty leagues from San Gabriel,[630] then went northwest to Moqui, twenty leagues, west to the Little Colorado, ten leagues, and then seventeen leagues to a river called San Antonio. "It ran from north to south between great mountain chains."[631] On this stretch of territory they had passed through a pine forest eight leagues wide.[632] Five leagues beyond the San Antonio river they came to the Sacramento river.[633] This stream flowed in a southeasterly direction, and Escobar stated that it was in that place that Espejo discovered mines.[634]

From that point the expedition continued westward nearly sixteen leagues, till the river called San Andrés was reached on November 30.[635] This was Bill Williams Fork.

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628. Cf. Bolton, "Father Escobar's Relation of the Oñate Expedition to California," in *Catholic Historical Review*, V, 22. Hereafter cited as Escobar's Relation.

629. *Ibid.*, 25. "Journey of Oñate to California by Land, (Zárate, 1926)," in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 268-280. Hereafter cited as Zárate's Relation. Both Escobar's and Zárate's accounts have been carefully translated and edited by Professor Bolton.

630. Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V. 25. Zárate says sixty leagues. See his Relation, in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration*, 268.

631. Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V, 26. The San Antonio was perhaps Sycamore Creek.

632. Zárate's Relation, *op. cit.*, 269.

633. The Sacramento must have been the Rio Verde. That identification fits the description. Professor Bolton calls the San Antonio the Rio Verde, but that leaves no stream to compare with the Sacramento, and he attempts none.

634. Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V. 26. Zárate also states it was here that "the Spaniards took out very good ores." If these two statements are correct then Espejo's mining discovery, later visited by Farfán, was not on Bill Williams Fork, but on the Verde.

635. *Ibid.*, V. 27. Professor Bolton notes that the name San Andrés was given to one of the richest mines discovered by the Farfán party. *Spanish Exploration*, 271 note 1. The inference is that there is some relation between the location of

It was followed twenty or twenty-four leagues, the two accounts differ, to the Colorado, "which they sought because of the reports which the Indians had given."[636] Regarding this discovery Father Escobar wrote: "It flows . . . to the sea or Gulf of California, bearing on either side high ranges, between which it forms a very wide river bottom, all densely populated by people on both sides of the river, clear to the sea, which seemed to me fifty leagues from there."[637]

Visiting the Indians along the Colorado. Before starting down the river Oñate sent a party up the stream to visit the Amacavas Indians. They were the Mohave,[638] who furnished the Spaniards with "maize, frijoles, and calabashes, which is the ordinary food of all the people of their river." They did not seem to have much maize in spite of the spacious bottoms along the river, and Escobar attributed this to their laziness. On the contrary they obtained much food from mesquite and from the seeds of grass which they gathered in large quantities.[639]

Proceeding down the river the Spaniards came to the Bahacechas, whose ranchería extended seven or eight leagues along the river bottom.[640] They have been identified as either a branch of the Mohave or the Huallapais.[641] They told more about a lake, called the lake of Copalla by the Mohaves, which was supposed to be in a populous region.[642] It was stated that the people who lived on its shores wore bracelets of gold and other golden adornments. When shown some silver buttons they remarked that much of that metal was dug "from a mountain on the other shore of the sea in front of an island five days from where we

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Farfán's mines and the river mentioned. It is to be noted, however, that Escobar used that name not because of being where Farfán's party had been, but because the river was reached on Saint Andrew's day.

636. Zárate's Relation, *op. cit.*, 271.

637. Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V, 28.

638. Zárate's Relation, *op. cit.*, 271. They are identified by Bandelier. *Final Report*, I, 106, 110.

639. Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V, 28.

640. *Ibid.*, 31.

641. Bandelier, *Final Report*, I, 110.

642. As Professor Bolton points out this was the name of the region sought by Ibarra in 1563. *Spanish Exploration*, 271 note 6.

were toward which they pointed in the west." Zárate describes how they sailed to the place in one day.[643] But regarding this metal Father Escobar was uncertain. He doubted that it was silver because of its reputed abundance.[644]

Continuing down the river the party observed that a large stream, called the Nombre de Jesús, entered the Colorado from the southwest, about twenty leagues above the sea. This was the Gila river. There were numerous rancherías along its banks, whose inhabitants planted maize, frijoles, and calabashes like those already seen. In addition they had *mantas* of cotton similar to those seen in New Mexico. These people were called Osera, or Ozaras, by Escobar and Zárate respectively. They were probably the Maricopas.[645]

Oñate Reaches the South Sea. From the junction of the two rivers the Spaniards continued to the sea about twenty leagues. This was the region of the Yumas and was more thickly settled than any seen up to that time. They were very similar in speech and customs to those already visited. The first settlement, called Alebdoma or Halchedoma, consisted of eight rancherías, the following had nine, and was called Coguana or Cohuana, the Yuma proper.[646] Each group was judged to contain five thousand souls. The next settlement was called Agalle or Haglli, and then followed the Agalecquamaya or Tlalliquamalla.[647] These two groups had a total estimated population of another five thousand inhabitants. The last settlement which extended to the sea appeared to be the largest of all. It was the Cocapa, the present Cocopa.[648]

643. Zárate's Relation, *op. cit.*, 274. The quotation is from Escobar.

644. Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V, 30-31.

645. *Ibid.*, V, 32. See Bandelier, *Final Report*, I, 110.

646. Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V, 33. The second form of the tribal name in each case is the one given by Zárate. Zárate's Relation, *op. cit.*, 276. Bandelier, *Final Report*, I, 110. Bandelier is the authority on the identification of these tribes.

647. Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V, 33. This last tribe was the Halliguamaya, identifiable with the Quigyuma, and the Haglli were evidently a part of the same. Hodge, *Handbook*, I, 520.

648. Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V, 33; Zárate's Relation, *op. cit.*, 276.

Here the party camped in order to have fresh water. It was January 23, 1605. With part of his men and the friars Oñate proceeded to the sea, where he took possession of the surrounding land and water for the king of Spain. From the accounts which the Indians gave of the gulf he formed the idea that California was an island. Then he returned to the camp and the rest of the soldiers also went to the mouth of the river to verify their reports.[649] Thereupon began the long march back to New Mexico. On the way they were compelled to kill some of their horses for food. The Indians were still friendly and gave them provisions, but "not great in amount nor in proportion to the great multitude of the people nor to our needs."[650] Finally on April 25, 1605, they reached San Gabriel, "all sound and well, and not a man missing."[651]

Escobar's Stories of Region Beyond. On this expedition Oñate's men had heard tales which should have aroused much interest in the region. They had been told of a nation "who had ears so large that they dragged on the ground, and big enough to shelter five or six persons under each one." Near this peculiar tribe was another whose inhabitants had only one foot. There was still another which lived on the banks of the lake of Copalla and who slept entirely under water. Another slept in trees, and the people of one nearby "sustained themselves solely on the odor of their food." Another tribe always slept standing up with a burden on the head. The people who lived on the island were ruled by a woman, a giantess, but she and a sister were the only survivors of their race. On this island all the men were bald and "with them the monstrosities ended." Thus wrote Father Escobar who duly recorded these stories.[652]

Escobar doubted that there existed so many monstrosi-

649. *Ibid.*, 278. These incidents are not recorded by Escobar.
650. Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V, 34.
651. Zárate's Relation, *op. cit.*, 280.
652. Escobar's Relation, *op. cit.*, V, 37.

ties in so short a distance, for the nations mentioned were all said to live on one river only twenty-five or thirty leagues distant, which had to be crossed to reach the island.

But, even though there might be still greater doubt of all these things, it seemed yet more doubtful to remain silent about things which, if discovered, would result, I believe, in glory to God and in service to the King our Lord; for although the things in themselves may be so rare and may never before have been seen, to any one who will consider the wonders which God constantly performs in the world, it will be easy to believe that since He is able to create them He may have done so.[653]

If the stories recounted by Father Escobar caused astonishment and interest that was probably the cause for recording them, for, he continued:

With less than one hundred men it will be possible to verify the truth of all these things, both of the silver and the tin, or whatever metal is on the island; of the gold, copper, or brass bracelets or handcuffs worn by the Indians of the Laguna; . . . as well as of the monstrosities reported by so n any Indians of ten different nations, scattered through more than two hundred leagues, some saying that they had seen them and others that they had heard of them.[654]

When Zárate Salmerón wrote his account twenty years later of Oñate's expedition to the sea he refused to accept the "prodigies of nature which God has created between the Buena Esperanza River and the sea. . . . When we see them we will affirm them under oath; but in the meantime I refrain from mentioning them, and pass them by in silence."[655]

653. *Ibid.*, V, 38.
654. *Ibid.*
655. Zárate's Relation, *op. cit.*, 280.

