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## Barreiro's Ojeada sobre Nuevo Mexico

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## BARREIRO'S OJEADA SOBRE NUEVO MEXICO

(concluded)

## COMMERCE

The commerce of New Mexico must be considered under three aspects, namely: the foreign trade carried on with North America, that carried on with the neighboring states, and the trade which it has internally.

The commerce with the United States of North America is carried on by means of regular caravans which arrive in Santa Fe usually in July. These caravans are composed of ninety or a hundred wagons well loaded with goods and escorted by their respective owners. They elect officers from among themselves to whom they yield obedience on the road. At all times they try to proceed with the greatest care so as not to be surprised by the countless barbarous and warlike Indians who inhabit the dreadful deserts which intervene between New Mexico and Missouri for a distance of more than two hundred and fifty leagues. When a caravan has stopped in the afternoon, they make a circle with the wagons, within which the people and the stock sleep, while a sufficient number of sentinels are on watch all night, in order, when occasion arises, to fire upon the enemy and by all means to save their property.

Generally by July, as I have said, these caravans arrive at Santa Fe, and that is the time when this capital presents a very festive appearance. Then on all sides clothing stores are opened and a considerable number are seen who come to this kind of fair from the pass of the north,<sup>41</sup> from

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41. Where travel "passed" the Rio Grande. In Barreiro's time the settlement of El Paso del Norte lay south of the river, the modern Juarez; but throughout the *Ojeada* the name is spelled without capitals, indicating the crossing of the river rather than the plaza.

Sonora, and from all parts of the Territory. That is the time when all the Anglo-American merchants are returning who, during the year, have gone to the neighboring states<sup>42</sup> to transact business, and then in short is when one beholds a traffic which is truly pleasing. Goods become extremely cheap, for many merchants "burn their profits" so as to return to the United States in August, and purchases are made with the greatest ease. Upon the invoices from Philadelphia or Saint Louis goods are sold wholesale at an advance of scarcely 80, or 90, or 100%, and indeed they are often sold at an advance of only 50%. These crazy bargains have ruined many merchants, for the losses of the company which came the past year are estimated to have been at least 30 to 40,000 pesos.

In August the caravans start back, only those merchants remaining who are interested in the trapping of beaver, of which a considerable exportation is made.

As the exportation of beaver has no duty imposed, the American merchants try upon their return journey to carry beaver instead of money, because thus they secure two advantages: first, that of paying no duties upon the exportation of coin, and second, that of carrying to their own country an effect which is there of great value to them and which here is duty-free.

These caravans originated in 1821 when some adventurers began to enter; but subsequently more formal companies of men were organized, until of late years merchants of means have been coming with ventures on a large scale and under conditions very different from those existing at first. In order to appreciate the increase of this commerce, it will be well to look at table number 3 in the section on "Finance," since the considerable annual increase of customs receipts will serve as a scale in this matter.

*The Commerce which New Mexico has with the neigh-*

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42. Of the Republic of Mexico.

*boring States.* — This also is worthy of attention, as Sonora and Chihuahua are supplied to a large extent by the foreign goods which are imported from here, with the resulting benefit that the Americans who carry on this commerce bring in a considerable amount of money which circulates in this country, both through the payment of duties made upon their return, as well as through the sums which they spend necessarily upon their living.

The New Mexicans also carry on a fairly active commerce with the neighboring States, for yearly they export flocks of sheep, skins, pine-lumber, coarse woolen goods, tobacco and other goods which they sell at good prices. There are persons who have contracts in Durango by which they are to deliver annually 15,000 or more head of sheep which, marketed there, bring nine *reales* or more. A few persons have the trade in sheep monopolized, so that it cannot be considered as beneficial as the trade in skins, coarse woolens, etc., since the latter trade is well distributed among all classes in New Mexico, especially among the lower and middle classes. The general eagerness found among New Mexicans for commerce with the neighboring States is certainly astonishing. In October especially a multitude of people are seen to set out with this in view and to scatter in all directions. Some head for Chihuahua, others for Pitic or Guaymas; some go even to the fairs of Aguascalientes or San Juan; others to Durango, and others finally as far as the Californias.

*The internal commerce of the country.* — This is ordinary, and the usual manner of conducting it is by barter. Sheep are held in high esteem, almost more even than money, for the purchase of whatever may be desired. Let me add that such traffic as a regular thing is effected by credit from one year to another, and even for a longer time. I have already spoken of the cheapness of foreign goods; those of the country on the other hand, such as chocolate, rice, sugar, olive oil, almonds, and others of this character, are exceedingly dear and at times are very scarce, and

furthermore those which are brought here are always of inferior quality.

*The commerce which is carried on with the Gentiles.*<sup>43</sup>  
 — This also demands our attention. With vermilion, knives, biscuit, ovened bread, powder, awls and other trifles are bought exquisite skins which are resold at a profit and from which [trade] great advantage might be drawn, were the enlightenment of the country different from what it is. Were there revenue and export duties on such rich and abundant peltries, enough could be produced at very little cost to load whole pack-trains. What an immense field in Mexico lies open to industry! What seeds of prosperity are under our hand on every side! Even those most remote places which are now occupied by the barbarians allure us with things of value but with which we are not yet acquainted; those rivers which in their lands teem with valuable beaver; those virgin, untouched fields where fair Nature displays herself in all her beauty; those affable climes which offer to agriculture and to stock-raising their powerful influence; those timber-clad mountains and beautiful marbles which seem to be sketching the plans of magnificent cities, [all these] surely are powerful incentives to make us thing seriously upon developing the elements of true happiness which we possess. Revolutionary aspirants! Infernal spirits of discord! Cast one single GLANCE OVER YOUR COUNTRY, and hasten to bury yourselves forever in the abysses by reason of the furious remorse which will torment ye when ye shall perceive how this soil, blessed by the adorable hand of Providence, invites the Mexican people with riches and products of every sort, and which they do not enjoy nor even know as yet because of your criminality and perverse designs!

