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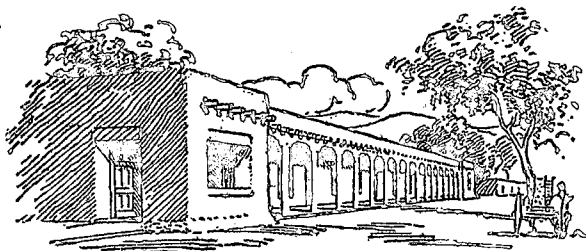
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THE NEW MEXICO
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VOL. IV

JULY, 1929

No. 3



PALACE OF THE GOVERNORS
1609
SANTA FE, NEW MEXICO

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BY
The Historical Society of
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AND
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SCHOOL OF AMERICAN RESEARCH

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Vol. IV.

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THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

(INCORPORATED)

ORGANIZED DECEMBER 26, 1859

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1861 — Maj. James L. Donaldson, U. S. A.
1863 — Hon. Kirby Benedict

1881 — Hon. William G. Ritch
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CONSTITUTION
OF THE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

(as amended Dec. 15, 1925)

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

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

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

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

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

(c) *Life Members.* In addition to life members of the Historical Society of New Mexico at the date of the adoption hereof, such other benefactors of the Society as shall pay into its treasury at one time the sum of twenty-five dollars, or shall present to the Society an equivalent in books, manuscripts, portraits, or other acceptable material of an historical nature, may upon recommendation by the Executive Council and election by the Society, be classed as Life Members.

(d) *Honorary Life Members.* Persons 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.

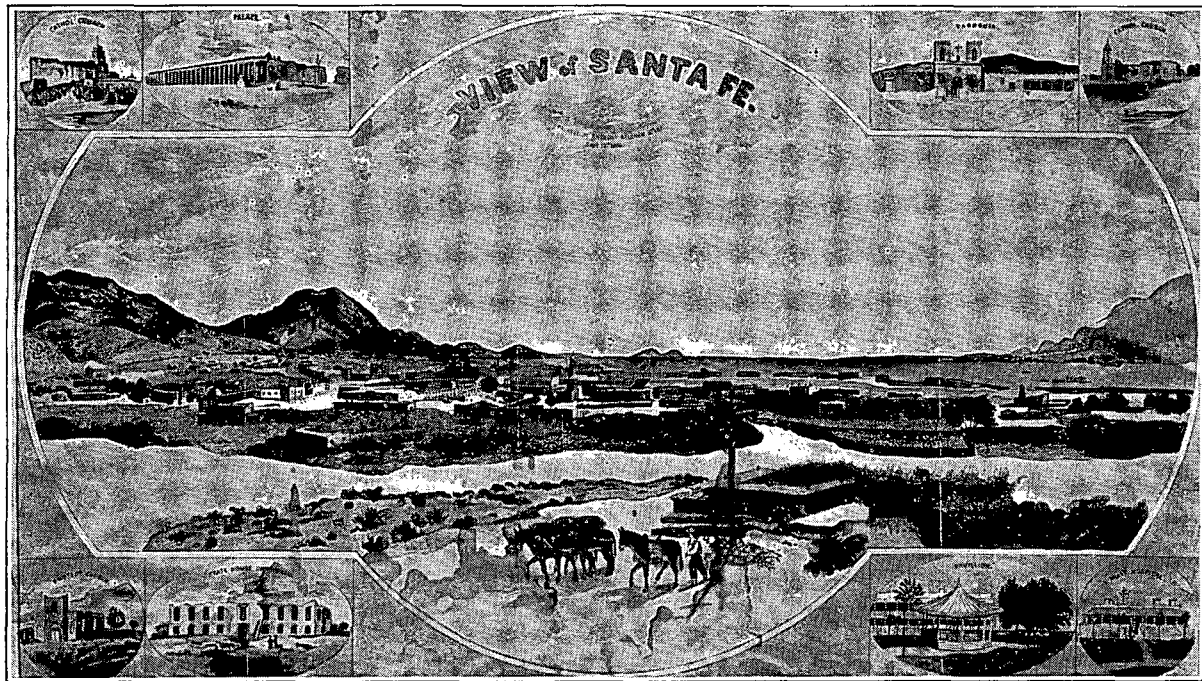
Article 8. *Meetings.* Monthly meetings of the Society shall be held at the rooms of the Society on the third Tuesday of each month at Eight P. M. The Executive Council shall meet at any time upon call of the President or of three of its members.

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.

Bulletins, as published, are mailed to members; 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, N. Mex.



A VIEW OF SANTA FE IN 1866

From a water-color painting in the rooms of the Historical Society of New Mexico

(For description, see "Notes")

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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THE SAN CARLOS POLICE

“Great oaks from little acorns grow” is a simple rustic simile, but it aptly suggests the story of the evolution of the United States Indian Police Force, for, be it remembered, that this efficient national organization *had its inception at San Carlos, Arizona*, and was the outgrowth of that *original grand army of four Apache policemen* appointed and equipped and installed and established at said agency about the middle of August, 1874.

Were the Apaches Capable of self-Government as early as the '70s — if given reasonable judicious direction? *Were the Hostiles under Geronimo and Nah-chee finally subdued by the Apaches, themselves*, in the campaigns of 1885 and 1886? In this discussion of the events of those years we are seeking the true answers to these very pertinent questions.

My first annual report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs was dated at San Carlos, August 31, 1874 — just three weeks after my arrival at that agency, and yet I was able to include in that report an announcement of the fact that within that brief period I had determined upon and placed in operation the most vital feature of my administrative policy — *The San Carlos Apache Police Force*. This announcement appears in the next to the last paragraph on page 297 of the commissioner's report for 1874 as follows: “I have appointed four Indians to act

as police. They arrest the insubordinate, guard the prisoners and do general police duty. The result is very satisfactory, and it is my intention to employ them permanently at \$15, per month."

This was my first official act as agent at San Carlos that attracted the attention of the Arizona public, and the comments thereon were not altogether of a flattering nature. Coming so soon and so abruptly after assuming charge of a reservation peopled with "wild" Indians, this initial action on my part gave the good citizens more or less of a shock, and the popular verdict was that the *idea of the Apaches enforcing discipline among themselves was absolutely preposterous*, and that the step I had taken was an unwarranted and dangerous experiment attributable to my youth and inexperience.

Nevertheless, the Apache police continued to perform their regular duties on the reservation with most gratifying results, and in my second annual report dated at San Carlos, September 1, 1875 (my 24th birthday), I was able to include a year's record of the excellent services rendered by the police and which fully justified my confidence in the "dangerous experiment." That official record appears on pages 215 and 216 of the report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1875 as follows:

"The police force of Indians mentioned in my last report has been continued through the year, and has rendered most efficient service. They have been faithful and vigilant, prompt to quell all disturbances, to arrest criminals, and to give full information regarding all cases that might come under their jurisdiction. So effective have they been in the discharge of their duties that only on special occasions has it been necessary for me or an employe to accompany them when sent to arrest a criminal.

"After the arrival of the Rio Verde Indians the number of policemen was increased to eight. On the 31st of July, after the removal of the White Mountain Indians, I

increased the number to twenty-five. They were carefully chosen from the various tribes and bands, armed with needle-guns and fixed ammunition, and placed under the command of Mr. Clay Beauford, who has been guide and scout in this country for several years."

"Such is the latest organization of the San Carlos Police Force. The duties of this force are to patrol the Indian camps, to quell disturbances, to arrest offenders, to report any signs of disorder or mutiny, to scour the entire reservation and arrest Indians who are absent from the agency without a pass, and also to arrest whites who trespass contrary to the rules of the reservation. My intention is to mount the police as soon as possible, as a mounted force is far more effective, while the extra expense is but a trifle."

"I wish to state further that the police force has entirely superseded the necessity of a military force. I have never yet found it necessary to ask for a single soldier to act as escort, guard, or to do any police duty."

Assuredly, the Apache Police "experiment" had not resulted as disastrously as some had so gleefully predicted. And it is important to remember that the San Carlos reservation included an area nearly as large as that of the state of Connecticut, having a length of 95 miles in a north and south line, and of 70 miles in an east and west line. From this it will be seen that the size of the police force was vastly out of proportion when compared with the size of the reservation.

Another thing. When I appointed the original force of four policemen there were only about 800 Indians connected with the San Carlos agency. Within the next year 1400 Indians were added from the Rio Verde agency, and 1800 Coyotereros from the Camp Apache agency, — while approximately 200 Indians had been gathered in from the adjacent mountains. Thus it will appear that the jurisdiction and responsibilities of the San Carlos Apache Police Force were

extended within the year from the original number of 800 to a grand total of about 4200 Indians.

Particular attention is also invited to the fact that the disarming and pacifying of the Rio Verde Indians and the removal of the Coyoteris to the Gila valley presented some unusual and most serious problems of discipline and control, and yet the reservation police proved equal to every emergency. In fact, in my judgment, they so fully demonstrated their efficiency and dependability that, at my request, *all troops were removed from the reservation in October, 1875.*

This, doubtless, was a bold move, and there were not a few who condemned the step as foolhardy, and predicted an early "outbreak" in which I would be "numbered with the slain." Even the Department Commander registered his verbal disapproval and prophesied calamity.

And the Fates decreed that my "Apache self-government plan" should be given an acid test within two months after the departure of the troops. One quiet afternoon, without the slightest warning, we found ourselves in the midst of the frenzied tumult of a bold and desperate "solo outbreak" in which my untimely taking off had been plotted, and which might have resulted in serious "calamity" *had it not been for the splendid loyalty and prompt and effective action of the San Carlos Apache Police.* On December 22, 1875, Dis-a-lin, a young chief, ran amuck at the agency with the deadly purpose of killing the agent, the chief clerk and the chief of police, but this would-be-assassin was promptly *shot to death* by the agency police — *who did not wait for orders to act.* This thrilling episode deserves more detailed mention in a later chapter.

At this point it may be advantageous to quote the fourth paragraph from my annual report for 1875 as follows: "The public has not forgotten the unenviable reputation the San Carlos Apaches sustained at the time I took

charge in August, 1874. The Indians then here were looked upon as treacherous and incorrigible, a tribe to be watched and feared but not to be controlled except by the bullet. Whether they deserved this record or not does not demand discussion here. I have only to say that if they did, their general nature must have undergone a mighty revolution about the time I assumed control. I can state with fairness and justice that I have never found a more obedient, law-abiding people than these San Carlos Apaches; and as this report progresses you will see wherein these Indians have redeemed the past, and exonerated themselves from the charges of hostility and unfaithfulness."

And now we may quote from my third annual report, which (after another year's experience) was submitted in October, 1876, as follows: "The Indian police system is my great hobby in the management of (so called) wild Indians, and my police have really done more this year than I had expected of them or claimed for them. On the 9th of October (1875) General Kautz, at my request, ordered all the troops away from San Carlos, and the abandonment of the camp. This was something I had long desired. . . . The troops at San Carlos left on the 27th of October, 1875, under the command of Lieutenant Carter, Sixth Cavalry United States Army. We had now no other defense than our Indian police, and I will mention a few of their exploits, which will sufficiently prove their faithfulness and efficiency."

"On October 24th (1875) I received information that a number of Yuma Indians had left for the Pima villages. I immediately despatched Mr. Beauford with a small police force in pursuit of the truants. Mr. Beauford returned on the morning of the 27th, bringing with him twenty-seven prisoners who were furnished with lodgings in the guard-house. I may mention here, as a significant coincidence, that, as Mr. Beauford came into the agency with these prisoners, Lieutenant Carter moved out with the troops, leaving us unprotected."

"On December 22nd (1875), a very prominent chief named Dis-a-lin, became enraged and fired two shots at Mr. Sweeney, one at Mr. Beauford and one at an Indian. In less than two minutes the Indian police had put a dozen bullets through Dis-a-lin, and he was correspondingly quiet."

"On the 26th of February, 1876, I issued the following order:

"Clay Beauford.

"In charge of Indian Police, San Carlos, A. T.

"Sir: It having been reported that there are some renegade Indians prowling about the western border of this reservation, you are directed to take fifteen Indian police and ascertain the truth of these reports by a scout in that direction. Should you find the renegade Indians you are directed to use your own judgment as to an attack with a view to capture their camp. Should your force be too small to effect the capture of these renegades, you will report the facts in the case to me without delay, or should you be near a military post, report the circumstances to the commanding officer, asking his assistance.

JOHN P. CLUM,
United States Indian Agent."

"This scout was gone from the agency seventeen days. They killed sixteen renegades, and brought in twenty-one women and children as prisoners."

"On the 8th of June, 1876, (as I have already reported) a detachment of twenty police brought in to me Pi-on-se-nay and thirty -eight others."

"I could mention other instances of most valuable services performed by the police, but I think enough has been said to secure for them general commendation, insignia of office — and plumed hats. The very purpose of an army is to devastate and destroy; *Hence in times of peace they should be far removed.*"

Prohibition enforcement was one of the most important duties the police were called upon to perform. It should have been apparent to the most simple-minded that discipline could not be maintained among these Indians as long as they were unrestrained in the matter of the manufacture and use of intoxicating drink. This conviction was indicated in the following excerpt from my first annual report (Aug. 31, 1874.) :

“When drunken renegades of any tribe are permitted, in the presence of two companies of cavalry, to defy both civil and military authorities, we may look for even worse results than have developed by the experiment at San Carlos. I concur with many in the opinion that, had there been a firm and just administration inaugurated and executed at this agency since the spring of 1873, the murder of Lieutenant Almy and the outbreak of January last would never have left their gory stain on the records of the San Carlos Apaches.”