FIRST MEETING OF THE NEW MEXICO EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION

(Address before the History and Social Science Section of the New Mexico Educational Association at Santa Fe, November 5, 1926.)

PAUL A. F. WALTER

Three points should be emphasized in introducing my subject: "The First Meeting of the Educational Association of New Mexico." They are not new but they bear repetition, they are general and yet material to this and other papers of this meeting.

1st. Modern historical research concerns itself primarily with the study and analysis of culture movements. Chronological data and biographical detail are of consequence in so far as they are aids in such study and analysis. A great and significant culture developed for a thousand years and more, here in the Southwest, without leaving us a single date or name. Yet, we have been able to construct a connected story of the people, their civilization, their arts and handicrafts and draw significant lessons from them. It is evident that it is important to learn the causes of the inception, development and decline of a culture;—it may be merely interesting to know the exact date and names or places of the incidents in the march of events.

2nd. The teaching of local and contemporary history should precede the study of general, and possibly national, history. We love our vales and hills and the source of true patriotism is always local. The significance of events which have happened about us and have moulded our environment and opinions is of primary importance in helping to determine our relation to the body politic, to the world, and in the interpretation of all history.

3rd. The history of education in the Southwest re-

mains to be written and it is more important relatively than the history of our wars or of our governors. Our historical writers occasionally have devoted a chapter to education,—but to them the term merely meant the history of our present school systems. They have overlooked the fact that here in New Mexico for two thousand years and more youth has been taught by its elders. Sometimes it seems to us who study American anthropology, that the methods of education of the Pueblo Indian, a thousand years ago, were better adapted in some respects to his needs, his environment, a rational philosophy, than are the methods of today adapted to the youth who must go out and make his own terms with life. The methods of education, in part visual by means of miracle plays, of the Franciscans in our early missionary history, and the teaching of youth under the Spanish regime, taken as a whole, seem to have resulted in stronger moral fibre than does the teaching of this day when parents have abandoned that field altogether to the schools. Even in the parochial school system one must concede advantages which thus far the public school system does not offer, with a result that is lamentable should we accept the daily news items in our papers as a cross-section and criterion of the culture and civilization of today.

Be that as it may, we recognize that the first meeting of the Territorial Educational Association held in Santa Fe during the last days of the year 1886 marked the beginnings of a movement in education which has resulted in giving the commonwealth an excellent, modern school system. The beginnings were rather insignificant and the setting for them not very propitious. Santa Fe, the capital city, although it boasted of putting on metropolitan airs, as was stated in the *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*[1] a few days before that convention, was nevertheless merely a village of scarce five thousand people who lacked the facilities and improvements that make it such a charming place

1. *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, December 29, 1886.

of residence today. It is true, the new Capitol which was later burned by incendiaries, had just been completed. It was a Doric temple, four stories high, set down amidst one-story, adobe, flat-roofed houses. There had been built facing the public plaza, the first two-story brick business building, now the Masonic Hall, which was the special pride of the community, but there were only a few board sidewalks, no paved streets, no sewage system, few modern conveniences. The Territory itself had passed the 100,000 mark in population,[2] but on the entire east side there was no settlement of consequence. School houses were few and far apart and the revenue raised for schools would not be sufficient today for the school expenditures of the smallest of New Mexico's thirty-one counties.

Still, Santa Fe was a busy and crowded place in the December days of 1886. The Territorial legislature was in session and we read in the *New Mexican*[3] that an excursion of seven hundred people, in nine Pullman sleepers, was due to arrive. That the convention was not altogether welcome, we learn from the debates in the legislative House.[4] Representative Kuchenbecker offered a resolution that the free use of the House chamber be granted the Association for holding its sessions for three evenings. After spirited discussions, Mr. Davis moved to amend, naming Chief Justice Long and others as responsible should the house or its furniture be in any wise marred or injured, and prohibiting the charge of any admission fee by the Association. Mr. Leandro Sanchez, of San Miguel, made an able speech against the amendment, speaking eloquently of the need of stimulating interest in educational affairs in New Mexico, and advocating the adoption of Mr. Kuchenbeckers' motion. Mr. Fort and Mr. J. L. Rivera also spoke in support of this motion, and Messers. Davis and Dame of Santa Fe, and Mr. F. P. Chavez of Rio Arriba opposed it quite as

2. Census 1880 gives population as 119,493.

3. *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, December 31, 1886. Also idem, December 13 and December 16, 1886.

4. *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, December 29, 1886.

strenuously. The motion prevailed by the close vote of 13 to 10. The Association met only once in the Hall.

There was a feeling locally that this new movement was aimed against the Church schools and against the employment of the servants of the Church as teachers in the schools.[5] It was also feared that the building up of a public school system would result in heavy taxation;—still, there were staunch defenders.

On the day before Christmas, forty years ago, the *New Mexican*[6] published the following editorial which I feel certain from its style, was written by the late Colonel Max Frost, although he was not then as yet officially connected with the paper:

The existing school system can be greatly improved, and no time should be lost in so doing. We shall make a few suggestions, which we hope the legislature will heed.

A responsible head should be provided for. To that end, the office of territorial superintendent of schools should be created; he should have complete control of the system and of the county superintendents, and should have an office at the capital.

A normal school for the education of teachers should be established. The school districts should be authorized to determine the levy of taxes for school purposes, and should have the power to borrow money and issue bonds to pay for the erection of school houses, and to levy a specific tax for payment of same.

Funds should be apportioned amongst the counties and districts according to actual attendance of children. County school superintendents should be under the supervision and control of the territorial superintendent. Fines collected and poll taxes paid within any school district should be expended in that district. A uniform system for teaching and a uniform course should be adopted and enforced in all public schools.

If these suggestions are adopted and the present law

5. *History of New Mexico*, Pacific States Publishing Co. (1907), pp. 53 and 245.

Leading Facts of New Mexican History, R. E. Twitchell, 1912, p. 321

Old Santa Fe, Vol. I, No. 3, pp. 248 (New Mexico under Mexican Administration, Lansing Bloom).

6. *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, December 24, 1886.

amended accordingly, great benefit will result from such action and our territory will then have a very good and useful school system.

Three days later, Governor Edmund G. Ross, a famous and unique figure in Western history, in his message to the legislature dared to advocate woman's suffrage in educational affairs on equal terms with man's suffrage. One can imagine what a furore this created. That portion of his message dealing with public education had been inspired by those who fathered the Educational Association, and it may be well worth repeating even at this time, as it was in part the foundation upon which our present school system has been reared. Said Governor Ross:[7]

In this country the functions of government rest with and upon the people. They constitute in an essential degree the government. The officials are simply the agents who are selected for the performance of specific duties of administration. They are responsible to the people for the methods through which they discharge that trust, and by our ordinances are wisely required periodically to render to the people an account of their stewardship and receive judgment. The citizen is sovereign, responsible only to himself and to his country for the exercise of that function of sovereignty. He owes the duty to his country as well as to himself to exercise that function with integrity, intelligence and courage. If he is reckless, ignorant or indifferent in its exercise, he perpetrates a crime which can not but return in disaster, in the form of misgovernment, to both his country and himself. The duties of citizenship constitute a sacred obligation which no man can consistently or rightfully ignore so long as he accepts the protection of the law. It is the citizen who creates the law and establishes all the ordinances of government, political, social, and religious.

It therefore becomes a pre-requisite, in this of all countries, that intelligent education shall characterize all the walks of life, and to see that this is properly inculcated in the youth of the state, is the highest duty and most sacred function of government. Ignorance is slavery,—

7. *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, December 27, 1886.

intelligent education is freedom. No community can prosper, and no nation can long preserve its liberty, that fails to provide for the education of its youth. No man can be properly equipped for the intelligent discharge of the duties of citizenship without a reasonably thorough common school education, and that education the state owes it to itself for its own protection, as well as to its youth, to provide.

While the existing school law is a marked improvement upon what has preceded it, there are yet some defects, to which I desire to invite your attention, and to suggest methods for their remedy:

1st. Provide for a territorial superintendent of public instruction, with an office at the capital, who shall have the usual jurisdiction of such an officer, as at present there is no head to the system, and it consequently lacks that organization and coherency necessary to give it force and effect.

2nd. Establish a normal school for the education of the teachers. The great embarrassment to the successful institution of public schools, at this time, is the want of competent teachers, possessing not only proper educational acquirements fitting them to teach others, but also the necessary training for the preservation of discipline and the art of successfully imparting their knowledge to others.

3rd. A general act authorizing the school districts, under proper regulations and restrictions, to determine the amount of taxation that shall be levied for the ensuing year for school purposes, and the power to create school district bonds for the erection of school houses and to levy a specified tax for payment therefor.