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43. A common term applied in early times to the Indian tribes which had not accepted the religion of the Spaniards.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT

The civil government of New Mexico is entrusted to a chief, named by the [federal] government and removed at will, nor has he a regular secretary. It is commonly believed that the civil chief is "judge of alcaldes" and is like a court of appeals to which aggrieved parties may have recourse in seeking relief from judgments which they consider unjust. The result of this mistaken belief is that the said chief is always occupied by ridiculous cases and is distracted by a thousand impertinent complaints against the justices. The civil chief who may care to abuse the authority which ignorance thus affords him, how many injuries may he not occasion!

As the civil chief is the authority in closest touch with the towns, it would be well that full and sufficient powers should be designated for him, but that with all prudence and wisdom such powers should tie his hands from any evil-doing and leave them free for all the well-doing possible.

The power possessed by the supreme government of removing the civil chief at will is certainly very unfortunate and prejudicial, since it opens the door to the one who is most aspiring, so that men perhaps without merit and solely by persistence or influence may put themselves into office.

On the other hand, instability in office is a source of terrible evils, just as security is the most powerful incentive for men to strive to accredit themselves for distinction and advancement. Therefore it would be well for the government of New Mexico to be conferred for regular and fixed periods so that within such terms he who might be chief at the time might suffer removal only for cause proved in accordance with the law.

*The Territorial Deputation.* — This body is null and insignificant, since it does not have sufficient authority to function for itself. Hence it is that, unless a new law

regulates the faculties of the deputation upon a different footing, those which it has by chapter two of the decree of June 23, 1813, are absolutely impractical, some because they conflict with our system of government and others because they do not suit the conditions of the country.

I excuse myself from writing the government more fully upon this point because, as I am informed, the territorial deputy Presbyter Don José Antonio Martínez drew up an exposition which the deputation approved and forwarded to that government, in which he demonstrates by various considerations how useless the deputation is and how easy it would be to transfer its powers to the town-councils and to the civil chief.

*The Town Councils.* — Table No. 1 shows the places where such bodies exist, and those which have only an alcalde. The illiteracy which prevails generally in this Territory causes these bodies, in which the law has deposited a great part of the common happiness, to be null and insignificant; so it will be evident that this, by no means the least of ills, is curable only by time and by such protection as the government may give to education.

#### PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

In the house of the Vicar General Don Juan Rafael Rascon, the young man Guadalupe Miranda affords this Territory the very unusual service of teaching certain youths elementary Castilian grammar, Latin and certain rudiments of philosophy. The constancy and devotion of the citizen Miranda deserve just praise, nor is less merit due to the progress made by the young men, for they struggle with great inconveniences such as the lack of books, etc. May Heaven be pleased to provide New Mexico a scientific establishment in which her sons may be instructed according to the light of our age!

*Public schools.* — Table No. 2 shows the places where there are such schools, and the salaries enjoyed by their

teachers. Nothing in the Territory is better provided for comparatively than the establishment of schools, but nothing is found in a more distressing condition than they. The results of primary instruction are not noticeable, this misfortune being due in part to the neglect, laziness and ignorance of many schoolmasters, and due likewise to the lack of zeal on the part of the authorities.

*Freedom of the press.* — Liberty of the press is the vehicle which communicates enlightenment to all classes of society, especially to the lowest class of people. This precious gift, granted to us by the wisdom of the great legislators of our Republic, is the firmest support of liberal institutions; for, more than by physical strength, these institutions are conserved by moral vigor, which results from the enlightenment of the citizens. But this inestimable good is as if dead for this Territory, as not a press is known, nor do papers circulate which would spread abroad that public spirit which is the very soul of republican liberty.

The scarcity of books, particularly of those elementary ones which contribute so largely in disseminating ideas, is another obstacle opposed to enlightenment, and another no less is the enormous distance at which this place lies, and the lack of communication which obtains with the interior of the Republic.

As a chief means of fostering the enlightenment of New Mexico I judge the fulfilment in all its parts of the decree of January 26, 1813, in which it was ordered to erect a bishopric and a seminary of higher education in this capital, for more than in any other place of the Republic is the said establishment [here] an absolute necessity.

#### THE MILITARY BRANCH

The frontier situation of New Mexico, the situation which she holds topographically with regard to the rest of the Republic, and her critical situation with respect to

thirty or more Gentile nations which encircle her are surely three most weighty motives or reasons which demonstrate even to actual proof that this military point should be fully safeguarded.

He who knows the advanced pretensions which the of the Republic, and her critical situation with respect to boundaries between this Republic and that of the North, since they wish to make out that the limits of Louisiana extend as far as the left bank of the Rio Bravo del Norte; he who is posted as to the menaces and devices which the United States have constantly used against New Mexico, to such an extent that in the year 1806 the officer Paykie<sup>44</sup> and the trader Robinson constructed a fort on the Gallinas River in which they had a number of soldiers; he who is not ignorant of these and other details will certainly be astounded when he casts his eye over New Mexico and finds only a people innocent and unprovided of any defense. Without soldiers, without established revenues, without constitution, without laws which are the protection of a populace and of their agriculture and other branches of industry, this unhappy country is delivered over to the disorder which naturally follows the lack of these resources.

Let us for a moment suppose that the United States have dispatched against us a military expedition of three or four thousand men which, under whatever pretext assembled, comes to occupy this soil; what attitude would New Mexico assume? With no more than a hundred men in the permanent force, in what manner would resistance be offered? Now I seem to see that the New Mexicans grasp their arms and run to defend the integrity of their fatherland, and that our imagined expeditionaries would not attain their triumph unless over the corpses of more than forty thousand inhabitants; but since in this estimate we must not count on the force of society *en masse* but rather on that part which is destined by their character

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44. Lieut. Zebulon Pike, who put his stockade not on the Gallinas but on the south bank of the Conejos River, a western tributary of the Rio Grande.

and profession to sustain our independence and laws, let us restate our supposition and let us imagine what would be the fortune of war for one hundred men against three or four thousand. Well then, if to these reflections we add the possibility of an American expedition larger than that cited; the lack of instruction in that important arm, the artillery; the absence of mounts in which our troop ordinarily finds itself; the many completely armed Anglo-Americans that there are among us; and so on with various other reflections of like tenor, we should recognize as proved our uselessness and our unarmed condition.<sup>45</sup>

Should the supreme government assign to this and to the other frontiers of the Republic a great part of the army, there is no doubt but that it would perform a sacred duty. If the primary object of an armed force is that of repelling a foreign force, is it not natural to station troops so intended the nearest possible to such a point? Why do we want armies where there is no danger, where no enemy to be conquered exists? The Americans realizing this truth, leave not one soldier in the center of their territory, but hold all their troops upon their frontiers with economy to their exchequer and with incalculable benefits. Should we imitate this good example, we should be more highly respected abroad and we should live more peacefully at home, because in fact a republic needs a standing army as much as any other government, but for republics armies are more useful and suitable on their frontiers. Our own unfortunate history proves such to be the truth.