In the story of Es-kim-in-zin I have included an account of a mid-night raid on a camp of “Apache Moonshiners,” executed by the original BIG FOUR policemen under my personal direction about a month after assuming charge of the reservation. This narrative indicates the importance given to the matter of PROHIBITION ENFORCEMENT at that time. In my second annual report (Sept. 1, 1875.) this subject is commented upon as follows :

“The manufacture and use of “tis-win” has ever been the curse and bane of these Indians. It has led them into much trouble which in their sober moments they could easily have avoided. It was the cause of most of the trouble and the frequent murders reported among the White Mountain Indians during the last winter. Whenever Indians are allowed to use intoxicating liquor disorder and death are the sure consequences. To prevent these were among my earliest cares at San Carlos. It was accounted a most difficult task, but care, vigilance, and swift judgment soon

precluded the necessity of punishment, and drunkenness or acts of insubordination and disorder were of rare occurrence, and my Indians were controlled with much more ease and safety than they otherwise would have been. *In this little temperance crusade the Indian police acted a most able and worthy part.*"

The fact that our campaign of Prohibition Enforcement away back in the '70's resulted in a practically "dry" reservation is a wonderful boost for the efficiency of the San Carlos Apache Police — particularly in view of the difficulties Uncle Sam is experiencing in his efforts to persuade his present day "wild Indians" to respect the inhibitions of the Eighteenth Amendment.

In the story of Geronimo I have fully outlined the distinguished services rendered by the San Carlos Apache Police in connection with the removal of the Chiricahuas — which included the arrest of Pi-on-se-nay and members of his band, and in the campaign into New Mexico which resulted in the arrest of Geronimo and a number of other outlaws and the removal of the Warm Springs Apaches to San Carlos.

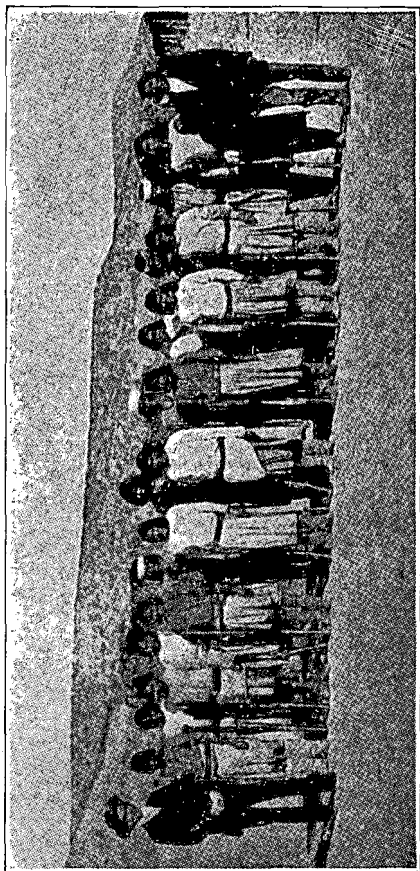
The foregoing is a resume of the "high spots" in the splendid record established by the San Carlos Apache Police while under my personal official direction as agent for the San Carlos reservation.

When my own department at Washington created conditions that made my official position at San Carlos untenable, I resigned — but, at the same time, I submitted a counter proposition which was set forth briefly in the following telegram:

"Tucson, Arizona, June 9, 1877.

"To the Commissioner of Indian Affairs,
Washington, D. C.

"If your department will increase my salary sufficiently and equip two companies of Indian police for me, I



APACHE INDIAN POLICE IN 1875
San Carlos Agency, Arizona

will volunteer to take care of all Apaches in Arizona, and the troops can be removed."

John P. Clum,
U. S. Indian Agent."

That was a startling proposition and it caused "the natives to sit up and take notice." *The plan did not meet with spontaneous popular approval.* In fact, I was opposed by practically everyone — excepting *the Apaches*, although none denied that I would, doubtless, make good if given the opportunity. The military pretended to regard my proposal as merely a bombastic gesture flaunted for their special delectation. A leading merchant at Tucson held up his hands in amazement as he said the me, "Why, Clum, if you take the military contracts away from Arizona there would be nothing left worth staying for," and I was unkind enough to reply, "Well, if that is true the sooner we find it out the better for all concerned." However, the merchant represented the prevailing civilian sentiment. My own very superior officers at Washington had been pleading with me to remain at San Carlos, but my bid for supreme control evidently struck them dumb. And as to the press, — well, my friends *held their breath* the while they withheld definite comment. But I had some *jovial publicity agents* at the north who did not hesitate or delay to speak out boldly. One of them, for example, was the editor of the "Miner," published at Prescott, military headquarters for the Department of Arizona. He could not "hold his breath" for the reason that, in his excitement, it was involuntarily escaping from him in very short pants — a sort of "rough breathing" that ultimately registered itself in the following editorial classic which appeared in the issue of the Miner of June 15, 1877: to wit,—

"Clum wants the soldiers withdrawn from the Territory, and proposes to do the work of the whole army with two companies of Indian scouts. The following is the beg-

gar's telegram:" (Here my telegram of June 9th is quoted and the editorial comment proceeds) "What Clum would not do for the purpose of ousting General Kautz is not worth mentioning. The brass and impudence of this young bombast is perfectly ridiculous. What does the guarantee of Clum amount to? Were the Indians to break out and steal all the stock in Arizona, the sufferers would be unable to collect the price of a *sore-back burro* from Clum. He has made money and has been smart enough to send it out of Arizona. How could he be responsible?"

Great stuff! — and all *free*. But later when the Apaches, *while under supreme military control* broke out and stole stock and murdered citizens in Arizona, we might ask if the Miner ever collected one penny's worth of damages from the War Department, or from any of its representatives in the Arizona field? The Miner *did not*. Therefore, *at least that much* could have been recovered from me *on demand*. But that was not the point. The Miner's effusion assayed 50-50 froth and chaff. The vital question was as to whether my proposition was made *in good faith*, and, if so, would I be able to carry it out successfully? To this question I would have replied *emphatically in the affirmative*. Why? During the previous three years there had been no "outbreak" among the large number of Apaches under my control. No raiding parties had been traced from or to my reservation, although my police the citizens and the military scouting parties were *constantly on the alert for any evidence of this character — particularly the military*. My direction of the affairs of these Indians had involved unusual conditions and responsibilities, and yet, through the medium of the San Carlos Apache Police, my administration had established and maintained peace and order and discipline within the limits of the reservation, and a feeling of confidence and security throughout the Territory. Furthermore, I had led the police in successful campaigns, not only to other reservations, but

into an adjoining Territory, and during these campaigns had arrested desperate renegades who had succeeded in evading previous pursuit by the troops -- notably the capture of Pi-en-se-nay and Geronimo. And my assertion that 5000 Apaches on the San Carlos reservation were orderly and peaceable when I retired from the reservation in July, 1877, is amply supported by the annual report of the Secretary of War dated November 9, 1877. On page 15 Secretary McCrery said; "With the surrender of Joseph ended Indian hostilities for the present, and, let us hope, for the future as well." Obviously the highest military authorities felt that the general conditions which had prevailed among the Apaches under my jurisdiction — supplemented by the capture of Geronimo by the San Carlos Police — justified the hope that the orderly conduct and friendly attitude of these Indians would endure.

I had directed the consolidation of all the Apaches of Arizona, and those from Ojo Caliente, New Mexico, on the San Carlos reservation. I knew all of the leaders of the 5000 Indians then concentrated on that reservation, and I knew absolutely all that had been said and done in connection with the several removals because I had been "the party of the first part" in the several discussions that preceded those removals, excepting in the case of the Rio Verde Indians. In the language of the current period, *I knew my Indians*, and my judgment as to my ability to "take care of all Apaches in Arizona" was based upon those three previous years of personal contact and association with the San Carlos Apache Police under various conditions which had thoroughly tested and proved their loyalty and efficiency.

Furthermore — instead of aiding me in my efforts to maintain order on the reservation and peace in the Territory, the attitude of the military influence in Arizona had been persistently unfriendly -- when not openly hostile to my administration, and, assuredly, I felt that the job of manag-

ing the Apaches would be greatly simplified if that disturbing influence could be removed from the Territory. It was in view of this experience that I believed I was justified in making my plea for supreme control to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and if my proposition had been accepted and I had been allowed two additional companies of Apache Police I would have tackled the job with confidence. *As long as THE APACHES were with me I was unafraid, and as I review my personal experience and subsequent developments affecting the control of these Indians, I am now fully convinced that I would have succeeded.*

And now what are some of those "subsequent developments?" In the first place we may introduce another quotation from the military record. In his report for 1878 the Secretary of War said: "I remain of the opinion that permanent peace in the Indian country can only be maintained by the exhibition of force sufficient to overawe and keep in subjection the more warlike and dangerous of the savages. We should confront them with such military force as will teach them the futility of an attempt to resist the power of the United States."

At the same time General McDowell, under date of October 24, 1878, — pages 110 and 111 of the report of the General of the Army — in referring to the campaign against Chief Joseph and his band of Nez Percés, said: "Notwithstanding the *apprehension of danger* caused by the taking away (temporarily) *a large portion of the troops* for service in the hostilities at the north, *comparative quiet has been the rule in Arizona.*"

And why not? No troops had been on the San Carlos reservation for three years, and the great mass of the Apaches then on that reservation did not know where the troops were— or how many there were, —*and they didn't care as long as they were not at San Carlos.*

Mr. H. L. Hart succeeded me as agent at San Carlos, and in his annual report for 1878 he said: "About 400 In-

dians (men) are employed in the Globe and McMillan mining camps and on the ranches bringing in hay, wood, herding cattle, making adobes, etc., thereby they manage to clothe and help support themselves and their families, and among this number — the personnel of which is perpetually changing — *there has not been a single case of theft, or other depredations against settlers committed*, a showing unequalled in any community of equal numbers.”

“The agency Indian Police, established in 1875 (should be 1874), is the greatest executive assistance an agent could possibly have. Through the activity and zeal displayed by the Indian Police in arresting all offenders against discipline, I am able to report that *not a single case of murder or homicide has occurred among these Indians, or any crimes committed against settlers since I have been their agent.*”

“During the past year through its (the Police Force) influence, the making of all intoxicating liquors has been stopped, and the parties implicated arrested.”

This splendid report, in the matter of orderly and upright living, would do credit to any of our present-day overcivilized communities with a population of 5000. I never met Agent Hart, but I know that he took over a big job when he assumed charge of the San Carlos reservation. He was a stranger to the country, to the conditions on the reservation, and to the Indians. It was a serious hazard to place an untried man in such an important position. If the Apaches had been inclined to disorder and hostilities they would have taken advantage of the uncertainties of the situation incident to this change of agents, but, on the contrary, *the system of near-self-government that had been in operation among these Indians for over three years continued to function and discipline continued to be enforced by the San Carlos Apache police. Orderly living had become a habit among the great mass of the Apaches*, and they evinced a sincere desire to “carry on” along the lines of progress and uplift.

And now, in chronological order, we may introduce

the enthusiastic and unqualified endorsement of a natural soldier and born leader. One who possessed the military mentality, the military instinct and the military judgment. One who enlisted as a private soldier in 1861, and who closed his military career holding the special honor rank of *lieutenant general* at the head of the American army — Adna R. Chaffee.

Captain Chaffee relieved Agent Hart about the middle of July, 1879, and served as Acting Agent of the San Carlos reservation until June 1, 1880. In his annual report to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for 1879 Captain Chaffee said:

“The police force, as now organized, consists of one captain, one lieutenant, seven sergeants and thirty-one privates. The men are very attentive to their duties, trustworthy and obedient. The slightest violation of order that comes within their knowledge is invariably reported; they are ever on the alert. The agent can exert his authority, through them, in any part of the reservation and feel assured that his orders will be strictly enforced. They know neither family nor friend in the discharge of their duty.”

This splendid endorsement of the San Carlos Apache Police Force by a competent military officer is most gratifying to me, and demonstrates the fact that, at least two years after my retirement as agent, this force still commanded the full confidence of the official in charge of the agency and was rendering a loyal, efficient and satisfactory service in the matter of enforcing order and discipline throughout the reservation. It is likewise an eloquent approval of all I have said in favor of the reservation police. It also commends my action in having the troops removed in 1875, for notwithstanding the fact that his regiment was stationed in Arizona, Captain Chaffee *did not find any need for troops for service within the reservation* in 1879. And I am confident that, if at that time, the government had furnished Captain Chaffee with two additional companies of police for scouting purposes outside of the

reservation, he could have taken care of all the Apaches in Arizona and the troops could have been withdrawn from the Territory. If that had been done the campaigns against Geronimo never would have materialized. Captain Chaffee rose from the ranks.

It must be remembered that at this time Captain Chaffee had upwards of 5000 Apaches under his direction and care, and in his annual report he said: "*The Indians are quiet and orderly for a people uncivilized, and are very obedient to agency rules and instructions given by their agent.*"

Mr. J. C. Tiffany succeeded Captain Chaffee and took charge as agent at San Carlos on June 1, 1880. In his annual report for that year he said: "The behavior of the Indians is orderly and quiet. . . . The police force are a valuable organization. They know no friends in the performance of duty, and are on the alert — *always ready cheerfully to go to the remote parts of the reservation, and to accomplish that for which they are sent.*"

The official record of the general conduct of the Apaches on the San Carlos reservation during the four years subsequent to my retirement as agent is most satisfactory — *notwithstanding the detrimental results of an alternating civil and military rule and the varying "policies" of three different agents, — two of whom had no previous experience in the management and control of Indians.*

In these circumstances and in view of the fact that the Apaches and I got along fairly well throughout my administration, I do not feel that I am boasting when I say that the "general conduct" of these Indians — *as certified to by my three successors —* would, doubtless, have been fully as satisfactory if I had continued in charge of the reservation until 1880, and, in the meantime, if the government had given me two companies of Apaches police for scouting duty outside of the reservation it seems reasonable to conclude that we would have succeeded in apprehending the few renegades then at large — thus leaving

the troops stationed in Arizona absolutely without an occupation. In plain English, as I review the situation I am confident that the proposition I telegraphed to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs from Tucson on June 9, 1877, *was the only logical solution of the Apache problem at that time.*

Another thing. If, in June, 1877, the very important duty of maintaining order and discipline on the reservation and peace within the Territory had been assigned to the San Carlos Apache Police and myself, our first stride in this regime of supreme control *would have beaten the army by about nine years in at least one vital feature* — for, be it remembered — that, *already, we had Geronimo licked.*

At that very time this ruthless renegade and multi-murderer was our prisoner, securely confined in the agency guard-house at San Carlos *in irons*, and carefully guarded by Apache police. *We knew why he was there, and we knew the amount of effort and anxiety and vigilance — as well as money — it had cost to place him there. We had been ordered to apprehend this notorious criminal and to hold him "in confinement for murder and robbery."* In the execution of these orders we had made the long and tedious trek from San Carlos to Ojo Caliente and return. *When this Apache outlaw was captured no promises had been made either by him or to him, there was, therefore, nothing to hinder or embarrass a prompt and vigorous prosecution of the culprit. Our determination to prosecute Geronimo was quickened by the experiences of a year previous, when we had arrested the murdered Pi-on-se-nay, but were denied an opportunity to prosecute him because of his escape from the custody of the deputy sheriffs of Pima county.*

It was, therefore, our firm determination to deliver our captured Apache desperado speedily and securely into the county prison at Tucson, and then to co-operate wholeheartedly in the matter of presenting to the Federal court competent evidence of his guilt, with the confident expectation of obtaining a legal and just judgment against Gero-

nimo, as a wholesome warning to all Apaches, and the further devoutly wished-for end that the blood-red trails he had followed for so many years should know himn o more — *forever*.