4th. That all fines imposed by justices of the peace, and all poll taxes, be appropriated to the support of educational institutions in the school district in which such fines are imposed and such poll taxes collected.

5th. That section 1098 compiled laws of 1884 be amended so as to provide for the apportionment of county school moneys in August and February, instead of June and December, as now, which would require such apportionment after instead of before the settlements of collectors with the treasurers and county commissioners. As now, school moneys are practically withheld from school use several months in the year, to the detriment and embarrassment of the schools.

Also amend section 1198 so as to provide that the an-

nual report of the school directors shall include the average actual attendance of children of school age during the year, as upon these reports depend the official correctness of educational statistics.

6th. Apportion the school moneys of the county and district according to actual attendance.

7th. Provide for women suffrage in school affairs, on equal terms with manhood suffrage. This proposition I consider one of paramount importance to the successful administration of any public school system. The education of the children of the community can not be intrusted to safer hands than their mothers, for it is they who have most at stake in the proper moral and scholastic education of their children, and in the preservation of that degree of public order which only such education can best promote and conserve.

With these emendations to our public school system, together with such others as the wisdom of the legislature will naturally suggest, I have faith that in a very few years New Mexico will be able to present for the emulation of her sister states, a system of public education of splendid and effective usefulness, and that instead of being pointed to, as now, as an illustration of illiteracy, her people will take rank with the highest in educational attainments, as they now do in loyalty, in manhood, and in daring enterprise.

Just a brief reference to the history of school systems in New Mexico preceding the first convention of the New Mexico Educational Association. Historian B. M. Read tells us that the first school in New Mexico was established in 1599 by the Franciscans. This same chronicler[8] states that as early as 1721, an educational convention was held in Santa Fe to consider ways and means to establish public schools in all the pueblos as well as Spanish settlements, in accordance with the command of the Spanish King. Every settlement was ordered to cultivate a corn field for the benefit of the teacher.

In 1812, Santa Fe, Albuquerque, Taos, Belen, San Miguel, and Santa Cruz were reported to have a public school. In Santa Fe the teacher was paid $500.00 a year; in Albu-

8. B. M. Read, *Illustrated History of New Mexico*, (1912) pp. 326 and 533.

querque and Santa Cruz, $300.00, while in the other places the emolument was $250.00 a year.[9]

In 1825, the Territorial Deputation granted Rev. Sebastian Alvarez a salary of $1000.00 annually, as superintendent of schools of Santa Fe. Don Francisco Ortiz, offered free of rent for ten years a building in which the school was to be held. In 1846, but one public school with one teacher was reported in New Mexico, which at that time also included Arizona. In 1850 a public school law was defeated by a popular vote of 4981 to 35. It was in 1859 that the legislature imposed a tax of fifty cents for each child; the justice of the peace to employ a teacher, and to require attendance from November to April. The probate judge was to act as superintendent. After the Confederates had evacuated Santa Fe and the Federal troops had again taken possession of the capital, the office of superintendent of schools of New Mexico was created by legislative act in 1863,[10] and the governor, the secretary, Bishop Lamy and the supreme court judges composed a territorial board of education. However, the superintendent's duties were perfunctory and in 1874, in order to give him enough to live on, he was also made territorial librarian. As late as 1885, the year before the first educational convention, W. S. Burke, superintendent of schools of Bernalillo county, which at that time included what is now portion of Sandoval and McKinley counties, said in his report:[11] "There is not a school in the county owned by the district. All the schools thus far organized are conducted in rooms or in buildings owned by churches or societies." The Santa Fe Academy, founded in 1867, was incorporated in 1878; the Albuquerque Academy a year later, and the Las Vegas Academy in 1880,—the census year in which it was reported that New Mexico had 162 schools, 46 school

9. Ibid., p. 535.
10. *History of New Mexico*, Pacific States Publishing Co. (1907) page 247.
11. Ibid., p. 248 .

buildings and an average attendance of 3150 or less than twenty per school. Says one of our histories:[12]

In 1886 when the school law was inadequate and unfavorable to the spirit of development, when there were no schools worthy of the name, private institutions were struggling for existence, and educational interests were at a low ebb, it was suggested that the few scattered educators be called together and organized for united effort in pushing forward the cause of education in this great neglected portion of our country. From the small seeds planted then, has grown a thrifty tree whose branches overshadow the entire Territory. That self-appointed committee corresponded with others interested in education and called a meeting for Santa Fe in the holidays of December, 1886, when the present Association was organized. Its conventions have been held in the triangle of Santa Fe, Las Vegas and Albuquerque with marked development from year to year in the character of its work, with large gains in attendance and increasing improvement and influence as a factor in shaping the educational settlement of the Territory. The Association has used its power for better school legislation and the adoption of desirable text books. Its work in general is that of the older state associations and has the same objects in view in the raising of the teaching profession to a higher standard, and the advancement of educational interests and the cultivation of the social element among its workers. The distances to travel to reach a point of meeting in New Mexico are very great compared with many states, but our educators as a rule are wide awake to the needs of their work and meet the expenses of time and travel to attend the association's meetings in a way which is a credit to the Territory.

However, growth was slow and it was in 1891 before the first adequate educational statute became a law.[13] Amado Chaves was chosen the first territorial superintendent under this enactment and it is a pleasure to note that he is still among us, active, and keenly alive to the educational advancement of the present day. In 1894 there were 324 male and 222 female teachers, a total enrollment of 21,471,

12. *Illustrated History of New Mexico*, Lewis Publishing Co. (1895), pp. 121-122.
13. *Leading Facts of New Mexico History*, R. E. Twitchell, (1912, pp. 507-508.

and an average attendance of 16,987, or five times the attendance of fourteen years before.[14]

The movement for the organization of the present Educational Association had its inception forty years ago.[15] During the territorial fair at Albuquerque in the fall of 1886, several educators from Santa Fe, including Elliott Whipple, superintendent of the Ramona Indian School at Santa Fe, Col Wm. M. Berger and others, went to Albuquerque and there discussed with C. E. Hodgin, F. E. Whittemore and others a territorial organization. This was followed by a meeting in the office of Colonel W. M. Berger, in December, 1886.

Many of us remember Colonel Berger as a knight-errant in many movements for the advancement of community and commonwealth. Together with the late Governor L. Bradford Prince, he probably organized more societies and associations and incorporated more companies for civic and public improvements, than any other individual so far in New Mexico history. He was in the movement that resulted in the founding of the University of New Mexico in Santa Fe, the Ramona Indian School, and other institutions which owed to him and Governor Prince their inception. He was an early advocate of woman's suffrage and prohibition. In fact, it is curious to read[16] that even forty years ago, at the same time as the Educational Association was organized, Don Guadalupe Otero and E. A. Dow organized a branch of the Catholic temperance movement and that the Right Reverend J. B. Salpointe formulated the rules and regulations for the society. Colonel Berger was engaged in the practice of law in Santa Fe, and at the meeting in his office, it was resolved "that the time had arrived in the history of New Mexico when some action shall be taken with the view of organizing a Terri-

14. *Illustrated History of New Mexico*, Lewis Publishing Co. (1895), p. 112.
15. *History of New Mexico*, Pacific States Publishing Co. (1907), p. 122.
16. *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, December 28, 1886.

torial Educational Association" and the following resolutions were adopted:[17]

Whereas— We acknowledge in the foundation of all civil governments and associations one of the chief corner-stones should be popular and free education to all mankind, and

Whereas—The advancement of educational interest in any State or community can best be accomplished through regularly organized efforts, whose only and sole aim shall be to advise, counsel and direct the best modes and methods whereby the advantages, privileges and opportunities which are attainable may be utilized and directed for the general good of all concerned, therefore, be it

Resolved—That a convention to be composed of all persons in the territory interested in educational matters be convened at the city of Santa Fe, on Tuesday, December 28, and continue until the 30th inst., for the purpose of organizing as suggested a territorial association.

A program was formulated at this initial meeting. The first session of the committee on the entertainment of guests was held on Thursday evening, December 23rd,[18] at the office of J. K. Livingstone over the Second National Bank, located in that first brick business block on the plaza, of which Santa Fe was so proud, and which is still one of the more pretentious structures facing the Palace of the Governors.

The Association met in the First Presbyterian Church on Tuesday afternoon, December 28th. The *New Mexican*[19] reports that even more educators were present than had been anticipated. However, the auditorium of the church at that time did not hold more than a hundred people, and not more than forty school people were in attendance. An organization was effected with Professor R. W. D. Bryan, graduate of Lafayette College, an Arctic explorer, government astronomer with the ill . fated Hall Polar Expedition, who was head of the Albuquerque Presbyterian Indian

17. *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, December 7, 1886.
18. Ibid., December 23, 1886.
19. Ibid., December 30, 1886.