The topographical situation of New Mexico is the second reason which must be borne in mind why this should be a military post independent of the general commandry and inspection of Chihuahua, because, stationed in the remotest place in the Republic and separated from that [commandry] by an immense desert, it cannot anticipate all its

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45. Fourteen years later the American occupation of New Mexico was actually effected by a force of only 1,558 men under Gen. S. W. Kearny. The supporting force under Col. Sterling Price numbered about 1,700 men.

military exigencies when so subordinated. Moreover the circumstances of warfare with the Gentiles are different and even contrary in the State of Chihuahua and in New Mexico, for nations which are at peace with the former make war on the latter, and *vice versa*.

As the only remedy for this evil I believe it to be necessary to erect a general commandry and inspection in this Territory according as, and in the terms in which, those of Chihuahua, Texas, etc., are created by the law of March 21, 1826.

Equally necessary and indispensable I consider the raising of the companies granted to her in the same law, for without a force on this footing the single company which exists today would be insignificant for restraining the incursions of the barbarians without the aid of the residents, who have always struggled with their enemies at the cost of incredible sacrifices.

The great number of warlike nations which surround New Mexico is another argument which proves the necessity that this should be a post defended by a competent number of troops.

The Gentiles in their desolating hostilities carry on a war which has lasted for the extended period of more than two centuries, and a war which has been both depreciated by persons not acquainted with it and weighed down with difficulties and danger for well-meriting officers who have carried it on and whose skill has been confounded by tactics reduced to the simple elements of wearing out the enemy; of attacking him only in case the advantage of ground and numbers should favor the savages; of fleeing precipitately whenever a happy issue to the action would be doubtful for them, and of fighting to the last drop of blood when a tight situation compels them to fight or surrender.

For putting these principles into practice, Nature has gifted them also with certain advantages which a civilized man does not possess in the same degree. Every Gentile learns instinctively to handle weapons from his earliest

years; his senses usually are very keen; in the chase and by their roaming life, always exposed to the free play of the winds, they acquire an astonishing agility and endurance. They easily satisfy their needs as to clothing and food. Without very great fatigue they endure hunger and inclement weather and move with celerity over enormous distances, unchecked by swollen rivers, almost impenetrable woods, lofty and craggy mountains, and deserts horrible and stretching far without water.

How often and in vain are the troops worn out in pursuit of the Gentiles, and when these forces from the settlements have started home they are attacked unexpectedly by those who thus make sport of their pursuers! How many other times have they distracted the attention to one part and at the very instant and simultaneously have made attacks in seven or eight other places! And in view of what I have stated, can it be thought that one hundred men may suffice to carry on the warfare which those [Gentiles] may start, when at least a third part must defend the horses while the others enter the fight.

*The Company.* — The same law above cited allotted the only company which exists in this Territory with 106 enrollments, which places at present are all filled. The company is stationed in Santa Fe, but in my opinion it is of no use here, because when the Gentiles make their raids on El Vado<sup>46</sup> or on other points the troop cannot prevent it, and if the troop starts to pursue them, by the time it arrives at the settlement the damage has been done already and the enemy has fled perhaps without leaving a track.

*The advantages which would accrue to New Mexico from the establishment of a presidio at Valverde.* — Seventy leagues from this capitol towards the west<sup>47</sup> and

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46. San Miguel del Vado was a small plaza on the Pecos river, on the eastern frontier of the settled region of New Mexico. The earliest commerce across the plains, by pack-trains, entered the territory by way of Taos, but with the introduction of wagons "El Vado" became the point of entry on the Santa Fe Trail, and a detachment of the presidial company was stationed there.

47. The true direction is nearly due south.

on the left bank of the Rio del Norte is found a ruined hacienda called Valverde which is on the outskirts<sup>48</sup> of all the settlements and at the beginning of the terrible desert which separates this Territory from the pass of the north. The fertility of this soil, the plains which lie around it clothed with luxuriant pasturage, the charming fields for cultivation which the river offers in its meadows, the fine timber with which it abounds and various other circumstances allure enterprising men there to locate fine haciendas which would speedily make their fortunes; but on the one hand the different tribes of Apaches which oppress those regions so privileged by Nature, and on the other hand the Navajoes who devastated them recently are powerful drawbacks which discourage any enterprise.

Hence it is now evident that if a presidio<sup>49</sup> should be established at the point indicated, a thousand settlers would very quickly hasten to cultivate those fields and to form settlements of the greatest utility. To this must be added the fact that the families of the soldiers to whom some of the lands might be rented would contribute not a little in making beautiful and flourishing that which is now barren and desert.

Since the only highway communicating with the interior of the Republic passes by this point, a customs-house could be placed there for the collection of the consumption-tax which is now unobserved, for reasons which will be set forth in the section on "Public Finance"; and this would be another advantage which would result from the establishment of the presidio. Moreover two mails could be added so that they would be scheduled at least every eight days, from which would arise the further advantage of facilitating the postal relations which are both necessary and useful for all classes of society and are also advantageous for the revenues themselves.

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48. Going from New Mexico to Chihuahua.

49. The author's note no. 6 reads: "Whenever *presidios* are mentioned in this *Ojeada* it should be understood that they are armed people grouped together for defence, and not places intended for the punishment of delinquents.