Before discussing the disastrous events of 1881, when the troops were once more called upon to perform police duty within the reservation, and the *seven years of peace thus stupidly broken*, I desire to impress the fact — heretofore briefly referred to — that the distinguished services rendered by the San Carlos Apache Police Force during 1874, 1875, 1876, and 1877, furnished the model and inspiration for the national system provided for by the Act of Congress approved May 27, 1878, authorizing the organization of the *United States Indian Police Force*.

In urging the installation of this national Indian police service upon all of the large reservations in the country, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs E. M. Marble, in his annual report for 1880, said: "In Arizona, the San Carlos Police *for six years past* have rendered invaluable service as scouts and guards."

In his annual report for 1882, Commissioner of Indian Affairs H. Price said: "The organization of a United States Indian Police Force is no longer an experiment. The system is now in operation at 40 agencies; the total force employed being 84 commissioned officers, and 764 non-commissioned officers and privates."

These records establish the exceedingly interesting fact that from the very humble beginning of four Apache policemen assigned to duty at San Carlos in August, 1874, there was developed the *United States Indian Police Force* system, which at once proved both popular and efficient wherever installed, and which grew to a grand total of 848 members, and was in operation at 40 agencies in various parts of the United States within eight years from the date when the original *Big four* were initiated at San Carlos — in the heart of the (then) remote waste places of the Territory of Arizona.

PIMERÍA ALTA AFTER KINO'S TIME

BY GEORGE P. HAMMOND

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Father Eusebio Francisco Kino was the great pioneer who brought Christianity and Spanish civilization to Pimería Alta, a region which included the southern parts of the present Arizona and the northern portion of Sonora. It is not too much to say that he laid the foundation of the Arizona of today. He established missions, ministered unto the Indians, baptized and educated them; and he also founded ranches and stocked them with cattle.¹

This work did not stand alone. On the contrary it was a link in a century-long missionary conquest which the Jesuits carried on along the mainland of the Gulf of California. Their work had been started about the year 1590 under an arrangement with Philip II of Spain, whereby they were to undertake the task of converting the heathen on the northern border of New Spain. In the century that followed this agreement, the Jesuits strove valiantly to plant the banner of Christ on the west coast of Mexico. And they achieved notable success. Step by step they pushed forward, establishing missionary posts in the various river valleys of Sinaloa and Sonora. Soon they had stations in northern Sonora, not far from the international border of later times. Then came the indomitable Father Kino in 1687. For twenty-four years he labored mightily and added a new province, Pimería Alta, the home of the upper Pimas,

1. The great source for Father Kino's work is his own *Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta*, edited by Professor Herbert E. Bolton, Cleveland, 1919, 2 vols. A general account of the Jesuit achievements is given in Bancroft, H. H., *North Mexican States*, I, 119 ff., San Francisco, 1884. A briefer work is Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands*, 188 ff., New Haven, 1921. All secondary writers rely largely on Alegria, Xavier, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesus*, Mexico, 1841, 3 vols.; and on Ortega, José *Apostolicos Afanes de la Compañía de Jesus*, Barcelona, 1754.

to the Spanish Empire. At the same time he inspired the conquest of Lower California by zealous co-laborers. Of these Father Juan María de Salvatierra, a close friend of Kino, was the shining light."

It is difficult for us today in a materialistic age to understand the motives which filled the hearts of these missionary pathfinders. We appreciate the struggle of Hernán Cortés with the Indians of Mexico, for the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow was unmistakable, or Francisco Pizarro's bold capture and ransom of the Inca Atahualpa in Peru; there again the golden millions explain all. Father Kino's conquest was not less laborious, less dangerous, nor in its way less romantic. Earthly treasure was not in his heart, however. His dearest wish was the extension of the faith to "the gentle Pimas" and other distant tribes. That was the driving force which led him to disregard himself through all these years as he crossed and recrossed southern Arizona on his errands of piety and mercy. He heeded not personal welfare. His daily lot often consisted of hardship and suffering, nor did he slacken his labors till his death in 1711. In the words of one of his companions, "he died as he had lived, with extreme humility and poverty."

Kino's last days were a great disappointment to him for he could not obtain funds for continuing the work of conversion he had begun. The war of the Spanish Succession was raging in Europe; England especially was making inroads on Spain's colonial preserves, and other frontiers than distant Pimería must first be protected. Texas in particular was threatened and must be defended. It can thus easily be understood that after Kino's death practically nothing was accomplished by others where he had not been able to do more.

2. There has just appeared an English translation of Miguel Venegas' *Salvatierra* by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur, Cleveland, 1929.

3. The report is by Father Luis Velarde. Quoted in Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*, 201.

During the last years of Kino's life, Father Agustín de Campos and Luis Velarde were his only permanent companions in Pimería Alta, and they continued to serve for many years after his death with practically no assistance. One padre, Luís María Gallardi, joined them in 1720, but beyond that they appear to have labored unaided save that a substitute, Luís María Marjiano, took up the work of Campos while he was absent in Mexico in 1722-1723. In this period the Indians continued to ask for missionaries as in Kino's time, but there was scant hope that they could be sent, and communication with the distant tribes in the interior was of rare occurrence.⁴

Conditions eventually changed, however. The visit of Father Campos to Mexico, referred to above, marked a revival of interest in the northern region. Bishop Benito Crespo of Durango, who had jurisdiction over this field, visited it in 1725 while inspecting his diocese.⁵ During his stay at San Ignacio seventy messengers from Sonóita and San Xavier del Bac (near the present Tucson) came to ask for missionaries, perhaps not entirely by accident as Bancroft intimates.⁶ Crespo recognized the great need for promoting the conversion of these Indians and requested the king to send three additional missionaries for that purpose.⁷ It was in response to this appeal that aid came.

Bishop Crespo's recommendation was reinforced by a similar one from Don Pedro de Rivera, who made an inspection of the northern frontier between 1724-1728. He had been instructed to report on the condition of the missions.⁸ While he was at Fronteras the Pimas came to ask the Father Rector, Ignacio Arzeo, to come baptize their little ones as they had no minister. This he did. On a trip

4. Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, I, 507-508.

5. Venegas, Miguel, *A Natural and Civil History of California*, I, 176. London, 1759.

6. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 510; and royal cédula of October 10, 1728, given below.

7. Venegas, *A Natural and Civil History of California*, I, 176.

8. Part of this report is found in Alegre's *Historia de la Compañía de Jesus*, II, 229 ff.

which took him thirty leagues inland he baptized one hundred and forty children. Rivera felt that something ought to be done to care for their spiritual needs and recommended to the crown that one or more missionaries be sent to the Pima nation, which was "more docile and rational than any of the others."

The response to these petitions was a royal cédula of October 10, 1728, directing that the bishop's request be carried out. The viceroy was ordered "to take immediate measures" for the sending of some Jesuit padres to the upper Pimas and to aid them in their work. And at last in 1731 three of them arrived, Fathers Phelipe Segesser, Juan Baptista Grazhofer, and Ignacio Xavier Keller. They came directly from Europe to Mexico, it appears. They left Mexico City in June, 1731, came to Durango in the early part of July, and reached the Opata mission of Cuguiáрачи on October 7 of the same year.¹⁰ When their arrival became known, the Father Visitor, Cristóbal de Cañas, went to the pueblo of Cucurpe, among the Endeves, not far from the mission of Dolores, and in consultation with the Father Rector and others assigned the newly arrived laborers to their intended posts. They were distributed among the chief towns where the older Fathers were stationed in order to learn something of the language and customs of the Pima Indians.

Captain Juan Baptista de Anza of the presidio of Fronteras was the soldier who escorted them to their posts and helped to provide for their necessities. This was done in November 1731. He departed the next month, but, on his leaving, a Pimería Indian named Don Eusibio Aquibisani with three soldiers was left to be of assistance to the missionaries.

Amid these arrangements Fathers Grazhofer and Kel-

9. This report was made in 1727. *Ibid.*, II, 230-231.

10. Royal cédula of October 10, 1728; and letter of El Marqués de Casafuerte á S. M., Mexico, September 1, 1731. The former is given below and the latter is in A. G. I., 67-5-15.

ler fell seriously ill of adynamic fever. They recovered, however, and in a few months went to their stations, Father Segesser to Mission San Ignacio and Father Grazofer to Tubutama; Father Keller's first destination is not made clear.

In the next year, 1732, they left these older regions and went farther north into Pimería Alta. The three chief mission posts there were Santa María de los Pimas, Guebavi, and San Francisco Xavier del Bac. Around each of these was a number of *visitas*, villages visited occasionally, with quite a large number of Indians. The northward journey began in May. At Guebavi Father Grazofer was left. A few Pimas, "more than ten," gathered to see and hear what took place. Through an interpreter they were advised of the significance of his coming. The Indians were very happy and promised to be obedient.

The rest of the party then proceeded to San Xavier where, amid similar services, Father Segesser was stationed. One-half of the Indians came forth to attend the ceremony, the friars reported. Father Keller, who was to serve at Santa María de los Pimas, was the last to reach his new home. From San Xavier the party went east to the ranchería at Tres Alamos on the San Pedro river, and then on south to Santa María, called Santa María de Bugota by Kino. Captain Anza, who had accompanied the friars, returned to the presidio of Fronteras upon the performance of his duty.

Each of these missions occupied by the new padres had much territory to serve. Santa María had the whole San Pedro valley; Guebavi and San Xavier del Bac the valley of the Santa Cruz. The missionaries were enthusiastic over their friendly reception by the neophytes and eager to extend the influence of Christianity to those living along the Gila river to the north. By 1732 eight hundred souls had been baptized, some marriages sanctioned, and other aid extended.

The sending of these missionaries to Pimería Alta was essentially due to the earlier work of Father Kino in preparing the way. The territory they occupied in 1732 had been explored by him, and they did not establish any successful posts beyond that point in the years that followed. True, there was great excitement on the discovery of silver at Arizonac in 1736 and much talk of erecting missions in the Gila valley, but the silver deposits were shallow and nothing came of it after all. San Xavier del Bac remained the northern mission outpost in Pimería Alta. It stands till this day, one of the finest monuments of that kind in the Southwest.

The following documents, in the form in which they were first brought to my attention, were in a little pamphlet, written by hand. The booklet belongs to Mr. Henry R. Wagner of San Marino, California, and it was through his kindness that I secured a copy. It bore the title: CONQUISTA Y CONVERSION de la PIMERÍA ALTA, Nación de Indios Gentiles, Vecina de los Apaches. CALIFORNIA Y NUEVO MEXICO, 1727-1737. SANCTA ROSA DE CORODÉGUACHE, 1737. There are some obvious copyist's errors in the manuscript, but they are not especially significant, except that the proper names do not appear to conform to any accepted standard of spelling. A translation follows.

ROYAL CÉDULA

Which our Catholic monarch, Don Philip V, may God preserve him, sent to the very illustrious and very reverend Dr. Don Benito Crespo, of the order of Santiago, of the Council of his majesty, etc., being bishop of the cathedral of Durango and now serving in the same office at Puebla de los Angeles.¹¹

11. Crespo became bishop of Durango on March 22, 1723, and was transferred to the diocese of Puebla on January 20, 1734. Bancroft, *North Mexican States*, I, 594.

THE KING

Reverend in Christ, Father Bishop of the cathedral of the city of Durango in the province of New Vizcaya, and of my Council: By letter of August 22 of the past year 1727, you informed me that while engaged in the general inspection of your bishopric, over seventy gentile Indians came out to meet you in the province of the upper Pimas, indicating that they desired to be Catholic Christians and did not have ministers who might instruct them to become so; and that you had laid the said matter before the viceroy of New Spain, as soon as you had concluded said inspection, to the end that measures might be taken that three ministers might go, which at that time sufficed for the purpose. You had not done this in the year and a half which has passed, nor had the Provincial of the Company of Jesus of Mexico, on the ground that he had no order, notwithstanding the fact that you had suggested to him that he should not delay in sending the said ministers on account of lack of resources, for you bound yourself [to pay] the cost of their transportation and yearly maintenance. Having considered it in my Council of the Indies with the report of my *fiscal*,¹² as you may see by the dispatch of the same date as this, I order the said viceroy of New Spain to take immediate measures that missionaries be sent to the said province of the upper Pimas, this charge to be placed under the care of the religious of the Company of Jesus. Of this provision the Procurator-General of this Order, who is at this court, is also notified in order that everywhere the proper measures may be taken. It has seemed fitting to inform you of it and to give you thanks for the fact that you have dedicated yourself to the performance of your pastoral duty. In this purpose I hope you will concur, as I charge you, in the accomplishment of the stated mission and the better success of this enterprise in which my service and

12. The *fiscal* was originally a royal prosecuting attorney who had become an all-round administrative officer.

that of the Lord are so greatly interested. Dated in Madrid, October 10, 1728. I the king, etc. By order of the king our lord. Andrés del Corobarrutia y Supide.