School in 1886, as president. Mr. Bryan's son looked in upon the convention yesterday, and we regret that Mrs. Bryan could not be with us today. E. L. Cole was elected secretary and Miss Carothers, treasurer. Telegraphic greetings were received from the Indian Educational Association and acknowledged. The *New Mexican*[20] assures us in its report that the enthusiasm and the interest shown by all, removed all doubt anyone might have felt as to the success of the movement.

Chief Justice E. V. Long, who is one of the few survivors of that first meeting, presented clearly and forcibly, so the report says, the need of popular education, especially in New Mexico. I had hoped that this grand old man, who is still active in public affairs, would come over from Las Vegas to attend this session. I conversed with him pleasantly but a few days ago. More than ninety years of age, his tall, willowy form is as straight as an arrow, his eye keen as that of an eagle and his intellect as sparkling as it was in those early days when he made a name and fame for himself on the supreme bench of the commonwealth.

The need of history in the schools was emphasized in a paper on "The Place of History in the Schools." It was given by P. F. Burke, superintendent of the Government Indian School at Albuquerque. Plans for a government Indian School at Santa Fe were under way in 1886; the first buildings of St. Catherine's Indian School were nearing completion. Another veteran of the New Mexico Educational world, Dean C. E. Hodgin, whom we have the good fortune to have here, and who reviewed so delightfully, yesterday afternoon, incidents of that first meeting, spoke on the following afternoon, and presided at a class exercise. Later he presented a paper, "The True Basis of Determining Methods." Dean Hodgin was at that time on the faculty of Albuquerque Academy, and soon thereafter became the first superintendent of Albuquerque's schools, the Academy being merged into the public school system.

20. Ibid., December 30, 1886.

Later, Mr. Hodgin went to the University, where he long served as dean. At the present he is editor of the *New Mexico School Review,* New Mexico's only periodical devoted exclusively to educational interests. As editor of various University publications, as educator, philosopher, and leader in civic and educational movements, this youthful appearing, kindly veteran has merited the enconiums of our Association, and the gratitude of the commonwealth.

E. L. Cole, principal of the Preparatory Department of the University of New Mexico (Santa Fe) had for his subject on Thursday forenoon, December 30,: "Temperance Instruction in School." W. H. Ashley, principal of the Las Vegas Academy, spoke on the "Elements of Successful Teaching." "The Function of the Public School" was the subject of F. E. Whittemore's paper. He was then principal of the Albuquerque Academy. President Bryan had as his topic "The Education of the Indian," and in the light of modern discussion of the Indian— who is as much of a problem as he ever was—it is to be regretted that we do not have the text of that address, which undoubtedly was an able one. Had he lived, Mr. Bryan would have been 74 years old. He died more than ten years ago.

Santa Fe in those days had a kindergarten, and Mrs. S. E. Carpenter, who had charge of it, staged a kindergarten exercise in which her youthful charges acquitted themselves admirably. For many years thereafter kindergartens had only intermittent place in Santa Fe or anywhere else in the state. Miss L. A. Carothers, principal of the Santa Fe Academy, gave a class exercise in geography, while Miss M. E. Dissette, at present in the United States Indian School service at Chilocco, but then teacher in the Ramona Indian School at Santa Fe, was in charge of a class exercise by her Indian girls. I had hoped that Miss Dissette would be here today. Her enthusiasm and work among Indian youth are still being prized by the federal authorities and she is untiringly active in educational affairs.

The evening session in the new Capitol must have been inspiring. On Wednesday evening, December 29th, the Hon. J. P. Victory, later attorney-general of the Territory, delivered an address, taking for his subject "The Public School," and was followed by Mr. J. M. H. Alarid, who spoke in Spanish on the same topic. That it had its effect is evident, for on the following day, Judge N. B. Laughlin introduced in the state legislature Council Bill No. 2, to create the office of Territorial Superintendent of Public Schools,[21] which covered some of the recommendations which had been made by Governor Ross.

It is also recorded that Walter J. Davis presented a vote of thanks to the members of the House from the Territorial Educational Association.

On the evening of December 30th, President Bryan made another inspirational address "Battling with Icebergs." A reception to the visiting delegates followed—and that it was a brilliant affair goes without saying. It was in the hey-day of Santa Fe as a military post, and the city prided itself on its military band concerts, and the splendor of its social events.

I hold in my hands the printed program of this meeting of forty years ago. It was presented to the Historical Society by Col. W. M. Berger thirty years later. To those who took part in that first meeting its sight will no doubt bring poignant memories. We find among those on committees for the entertainment of this convention, Hilario Ortiz, a lawyer who died several years ago, Mrs. M. Jeune Warner, who for many years was organist of the Presbyterian Church, Rev. O. J. Moore, Mr. Thomas, Mrs. Church, Miss Rowland, and others.

It may be of interest to know that in those days, too, the A. T. & S. F. Railroad granted a one and one-fifth fare for the round trip, that the committee on entertainment was prepared to direct delegates to suitable board-

21. Ibid., December 30, 1886.

ing places at reasonable rates, and that the delegates from the south, returning home, had to wait all day at Lamy for their belated train. Dean Hodgin tells how the delegates climbed the peak from which the sandstone for the new Capitol had been quarried, and amused themselves by rolling boulders down the steep hill.

It was a modest enough beginning, but the Association even then had visions of growth and progress, as well as of the triumph of the ideals it espoused. That this faith has been justified is abundantly demonstrated forty years after by this convention of which we are a part.

The following is a reprint of the program, of which only two copies are known to have been preserved, one in the archives of the New Mexico Historical Society and the other in the possession of Dean C. E. Hodgin:

PROGRAMME

December 28 to 30, 1886.

Tuesday, December 28, 3 p. m.—Organization of Association.
Tuesday, 7:20 p. m.—Citizens' Meeting.
Address of Welcome by Hon. E. G. Ross, Governor.
Address by Hon. E. V. Long, Chief Justice, Subject, "The need of the hour."
Wednesday, December 29, 10 a. m.—Address by the president-elect.
"The Elements of Successful Teaching," by W. H. Ashley, (Principal of Las Vegas Academy).
"The Place of History in the Schools," by P. F. Burke, (Superintendent of Government Indian School, Albuquerque).
Wednesday, 2 p. m.—"Orthoepy and Reading," with class exercise, by C. E. Hodgin, (Teacher in Albuquerque Academy).
"The Function of the Public School," by F. E. Whittemore, (Principal of Albuquerque Academy).
Discussion opened by Elliot Whipple, (Superintendent of Ramona School).
Wednesday, 7:30 p. m.—Citizens' Meeting.

Address by John P. Victory, Esq. Subject, "The Public School."
Address in Spanish by J. M. H. Alarid, Esq.
Thursday, December 30, 10 a. m.—"Temperance Instruction in the School," by E. L. Cole, (Principal of Preparatory Department of the University of New Mexico).
Kindergarten Exercise, by Mrs. S. E. Carpenter, (Santa Fe Kindergarten School).
"The Education of the Indian," by R. W. D. Bryan, (Superintendent of Albuquerque Indian School).
Thursday, 2 p. m. Class Exercise in Geography, by Miss L. A. Carothers, (Principal of Santa Fe Academy).
Class Exercise with Indian Girls, by Miss M. E. Dissette, (Teacher in Ramona School).
"The True Basis for Determining Methods," by Prof C. E. Hodgin.
Election of Officers and Miscellaneous Business.
Thursday, 7:30 p. m.—Lecture by Prof. R. W. D. Bryan. Subject, "Battling with Icebergs."
Social Reception to Delegates by Santa Fe Citizens.

THE TOLL ROAD OVER RATON PASS

(Paper read before the Social Science Section, N. M. E.A., at Santa Fe, November 5, 1926)

BESS MCKINNAN

One of the unique features of the old Santa Fe trail was a toll road maintained by "Uncle Dick" Wooton over the Raton Pass. The marvelous stories of the huge amounts of money taken in at the toll gate have been generally believed to be fabulous. Old timers love to recall "Uncle Dick's" business visits to Trinidad on the Colorado side of the Raton. They say he would hitch his mules and wagon outside the combination general store and bank and carry in a whiskey keg full of silver dollars to deposit. An old account book, recording the money taken in at the toll gate in a little over a year, gives proof that "Uncle Dick" could have taken his barrel to town with surprising frequency.