In short, with the force at *Valverde* as an outpost, the population would be so well protected that within a few years New Mexico would imperceptibly be united along the charming banks of the Rio Bravo with El Paso del Norte. What an alluring spectacle it would be to see a population spread out over a distance of two hundred leagues! What comfort and help would commerce enjoy, making its journeys from the pass to Taos through an uninterrupted chain of charming settlements! Farewell, *Jornada del Muerto!*<sup>50</sup> Farewell, gloomy and awful deserts; would that ye might disappear forever, and when the memory of the traveler should recall you, it would be only to praise what the beneficence of a government can do!

I said that the company of Santa Fe was useless at this point, and so it might well be transferred to the presidio which I advise in *Valverde*. so as to secure in all these ways a good system of economy.

*Sale of the town-wall of Santa Fe as a means of facilitating the establishment of the presidio of Valverde.* — The wall of this capital is a hindrance to the beauty of the settlement because, deteriorating more every day, it will soon appear only in a mass of ruins. Accordingly its sale would be very wise, for thus private parties would erect houses which would be of use and ornament to Santa Fe, and with the proceeds the presidio of *Valverde* could be constructed, in order that everything might be done in the manner most saving to the public treasury.

*General reflections upon the military branch.* — Being absolutely necessary the establishment of the veteran companies which, by the law of March 21 already cited, were considered necessary for the defense of this Territory, the raising of them must have precedence over all else. For if the lack of revenue in this commissary be made an objection opposing this step, the reply could well be that there are various unnecessary companies in the State of Chihuahua

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50. "Day's Journey of the Dead Man." The origin of the name is unknown.

which, if transferred to the frontier points of New Mexico, would bring incalculable advantages.

Secondly: if the government has a sacred duty to cherish the enlightenment of this place, with far more reason must it provide for what the military branch requires, since on it depends the good discipline, the happy outcome of battles, and in short the glory of the fatherland, her independence and liberty. Therefore, to the end of contributing to the success of these most important objects, it is absolutely essential that the government establish in this capital an academy for cadets; for without these indispensable institutes there will never be officers so trained and skilled as to discharge fittingly their difficult duties. Therefore it would be desirable that in this valuable institution they should be instructed in military tactics, the ordinance and other laws also, in the distribution of a troop, how to plan a campaign and to evacuate a defense, how to act in a council of war. Moreover it would be very profitable for the cadets to be instructed in arithmetic and the elements of geometry, geography and fortification, for thus they would all be trained soldiers who would not find themselves during the pressing exigencies of war confused in fortifying a point, in building a fort or in mapping out a country, or in knowing the relative positions which their troops ought to take in the concerted evolutions of an attack. The government could name for the purpose an officer of known erudition who should be the director of this teaching and who, for his devotion and labor, should be assigned the remuneration of one thousand pesos annually in the following manner: the cadets would be charged one peso a month; the officers who might attend said academy on their own application or by order of their commanders, ten reales; and the balance necessary to complete the amount would be charged to the funds of the companies.

*The civilian militia.* — The civic militia, of so much interest in a free country and which is deemed the firmest bulwark of public liberty, is absolutely unknown in New

Mexico, for they have not even a conception of it. How gratifying it would be to see the government put forth all her zeal in organizing this branch, here more useful and necessary than in any other section! What a powerful defense would be offered by eight or nine thousand New Mexicans instructed in the manual of arms, prepared and active for war!

There is not any doubt. The establishment of civic troops in the Territory would be more solid possibly than in any other part of the Republic because, nearly all the inhabitants having property in lands and herds, it is clear that such an incentive would give them that courage which is the indispensable basis of patriotism. Therefore it would be desirable for the government to create and regulate the civic militia, from the permanent companies themselves appointing chiefs of instruction which would be to them a charge of positive merit towards their promotion, for with this incentive they would take pains to accredit themselves by their efficiency and diligence in the fulfilment of their duties.

#### PUBLIC FINANCE

The public finance of New Mexico is in charge of a commissary subordinate to the general commissary of Chihuahua.

This commissariat has no arms for the performing of its duties, since a subject who functions as inspector and a clerk is its sum total of employees. The edifice occupied by the commissariat is dirty, insecure and inconvenient. The commissary lives in his private house and naturally cannot care for the funds as scrupulously as is requisite; whence it results that thefts can be attempted on the commissariat with sufficient frequency, and the responsibility of its head is compromised at every step in a thousand ways.

There are no national warehouses in which to deposit the goods which have to be appraised for the payment of

duties, and the outcome of this very great lack is that on the arrival of the American companies very many cargoes are stored in private houses. Ah, and how many frauds will needs be committed with these scandalous storages! How will the commissary be able to depend on the integrity of the owners of houses who hold lightly their responsibility?

The local conditions of New Mexico and the lack of guards which the commissariat suffers favor smuggling in an extraordinary manner. The public treasury loses considerable amounts annually since here, more than in other parts of the Republic, this important branch is found in lamentable disorganization.

An adequate number of employees to discharge the work of the commissariat; some guards so well paid as to protect them from the corrupting gold of the fraudulent merchant; the establishment of the district judge — or better stated, the provision of one in the person of a lawyer of integrity and incorruptible; the election of subjects of probity to the other posts mentioned; and a continuous vigilance on the part of the general commissary of Chihuahua in watching carefully and scrupulously the conduct of these employees, are the only measures which now occur to me as most adequate for correcting the evils which the treasury suffers.

Despite the disorganization in which these revenues are found, advantages are apparent fortunately, as will be seen in the revenue receipts by table no. 3, if a comparison is made between one year and another.

*Salt beds.* — New Mexico has very extensive salt beds and this branch, which would redound in profit to the treasury if it were rented out to industrious persons, is today absolutely dead. Also it would be possible to place an administrator over this branch and regulate it upon the best footing.

The commissariat of Guadalajara used to obtain annually 16,000 pesos from the renting of its salt beds, located in Sayula, Zacualco, Zapotello, etc; and that of New Mex-

ico by a comparative estimate might well bring in at least two or three thousand pesos.

#### ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

Whoever figures to himself the enormous distance of more than eight hundred leagues at which this Territory lies from its *audiencia*,<sup>51</sup> he who knows the lack of resources with which these unhappy people generally find themselves, for undertaking a ruinous journey even to the capital of Mexico in order there to defend their rights; whoever has a slight conception of the ignorance which reigns in this country, will not require other colors in order to paint vividly the deplorable and doleful state in which the administration of justice finds itself. Should I attempt to unfold any one of the very grave faults from which this most interesting branch suffers, I believe that I should fill many sheets without having done, and so I shall simply indicate some points in passing.

*Impunity of crimes.* — Never are crimes punished because there is absolutely no one who knows how to draw up a verbal process, to conclude a defense, nor to fill the office of attorney general. It is going on two years that I have been here and in this time I have advised the continuance of numberless cases with the greatest clearness and minuteness, but to date I do not know the result of my advice. I have tried to put to rights the course of other civil proceedings, but I have obtained the same outcome. The vicar general, Don Juan Rafael Rascon, has assured me that in the nearly four years that he has held the vicarate he has been unable to arrange the matters and proceedings of his [ecclesiastical] court. In effect, the appointment of an attorney general is advised, and the judge raises the objection that there is no one who would be able to discharge such an office; so after this fashion one indicates

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51. The legal tribunal at Guadalajara to which any cases of appeal from New Mexico were carried.

the course of the law, but all are blind for following it. In fine, one cannot recount the obstacles which ignorance presents in New Mexico to the correct administration of justice.

*Jails.* — There are no other than certain filthy rooms with this appellation in the capital. The prisoners are rewarded instead of punished when they are incarcerated in them, because they pass the time much diverted in merry frolics and chatter; and they take their imprisonment with the greatest ease, for at night they escape to the *bailes* and by day to other diversions. How reprehensible is such laxness on the part of the judges!

The only measures which right now I view as timely are the reestablishment of a learned tribunal for New Mexico, and the enactment of the other measures which the most excellent minister of justice, Don. José Ignacio Espinosa, has introduced in the august chambers.

#### SPIRITUAL ADMINISTRATION

The spiritual administration finds itself in a truly dismal condition. Nothing is more common than to see numberless sick folk die without confession and extreme unction, and nothing is rarer than to see the eucharist administered to them. Corpses remain unburied many days, and infants are baptized at the cost of a thousand sacrifices. There are unfortunate ones in considerable number who pass most Sundays of the year without hearing mass. The churches are almost destroyed, and most of them are surely unworthy of being called temples of God.

The missions and curacies which do not have pastors are in charge of missionaries and temporary curates and most of these parishioners are visited only a few days in the year. How shall not the poor people who suffer this neglect feel great resentment at seeing that from their crops and herds they have to pay for the maintenance of a priest who does not live with them and who perhaps does

not aid them with the consolations of religion in that last hour when they most need them?

There is an absolute deficiency of ministers, for almost all the curacies and missions of the Territory are vacant. The causes which have brought it about that said missions and curacies should have been, and should be, for so extended a time in such great abandonment are very clear; for many ecclesiastics aspire only to hold fat curacies from which to make a fortune, or to maintain a luxury which is surely opposed to the spirit of the Gospel. On the other hand, the curates and missionaries of this Territory have to subsist on a scanty competence; they find themselves separated from cultured intercourse with other people, isolated in these corners of the Republic where only disagreeable objects and oftentimes dangers are near them; they are deprived of the pleasures with which civilized places allure them; they come to live on some miserable ranch and to endure privations which weigh not a little on the spirits of men who are used to a different order of things. And if to those considerations are added the gloomy idea that they have to pass the best of their life in solitude and privation, seeing themselves in the last days of their career without any succor from their poor parishes which from the weariness of years they will now be unable to serve, and therefore reduced to subsist at the expense of charity or off the miserable revenue of some chaplaincy — on these terms, I say, what ecclesiastics will be willing to seek such unhappy lots, unless they be animated by a spirit truly apostolic? It is true that in them they could acquire merits which are very laudable and befitting the obligations of their ministry and of Christian charity, but certain it is that all flee from them.

In order partly to remedy this evil, it would be very fitting that ecclesiastics, when they have served ten years in the cure of souls in these towns with the approbation of the supreme government, should be given preferment for

obtaining prebends in the cathedrals of the Republic, for only in this manner would it be possible to induce ecclesiastics of virtue and dignity to come and give their labors on behalf of these unhappy people.

With a saving of revenue and advantages worth considering the missions of this Territory might be secularized, being made into competent curacies which would be sufficient to maintain their rectors in decorum and decency.

It is more than seventy years since a bishop has stepped in New Mexico, and it might be figured that scarcely any age could have an episcopal visit in a country so remote as this, distant more than four hundred leagues from its Metropolis.<sup>52</sup>

The radical way in which to make the spiritual administration is to erect a sacred mitre and a collegiate seminary, as was decreed by the Cortes of Spain on January 26, 1818.<sup>53</sup> With the tithes of New Mexico, now bid off annually at ten or twelve thousand pesos which is scarcely a third of what they produce, there will be sufficient to meet the expenses of the bishop and college. Now the tithes serve only to enrich three or four private parties without profit either to the spiritual welfare of New Mexico or to the temporal good of the Republic.

I will conclude [my notes] upon the ecclesiastical branch, and in summary will say that Christian piety is indignant at seeing the abuses which are committed in New Mexico in the nurture and cure of souls, and charity requires a veil to be thrown over many things the relation of which would occasion scandal . . . As sole remedy for so many ills, the Territory clamors for the shepherd of her church. *The harvest is plentiful but laborers are lacking. Let us pray the Lord that reapers may enter upon it.*<sup>54</sup>

52. Durango was the episcopal see for New Mexico.

53. Possibly a typographical error for 1813.

54. *Vide* Matthew 9:37-38. Apparently the wording is based on the Vulgate version.