Duplicate
Official letter

To the bishop of Durango concerning the order given to the viceroy of New Spain, that missionaries of the Company of Jesus be sent for the conversion of the gentile Indians of the province of the upper Pimas, and charging him on his part to aid the development of this mission.

Corrected.

Report of the founding of the three missions in Pimería, in a letter written to the very illustrious Señor Doctor Don Benito Crespo, bishop of Durango, dated July 31, 1732.

Most illustrious and reverend sir: The solicitude of your most illustrious lordship in the founding of the three new missions in this Pimeria Alta, the eagerness in promoting their establishment together with the royal ministers, with certainty in the allowance for their maintenance, and the other diligences with the Father Provincial for our assignment and promptness of the journey, [are] characteristics not only of the pastoral office of your most illustrious lordship, but of the favor with which you, emulating the ancient holy superiors, use your surpassing genius for the greater extension of the faith in the vast areas of this unknown North America. We recognize our duty to inform your most illustrious lordship of what has been done till now on our part and by others relative to the same end for the greater success, the permanence of these new missions and even the foundation of others in such a vast country.

In fulfillment of the assignment which the Father Provincial Juan Antonio de Obiedo made shortly after the arrival from Europe of our humble persons, we began without delay the journey on which we had the good fortune to re-

ceive the holy benediction of your most illustrious lordship, with singular consolation for the graciousness and favors with which you encouraged our smallness in order to use us with all our strength in the cultivation of this new vineyard. On October 7, (17)31 we reached the mission of Cuguiarachi, of the Opata nation, to the east of this Pimería and the first in this province of Sonora according to our shortest course. Father Cristóbal de Cañas, visitor of their missions, being notified thereof, departed for the pueblo of Cucurpe of the Endeve nation, which is five leagues from the [mission] of Dolores, the first and oldest, and which has the title of the rectorship of this Pimería. Here, in consultation with the Father Rector and with the two other oldest Fathers, he assigned us the *cabezeras* and *visitas*,¹³ as he informed your most illustrious lordship, and he ordered that for the time being, since there was a poor dwelling-place in each *cabezera*, we should be distributed among the older Pima Fathers in order that we might become experienced in the language, usage, and knowledge of the Pimas, their characteristics and customs. The delay which this necessary disposition might cause was reduced by the diligent activity of Captain Don Juan Baptista de Anssa, life-captain for his majesty of the royal presidio of Fronteras, who set out in November with soldiers of his command for this Pimería, and by expenses, solicitude, and personal aid, [served] as an example for the Indians. He set out in the beginning of December for other duties in his charge, leaving a small house in each *cabezera* in very good condition and also a small partly sown field of wheat; and, in order to accelerate the early conclusion of all, he left Don Eusibio Aquibisani, native of this Pimería and captain-general of all of it, with three soldiers from his presidio. That which did not so quickly comply with the active industry of the captain was the violent adynamic fever which

13. The term *cabezera* was used to indicate the chief town of a district, while *visita* referred to a smaller village or place visited only occasionally by the missionaries.

our Lord visited upon Fathers Juan Baptista Grazhofer and Ignacio Xavier Keller, which put us at the point of death, and although saved by divine mercy, it was at the cost of a painful and long convalescence.

Father Phelipe Segeser set out very soon for the mission of our father San Ignacio; for the one at Tubutama, Father Juan Baptista. For the purpose noted, Father Ignacio [Keller], totally recovered, strong and robust by February, set out during April in the company of Captain Anssa so that the three together could present ourselves in a suitable place in the name of his majesty, God preserve him, in the missions assigned and newly founded. These are, first: Santa María de los Pimas,¹⁴ *cabezera*; its *visitas*, San Mateo, where have lived the people of Mototicatzi, although very backward and in danger for its care; San Pedro, Santa Cruz de Dequiburi, San Pablo, Tres Alamos and Naidenibacatri, all successive in a distance of thirty-two leagues to the north as far as the last one, and in which there must be over 1,800 souls. Second: Los Santos Angeles Gabriel y Raphael de Guebavi, or Cusutaqui; and *visitas*, Sonóita, seven leagues to the east, Aaribac, eighteen leagues to the west, San Cayetano, five to the north, and Jamac three straight ahead — with something over 1,400 souls. Third: San Francisco Xavier del Bac; and its *visitas*, San Agustín, five leagues toward the northwest, Santa Catharina, seven to the east, Casa Grande, twenty to the northeast; with other small rancherías to the north as far as the Gila river, in which there must be over 1,300 souls. For the better understanding of the situation of these three new missions we add that of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores.¹⁵ It is in thirty-one degrees and twenty-eight minutes north latitude and fifty-seven and almost a half in longitude.

The three new missions are in the following position.

14. It was called Santa María de Bugota by Father Kino. See map for location.

15. Dolores had become famous as Kino's headquarters.

Their *cabezeras*: Santa María is twenty-five leagues to the north of Dolores with an inclination to the east thereof. It has that of the Holy Angels of Guebavi thirty leagues to the northwest, twelve to the west of Santa María. The one of San Xavier del Bac is fifty-two to the north. Thus the three new ones form a triangle scalene or unequal in its lateral lines as indicated.

All were now united in the place called Quino on May 3 and mass was said for the establishment of the holy cross, the glorious standard which we desired to plant in fields so barbarous and untilled in order that its triumphs might multiply. We set out in the company of the said captain, some soldiers, and Captain General Pima and others, both Spaniards and Pimas, for the [mission] of the Holy Angels Gabriel y Raphael, [who were] our guides. On the 4th the captain presented in it Father Juan Baptista Grazhofer, the one appointed therefor, and by means of a clever interpreter he made a pious and effective talk to more than ten Pimas who were present that day at their *cabezera* and *visitas* explaining the cause, object, and motive of their coming, which was to give them, in the name of the king our lord, Don Philip V, may God preserve him, a Father-minister to teach them the Christian obligations, to advise them, baptize children; and instruct adults that they might attain the same benefit and practice the other ministrations as in the rest of the missions. At this all showed great contentment and they offered to be prompt and obedient. Their captain-general did likewise with energy and authority. As they had an old Christian, capable, active, and popular, the governor left them and performed other acts of justice and gave good sound advice.

Leaving Father Juan in possession we left for San Xavier, twenty-two leagues to the north, and almost half a degree to the east, where with the same diligences and in the presence of over half of its Indians, he presented and placed in possession Father Segesser, their designated one.

Then going thirty-five leagues to the east, to the ranchería of Tres Alamos, acknowledging the other *visitas* to the south, he presented Father Ignacio Xavier Keller in the [mission] of Santa María and left it in his possession. The captain returned to his presidio.¹⁶

Not only do we have the abundance of souls mentioned but many others to whom we may expand by divine grace; for Santa María has the rest of the Pimas Sobipuris from its last *visita* throughout its entire valley to the Gila, which is above thirty-five degrees. San Xavier, from east to west, along all the banks on this side of the Gila, has not a few Pimas, the Cocomaricopas nation, and the Yuma to where it [the Gila] discharges into this Pimico California gulf of the Colorado which is joined by the Gila a few leagues above. These Indians are of good disposition and friends of the Pimas who fully understand their different language through commerce.

Guebavi finally has three Pima rancherías to the east. O! May our conduct correspond to the holy desires with which our Lord inspires us. All these Pimas of the north, although warlike, proud, and valiant, are agreeable, docile, and generous, as they demonstrated in the reception which they gave us. In all places a long distance from the road many Indians on foot and horse, sallied forth to receive us for some leagues with bows and crosses, adorned with painted blankets and feathers, making turns and running as was their custom, and celebrating with other marks of benevolence the joy and happiness with which they received us as desirous of having the padres. They had reports of them, some through Christians and others through trading and journeys to our missions, and by expeditions of their ministers to inform them of the faith, to baptize children and some adults [who had been] instructed in the danger of death. From all this one may infer and feel the joy which they experience at seeing themselves with Fathers

16. At Fronteras.

so much desired by them, and in that they are considered equals of their kinsmen farther away. Thus they are obedient, doing joyfully what is commanded them, and at little more than suggestions they have seeded moderate cornfields for their churches. The truth is that the most isolated, as least informed because of little intercourse with the other missions, and more the masters of their will and life without any kind of subjection, are not punctual.¹⁷ But with the forbearance of the Company, taking advantage of their good disposition and spirit, which is equal or superior to that of the other rancherías, they will shake off shortly this indolence and weakness and they will do that in all places.

The Christians come to the holy sacrifice of the mass. And let it be an encomium of the Pima nation that it is more punctual than others in these parts in attending such a supreme mystery, not only at the fiestas but during the entire week.

In the *cabezeras* we have arranged well roofed, suitable arbors and the parts necessary for the altar, the priest, the minister, and some of our chief men, the rest of the people being under the cover of poplars, willows, and much outdoors, always exposed to the influence of the weather. The purpose for which we entered was to place in order the lands of the Pimas (all these people of the north are industrious) for cornfields, already begun, in which they live regularly till the harvests, for which reason all did not come on our first expedition but they have been coming right along. Nevertheless the boys and girls attend the doctrine and prayers. For this purpose there are native teachers and helpers who are instructed in the old missions and who aid us in the language. They are good interpreters, so we try and hope to advance in the language according to our obligation and the rule and custom of all the missionaries in the Company of Jesus.

17. In other words, the unsubdued Indians did as they pleased and were not disposed to obey the missionaries.

They are punctual in bringing their little ones for baptism, even the heathen ones. There are baptized to this date, in the three missions, almost 800, three hundred of them on the first expedition. Some old ones and other sick adults have also been baptized and catechised, and not a few marriages of the Christians or one of the mates only have been sanctioned, being in natural contract according to their custom. This relation is now elevated to a sacrament, baptized through the heathen consort.¹⁸ There is explained to them the perpetuity of the bond of union which is not observed in their paganism. From these good beginnings we promise ourselves, by divine grace, that there will be planted and grow a fruitful Christianity with the good effects which we may hope to make sure through the docility of the nation and the unalterable fidelity which for so many years it has maintained for our Catholic monarchy and the friendship with the Spaniards who trade in these parts, from where it is more than probable that the faith will be extended to the neighboring nations. Nor shall we omit to continue acquainting the Pimas with social, civil, and political life, stopping little by little the evil customs of their paganism and barbarity, so that they may be much aided by the acts of justice, the rules and good documents left them by Captain Anssa; and their general Don Eusebio will procure that there shall be no general advance in Pima [Pimería] of the experience and knowledge of his countrymen.¹⁹ Therefore with wife and children he has gone to live in the mission of Santa María from where he can readily visit the others. And at times, according to opportunities, Captain Anssa will visit them. His presidio is twenty-five leagues east of the ranchería of San Pedro and he is, for his excellency, superior of all the Pimas in military, civil, and political affairs.

And since we have so often mentioned Captain Don

18. The Spanish reads: *baptizado por el consorto gentil*.

19. That is, that there should be no increase of heathen ideas among the Pimas.

Juan Baptista de Ansa it would be base ingratitude not to ask your illustrious lordship to give him thanks for the solicitude, charity, and liberality with which he has excelled on this occasion, giving unusual signs of piety, desire for extending the faith, fidelity to the king our lord, and showing great respect, veneration, and attention to the priests, besides what he did to fix our living quarters. And in our company he has cooperated with magnanimity not only in supplying the poor buildings with provisions of grain, meat and clothing for the Indians living in them, but also on our expedition for the entire retinue and for our support in the beginning, making us generous gifts with the expenditure of many pesos from his own fortune. Thus it is not surprising that the Pimas so love and respect him, for since he has been captain he has acted with love and gifts in stirring up the faithfulness of the Pimas to great service for the two majesties²⁰ and for the good of this province.

The Father Visitor, Cristóbal de Cañas, beside the well known foresight which he showed from the time we entered Pimería, continues them [expenses, etc.] for the firmness and stability in the future of these new missions, soliciting at the same time the other padres to concur according to their ability, with jewels for the church building and some cattle, etc., and hoping that all, with great charity and example, will aid liberally. Likewise he has suggested to men of wealth the happiness they will enjoy by similar gifts, which as in all works of piety the militia captain Don Agustín de Vildosola begins to show.

All the foregoing facts, illustrious sir, with religious and sincere truth, for whose truthfulness it will be signed by the Father Visitor and the Father Rector of this rectorate, who are certain of their stability, and by Captain Ansa, a guaranteed witness, we place before your illustrious lordship, not doubting it will fill your spirit with joy and holy zeal to find firm hopes of big fruits in this already

20. God and the king of Spain.

fortunate nation. For with the increase of the faith therein there will be won the price of our redemption, attaining the purpose for which there were created the many persons whom our Lord has chosen from eternity for his glory. Your illustrious lordship, having cooperated with the efficiency which is well known, will have, in the divine esteem beyond the merit so relevant, many interests in the little ones and others predestined, in order that our great God and Lord may heap with unusual benefits the holy works of your illustrious lordship in every way. On our part we offer to exert ourselves with the energy possible considering our lukewarmness, for the spiritual good of these poor little ones, redeemed by the precious blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, without omitting what we owe in order to gain in the divine grace, the highest object of our vocation, which took us from such remote parts in search of these precious pearls. We humbly supplicate your illustrious lordship to aid us with your holy prayers and sacrifices to attain it, as with the diligences which your zeal has executed you have aided to secure for us the palestra²¹ which through so many roads of land and sea our eagerness has sought. We promise, though lukewarm and unworthy, to have ever present in our holy sacrifices and poor prayers and labors, your illustrious lordship, whose health and life we ask our Lord to preserve and prosper many years for our joy and the good of souls to greater divine glory. From this Pimería Alta, July 31, 1732.