The Raton was considered the worst hazard on the Bent's Fort route of the Santa Fe Trail. The mountains were first called *Chuquirique* by the Indians because of the great numbers of small rodents found in them. The Spanish form *Raton* replaced the more difficult Indian word for Rat. Fremont is supposed to have given the principal crest the name of Fisher's Peak.[1] The first expedition made over the Santa Fe trail of which there is a known account was made in 1739, up the Missouri past the Pawnee villages to Santa Fe—according to Mr. Twitchell.[2] The first trip made strictly for trading purposes occurred before 1763. The mountain or Bent's Fort route of the old Santa Fe trail is the oldest. The first expedition following the Cimarron river over the plains, instead of following the

1. Hall, *History of Colorado.* Vol. 4, p. 192.
2. Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History.* Vol. 2, pp. 92-3.

Arkansas to the mountains, was made in 1822.[3] The Bent's Fort route was in use almost a century before the Cimarron route. Even after the shorter trail was established many parties preferred the longer mountain trail to the plains trail which was continually menaced by the Indians.

There are many accounts of the crossing of the Raton. It was originally almost impossible for wagons to go over the pass.[4] The experiences of the Magoffin party which crossed in 1846 were generally shared. It took them five days to make the fifteen miles through the Raton Pass.[5] To quote from the diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin:

> Worse and worse the road! They are taking the mules from the carriages this P. M. and a half a dozen men by bodily exertions are pulling them down the hills. And it takes a dozen men to steady a wagon with all its wheels locked—and for one who is some distance off to hear the crash it makes over the stones is truly alarming. Till I rode ahead and understood the business I supposed that every wagon had fallen over a precipice. We came to camp about half an hour after dusk, having accomplished the great travel of *six* or *eight* hundred yards during the day.[6]

A party of Col. Kearny's men under Capt. Moore had been dispatched ahead of the Magoffin party to repair the road.[7]

The Toll Road over Raton Pass was built by Richard Lacy Wooton, second only to Kit Carson as an Indian fighter, according to Col. Henry Inman.[8] It occurred to Wooton that he could turn the Pass into an average mountain road. He planned to make money out of the project by charging toll of every one that used his road. The Pass was the natural highway between New Mexico and Colorado

3. Ibid., p. 104.
4. Col. H. Inman, *The Old Santa Fe Trail*, (1898), p. 347; *The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin, Down the Santa Fe Trail into Mexico*, edited by Stella M. Drumm (1926), p. 67.
5. Ibid., pp. 78-84.
6. Ibid., p. 80.
7. Ibid., p. 67.
8. Inman, *The Old Santa Fe Trail*, p. 341.

and would be used by the overland coaches as well as the caravans.[9] "Uncle Dick" secured charters from the New Mexico and Colorado legislatures allowing him to maintain such a toll road.[10]

There is no record of such a charter in the early Territorial laws of New Mexico. There was a law passed on February 1, 1873, "concerning the Trinidad and Raton mountain road," declaring,

that any charter which may be held or owned by Richard Wooten or any other person or persons under the general incorporation act of this territory over any portion of the Trinidad and Raton mountain road running from Red River in the Territory to the town of Trinidad in the territory of Colorado and passing by the house of said Richard Wooten, shall not be received as evidence of the existence nor as the charter of any corporation or company and the said charter or so called charter is hereby declared null and void.[11]

The toll gate dates from about 1866. In the spring of that year "Uncle Dick" built his home at the foot of the most severe grade on the Colorado side of the Raton Pass. To quote Colonel Inman:

The Old Trapper had imposed on himself anything but an easy task in constructing his toll road. There were great hill sides to cut out, immense ledges of rock to blast, bridges to be built by the dozen, and huge trees to fell, besides long lines of difficult grading to engineer.

To pay for his expenditure in building and keeping the road in repair Wooten charged toll. Uncle Dick thought his the only toll-road in the West. The early Territorial laws of New Mexico prove that at least two others existed for a time. The privilege to construct a toll road over Taos Mountain was granted by the New Mexico Legislature in

9. Ibid., pp. 347-8.
10. Ibid., p. 348.
11. Laws of New Mexico, 1871-1872, ch. XXXIV, p. 52.

1863[12] to be withdrawn in 1865.[13] Another act allowed a company to build and maintain a road through Mora Cañon.[14]

The toll road had five classes of patrons: employees of the stage coach company, military detachments, American freighters, Mexicans, and Indians. The collection of a charge for the use of a road was beyond the Indian comprehension. They usually recognized Wooton's authority over the road and asked permission to go through the gate. Occasionally they left gifts but as a rule the old Indian fighter was too wise to care to argue with them about a few dollars toll. Uncle Dick claimed that the Mexicans gave him the most trouble.

There are many interesting stories told of the toll road. The Indian troubles of 1866-67 made military escorts necessary for the protection of the outfits. One large caravan of some one hundred and fifty wagons under the military protection of Captain Haley and a company of Californians and Mexicans passed through soon after the road was finished. The grave of Corporal Juan Torres stands witness to this visit. The corporal was murdered a short distance from the Wooton house by three soldiers whom he had ordered bound and gagged one night for creating a disturbance at a fandango in Las Vegas. "Uncle Dick" heard the death cry of the murdered man and very narrowly escaped the same fate. A man had been commissioned to kill him in case he interfered.[15]

The discovery of gold in the Moreno Valley of New Mexico greatly increased the travel over the Toll Road. It was estimated by the *Daily Colorado Tribune* of December 29, 1867, that "there are already 1000 Coloradoans in those mines and likely to be ten times that number in the Spring."[16] Travel became so heavy that a daily stage line

12. Laws of Territory of New Mexico, 1863-64, p. 78.
13. Ibid., 1865-66, p. 172.
14. Ibid., 1865, Jan. 30.
15. Ibid., pp. 350-51.
16. *Daily Colorado Tribune*, Dec. 29, 1867; *Our Southern Boundary*.

was established,[17] but in the fall of '68 this daily stage was not arriving daily as scheduled. One newspaper comment reads, "The coaches run tolerably regularly and generally with passengers and mail bag but seldom a through mail oftener than tri-weekly. Why?-Indians, of *course*."[18]

Accounts from early newspapers of Indian troubles and of overland coach robberies often mention the toll road. The Pass afforded excellent opportunities for such lawless exploits, but outside of occasional mention in contemporary accounts there has been almost no information concerning the management of the toll gate. It is known that "Uncle Dick" did not keep accounts of the tolls received, but it is *not* generally known that there was an account kept for a time during the absence of "Uncle Dick" by Wooton's partner, George C. McBride,— a "List of Money Taken in at Raton Pass Toll Gate."[19] This yellowed and torn little account book includes a brief statement of the total amount of money taken in monthly for the year from April 1, 1869, to April 1, 1870, and a detailed account of the daily amounts received from December 1, 1869, to August 9, 1870. In a period of one year, three months and nine days, McBride took in $9,193.64. The detailed daily account for eight months makes a total of $3,378.28 for the toll gate partners.

It is interesting to note the items making up this amazing income from the toll gate business. Of all the charges made the toll on wagons brought in the most money. It is impossible to say exactly how many wagons passed over the Raton because many tolls, large ones, are briefly listed as "tolls," "tolls, etc.," "meals, etc." There are 779 wagons that are listed as such in the account. In all, there were probably over a thousand at a conservative estimate. The usual charge for each wagon was $1.50. In the latter part of the account a few are admitted for a $1.00 toll. These were probably light wagons. The largest single toll listed

17. Ibid., July 25, 1868.
18. Ibid., Oct. 29. 1868——*Letter from Cimarron.*
19. Account of Money taken in by George C. McBride, p. 50.

in the book was taken in from a caravan of twenty-seven wagons.[20] Other vehicles mentioned in the account do not total much toll. There are thirteen "buggies"[21] and one cart.[22] A charge of $1.50 was usually made for the buggies and the cart was required to pay $1.00 toll. Horsemen were charged a twenty-five cent fee. The list includes 143 horsemen. The "burros" were given the same rating as horsemen, and there are nine in the account.[23] Loose stock, cattle and horses alike, were charged five cents a head This gate fee was collected on 175 horses[24] and some 213 head of cattle and loose stock.[25] There is one toll charge made on "lumber" brought over the Pass.[26]

McBride included in his itemized account money received for food, lodging, feed, and a few articles purchased by travelers. Meals were given at the rate of seventy-five cents apiece.[27] Meat was occasionally needed.[28] Other food supplies included bread,[29] sugar, [30] and whiskey.[31] There appears to have been a slight need for tobacco.[32] Hay was needed for the animals particularly during the winter months of December, January and February.[33] There is a mention made of the sale of corn,[34] horsefeed,[35] and oats.[36]

There were few purchases made outside of food for man and beast. Some skins were sold including hides,[37] ram hides, and a bear skin. "Blankets for the Mexican" forms

20. Ibid., p. 67.
21. Buggies," Account Book, pp. 57, 58, 61, 64, 65, 66, 67, 79, 80, 81.
22. "Cart," ibid., p. 57.
23. "Burros," ibid., pp. 56, 58, 65, 79, 81, 82.
24. Ibid., pp. 54, 56, 59, 67, 73, 74, 76.
25. Ibid., pp. 66, 67, 68.
26. Ibid., p. 57.
27. Ibid., p. 75.
28. *Mention made of Meals*, ibid., p. 45.
29. Ibid., 10 times.
30. Ibid., 7 times.
31. Ibid., p. 63.
32. Ibid., pp. 51, 52.
33. Ibid., pp. 54, 55, 56, 57, 59, 60, 62, 63.
34. Ibid., pp. 51, 68.
35. Ibid., pp. 51, 57.
36. Ibid., p. 69.
37. Ibid., pp. 53, 61, 69, 77.

one item.[38] Other enumerated articles are: a knife,[39] rope,[40] a candle,[41] and matches.[42]

A fifty-cent rent was usually made for the use of a bed. In December the toll-gate keeper took in an odd fee of $2.50 "for hauling team up mountain."