## CONCLUSION

I have been able to feel only extraordinary delight in discussing the natural products and riches which New Mexico holds, so that with all the greater sorrow have cast a glance over her political condition and the other branches of her disorganized administration. Only the attention directed by the government to this country, worthy of a better lot, can remove the obstacles which thwart her happiness. Only an extraordinary effort on her own part will enable her to develop those precious resources which lie wrapped in her bosom and which some day will raise her to the pinnacle of her good fortune.

Since ignorance is the chief occasion of the moral and political ills of the Territory, the propagation of culture must be the primary object for the government's beneficence to bring against them as the only antidote,

Unfortunately I see as far distant that happy dawn when the era of enlightenment will begin to appear in New Mexico, for if she continues in that neglect in which she now finds herself, only time, and time alone, will be able very slowly to better her evil estate.

Padre Martinez (son of this soil) made an exposition, so I am informed, in which he said that New Mexico had men [fitted] for all her offices. This was submitted to the deputation, and I know not but that even in the supreme government it was accorded the applause of various persons, and in short it made a great noise. But it must be confessed that it was absurd. This does not mean that there are not very estimable men in the country — certainly not. I am deeply beholden to all the Territory for the kindnesses which have been shown me constantly. Wherever I may be, I shall always admire the good heartedness and fine disposition which the New Mexicans in general possess. I will sacrifice myself should it be necessary for the happiness of this country which is the fatherland

where my beloved son first saw the light. But I do deny that there are men suited to all positions. Let the New Mexicans be convinced that persons are lacking who are fitted to instruct them; that they are not yet even at the beginning of the brilliant career of the sciences, and let them make a last effort to better their lot which is sufficiently deplorable although by many it is not so recognized.

## END OF THE GLANCE OVER NEW MEXICO

TABLE NO. 1

*STATEMENT of the places in the Territory which in conformity with the law have an ayuntamiento, and those which have only an alcalde and fiscal.*

Places with an Ayuntamiento		Those having Judge & Attorney
<i>Santa Fe</i>	These jurisdictions recognize Santa Fé as capital.	<i>San Miguel de Vado Cochiti Jemez Sandia</i>
<i>Cañada Taos</i>	These together with Taos recognize Cañada as capital	<i>San Juan Abiquiú</i>
Albuquerque is head of the following.		<i>Albuquerque Isleta Tomé Belén Sabinal Socorro Laguna</i>

TABLE No. 2

Statment showing the places in the Territory which have primary Schools, and the Compensation of their respective Teachers.

<i>Places with schools</i>	<i>Stipends of the teachers</i>	
		pesos.
Santa Fé . . . . .	0500	
San Miguel del Vado . . . . .	0250	
Cañada . . . . .	0300	
Taos . . . . .	0250	
Albuquerque . . . . .	0300	
Belén . . . . .	0250	
total money invested in teachers 1850		

TABLE No. 3

*STATEMENT SHOWING THE AMOUNTS RECEIVED BY THE SUB-COMMISSARY OF THIS TERRITORY through the branch of customs-duties, from July 1, 1829 to May, 1832.*

<i>Years</i>	<i>Cash receipts</i>	<i>Debits</i>	<i>Contraband deposits</i>
From 1 July, 829, to end of June, 830	25,834.0.0.	0,000.0.0.	02,958.0.0
July, 830, to June, 831	35,706.7.4.	16,209.4.6.	00,000.0.0
July, 831, to May, 832	25,227.0.0.	39,607.4.3.	00,000.0.0

## APPENDIX

A RAPID SKETCH OF THE PRINCIPLE GENTILE NATIONS  
WHICH SURROUND NEW MEXICO

The diverse and almost numberless tribes which encircle the inhabited part of New Mexico made themselves known when they were first discovered under the names of Piros, Queres, Thiguas, Zuñis, Xemes, Pecuris, Pecos, Taos, Theguas, Thanos, &c., some of them giving their names to various pueblos of this country.<sup>55</sup> Later others were gradually discovered, among which the following in particular demand our attention.

## AN IDEA OF THE APACHE

The Apache nation is the most malignant and cruel of them all. Always naked, always slaying by treachery and thieving, they torture their prisoners, cruelly scalping them alive, and usually carving their bodies into little bits. The Apache slays whatever birds offer themselves as a mark, he uses the flesh of but few and utilizes the feathers for his adornment and for tipping his arrows. He eats no fish although they abound in his rivers, but he slays them likewise, keeping the bones for various uses.

*Religious belief.* — The Apache recognizes the existence of a Supreme Being and Creator under the name *Yaxtaxitaxitan-ne* or Captain of Heaven; but he lacks the conception that he may be an awarder and avenger. He does not give him outward worship, and he understands that God formed all creatures for his diversion and entertainment.

He knows that animate things are annihilated after a period, and he believes the same of his own existence,

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55. All of these names related to Pueblo or "Christian" Indians.

whence it results that, easily forgetting the past and without anxiety for the future, the present is all that affects, moves, and interests him. He desires to be in accord with the malignant spirit, on whom he judges that prosperity and adversity depend, this belief giving him food for numberless crazy notions.

Steeped in these and similar ideas, the Apaches are accustomed to attribute to some taciturn, austere Indian the power of divination, and the deceiver of whom such a conception is formed fosters it for the benefit which accrues to him, by giving ambiguous evasive answers to the questions asked him. By reason of this practice the others come to believe, and he even persuades himself, that he is the oracle of his people. An adjunct of this office is that of medicine, to the application of certain herbs being added certain ridiculous ceremonies and pathetic chants.

*The extreme fear which they have of sickness and death.* — The Apaches are always on the watch to see if a contagious epidemic or diseases approach, for if they learn that any such is near their ranches, they flee to the remotest desert and cut off all intercourse with the infected country. When the pest is ended, they again occupy the places which they held before, and if they enter some settlement they insert in their nostrils and ears certain herbs which they use as preservatives.

When they fear that death will assail them, they place lances in their tents so that the death may be caught on them if it should come. In short, they spare no diligence to safeguard their lives.

*Arms used, and mode of warfare.* — The offensive equipment of the Apaches consists of firearms, lances, bows and arrows which they carry in a quiver of leopard-skin or of some other animal; and their defense consists of a leather jacket and shield. The sizes are different according to the preference of the user.