Illustrious and reverend sir, your devoted servants and humble chaplains kiss the feet of your illustrious lordship,

Father Visitor Cristóbal de Cañas,
 Father Rector Luís María Gallardi,
 Father Phelipe Segesser,
 Father Juan Baptista Grazhofer,
 Father Ignacio Xavier Keller,
 Juan Baptista de Ansa, Captain of Sonora.

21. The word comes from the Greek and means a school of athletics or wrestling-court. The meaning of the passage is that the missionaries had finally reached their field of labor after the long trip from Europe and Mexico.

Illustrious reverend sir,
 Dr. Don Benito Crespo of
 the Order of Santiago, our
 dear sir.

Testimony of a royal cédula of August 21, 1733, regarding the conversions of the upper Pimas, sent to the illustrious Dr. Don Benito Crespo, of the Council of his majesty, bishop of the holy cathedral of Durango.

THE KING

Reverend in Christ: Father bishop of the cathedral of the city of Durango in the province of Nueva Vizcaya, of my Council. In the letter of January 13, of this year, you informed me, in consequence of what you are charged with, of the condition in which the three new conversions of the upper Pimas were, which are under the charge of the religious of the Company of Jesus. To that end you sent the original letter which five of their missionaries and one captain of Sonora called Don Juan Baptista de Ansa, under date of July 31 of the year just past, had written to you.²² By it are made known the repeated expeditions which they have made to the said conversions, the sites, rancherías, and distances which exist from one to the other, the many souls which were found and reduced to the Catholic faith, the abundant fruit which had been experienced and which was looked for in the future through the effective efforts of the evangelical workers, and the protection and aid of the mentioned captain, with whose escort such favorable progress has been attained. Having seen it in my Council of the Indies with the report of my *fiscal*, it has seemed proper to advise you of the receipt of your cited letter, and to charge you, as I do, to continue your functions to the ad-

22. The reference is to the above document.

vancement of the said conversions, and by what the aforesaid captain has shown in his application and zeal for the service of God and me, to give him thanks, encouraging him to continue with the same vigilance he [has shown] till now in that which leads to such an important goal. Dated at San Ildefonso, August 21, 1733. I the King. By order of the king our lord, Don Juan Ventura de Maturana. Marked with three rubrics.

Copy of a letter written by the captain of Fronteras in Sonora, Don Juan Baptista de Ansa, to the illustrious sir, Dr. Don Benito Crespo of the order of Santiago, bishop of Puebla de los Angeles.²³

Illustrious sir:

I always bear in mind, illustrious sir, the honors and favors which you have deigned to do me. Desirous of doing likewise, in so far as my smallness may be able to please your illustrious lordship, and with the notice that I shall give I believe that you will be especially pleased, for from these circumstances may result the further extension of the Holy Evangel in the place where it was planted at the instance of the ardent zeal of your illustrious lordship. small mines of short measure in their extent were discovered. I informed the excellent señor viceroy, deceased, of this the distinguished señor manifesting how pleasing the news had been to him. For he began by this means to recompense our very pious monarch for what had been assigned from the royal exchequer for the support of the reverend father missionaries.

Late in the past month of October between the mission of Cuevabi [Guebavi] and the ranchería of Arissona there was discovered more balls and chunks of silver, one containing more than a hundred *arrobas*,²¹ proof of which I am

23. This letter refers to the great silver discovery at Arizonac in 1736. The place was in the upper Altar valley, just across the present international boundary line. There is a large batch of documents in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville, Spain, dealing with this subject.

sending to your illustrious lordship. Other chunks were found with some attle, coarse gravel, or metal, altogether more than two hundred *arrobas*. Much of this had already disappeared when I came to know of it. Various forms have been seen which seem made by hand; and having the authority of chief magistrate, *justicia mayor*, I went to seize them in case a greater portion than that assigned from the regular mines might belong to your majesty, for these are found alone and buried scarcely a fourth to half a yard. This decision his excellency the viceroy must make, which on this occasion I make in accordance with the ordinances. When I arrived at the place they were already so depleted that afterward hardly ten or twelve *arrobas* were found, but some mines are being discovered in other hills.

This discovery has caused such surprise that all prudent and capable men have assumed that God has permitted it that with this incentive they will penetrate and establish the standards of our redemption and that the happy day might come for as many heathen as some accounts say. There is an enclosure, about which I am also consulting your excellency, and I am ordering a domestic whom I am sending to Mexico to give a copy to your illustrious lordship, It is unnecessary to say that your very illustrious [lordship] will cooperate with your holy prayers and other activities so that the enterprise may begin and be successful, for what you desire and do for the winning of souls is well known. For this purpose I ask and beseech the Divine Majesty to grant to your illustrious lordship very long years in excellent health and in greater promotions. From this presidio of Santa Rosa de Corodéguache, January 7, 1737. Very illustrious and reverend sir, your most attentive servant Juan Baptista de Anssa who venerates you, kisses the feet of your illustrious lordship.

Most illustrious sir,

Dr. Don Benito Crespo
of the Order of Santiago.

24. The *arroba* weighed about twenty-five pounds.

A VIRGINIAN IN NEW MEXICO IN 1773-74

BY F. W. HODGE

A book by John Lewis Peyton, LL.B., F. R. G. S., was published in London in 1867 under the title "The Adventures of My Grandfather. With Extracts from his Letters, and Other Family Documents, Prepared for the Press with Notes and Biographical Sketches of Himself and His Son, John Howe Peyton, Esq." There is nothing in this title to suggest even a remote interest in the subject-matter to New Mexicans; yet aside from the biographical accounts of distinguished members of the Peyton family of Virginia, much of the book is devoted to the vicissitudes suffered by John Rowzée Peyton, the grandfather of the author, while a prisoner of the Spaniards, especially during his confinement in Santa Fe in 1773-1774.

Although some doubt has been raised as to the truthfulness of the Grandfather Peyton's letters, especially by reason of their lack of detail respecting the country traversed, rather than being intended for publication, they were designed to explain the reasons for the writer's long absence and to assure his family of his personal safety, with some account, of course, of the ordeal through which he had passed. By the time he reached the Jornada del Muerto, Peyton had become so inured to suffering that a little more of the same kind was evidently not regarded as noteworthy, although travelers in later times ever commented on the rigors of that inhospitable stretch. The whole journey to Santa Fe, where he was long incarcerated, was one of extreme trial and tribulation.

The subject of the sketch was born at Stoney Hill, the family estate in Stafford county, Virginia, May 16, 1751,¹

1. For the date of his birth see pages 1, 176, 177 of the work.—F. W. H.

and was graduated from William and Mary College in 1772. Of an adventurous nature, he set sail from Alexandria on the Potomac, May 23, 1773, for Jamaica, arriving at the port of Tichfield on June 17. In the following month he wrote from Cartagena, Colombia, where he had lost an uncle in the abortive attempt by the British to capture that stronghold twenty-two years before. Late in September we find him in New Orleans.

While in Jamaica young Peyton had engaged a mestizo servant named Charles Lucas, who, he says, possessed "in a modified form, the physical peculiarities of the North American savage. Having the copper skin, small, fierce black, penetrating eyes, barely separated by the nose, round forehead, high cheek bones, prominent sharp hooked nose, elongated skull, small mouth, and thin compressed lips of the Virginia Catawbas," etc. Charles was destined to play an important part in the subsequent events.

Peyton's wanderings were all related in letters addressed to his father, the most important of which, to the student of New Mexico, were written at St. Louis in May, 1774, after months of hardship better recounted in his own words.—F. W. HODGE.

"I hasten, upon my arrival here, *en route* for Virginia, from a long captivity among the Spaniards in New Mexico, and an extraordinary journey through the wilderness to this place, to inform you of my safety. I would content myself with this simple announcement, if I could thereby place this letter the sooner in your hands. As this is impossible, I shall employ my leisure while recruiting my health and strength, by writing you an accurate and faithful narrative of the leading incidents and extraordinary vicissitudes of fortune which have chequered the whole series of adventures which have befallen me since my letters of August, 1773. Under the pressure of accumulated afflictions, my mind has been ceaselessly goaded by the thought of the gloomy depression, the harrowing grief my absence

and supposed death must have inflicted upon my dear mother and yourself. My very heart has been wrung by this sorrow. All is well, however, that ends well, and now that I have emerged from the 'sea of trouble' which threatened to overwhelm me and am approaching home, my spirits are elastic and my mind and body reinvigorated. Insensibly I am recovering from, if not forgetting the barbarities and cruelties I have suffered.

"Immediately upon my arrival at this place I was met by a Mr. Malet,² an English gentleman residing here, who had heard of my coming from an Osage warrior, who preceded our canoe down the river. In the most kind and hospitable manner he insisted upon my living at his house, instead of the inn, where I was proceeding to take up my quarters. His manner of asking was so engaging, interesting, and impressive, that I found it impossible to refuse him. Under his hospitable roof I shall remain while here, and from its shelter I write you this letter. It is a plain house, erected of timber, but the most unaffected hospitality and generous benevolence invites and spreads the board, and politeness and affability preside over all. Never shall I forget it - never shall I think of it without gratitude and esteem.

"The day after last writing from New Orleans we set sail from that place, bound for St. Augustine in East Florida. Our vessel was the 'Swan,' Captain Jones. No adventure overtook us worth mentioning till five days thereafter, when in the Gulf of Mexico. Here, the winds becoming adverse, we were driven from our course. These gales soon increased to the fury of a hurricane, during which our sails were split in shreds, and our main-mast went overboard. Had we been left to ourselves, we must have perished. When, however, our destruction seemed impending we were descried by a Spanish vessel which hove in sight, bound

2. Possibly one of the Mallet family, two brothers of which commenced the Santa Fe trade in 1739.—F. W. H.

from Havannah to the Rio Grande or Rio del Norte, in the province of New Mexico. We hailed this vessel as a deliverance, a special mark of the favour of Providence to rescue us from a watery grave, and made every signal of distress to attract her attention. The Spaniard bore down upon us, and, sending hands on board, succeeded in saving crew and vessel. We soon learned that we had been snatched from the jaws of death only for a probably more terrible fate. The Spaniards, to cover their piratical designs, now charged that we were French enemies, and, without more ado, the vessel and everything in it was declared confiscated to the use of the King of Spain. With the rest, I was robbed of every valuable. Putting a few hands upon the 'Swan,' they soon repaired the damage she sustained from the tempest. This was easily done now, as the storm had partially subsided, and, when completed, the two ships proceeded together towards the Rio del Norte. The captain of the Spanish ship, pretending he was short of provisions, scarcely supplied us with sufficient food to sustain life. To every complaint we made for food, they replied that the stock on the 'Swan' was damaged and had been thrown overboard. Several days after this event we arrived at the mouth of the Rio del Norte, and were landed. Three of the crew of the 'Swan' were so reduced by disease and starvation, that they died within five hours of our arrival. We were here placed in the hands of the Spanish authorities, who imprisoned us in forts made of bricks dried in the sun, while the vessels proceeded up the river. The food here doled out to us in insufficient quantities, consisted only of a small measure of parched corn and a little fruit. The officials had the grace to intimate, as they were scarce of meat, if we chose to butcher, we might eat a lame mule, which broke down on a journey from the interior, and was left there to die by its owner, a fur-trader. In our emaciated and starving condition we felt there was no alternative and accepted their bounty. The mule was soon slaughtered

and some of its tough flesh dressed. In my then famished condition, however, I thought I had never eaten anything, so savoury and delicious. Strange as it may seem, the flesh of this animal, though only seasoned with coarse salt, agreed with us and appeared to infuse into our frames new strength and vigour. We were confined at this point a fortnight, our party of nine living the while upon the flesh of the animal. The preparations of our captors to conduct us to the interior were then completed. For the first time we were informed that we must proceed on foot a journey of eighty-nine days to Santa Fé, the capital of the province of New Mexico. The longer I knew and the more familiarized I became to my Indian servant, the more satisfied was I of my good fortune in having engaged his services. His character disclosed much better traits than his first appearance bespoke, and I began to have perfect confidence in him.

“Up to this period my travels had laid through countries under the authority of Europeans, their laws and customs; and consequently little presented itself respecting human nature of such novelty as to excite admiration, or awaken curiosity. In Jamaica, at Carthagená, in Louisiana, in fact, in all the various places through which I had passed a certain parity of sentiment, arising from the one great substratum, Christianity, gave the same general colouring to all the scenes, however they might differ from each other in their various shadings. I was now, however, about to enter an almost unexplored region, and to contemplate man under a variety of forms and complications entirely different from those to which habit had familiarized my mind. I therefore contemplated with pleasant excitement, the prospect of travelling, notwithstanding the terrible circumstances under which I should accomplish it, as a prisoner in chains, hundreds of miles through the immense and almost trackless wilds of a country inhabited by savage tribes, and semi-civilized Spanish half-breeds, with-

out the consolation of any other companions in my journey; than a few miserable partners of my imprisonment, fatigues, and perils.

"The following morning we set forth upon this long journey, under an escort of twenty wild bandit-looking Mexican horsemen. Manacled and ironed together, two and two, we made the first day in the scorching sun twenty-six miles through a sandy desert, covered with cactus, endemis, yuccas, helianthoides and wormwood. My feelings, which were altogether of the most unpleasant kind, served as a stimulus to my mind, and increased my anxiety to get forward. I therefore pushed on as rapidly as if I anticipated life and liberty, instead of assassination at the end of my journey. To my no small satisfaction I was bound to my servant Charles. I preferred the society of this faithful half-breed, to the coarse companionship of a filthy French sailor. My mind was under the dominion of a gloomy presentiment, was, as Shakspeare emphatically says, 'A phantasm, or a hideous dream - and my little state of man suffered, as it were, the nature of an insurrection.' Such was the chaos within me, that I seemed beyond the power of discriminate reflection. I found in my case, as I believe it is universal, that human sufferings, like all other things, find their vital principal exhausted, and their extinction accelerated by overgrowth; and that, at the moment when man thinks himself most miserable, a benignant Providence is preparing relief in some form or other for him. So it was with me, and I found the labour and fatigue of the journey something which beguiled me insensibly of the gloomy contemplations in which I was previously absorbed, and afforded my tortured mind a temporary suspension of pain.