Throughout the account, names of patrons appear. They are presumably friends of McBride.

Upon the return of "Uncle Dick" Wooton, the account was taken to a Trinidad lawyer for a division of the money taken in during the Indian fighter's absence. The partners had no further use for the "List of money taken in at Raton Pass Toll Gate." The book became the property of Mr. de Busk whose collection of unpublished manuscripts is invaluable. The original is now in the historical archives of the University of Colorado. This account book makes it possible to confirm with substantial proof, the stories of the immense sums of money taken in at Raton Pass Toll Gate on the old Santa Fe Trail. The year for which we have the account has many indications of having been an unusually slow one. Imagine what huge amounts the toll gate receipts must have reached during the gold rush. "Uncle Dick" Wooton must then have found his whiskey keg absolutely inadequate, acting as it did in the capacity of a wallet.

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38. Ibid., p. 78.
39. Ibid., p. 78
40. Ibid., p. 56.
41. Ibid., p. 52.
42. Ibid., p. 54.

IN SANTA FE DURING MEXICAN REGIME

(Interesting Chapter on the City of Santa Fe, from Benjamin M. Read's "Sidelights of New Mexican History" to be published shortly. Copyrighted by Author.)

GOVERNOR MARIANO MARTINEZ DE LEJANZA. - THE FIRST CITY PARK IN NEW MEXICO. - GOVERNOR MARTINEZ ASSAULTED BY THE UTES. - BULL FIGHTING AT SANTA FE. - THE PYRAMID IN THE PLAZA OF SANTA FE.

The detailed account of the important events indicated by the above heading, constitutes the last annotations made during the latter days of his life by the able and distinguished citizen Don Demetrio Perez for my exclusive use, being his reminiscences of the events embraced in the narrative. In the latter days of June A. D. 1913, Don Demetrio was visiting at Santa Fe, the Capital, and it was then, when very ill, that he wrote the said annotations in my own house, using an indelible pencil because the tremor of his hand did not allow the use of a pen. But the weakness he felt did not permit him to consign to paper the final phrase with which he intended to conclude his writing, and he could not even sign his name.

At the beginning of July, 1913, Don Demetrio returned to his residence at Las Vegas, N. M., realizing that the end of his days was approaching, and there he died as a Christian in the bosom of the Catholic Church after having received the last sacraments, on the 10th day of the month of December of the said year, 1913.

Of very great value for our history was the collaboration of Don Demetrio in the preparation of my "Illustrated History of New Mexico," for in that work appears the relation of the tragical death of Don Albino Perez, who was Governor of New Mexico in the year 1837, year of the in-

surrection of the Chimayos, when the said Governor was inhumanly murdered by the revolutionists in August of that same year. Don Demetrio, who was the son of the said Governor Perez, was made an orphan in the first years of his life, but his sterling honesty and his extraordinary capacity, from his youth up secured for him honorable and lucrative employment in public life and in the commercial world. A large part of the narrative relating to historical events of a local character published in my Illustrated History are productions of the illustrious deceased, and so I state in the work.

The above reflections appeared to me opportune and indispensable as a preface or introduction to the narrative of Don Demetrio; in order that the reader may understand and appreciate the historical value of the *Reminiscences*. Here follow *verbatim* the words of Don Demetrio:

(TRANSLATION)

Don Mariano Martinez de Lejanza, Governor and General Commandant of the Department of New Mexico, was appointed by the President of the Mexican Republic to succeed Don Manuel Armijo in that office, and arrived at Santa Fe, according to my recollection in the spring of the year 1844, accompanied by his wife Doña Teresita, whom I had the honor of knowing personally some time after her arrival in Santa Fe. Doña Teresita was looking for a woman to make her some clothes and for washing and ironing, and was informed that my maternal grandmother Doña Guadalupe Abrego followed the occupation of seamstress and that my mother Doña Trinidad Trujillo washed and ironed clothes, and with that object in view both went to our house in Analco, near the site where now stands St. Michael's College. I was then a little over 7 years old. The General asked my grandmother about my father and on being informed that I was the son of Governor Perez made me go near him and treated me with kindness and affection, and asked me if I was learning to read, and I answered yes and that I was beginning to spell, and that near home there was a private school under the management of a good teacher whose name was José Rafael Pacheco, which many boys attended. The General told

my grandmother to buy me a suit of clothes better than the one I had on, and gave her some money for buying the material necessary to make the same. They continued visiting us from time to time, he and his wife, and always giving us some help for our pressing needs. The lady, in particular, used to visit many poor families, whom she helped with provisions and clothing. I have no doubt that General Martinez was a man of large means when he came to New Mexico, for otherwise he would not have been able to use so much liberality in order to make such heavy expenses to help so many poor people if he had made such expenses out of the salary and emoluments of his office in the service of the government, for I believe these were not so high, and could hardly be enough for more than to live with the decency and comfort required by his high position. The very few persons living yet in Santa Fe may remember all what General Martinez did for the people's benefit, and the reforms made in the civil and military administration in the very brief period of one year which was the duration of his administration.

THE FIRST TREES

His first steps were taken in making improvements within the plaza square where there was not a single tree nor any vegetation, and in the same condition were the streets running out of the square in different directions. He commanded that uncultivated trees be brought from the mountain east of Santa Fe, and caused them to be symmetrically planted around the Plaza and in the streets. For the irrigation of the trees he ordered that an acequia be made taking the water from a spring or fountain located in the Cienega, on the east side of the Plaza, from which ran sufficient water and also yielded a supply for the irrigation of the gardens planted within the ample square of the wall where the barracks of the soldiers were constructed with some dwelling houses for their families.

In addition, General Martinez ordered that a plot of ground be selected on the Northwest side of the city for the plantation of an Alameda or Park of Recreation, which land was chosen by himself near the ancient country chapel of the Virgin of the Rosary, south of the same, wherein cottonwood trees and shrubs were planted which flowered up and gave wild flowers, also brought from the mountains and El Cañon of the Santa Fe river.

La Alameda. - The First Park

For the irrigation of the Alameda he ordered that a ditch be opened, deep enough, at the foot of the chain of Hills lying on the north side of the Arroyo Arenoso, running from the Canada on the east, where runs the public road which goes from Santa Fe towards the Rio de Tesuque and the settlements of Rio Arriba and Taos Counties. The taking of the water which was to run in this acequia was made from the outlet of the Acequia Madre from where the cultivated lands on the north side of the Santa Fe river were irrigated, and this acequia had an extension of at least a mile and a half to the Alameda. At the same time that work was being done in the acequia, the work also proceeded on the Alameda, levelling the land and forming streets which started from the center of the square in different directions, an adobe wall being constructed all around the square; seats were placed along the streets and in the center of the circle reserved for a cock pit where those addicted to the game of cock-fighting congregated to see the fights between the animals, in which game money bets were made. On the west side, outside the enclosure of the Alameda, an adobe house was built to serve as residence for the man who was going to care for the Alameda. (The name of this man, according to reliable information which I was able to obtain from Don Clemente P. Ortiz, an aged citizen of Santa Fe and fellow pupil of Don Demetrio Perez, was Manuel, nicknamed "El Marrujo."- Benj. M. Read.) who with his family attended to the irrigation of the trees. In the spring of the following year, the trees and shrubs planted therein began to sprout and to give forth the tender branches and foliage, and after two or three years of being planted their ramage served as a shade during the hot summer days for the persons who sought rest and comfort under their shade, and the same thing was done under the shadow of the cottonwood trees found in the Public Plaza and the streets. The butchers who killed sheep placed the meat on perches which they placed under the shade of the cottonwoods planted in front of the Old Palace; on the west side, under the spacious porch of the Palace, the bakers were installed together with the fruit vendors and others who sold their diverse kinds of food for the people who depended on the market for their supply, for at that time there was no public building for the sale of such articles. Besides that, there were several

women who cooked dinners which were served to those who wished to take them there, and under the shadow of the cottonwoods the tables were placed for the boarders. Let us treat of another improvement of more importance inaugurated by Martinez.