The Apache is vain of nothing but of being valiant, his enthusiasm in this respect attaining to the point that

the man of whom some exploit is not known is despised. When one has performed an exploit marked for valor, to his own name is added that of *Jasquie* which means brave, being prefixed to that by which he is known, as *Jasquie-Tajustlan*, *Jasquie-Degá*, &c. This idea and custom prevails among the Gileños and the Mimbrenos, who are certainly among the most intrepid.

When an offensive expedition has been decided upon and the Indian chosen to command it, they leave their families within some sierra with a small escort and sally forth from camp generally on foot, divided into small bands the better to conceal their tracks, trying for the same reason to make their march over hard and rocky land.

In order successfully to accomplish their object, they station an ambuscade beforehand in the locality which is most favorable to them. Then they dispatch various swift Indians that they may try, through some theft of pack-animals or of a herd, to decoy into ambush any people who may sally out in pursuit of them, upon whom they charge unexpectedly doing sanguinary havoc.

If one of the bands effects a considerable theft, instead of going to the place where they were to rejoin the others, they are usually satisfied with their lot and so retire without finishing the expedition. But other times, not wishing to fail the other Indians at the rendezvous, they reserve the best animals for their own use, slay the rest and set out to rejoin their companions who are engaged in their respective thievings in other directions.

One cannot describe the speed with which they flee to their own country after executing an important robbery. Terrifying are the mountains which they ascend, the waterless deserts which they traverse in order to wear out their pursuers, and the stratagems which they use to avoid the blows of those whom they have wronged.

They always leave two or three Indians on their swiftest horses a long distance behind upon their trail, so that

they may warn them of whatever they may notice in the rearguard.

Whenever superior forces go out against them, they kill everything they are carrying off and escape on the best animals, which also they kill in the end in case they are being overtaken, saving their lives among the crags and thickets of the mountains.

If it appears through the reports of their rearguard that inferior forces are pursuing them, they await them in some defile and commit a second destruction, repeating this artifice as often as they are favored by good luck and the lack of skill of their enemies. When they know that their pursuers are as sagacious and intelligent as themselves, they divide the plunder in small portions and take their course in different directions so as to evade every blow.

When the expedition is finished and the booty has been allotted among the participants, in which apportionment not infrequently dissensions are accustomed to arise which are decided by the law of the strongest, each band withdraws to its own country and each rancher to his particular sierra or favorite land to live with perfect freedom and without suffering molestation from anyone.

With less preparation and greater profit many outrages are often committed by four or six Indians who decide among themselves to make a quick campaign, the damage which they commit being the more difficult to prevent as it is easier for them to hide their tracks and to invade, without being discovered, even the most distant regions, to which end they always travel through the thickets and rocky places of the sierras, whence they break out on the settlements, commit the offence with the greatest speed and withdraw precipitately into the same rugged places, and through them go their way, it being almost impossible to locate them although they may be sought for with the greatest diligence.

The time when the valor and temerity of these bar-

barians is most evident is when they happen to be attacked by their enemies. They never lack calmness even when taken by surprise and when they may not have a chance for defence; they fight till breath fails them and usually prefer death to surrender.

They go with the same intrepidity when they attack, but with the difference that, unless they immediately attain the advantage intended and if they see that luck is against them, they do not disdain to flee and to give up their project.

However numerous a camp of them may be and however encumbered it may appear, it makes such vigorous marches afoot or ahorse that it frees itself of pursuers in a few hours. Incredible is the speed with which they break camp when they perceive superior forces coming against them; for on the instant their pack-animals are seen loaded with effects and children, the mothers with their nursing children hung from the head by means of a wicker basket in which they place them with great security and comfort, the men armed and mounted on their best horses, and everything in readiness to make for the place which they consider secure, accomplishing the migration through the most impossible rough places as if they were wild animals.

The warfare between the Apache Indians and the Comanches and others under the general name "tribes of the North" is as ancient as are these nations, and their hatred emanates among other causes from the fact that these, as the Comanches, want to monopolize the buffalo herds.

The propensity of the Apache for theft and violence is not restricted only to those whom he recognizes as avowed enemies, but it extends to not sparing each other.

*Signals given for getting together and their field craft.*

— Notwithstanding the continuous moving in which the barbarians live and the great deserts in their country, one camp easily meets another when they desire to have intercourse, although it may have been some time since they

have seen each other or have had any news of their affairs. Aside from the small knowledge more or less of the lands in which they have to dwell, smoke [signals] are the sure telegraphs by which they seek each other. For strangers it is a science to understand them, but it is so well acquired by all of them that they never mistake the meaning of such messages.

A smoke made on a high place which is then roused into flame is a signal to prepare to resist the enemy who are near and who have already been seen or located. As many camps as see the message reply with another [smoke] given in the same way.

A diminutive smoke at the foot of a sierra indicates that they are seeking people of their own kind; another at mid-slope denotes that they are there and that the former may come at pleasure.

Two or three small smokes on a plain or in a cañon made in succession in a single direction manifest a desire to talk with one's enemies, to which the reply is made in like manner; and after this fashion they have various other signs commonly accepted by all the Apache tribes.

So as to avoid delay in making the smoke signals, most of the men and women carry the necessary means for producing fire. They prefer the stone, steel and tinder, but if they do not have these handy they supply their lack with two sticks provided, well dried, one of *zotole* and the other of *lechuguilla*, which, when rubbed in the manner of a hand-mill with the point of one against the surface of the other, bring fire in a moment, the *acerrin* [tinder] being ignited at the point of friction.<sup>56</sup>

The knowledge which they possess of the tracks which they observe must not be passed over in silence, for they can tell not only how long it is since the imprint was made but also they distinguish whether it was made by night

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56. The kinds of wood, or sticks, named by Barreiro have not been identified — another case of terms which he seems to have brought with him from the southern republic.

or by day, whether the beast is carrying a horseman or is free, whether he is being driven or is vagrant, and other points in which only continued practice and assiduous observation can instruct one.