"At night, we were confined in the stable of a small farmer, and guarded by sentinels. The Mexicans knowing we could not continue our journey without proper food, supplied us freely with Indian corn meal, from which we

baked bread in the hot ashes, and jerked beef. Travelling in this way, we proceeded up the river for three weeks. About this time, two of our party, overcome by fatigue and sickness, (for they had been suffering with fever and dysentery,) fell insensible on the ground from sun stroke. Here they were left to expire in the broiling sun. Fearing, no doubt, that all of us would die in this way, and that they would thus lose the reward promised for safely conducting us to the capital, they hired, this day, seven pack-horses for our use. We were each set upon a horse, on a wooden pack-saddle, and our arms tied behind us, and our legs under the horses' belly. Then placing a bell around the horses-neck, and taking the bridle, they drove us before them for ten days. We were thus preserved from slow death, as we were from immediate slaughter at the hands of these bandits, by the hope of reward for our safe delivery in Santa Fé. During this time they did not fail to insult us in the most wanton manner, and visit upon us the greatest ignominies and most unaccountable cruelties. There was no restriction to deter them from indulging their bad passions in this manner. As they had only engaged our horses for ten days, they determined to make the most of them, and we only halted for their necessary refreshment - I mean the refreshment of the bandits and horses - for they gave us nothing beyond our allowance of bread and dried beef. Every night we were compelled to lie upon the bare ground, but fortunately the wet season had not set in, and we only suffered from the heavy dews. In this inhuman, barbarous manner, we travelled 350 miles, passing many places, where, with the utmost difficulty, our guard prevented the savage inhabitants from murdering us in cold blood. Though they preserved our lives for the sake of the reward, they made no effort to protect us from the most cruel and mortifying insults and maltreatment at every inhabited place where we halted. Several times we were actually exhibited to the people, men, women, and children, as a public show,

and as if belonging to a different species of animal from the *genus homo*. The most inveterate hatred of and prejudice existed against the French, who were supposed to cherish designs of conquest, and a disposition to exterminate the Spanish race. Besides hearing that some of our party were Protestants, their religious hatred was aroused against these, and everywhere we were called 'hogs;' they sneered at and abused us *ad libitum* and *ad nauseum*. They hissed at us '*Crees in Dios!*' '*Crees en este!*' '*Creese en este!*' '*No! no!*' '*Ah Judio!*' '*Barbaro, Bruto!*' '*Protestante!*' '*Puerco!*' '*Voia al los infernos!*' which is in English: 'Do you believe in God?' 'Do you believe in this?' 'Do you believe in this!' 'No!' no!' 'Ah Jew!' 'Barbarian Protestant!' 'Hog!' 'Go to hell!' Often they approached near, seeking an opportunity to stab us with their daggers *por amor de Dios*. Our mercenary guides alone preserved us from the stilettoes of the mob, but I already entertained apprehensions that the pious fathers of the church would, when a favourable occasion presented, conscientiously consign us to the inquisition, and then to the flames. How different was the end! Those we expected to ruin became our deliverers.

"Giving up the pack horses at the end of ten days, we continued our journey on foot, for sixteen more, until the 29th of November, 1774 [1773], when we arrived at a kind of fort or settlement on the river, six days' march from Santa Fé. Our shoes, with the exception of a single pair, were gone several days previous to this - one pair after another disappearing, until no one possessed any but my servant Charles, who continued to bear up, in the midst of our sufferings, with the indomitable pluck and spirit of the American Indian. He often insisted on my using his shoes, going the length of taking them off and walking in his naked feet, saying he would not use them while I had none. I refused persistently to appropriate them, being unwilling in our then miserable condition, to accept such a favour from a human being, in no better condition than myself.

When we marched in the Spanish fort bare footed and ragged, Charles still carried his shoes, to the no small surprise of the Spaniards, who were ignorant of the noble motive which caused this singular conduct. This simple act of a poor, uninformed, half-breed, had more of the true and essential spirit of Christianity in it, than half the ostentatious charity of the world. It was based upon kindness, disinterestedness and delicacy, and struck me more forcibly than all the acts of beneficence that I ever met with.

“For some reason, which I never understood, we delayed at this place seven days. We were all confined in one room, under a strong guard, suffering daily every species of insult, and in danger and dread of being murdered every night. Crowds of half-savage Spaniards assembled daily about our prison to denounce vengeance against us, and to launch at us every bitter reproach, every filthy epithet and every horrible imprecation in their vocabulary. They boasted too of their patience and forbearance, which fortunately enabled them to refrain from annihilating us at once. After this delay, we resumed our journey, and though I was suffering from dysentery and consequent weakness, and my whole body was lacerated with pain, and my mind distracted with doubts and difficulties, arrived with the residue of our dispirited party in Santa Fé. The last 300 miles of our journey was through a beautiful and fertile country, to the charms of which, however, the agony of my feelings rendered me almost insensible. In Santa Fé we were delivered to the authorities, who subjected us to a rigid and barbarous imprisonment. My feet were swollen, blistered, and bleeding, and gave me such intolerable pain, that for nights together I could not sleep. My prostration was such that I could not have gone another day’s journey, though life and liberty had been my reward. My dysentery continued, and I found myself seized with a violent bilious fever, here called a seasoning or acclimatizing fever, which brought me to the verge of death.

I had no nurse but my faithful Charles, no food fit for a sick person. Nature and a good constitution were my only physicians and medicines, save a few simple drugs, which were clandestinely conveyed to me with directions for their use by Father Lopez, a Catholic priest, whom Charles (who, by-the-bye, is a Roman Catholic in faith,) had managed, during the priest's visit to the prison, to interest in my fate. My illness made me quite delirious and helpless for ten days, and it was five weeks before I was out of danger. For some time after this I was so weak and low, that I had scarcely strength to walk across the room. The jailor's daughter, Annetta, who was now much interested in our behalf, by the intercession of the priest, privately furnished me with suitable food for a convalescent—such as broths, fruit and the like, and I regained my strength with rapidity. You can scarcely believe this possible, when I tell you that the iron and wooden doors of our cell were constantly locked and chained, no one even in the prison being allowed to speak to Charles or myself - (we were alone in the ward,) nor to answer any question if we called to them; that I was on my recovery, restricted from the use of pen, ink, and paper, and allowed not the smallest communication with any human being but my poor servant; that I had no chair, table, bed, blanket or straw, and was obliged to lie upon the bare floor with a billet of wood under my head. Sometimes we were left by the jailor two or three days together without food or drink. But for the good priest and his young female confederate, who came to our cell in the night, carrying her jar of water and her basket of supplies, we must have perished. For eight weeks I remained extremely lame and ill, without having changed my linen or clothes, save on one occasion, when I was supplied by Father Lopez. Indeed, it is strange how human nature could support all I endured. The climate, however, aided greatly in my recovery — the air of Santa Fé being dry, pure, and bracing. The heat in summer is not so intense as on the gulf, or in

the same latitude on the Atlantic, and is generally not greater than in the upper districts of Virginia, nor is the cold so great in winter as in Virginia. The mornings and evenings, even in the hottest weather, are always cool and pleasant. During the winter, snow lies upon high peaks of the Rocky mountains, but seldom remains longer than a few hours in the valleys and lower districts. No diseases have appeared since the settlement of the province by Spaniards, which can be said to be peculiar to the climate and country. The seasoning or bilious fever is only known in the country south of the 30th degree of latitude. My recovery from it is doubtless, in great measure, due to the rapidity with which we travelled north from the unhealthy districts on the Lower Rio del Norte. I feel from my experience at Santa Fé, that the chances of life are considerably more in our favour there than in the most healthy parts of the continent east of the Rocky mountains. Colds, which are sometimes taken during the winter, never prove fatal without the greatest neglect. The seasons are mild and agreeable, the atmosphere constantly pure and elastic; and the sky clear, unclouded and brilliant.

“But I must proceed with my narrative. Every night of my confinement in that dreary mansion of wretchedness and misery at Santa Fé, my sleep was disturbed with the most dreadful sounds and horrible noises. These proceeded from the clanking of chains, the rattling of massy keys, the creaking of iron doors upon their rusty hinges, the resounding of bolts and bars, and above all the shocking screams and howlings of the unhappy wretches confined in this frightful den. If the racking pain and parching thirst of my fever had allowed me any sleep, I could not have enjoyed it for the frightful noises, which constantly broke upon the stillness of the night. I was much agitated too at this moment by learning that Captain Jones, who was confined in an adjoining ward, had committed suicide. I attributed this horrible act to his protracted sufferings of

mind and body, but could find no excuse, but insanity, for such a deed. If ever despair approached me, it was during my prostration in this cruel situation. I felt my life departing from me inch by inch, and even if spared by disease, could we hope to escape assassination. I thoroughly comprehended the blood-thirsty dispositions, the vindictive barbarity of our captors. The reward once paid for our safe delivery in Santa Fé, I knew our lives depended entirely upon their whims and caprices. Nevertheless my resolution did not abandon me. I summoned to my aid religion and philosophy, and while I could not understand why I was so much afflicted, firmly believed that all my calamities were brought upon me by an allwise and merciful providence as a beneficial trial, as it were as an exercise of my virtue. Composing myself as far as was possible, I determined to await the result with patient fortitude. My efforts to bear myself with a steady and perpetual serenity, exercised the most beneficial influence upon my faithful servant, Charles, who was so far overcome, that he occasionally gave way to something like despair. The vague hints of our escape or receiving succour, which I occasionally let fall, merely for the purpose of reviving his strength and hopes, broke like flashes of lightning through the gloomy clouds which enveloped his soul, and kept up a kind of daylight in his mind. Still further to benefit him, I spoke of Captain Jones' suicide as the act of a coward, with no dependence upon himself and no faith in God. I sought to elevate Charles' sentiments, to so regulate his mind that trust and hopefulness might become permanent parts of his disposition. I asked him to remember what obligations we were under to Providence for the incalculable blessings we enjoyed, and not to forget that the visitations, which sometimes overtook and almost crushed us to the earth, are often dispensations of mercy, sent to try and purify us. I said we should meet them with composure, and thus cooperate with providence in its designs, and not provoke

further displeasure by querulous discontent and presumptuous doubts. In other words, dear father, I sought to impress in my poor way upon my excellent Charles some of the moral lessons you have so often inculcated by your teachings and examples, and which my experience has taught me to be founded in wisdom — that wisdom whose 'ways are ways of pleasantness, and all whose paths are peace.'

"After several weeks' illness, I felt my fever abate and the worst symptoms of the disorder disappear. As I slowly regained my bodily strength, I recovered the full tone and vigour of my mind; I felt my spirits increase, my resolution become more firm, my hopes more sanguine, and while scarcely able to make on foot the tour of my chamber, commenced revolving plans for extricating myself from prison. There is a spring, an elasticity in every man's mind, of which the owner is rarely, very rarely conscious, because fortunately the occasions seldom occur in which it can be brought to the proof. My deplorable condition even now, and the earnest intercession in my behalf of Father Lopez and the jailor's daughter, moved the iron heart of that terrible man to pity; and Ximines said if I would make application to the Governor* for the privilege of walking during certain hours in the grounds, he would see that His Excellency received the petition. He observed that though ordered not to allow me pen, ink, or paper, he would send me a pencil and card. Accordingly I made my application to the Governor for this privilege for myself and my fellow prisoners, in Spanish, dictated by my servant and inscribed upon the back of the ace of diamonds. Much to my surprise the Governor ordered me to be brought before him, and to my greater surprise behaved towards me very politely. He made me many apolo-

*The Governor at that time was Pedro Fermín de Mendinueta, who served from 1767 to 1778.—F. W. H.

gies, through his interpreter, for the past, and promised me better treatment for the future. He requested me to give a full account of myself and my connection with the 'Swan.' This I did, claiming that I was unjustly imprisoned, whatever might have been the character of the vessel on which I was taken. I declared, however, my perfect conviction - in fact my positive knowledge - that the vessel was the *bona fide* property of British subjects trading to and from New Orleans, and was not the property of French enemies of the King of Spain. In consideration of which facts I asked that the whole of us should be liberated, and as we were in a distant and almost uninhabited country, without money, friends, or resources, that we should be supplied with the means of reaching our homes. I further added that if so disposed of by His Excellency, we would abandon any claim we had against the King of Spain for damages resulting from illegal seizure and false imprisonment, for robbery and ill-treatment. I made bold to add further that our fate could not be always concealed, and that when known would lead to the summary punishment of all those by whom we had suffered. That dead or alive we would be avenged by our government, and I suggested that all who had injured us ought to prepare for the wrath against the day of wrath. When I had proceeded thus far, His Excellency seemed fatigued and terminated the interview. I was reconducted to prison, and notwithstanding all the fair promises of the Governor, left in the same situation as formerly. The gaoler in fact told me, some days later, through Charles, that my speech to His Excellency had greatly offended that august dignitary. Annetta, the daughter, however, continued her hospitalities to us, and I now learned from Charles that though only fifteen years of age, she cherished a secret passion for him, which he returned: that during my absence at the Governor's they had a conversation and had sworn eternal fidelity to each other, and that Annetta had promised if we could effect our escape from prison to fly with us to 'other lands.'