A public school that he established for the education of the young under the charge of an excellent teacher, an Englishman whose surname was Tatty, in whose school there was taught reading, writing, grammar, arithmetic and other elementary branches; all of it in Spanish, for the teacher knew the language perfectly. During the few months that this school existed, the young men who attended made good progress in their studies. I believe the teacher Tatty was a Catholic for he went on several occasions to high Mass on Sundays with his pupils who marched in two well arranged lines, and he also attended to the instructions in Christian Doctrine which were sometimes given in the Parochial Church of St. Francis. This school lasted but a short time after, he (Gov. Martinez) was removed from his post, in the year 1845, being succeeded by General Manuel Armijo, whose discontinuation of this excellent school was greatly deplored by the fathers of family, who appreciated in a high degree the education of their children.

AMUSEMENTS. - BULL FIGHT. - REMOVAL OF THE PYRAMID WHICH EXISTED IN THE CENTER OF THE PLAZA SQUARE

In June of 1845, in order that the people of the Capital might have amusement after doing their labor during the week, the idea was conceived of constructing a bull ring, in order that the people who, with rare exceptions, had never seen bull fighting in New Mexico, might have an idea of that diversion and admire the courage of the bull-fighters confronting the furious bulls, as it was the custom in the cities and towns of the Mexican Republic. Some men were sent to El Paso del Norte (Now Ciudad Juarez) to invite professional bull-fighters expert in that art, and seek ferocious bulls with the fierceness of those animals raised in the desert by the cattle raisers who kept them for the purpose in a state of wildness in order to sell them to the directors of bull fights in Mexican cities and towns, near the border. Waiting for the coming of the Toreadores and the bulls brought by them, tall boxes were constructed around the public plaza, made with strong timber and well

secured to resist the hard knocks and attacks of the bulls when they went after the banderilleros who entered the ring to fight with the bulls until they vanquished these infuriated beasts, leaving them on the scene tired or dead from the darts of the skillful toreadores, though some times it happened that those toreadores who fought the bulls, mounted on horses trained for the fighting, who in showing the slightest carelessness had the horses they rode killed by the bulls and were obliged to fight on foot or escape out of the ring by scaling the posts.

THE PYRAMID

I think it proper to mention here that before the construction of the stall boxes and fence around the Plaza there was in its center a Pyramid that had existed for many years and that was built after the independence of Mexico from the Spanish rule. This pyramid consisted of a log or post measuring, more or less, fifty feet in height, having as a base three square walls around, which walls were in the form of steps for ascension and descension. The first step was five feet high, and there was sufficient space on the top for the seating of several persons who might wish to stay there for diversion or rest; but most of the time those who congregated there were idle and evilly-inclined people, drunkards and gamblers, who were cause of scandal to the families, although they were often arrested by the officers of the law and kept in jail until sobered up, but the penalty and confinement did not deter them from returning to their resting place. Governor Martinez being persuaded that the pyramid ought to be removed from there ordered its destruction, and so it was done, though that pyramid was a memento of the glorious epoch of the independence of Mexico, for in the summit of the post there was an eagle on the cactus which is the national emblem.

INVASION OF THE CAPITAL BY THE UTES. - THEIR ATTEMPT TO MURDER GOVERNOR MARTINEZ.

At the beginning of the month of September, 1845, a crowd of Ute Indians entered Santa Fe, having come from the northern part of New Mexico, where that savage and sanguinary tribe dwelt on the great plains and deserts committing depredations on the settlements on the northern border against the peaceful inhabitants of the Territory

who followed the occupations of agriculture and cattle raising. These Indians, in the same way as the other barbarous tribes who infested all parts of the frontiers of New Mexico, made peace and were quiet for a time, on condition that the government would give them gratification or presents of cloth to cover partially their nudity, and of other articles of which they made use, such as tobacco, knives, looking glasses, string of beads and so on.

The crowd of Indians that entered Santa Fe in the afternoon of that September day, as said before, were mounted on good horses and well armed with lances, bows and arrows, axes, etc., and on entering the town they demanded that a place be assigned to them to pass the night, and they were given for this purpose the land of Doña Manuela Baca, mother of Captain Don Jesus M. Sena y Baca, on the Rio Chiquito, (at corner of Shelby and Water street- B. M. Read) and there during the night they kept the people in constant alarm with their warlike songs and continual clamor until dawn, and before the rising of the sun they had saddled their horses and three of their head chiefs commanded them to stay there on horse back, that they were going to visit Governor Martinez, and that they be ready to enter the public square when they heard a shout from them from the Plaza after seeing the General. These head chiefs were able to enter without being seen by the sentinel who was making his rounds in front of the barracks situate on the west side of the entrance to the Governor's office, who had gone in after having got up from bed and dressed, and there, seated in a chair was taken by surprise by these Indians who carried in their arms some of the articles given them as gratification and threw them in the face of the General, attacking him with their axes and knives, raining upon him blows which he was able to ward off by using the chair on which he had been seated, and at the same time calling for help on the guards. But before the soldiers of the guard came in he had the assistance of his valiant wife, Doña Teresita, who had the presence of mind to enter the office carrying in her hand the General's sword and gave it to him that he might defend himself, and the General made use of the weapon wounding one of the Indians named *Panesiyah,* the first chief of the Ute tribe, and then the Indians tried to escape, but the soldiers of the guard called by Doña

Teresita, were at the door leading to the Governor's office and there they killed the Indian *Panesiyah* and wounded the other two Indians, who though wounded, were able to escape and give the voice of alarm to their warriors who were ready to enter the Plaza and to kill all the persons by them found in the streets and in the Plaza. The soldiers of the garrison were already there well prepared with their arms, and the squadron of Dragoons of Vera Cruz, commanded by Colonel Don Pedro Muñiz, and a brief but fierce fight ensued which resulted in the death of many of the Indians, and only one soldier was seriously wounded.

Addenda. - After I had written these lines here in Santa Fe where I have come from my residence in Las Vegas in search of relief. . . . .

Here Don Demetrio could not end the last words of the final phrase of this very interesting historical narrative, though from the few words he wrote in his "addenda" one infers without difficulty, that he had something more to say, which perhaps, he had forgotten, and that when it occurred to him he considered it of sufficient importance to consign it to paper, but his strength failed him, and he dropped the pencil telling me that he would send from Las Vegas some other annotations, which he was not able to do, for when he returned to his residence his mortal existence terminated, his death causing the State of New Mexico the loss of one of her most illustrious sons and to history many and very important reminiscences. May the earth be light on him and may his soul rest in peace in the mansion of the just.

December 15, 1926.

BENJAMIN M. READ,
Santa Fe, N. M.

NECROLOGY

FAYETTE S. CURTIS JR.

Fayette S. Curtis, Jr., one of the associate editors of The New Mexico Historical Review, died on the morning of November 4, at his cottage on the Los Alamos Ranch School grounds, twenty miles west of Santa Fe. Mr. Curtis had been more or less an invalid for years but had been bedfast only a short time and the end came with unexpected suddenness, just a day before he was to have delivered an address to the Historical Section of the New Mexico Educational Association in session at Santa Fe. Though only thirty years of age, Mr. Curtis had made himself a name as a Spanish scholar, an authority on weapons and as a historical research worker. He had come to New Mexico from Yale University immediately after graduation, only eight years before, but he had learned to love the Southwest with a zest and a devotion that were manifested on every possible occasion.

At a memorial meeting in honor of Mr. Curtis, held by the New Mexico Historical Society in the Palace of the Governors on the evening of November 16, A. J. Connell, director of the Los Alamos Ranch School, told with emotion of the arrival of Curtis and his mother, from New England to take hold unassisted of the scholastic program of the Los Alamos Ranch School while Mr. Connell looked after the business and administrative end. That he was remarkably successful is evident from the growth and character of the school of which he was headmaster and which is today famed both for scholastic attainment and as an institution of unique character and distinction. Mr. Connell related how young Curtis had worked his way through Yale in part by tutoring, how he quickly adapted himself to western ways, how readily he gave wise counsel and

how loyally he submitted to authority when decision went against him, manifesting the true spirit of the soldier who has learned to obey without question and also to exercise authority with firmness.