If they wound a deer or other animal, they never lose its trail until they find it dead or disabled, although they may follow it for two or three days.

*Classification of the Apaches.* — The Apaches are grouped under a number of divisions, such as *Tontos* or *Coyoteros*, *Chiricahues*, *Gileños*, *Mimbrereños*, *Faraones*, *Mescaleros*, *Llaneros*, *Lipanes*, *Xicarillas*, and others who occupy immense and exceedingly fertile regions.

#### AN IDEA OF THE COMANCHE

The Comanche is distinguished by his athletic and striking appearance, his open and martial bearing and his decent attire.

*Their clothing.* — It is all of tanned skins, the thin ones for shirts and heavy ones for clothing of the men.

The Comanche wears a long shirt of white or tan color which descends about to the knee. He wears very short trousers, and shoes with which he always provides his feet. The adornment most highly prized for their heads is plumes of various colors by which they are distinguished as to class and rank.

The women wear longer tunics with sleeves to the wrist and closed up to the neck. Their shoes come up similar to boots with the tops concealed by the tunic, so that the Comanche woman displays only the face and hands, covering her skin when on the road with red ochre to protect it from wind and sun. The shirts and tunics usually are embroidered with various figures of roses, pinks and animals, the beautiful colors of which are worked with porcupine quills.

The Comanche women go with hair flowing and are ruddy and beautiful. The hair of the men falls in braids

with great elegance about to the thigh and usually is heavy; but generally their long hair is false, being made from other hair and even from the manes of animals.

*Their religion.* — They believe in a God whom they call *Niatpo* (my father) but they do not accord him any fixed worship. They have their diviners to whom they give the name *Pujacantes*, which is the same as if they called them wizards.

*Their government.* — The Comanches, bound together by the imperious law of necessity, are divided into captaincies, and these are subject to a chief who governs them; this chief and the captains being those of their number who are bravest and most gifted.

Men of importance are accustomed to have as many as seven women. Adultery in a married woman is punished by death, and the same is true of public prostitution. Their weddings are celebrated by an exchange of presents. The groom presents the bride's father with horses or definite accounts of warlike deeds, and [in turn] receives them, the day being celebrated with public dances by the neighbors and assembled relatives.

*Their occupations.* — The Comanche engages exclusively in hunting the buffalo, deer, etc., curing and hanging the meat in a way very original, for their maintenance, especially in winter when the snows compel them to quiet and rest. They tan skins most exquisitely, since they possess the secret of the herbs which are the most active for tanning in the hair, without it and in many ways. They live in great community tents beautifully made from chamois leather and so skillfully arranged that they resist every kind of inclement weather.

*Their lamentations for the dead.* — Those of quality who die go to the grave wrapped in the best skins. All their weapons are placed over them and also the instruments of their office with an inscription, etc. The defunct is accompanied by all his relatives with a great and mourn-

ful lamentation. His widows, seeing the corpse of their husband borne away, wound themselves and gash the face with knives and flints so that they are permanently disfigured. They put to death all the horses which the deceased had ridden and some are given to those who came to augment the lamentation of the kindred. The children of the deceased refrain for some days from joining in feasts and sports, and *Tibithnasuncat* (I loved him much) is their salutation in meeting their friends.

*Their campaigns.* — No other Gentile nation dares to measure its strength with the Comanche, for even allied [nations] have been worsted repeatedly. He accepts no quarter but gives it to the conquered; he prefers death rather than to be subjected to any humiliating act. Never does he attack in war at an advantage and with treachery, but always face to face and after having given the signal with his whistles.

For weapons the Comanche uses the arrow (*patca*), lance and firearms. He always fight on good and swift horses, as a rule seeking level places, differently from the Apache who delights in rocky and mountainous country. He seeks to divest and free himself of every garment, at the same time painting the face in a frightful manner. The Comanche in war-garb and skirmishing on horseback presents the most stirring appearance imaginable: the tufts of feathers with which they adorn their heads, their braids flying in all directions, the shields finely decorated which they handle with skill and dexterity, and all their movements are truly surprising.

#### CONCERNING THE NAVAJO

The Navajo nation is similar to the preceding but has more civilization and culture and has taken up tillage and manufactures. They are not used to plowing the soil but cultivate it with large hoes made of oak or of iron which they have intelligence to acquire in barter for their cloths.

Their cloths are most beautiful both for their weave and for the shades of their colors. A Navajo *sarape* is more highly esteemed than one of Saltillo, since the former is completely waterproof.

The Navajoes breed much small stock and are not without large stock. This nation is about twenty-five leagues distant from the frontier of New Mexico, between the pueblos of Moqui, Zuñi and the capital. They enjoy most fertile lands, a delicious climate and very rich minerals.

The language of these Gentiles is very easy of pronunciation: *tinde* is the man; *chihuata*, the woman; *nortin*, the father; *thastia*, the mother; *nasqueñe*, the son; *queñe* the daughter; "come here," *jajaico*; "where goest thou?" *jadilla*; cold, *cuscacet*; "what do you sell me?" *ya deyuene?*, &c.

#### CONCERNING THE YUTA

This nation inhabits a very extended country and is very prone to theft, exceedingly avaricious and insincere. The lands which they occupy are delightful, having abundant rivers, very extensive lakes, and much rich peltry.

The other nations which encircle New Mexico, such as the Jumanos, Caycuas [Kiowas], Sosones [Shoshones], Blackfeet and other swarms of them, although they merit attention, would take too much space to be discussed.

#### GENERAL REFLECTIONS UPON THESE NATIONS

The policy of the United States with regard to the Gentiles is exceedingly foreboding for us since, they buying their lands from them and our climate being milder than that of the northern interior, they are gradually advancing towards us, the result being that every day nations hitherto unknown are making their appearance.

The supreme government must not forget that the barbarous tribes which surrounded New Mexico will be the pow-

erful weapon of which the cabinet at Washington may avail itself for waging, by intermediary hand, the most cruel and sanguinary war upon the Republic, because this isolated country may well be included in those ulterior designs which are attributed to the United States with respect to the occupation which they wish to effect in these regions.