“Three days after my interview with the Governor, the gaoler produced a paper, which he said was sent to me to sign, after which I would be permitted to go at large in the grounds, attended by my servant. He further said His Excellency had held a conversation with Father Lopez, who actively interested himself in my behalf, and that His Excellency was anxious to atone for the former severity of my imprisonment, by granting me any ameliorations not inconsistent with his duty to government. Upon having the paper translated to me by Charles, I ascertained that it contained an acknowledgment that the ‘Swan’ was a French vessel, engaged in illegal traffic, and that I was upon her in defiance of the laws of His Catholic Majesty the King of Spain, as also that we were properly or legally imprisoned, and had been treated with tenderness and humanity during our captivity. Made acquainted with the contents of the paper, I refused to sign it upon any terms. For three days it was presented to me for signature, and several threats used to induce me to subscribe my name. I persisted in my refusal, whereupon, they recommenced their barbarities. Wooden doors were put up against our windows to exclude the light and so as not to admit fresh air, we were not allowed the use of pen, ink and paper, which was furnished me during the time they were endeavoring to get me to sign the paper; no one whatever was permitted to see or speak to us, and for a week we were as effectually excluded from the whole world as if we had been in our graves. At this very time, however, a kind Providence was preparing relief for us, thus verifying the old adage ‘When distress is greatest, God is nearest.’ At the end of the seventh day Annetta managed to fetch us at midnight a jug of water and some coarse provisions, but for which we must have perished. Next day the good priest visited us, and seeing the wretched condition to which we were reduced, and despairing of our lives if we continued longer in this confinement, he induced Charles, who was a jesuit, to sign the paper. Charles also, without my knowledge, appended my name.

Our windows were now opened, and we were allowed the free use of the grounds for two hours during the day; these were hot, nasty and suffocating, and under the constant inspection of two sentinels. The indulgence, however, was so grateful to me, after my prison life, that I rapidly improved in strength. About this time the gaoler brought in an enormous bill against me for diet, candles, attendance, etc. I refused to pay the account, telling him with great truth, that I had no money; but that if his bill were reduced one half I would give him a draft on Alexandria which would be cashed in the Havannah, provided he procured me a substantial suit of clothes, linen, boots, and so forth for Charles and myself. I was exceedingly anxious to draw such a check upon your agents in Alexandria, as I thought it the only possible way to advise you of my existence and whereabouts. At first he refused to abate a tittle of his bill, but finally consented when I agreed to pay five hundred Mexican dollars for the outfit for myself and servant. Charles had spread exaggerated reports of my wealth through the community by means of the priest, who from the most benevolent reasons determined to relieve us from captivity; and a Jew by the name of Paul Levi,

“ ‘A hungry lean-faced villain,’

who agreed to furnish us the outfit upon the sum being included in the gaoler's order. A bargain was thus struck, and we were soon comfortably clothed for the first time in many months. Projects and hopes of a new kind now began to intrude themselves on my thoughts, and I conceived a design to affect an escape and mentioned it to Charles, who was roused into new life by the prospect. After many conversations we determined to consult Annetta. Of course she became our accomplice, so ardent is the flame of liberty in every breast, such is the detestation of every human being to slavery. After a consultation conducted, as to Annetta, hurriedly, and from time to time, as she found opportunity to speak to us, when fetching our supplies of food, upon

the *quo modo* of our escape, it was determined, if possible, to gain the co-operation of the Jew. Annetta was instructed to offer him a bribe of £500 to furnish us three good horses, a pair of pistols and the tools necessary to break from prison. After much discussion and delay Levi was secured. My heart beat high with hope, and I began to flatter myself that the day was not distant when we should bid our tyrants adieu. To prevent suspicion, Levi purchased our horses at once, pretending they were for a journey he would soon take into the Southern country. I did not afterwards regret the delay of two weeks, which now occurred, as my strength daily increased. Annetta was made acquainted with the spot where these animals were kept, constantly ready against such time as we might effect our escape. It was near the Jew's house, but far enough to enable him to hatch a plausible lie to the effect that they were stolen after we left. Annetta now brought us from the Jew some tools for breaking out, and we went to work nightly. With incredible danger, difficulty, and labour, we made way through the solid wall, cutting through a four inch oak plank. This brought us into the prison yard, but until we could mature a plan for passing the sentinels, we allowed the outer row of stone and its covering of plaster to remain intact. The principal part of this work was done by Charles, while I kept guard at the door to prevent detection. When however, he was exhausted and took his turn at the door, I worked with all my strength and will, and greatly to his admiration. He often said 'I hab no ideum Massa Peyton hab sich slight ob hand, sich strength - white man hard to beat.' While this work was occupying us, both our health and spirits improved, and I often thought of your remark, 'that the busiest and most laborious are generally the happiest and most successful.'

"As a Monsieur Blicq leaves here to-day, for Detroit, intending to travel thence to New York, I entrust this to

him to be there posted. You will thus be relieved of all anxiety as to myself, and will understand the cause of my drafts upon your agents in Alexandria, should they be presented for payment before my return. I am exceedingly anxious to proceed upon my homeward journey, and am only detained by the necessity of recruiting my health before I set forth again. I shall proceed hence this day week, and make my way through the new settlements in Kentucky to Western Virginia and thence by the Greenbrier to Staunton and Charlottesville.

“Having provided a means of escape from our cell, we were now to consider a plan for passing the sentinels, who constantly kept guard over the outer gate. While weighing first one plan and then another, we were informed by Annetta that her parents would attend the wedding of a young friend on the 10th of March. On that night no one would be on the premises but herself, and two young brothers and the sentinels. Charles immediately proposed that we should enter the court-yard through the opening in the prison wall on that occasion, and take our chance of escape by falling upon and murdering the guard. This plan, however, being too uncertain of execution, and sure from the noise it would create to call forth the rest of the guard, and alarm the town, I dismissed it as not feasible. I had now become wonderfully prudent, for I saw that it was a crisis of more importance than any other of my life - a crisis in which haste, or too much delay, irresolution, or yielding to the ill-considered expedient of Charles, would be fatal. Having dismissed his proposition, it was suggested by Annetta that she should poison the sentinels in a cup of hot coffee, which she said they would be glad to get about midnight, especially as the weather was now quite cold. Charles was delighted with this proposition, and strongly urged me to agree to it. Upon reflection I rejected this scheme also, and suggested that instead of poisoning the sentinels, Annetta should content herself with drugging them, by put-

ting laudanum in their coffee. This, I imagined, would answer our purposes equally well, and preserve us from the stain of blood. Both were enraptured at my proposition, accordingly it was immediately determined upon, and Annetta instructed to prepare for its execution. Next day she obtained the opiate through the Jew, who pretended that it was to drench a sick horse. She was further directed to provide some jerked beef, a few bottles of spirits, and to advise the Jew of the night upon which we expected to escape. She executed every commission with which she was entrusted with prudence, and a skill beyond her years. When, since thinking of the discretion she displayed in these delicate matters, my mind has recurred to the words of Prospero, who says of Miranda -

“—She will outstrip all praise,
And make it halt behind her.’

The wedding night arrived, and luckily for the execution of our enterprise, we heard the ceremony of marriage was to be followed by a dance or fandango, as the Spaniards call it. The night was dark, and we awaited with breathless impatience the hour when the jailor and his wife would depart. As the clock struck eight, the turnkey made his usual circuit of the wards. He then informed the sentinels, since there was no occasion to open the cells during his absence, the prisoners having received their evening supply of bread and water, he should retain the keys in his custody. Annetta, however, said the turnkey, would remain in charge of his apartment, and in case his presence was required, he directed that she might be despatched to him at the fandango. With this the jailor, whose name was Ximenes, and who was as tyrannical, cruel, and infamous a villain as ever disgraced human nature, a wretch who could smile and murder whilst he smiled, sallied forth with his wife, who was his worthy companion in meanness and cruelty. It was now nearly nine o'clock, and Annetta came to our cell to whisper that all was ready; that she had provided provisions, spirits, &c., and only wished to know the least

suspicious way to offer the sentinels coffee. While talking, one of these fellows advancing, asked in a loud voice -

“ ‘What are you doing here?’ ”

“*Annetta*: ‘I was merely looking at these poor prisoners and wondering how long they could live under such cruel treatment.’ ”

“*Sentinel*: ‘That’s none of your business. They are French pirates, and had they met their deserts would have been hanged long ago. They are the worst kind of pirates, they wish to steal our land, to upset our authority, and to make themselves masters of this country, eh! my boys, (leering at us,) you’ve undertaken ‘a big job.’ ”

“By this time the second sentinel arrived on the spot and inquired.

“ ‘What’s up among ye?’ ”

“ ‘Oh,’ said *Annetta*, ‘I was merely asking these poor fellows, as this was a wedding night, whether they would not like to have a cup of hot coffee and a piece of sweet-bread, do permit me to give it them for the sake of our Redeemer.’ ”

“ ‘You little rogue,’ said the sentinel, ‘are you siding with our enemies?’ ”

“ ‘Naughty man,’ said *Annetta*, ‘don’t talk that way, what harm have the poor fellows done us. They are our brother human beings, let us for the love of the Holy Virgin sooth their misery for a moment, by a little supper. If you will let me give them some, each of you shall have a cup of coffee, a nice roll and a glass of rum to boot.’ ”

“ ‘Good, it’s a bargain,’ said the sentinels, ‘be in a hurry, my pretty one, get it ready, and let both coffee and rum be strong.’ ”

“*Annetta* disappeared, and in a half hour brought us coffee, having upon the same platter two cups heavily drugged for the guard. These fellows no sooner snuffed the delicious aroma of the fragrant berry than they advanced and helping themselves to a buttered roll, quickly gulped

down, both roll and coffee. Not satisfied, they asked for more, which Annetta quickly brought, after having drugged the second cup as heavily as the first. The lazy sentinels then returned to their post, saying pray don't forget the rum.

“ ‘Remember,’ said one, ‘you promised rum and strong to boot.’

“ ‘About five minutes after, one called -

“ ‘Annetta, hurry with that rum, our supper has made us drowsy. Some rum to wake us up.’

“ ‘Yes, Signors, ready in a moment,’ said Annetta advancing with two glasses of drugged spirits.

“A few moments after this, both sentinels sank upon the ground in lethargic slumbers. In a few minutes the outer covering which had concealed the opening we had made in the prison wall was demolished, and we were in the court. Annetta, who had tied the ribbon of her bonnet under her chin, carried a heavy Spanish cloak and a sack with provisions. Charles took charge of the cloak and sack, and availing ourselves of the condition of the guard, we each appropriated a musket and ammunition from the sleeping enemy - indirectly from the stores of His Majesty the King of Spain - *finis coronat opus*. Thus armed and equipped, we groped our way through the streets, there were no lights in Santa Fé, to the outskirts of the town, and were conducted by Annetta to the Jew's stable. In this building we found Levi on guard, with a dark lanthorn, paper, writing materials, &c. When about to draw him a draft upon Havannah for the £500, he agreed to accept as full compensation for the horses and equipment, and the aid thus far extended to us, he refused to receive the sum, and quick as thought gliding out of the stable, closed the door and turned the key upon us. For an instant we were confounded by this manoeuvre, not knowing what it meant, I had only a moment to restrain Charles, who was about to fling himself against the door saying. ‘Hold! to all the liv-

ing there is hope; a living dog is better than a dead lion,' when we heard Levi clearing his villanous throat preparatory to a speech:

"'Now,' said the Jew, speaking from the outside, 'keep quiet, or you will alarm the town, or I will alarm it for you. I have dealt fairly and squarely up to this time, and will do so to the end, only you must be reasonable, and deal fairly and squarely with me. For the great risk I run, for the horses, bridles and saddles, the pistols and food I have provided at great expense of time and money for your use, £500 is no fair equivalent - is not the right figure. Draw the check for a thousand, and hand it through this crevice, and you are at liberty to depart instanter. Refuse compliance, and I shall raise the alarm, and you'll return to prison, and before to-morrow's sun goes down you'll dangle from a tree; make the acquaintance of hemp cord.'

"After a few moments' hurried consultation, seeing the wretch had us 'upon the hip,' I promised to draw the check as he desired. I only asked that he would open the door first and let us prepare to move, and to show that he was honest and willing to confide in us.

"'No, Sir,' said the Jew, with a smiling cheek. 'It is better to do well, than to say well. Time is shortening too, say at once, will you write the check for £1,000 or not?'

"I thought if the mountain will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet must go to the mountain, in other words, no alternative being open to acceptance, I agreed to his extortion, and while writing the check, Charles got the horses ready, as if not doubting the Jew's integrity. Meanwhile Annetta threatened him with the dire vengeance of her family, in case of failure in the issue of our exploit.

"Levi examining my check, and seeing it was in due form, and for £1,000, at sight, and without grace, placed it in the innermost recess of his pocketbook, and opened the door. Ten minutes after I 'did void my rheum upon his beard,' we were half a mile from the town in a canter, to-

wards the lofty peaks of the Rocky Mountains. Among the articles provided me by the Jew, was a small pocket compass, for which I had specially stipulated. It was by means of this tiny instrument I intended making my way across the Great Western plains, to the mouth of the Pohnenous or Missouri river, which I knew to be in latitude $36^{\circ} 10'$ longitude $90^{\circ} 5'$. Urging our horses on at the top of their speed till morning, we were with the first blushes of Aurora, about forty miles from Santa Fé, in the midst of the Rocky Mountains, perfectly safe from any pursuit or any apprehensions of pursuit.

"Our direction was towards an unexplored region; the roving tribes of savages who inhabited it, were hostile to the Spaniards, and in the depths of winter, few would think of attempting to cross the mountains without a guide or pathway - such were the grounds of our fancied security. Finding at dawn that we were involved in the mountains, we rested four hours, during which we made an excellent breakfast from Annetta's supplies; afterwards tethered the horses on the grassy banks of a stream, and set out on foot in search of a feasible, route across these high and rugged mountains. For three days we were engaged in this arduous undertaking, and finally succeeded; principally through the energy and activity of Charles, who is by the way as active as a kid, and as strong, patient and enduring as a donkey.