Before entering Yale, Curtis had graduated from Taft School and had hoped to prepare himself for West Point but his frail health forbade. Nevertheless, he devoted himself to the study of military subjects, especially weapons and armor, and made himself an authority on that subject. He was familiar with the treasures of the great arsenals and war museums of the world and rendered the Historical Society of New Mexico invaluable service by cataloguing and describing its rich collection of weapons. During the days preceding his death he had been busy with his illustrated paper on "Spanish Armor and Weapons in New Mexico," his bride of only a few months, Rosa Margaret Curtis, who is a talented artist, making the drawings for the lantern slides and illustrations under his directions. When he realized that he was too ill to present the paper at the Educational Association meeting, he sent his associate Mr. Bosworth, to Santa Fe to read the paper for him, but Mr. Bosworth was recalled to Otowi by the tidings of Mr. Curtis' death. He read the paper, less than two weeks later, at the Curtis memorial meeting in the Palace. It will be published during the current year by the Review.

A scholarly contribution, "Influence of Weapons on New Mexico History" from his pen, appeared in Number 3 of Volume I of the New Mexico Historical Review. At a recent meeting of the Historical Society he had discussed most interestingly, the trophies of the Great War acquired by New Mexico during the past few months. Mr. Curtis had completed a translation of Villagras, the Spanish poet-historian, and was revising and annotating it for the Historical Review, when death overtook him. For the 1926 Santa Fe Fiesta pageant, he had written the scenario and dia-

logues covering the Kit Carson and Jedediah Smith episode, as well as the drama that so graphically portrayed the discovery of the Southwest by the first men. For the Fiesta of 1925, he had prepared part of the pageantry and for weeks preceding each event had given time and energy to train those who took part.

In all things, Mr. Curtis was the soul of honor. Sincere, earnest, gentle, studious, an indefatigable worker, modest, unostentatious and straightforward, he was greatly esteemed and beloved by those with whom he came in contact.

In accordance with his wishes, written down as part of a mutual agreement with Director A. J. Connell, the remains of Mr. Curtis were consigned to earth the day of his death. A grave was blasted into the tufa of the Pajarito plateau, on the edge of Otowi Canyon, not far from the Institution which he had made his life-work. The body was dressed in the school uniform, wrapped in olive-drab blankets, laid on a pine plank and lowered upon a cushion of pine boughs which were also heaped upon the beloved teacher. At sunset, there gathered the small group of mourners. It had been the wish of Mr. Curtis, that none of the pupils of the school be asked or urged to attend the funeral, but there they were at attention, standing beside their horses, silhouetted against the sky. The saddled but riderless horse of Mr. Curtis, to which he had been much attached, was held by one of the boys. Rev. Walter S. Trowbridge of the Church of the Holy Faith, read the Episcopal burial service. The widow, a few friends including the faculty of the School, were the other witnesses of the simple and yet, so unforgettable, obsequies. The peaks of the Blood of Christ Mountains to the east were purple with the alpenglow, although the sun had set, as the mourners in silence left the grave under the pines and the starry sky.

PAUL A. F. WALTER.

For a Forest Burial

(Courtesy of the Southwest Review)

Choose no sad words to speak of him. He lies
  In ultimate peace, at last a part of earth
  And knows no death. Through her he comes to birth
In every living thing. The star-swept skies
Hold no strangeness for him. He is one
  With all that earth brings forth; with wind-touched
    trees;
  And shadow-lighted hills and far-off seas;
With mountains painted by the slanting sun.

For him no close-sheared, smug funereal mound
  And cold stone monument—"Here lieth one
  Whom now we mourn because his life is done."
Over him only lies the sheltering ground
And singing trees and unimpeded sky.
  "Dust shall return to dust" is what they say,
  But also life to life. He goes his way
Knowing it is no bitter thing to die

Who keenly lived and knows at last release
  Into still keener life. We cannot know
  Along what farther trails his soul will go
Gaily adventuring: what depths of peace
And numerous ways of immortality
  Death opens up for him. But we are sure
  He gave his body gladly to endure
As part of earth and many a shining tree.

Margaret Pond

Santa Fe, N. M., November 6, 1926.

James A. French

On October 13th, 1926, James A. French, State Highway Engineer of New Mexico, died suddenly while in his automobile near the small settlement of Encino in Torrance County.

Mr. French was born in Washington, D. C., January 27, 1866. Among his relatives was Daniel Chester French, the noted sculptor. After attendance in the public schools at Washington and Georgetown University, Mr. French entered the employ of the Union Pacific and Chicago, Burlington and Quincy Railroads in Colorado, where he was with location and construction crews. From Colorado he went to California, and for a time was assistant State Engineer of Santa Barbara.

From 1889 to 1891 he was assistant on surveys of the upper Yukon and the 141st meridian boundary survey between Alaska and the Northwest Territory, for the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey. He then became interested in irrigation and engineering and served three years as Assistant and Chief Engineer on the Sunnyside Irrigation Canal Project, North Yakima, Washington, and as Assistant Engineer on the Imperial Valley Irrigation Project and Diversion Dam at Yuma, Arizona. From 1894 to 1902 he was again in Washington, D. C., employed by the Engineering Department in the planning and construction of sewerage and storm disposal systems. In 1903 he was assigned as Engineer in charge of Investigations on the Rio Grande and proposed Elephant Butte Reclamation Project. From 1904 to 1906 he was Assistant Construction Engineer on the Corbett Tunnel near Cody, Wyoming, a part of the Shoshone Dam Project.

He then returned to the Rio Grande, where he was with the Elephant Butte Reclamation Project until 1912, when Governor MacDonald appointed him State Engineer. For seven years, under several administrations, he continued his work of developing New Mexico's highway system. In 1923 he was re-appointed to the position of State Highway Engineer.

Mr. French had made many friends in all parts of the United States during his career, but was especially beloved and highly esteemed in the State Capital of New Mexico. He leaves a widow and three daughters. Interment was at Santa Fe. W.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

Our attention is called to the following typographical errors in the printing of Dr. Mecham's paper published by the *Review* last July, "The Second Spanish Expedition to New Mexico."

p. 266, line 23, and p. 267, line 23, *read* Father Agustin.
p. 267, note 7, last line belongs to note 18, p. 280.
p. 268, note 11, *read* Journey.
p. 272. note 26, line 1, *read* south; line 3, *read* Rio.
p. 272, note 28, line 2, *read* sixteenth.
p. 273, note 30, line 2, *read* Report.
p. 276, line 13, *read* Piquina.
p. 276, lines 26 and 30, *read* Guajalotes.
p. 278, line 10, *read* The people, . .
p. 278. line 19, *read* Cochití.
p. 279, line 16, *read* La Rinconda.
p. 287, line 5, *read* Yuque Yunque.
p. 283, line 13, period after "enclosure."
p. 285, lines 22 and 28, *read* Jémez.
p. 286, line 16, *read* Aconagua, Coaquima, Allico, . .
p. 288, note 83, italicize title "Supplementary Documents . . "

Due to certain circumstances at the time, proof was not sent to Dr. Mecham nor was proper proof-reading of this paper done at the *Review*. The omission of "Coaquima" on page 286 was especially regrettable. L. B. B.

JEDEDIAH SMITH CENTENNARY

The old adage about a prophet being not without honor save in his own country was never truer than in the case of Jedediah Strong Smith, declares Dr. Owen C. Coy, associate professor of history of the University of Southern California and curator of history of the Los Angeles Museum.

"Jedediah Smith, as the first American to make his way overland from the Mississippi to California, was not

only one of the great prophets of western development, but one of the most inspiring characters in our history and yet not one Californian in a hundred, the beneficiaries of his daring, his hardships and his suffering, can even tell who the man was," said Dr. Coy yesterday.

"The Saturday following Thanksgiving actually marked the one-hundredth anniversary of the arrival of the intrepid trapper and explorer at Mission San Gabriel, and yet the day passed without the slightest attention being paid to its centennial significance. Southern California, most of all, should have paid him a tribute because, although he explored all sections of the State he first entered California through the Cajon Pass and spent his first three months here in the immediate vicinity of Los Angeles.

DRAMA TO BE GIVEN

"Thoughtless Southern California is going to be given an opportunity to 'save its face,' however," the historian continued, "and that opportunity will be offered by the Historical Society of Southern California next Friday and Saturday evenings at Bovard Auditorium, University of Southern California campus. At that time and place an elaborate historical drama entitled 'Pathfinder of the Sierras' will be presented by a cast of seventy-five with an additional hidden chorus, and all in Smith's honor. The great Jedediah will be portrayed by John Roche of the 'Don Juan' cast. Chief Yowlache will take part. The play, which is in three acts and six scenes, will be a colorful and accurate story of Smith's very short, but very thrilling and adventurous life. Smith was killed by the Indians in New Mexico when but 33 years of age, but he engaged in more than twenty battles with them before finally meeting his death."

The Jonathan Club has given over the large corner storeroom of its building as business and production headquarters.—*Los Angeles Times.*

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