"Setting out from our first camping ground on the 9th of February 1774, we made our way to the heights of the mountains, and on the 11th, were at their eastern base. As well as I could form an idea of the height, we were 6,000 feet above the level of the sea, but there was little snow, and what there was lay upon the peaks above us. The air from the west during the day was mild, and during the night, not intensely cold. I attributed this fact to the remarkable mildness of the climate west of the mountains. Only after receding from the mountains travelling N. E.,

did we experience severe cold. During this time we saw no Indians - at this season they migrate to a softer climate, and better hunting grounds. The abundance of game, however, was truly surprising. Among the wild animals is a goat which is very shy, and keeps upon the highest spots. We saw daily the bear, (of a huge size too, are the bears of these regions), the wolf, the bison, elk, deer, beaver, racoon and other species of wild beasts. We were too anxious, however, to get to the plains east of the mountains to take any heed of these. None made any attack upon us; all fled at our approach, such is the terror inspired among the beasts of the field, by the face of him, whom God has given 'dominion over the fish of the sea, the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.'

"It was our singular good fortune, too, not to have had up to this time any snow or rain, but we now saw clouds gathering in the sky, and were brought to consider the necessity of providing shelter. I observed also that our provisions were rapidly diminishing, and that there was urgent necessity for a renewal of our supply. I accordingly determined to halt in a cavern which was discovered in the side of the mountain, until such time as we could make provision against these contingencies. The same day (11th of February) we shot two large deer, and, taking off their skins, stretched them upon poles to dry. The 12th and 13th it rained incessantly, but we cared little for this, remaining in the cavern engaged in half-cooking, by a huge wood fire, the venison we were to take on the journey. Annetta was very expert in this operation, and by the evening of the second day we had nearly a hundred pounds of dried and charred meat ready to be packed for future use. The skins of the deer were also 'cured' by the fire, and the two sewed together, making a kind of tent, sufficient to protect us, with our blankets and the Spanish cloak, from rain. We determined, however, the next day, to secure two more

bucks, and thus provide ourselves a more commodious tent. During the three days we remained here in these preparations, our horses, who found an ample supply of succulent grass in the ravines and on the banks of the streams, improved in flesh and spirits. On the morning of the 15th we set forth, determined to make, as near as we could guess, thirty miles a-day, and not more, to prevent breaking down the horses, which we estimated would bring us in forty days to St. Louis. We proceeded for twenty-one days without the slightest accident, and without meeting a human being, crossing one great river, which I presumed was the Rio Rouge of Arkansas. We estimated, when we had reached the golden sands of the Rio Rouge that we had made quite one-half of our journey, and could not be more than 600 miles from our destination at this point. Our route had been as near as possible in a straight line, uphill and down hill, following the sinuosities of the country like the Chinese wall. There were few difficulties to be encountered, as the country is generally a level, fertile plain, stretching down from the mountains to the Mississippi. The principal chain of the Rocky Mountains throws out numerous ramifications of greater or less proportions, east and west. In the great water-shed or basin between these mountains and the Mississippi vast quantities of water are accumulated from rain and the melting snow of the mountains, which roll on in mighty rivers to the Gulf. The largest of these rivers is the Missouri, Potomac, or mud river, whose course has not been discovered, and the second the one we passed in our journey hither, the Rio Rouge, or Red River, of Arkansas, which is of vast extent, placid and beautiful beyond description, where we saw it.

During these three weeks we slept in our tent comfortably, and subsisted almost entirely upon dried venison, without salt, taking only occasionally at night a gill each of brandy.

“Living after this manner, and riding thirty miles

a-day, one would have supposed our strength failing, but on the contrary, I felt my health and vigour constantly improving, and I never saw Charles and Annetta in higher spirits. Our horses were tethered at night near our tent, and large fires kept burning round the spot to frighten off wild beasts, who abound to such an extent in this terra incognita, that we passed no night which was not rendered hideous by their screamings and howlings. The weather was now much colder, and I saw indications of an approaching snow storm. I determined, therefore, as our supply of provisions needed to be replenished, to call a halt. This was upon the 10th of March, and as near as I could determine our position, from an old French map, which I carried, we were upon the upper waters of the Missouri. Selecting a well-sheltered spot on the side of a hill covered with trees, we soon excavated, with our bayonets, a kind of chamber in the cliff, the front of which was covered with our deer skins. We were not an hour too soon, for a furious north wind and snow storm set in, and lasted two days, when the ground was covered two feet deep. We were now in a terrible position, for which we had scarcely provided. Our horses almost without food, we feared must perish. Unwilling, however, to part with them till obliged, we turned them loose to seek a subsistence among the shrubs, twigs, and mosses of the forest. The day after the storm subsided, the sun appeared in unclouded majesty. I sallied forth attended by Charles, in search of game. This we found without stint, many deer and other wild animals having sought shelter in the same skirt of timber with ourselves. This was a great blessing, and we fervently returned thanks to Providence for thus providing us with the means of subsistence. We shot two deer and a young buffalo, the butchering and drying of whose flesh occupied us a week.

“During this time we nightly called up our horses who managed to subsist in the forest. We were delighted, too, to discover about this time a great abatement in the cold.

I still thought, however, as we were in a dry spot, with a stock of provisions - such as it was - it was better to continue for the present where we were. We did not move till the 21st of March, when the snow had almost disappeared. Then, setting forth again, we found our horses so enfeebled by their scanty fare, that we could scarcely make twenty miles a day. They were only enabled to do this by reason of the trouble we took to find for them sheltered spots every night on the banks of streams, where there was green and young pea vines for their nourishment.

"On the 2nd of April, when, as we supposed, about four hundred miles from St. Louis, in attempting to ford a stream, which was much swollen by the melting snow, Annetta's horse was suddenly tripped up and swept away by the current. The courageous girl, who was a good swimmer, rose on the waters like a duck, and after some trouble, was rescued. Charles could render no aid, as he had gone to the opposite shore. Our custom had been for him or myself to first cross a stream, then Annetta, to be followed by the third. Placing Annetta upon my horse, she now passed safely, I holding the while by the horse's mane, and wading or swimming according to the depth of the water. From this point we proceeded on our way, alternately having Annetta behind on the crupper of our horses. We were now following the course of the stream, which I was sure must be a tributary of the Pohitenous. We had also come into a country where there were many Indian settlements, though at long distances. Whenever we descried these, we gave them in the language of navigators, 'a wide berth.' On the 18th of April, we lost a second horse from exhaustion, and surrendering our last to Annetta, continued the journey on foot, till we reached the Pohitenous, on the 28th of April, after a journey of 1,300 miles, as near as we could estimate it. Here the last horse was so completely jaded that we abandoned him, determined to make the residue of the journey as best we could.

"The number of Indians had now so much increased, or rather, we had come so much nearer the town and villages of those inhabiting the Pohitenous country, that without horses it was impossible to avoid them. Indeed, on horseback, I do not think we could have done so. The next day we entered a village, where we found only old men, women and children. The men had already gone forth to wage war against a tribe known as the Ajoues. The tribe among whom we now found ourselves was the Osage, above them were the Canses and Grandes Eaux tribes. Those over whose territory we had passed, were the Piantias, a wandering tribe, and the Arkansaws.⁴ We were hospitably treated by the Osages, and exchanged one of our muskets for a bark canoe, in which I determined to float down the river to St. Louis, and we also procured some provisions consisting of hominy and bison's tongue. I found it not only desirable but indispensable to adopt this plan of reaching St. Louis, as I was now almost helpless from an attack of rheumatism brought on by cold damp clothes, exposure, and want of suitable nourishment. An old Osage Indian agreed to accompany us to St. Louis for a case of rum, which I was glad to promise him, as his presence would save us from annoyance by the savages. We embarked in our little canoe upon the Pohitenous, which is the most turbid river, I suppose, in the whole world, but by skilful navigation kept clear of all obstacles, and safely arrived here in a fort-night. The land on the river is very fertile, and stretches away in boundless plains, covered in summer with the most luxuriant growth of grass.

"St. Louis, the post where we remain, and of which I must say a word before closing, is, as you know, the capital of Upper Louisiana. It was founded about the year 1763, by a company of fur traders from New Orleans. Thirty-one years before this (in 1732) the French established a

4. The Ajoues are the Iowa tribe; the Canses are the Kansa or Kaw; the Grandes Eaux are identified with the Pahatsi, one of the three divisions of the Osage; the Piantias were the Peoria; the Arkansaws are the Arkansa or Jua-paw.—F. W. H.

colony in Illinois with the ultimate design of uniting, by an extensive line of military posts, Canada and Louisiana. In this year, however, (1763) Louis XV ceded the French North American possessions (or rather the remainder of them) to Spain. It was not till 1768, however, that Upper Louisiana fell into the hands of the Spanish, between four and five years after the tragical events I mentioned in connection with the operations of General the Count O'Reilly at New Orleans. Pardon me for indulging in this historical recital of events with which you are doubtless far more familiar than myself.

"It is situated upon a fine table-land lying high above the Mississippi, originally covered, as much of it still is, with forest. It has received a large accession to its population from French Creole and Illinois emigrants, and is now rapidly becoming a place of importance. It is sixty miles above another settlement called St. Genevieve, which is the only French post on the right bank of the river, until Lower Louisiana, a thousand miles off, is reached. When I leave here, it will be for St. Genevieve, en route for the Kentucky settlement."

"Of the valley of the Rio del Norte, I shall have little to say. This country has been visited and described by numerous French and Spanish travellers. My brief space must be given to a hurried description of those vast solitudes lying between the Rocky Mountains and the Mississippi. Of the valley of the Rio Grande, I may say briefly I was pleased with its fertile appearance, and delighted with the serenity of the air. The soil is a sandy-loam, very light, and highly productive.

When irrigated, it produces two crops a year. Yet, notwithstanding the extreme fertility of the soil, the bad administration of government, conspiring with the indolence of the inhabitants, leaves it unpopulous and uncultivated. Producing corn, wine, oil, fruits, cotton, and all the

necessaries of life, under a proper system of agriculture and of laws it would become an earthly paradise.

"Advancing up this valley I saw many horses, mules, oxen, sheep and goats feeding in the open air. These herds constitute the chief source of wealth of the inhabitants; more interesting were several ruins at Quivira, where we remained the night indicating, as they do, a former civilization. It was permitted to make a short examination of them, on promising to pay 5 dollars at Santa Fé, where I hoped to raise a loan. I was informed that they were the ruins of the Aborigines, but I do not think so. The slight view I had of them was enough to convince me that they were of Spanish origin. On the journey we suffered greatly from the heat, which was sometimes in the day, 100° F. in the sun. The temperature of this province varies, however, with the latitude and the nature and height of the tablelands.

"As I approached the post of Santa Fé, I was struck with a mixed sensation of surprise and delight at its appearance. The first view is really enchanting. It is situated upon the slopes of hills, and the green fields and luxuriant foliage in which it is embosomed, even at the advanced season of our arrival, gave it a most lovely and picturesque aspect. The surrounding meadows, which are green and beautiful, even in winter, are ornamented with many magnificent flowers, crimson, scarlet, white, pink, and purple. A nearer approach to the town destroyed the charming vision, the houses are low and inferior, constructed of *adaube*, (bricks dried in the sun), the streets filthy and loathsome, and the population indolent and indifferent, a miserable lot of emaciated, sun-burnt and dejected-looking Spaniards. Though a place of inconsiderable size, Santa Fé has been laid out on a grand scale. I have said enough of our imprisonment there to give you every assurance of the sincere pleasure with which we turned our backs upon

it, to enter the wild, solitary, and unexplored regions, which separate the Rocky Mountains from the Mississippi. This region is so vast that a description of it is no easy matter. I shall only give you a sketch of its general characteristics, and a few details concerning those striking points which came under my observation, and which modify those characteristics. This country is watered by many streams, such as the Canadian, the Rio Rouge, the White, the Cansas, the Arkansas, the Niobrarah, the Keha-Pahah, the Pohitinous, and other rivers, whose names, if they have any, are unknown to civilized man. The whole is a vast plain stretching down from the lofty summits of the Rocky Mountains to the Mississippi, and until the traveller arrives within three hundred miles of the river, is devoid of trees, except on the borders of rivers and water courses. The country is a series of extensive prairies, slightly undulating and rising considerably as you approach the mountains. The absence of trees is not due, in my opinion, to high winds, as is supposed, in this place and the western country generally, but to the devastation which results from the savage custom of annually setting fire to the prairies. This is evident from the fact that many trunks of trees are now seen in a petrified state. Immediately east of the mountains the plains are generally covered with a meagre and hard herbage, as also with heaths, wormwood, and artemis.

“However far he may proceed, the traveller always finds himself in the middle of an immense circuit!— all around is the same landscape, the same weeds, and the same flowers, and at night he seems to sleep on the same spot where he passed the previous night. The plains are intercepted by rivers and sloughs, and the necessity of crossing these, add to the inconvenience and dangers of the journey. The undulations are formed by sand hills or different kinds of rock, and vary in height from 50 to 4, or 500 feet. The ground falls gradually to the East. The uniformity of these vast solitudes is only broken by a few sandy mountains, united in confused masses, a few rocky heights or frightful

ravines which cut across them. The trees commonly seen on the stream are willows, poplars, cotton trees, elm, oaks, wild plum trees, and a few fruit bushes, wormwood and artemis are the predominant productions of the great plains, but in the valleys of the rivers are also chestnuts, ash, Chinese lilacs, mesquites and willows, under the trees there grows neither bush nor thicket, and the ground is overgrown with long grass and verdant moss. Such are the general features of this wild, solitary region, which may be compared to the steppes of Asia, and in which everything makes a deep impression on man and strikes him with awe. Buffaloes, panthers, antelopes, otters, beavers, turkeys, grouse, quail, and partridges inhabit these plains. In all that portion south of 30 degrees of latitude, the air is pure and sweet, and the climate deliciously mild. The sky is as blue as an oriental sapphire, and a gentle breeze ever plays over it, bearing upon its wings the fragrance of flowers. In passing over the plain, the geological configuration of the soil changes completely. From the Rio Grande to the Rio Rouge are seen large rocks of lime and gypsum from the common plaster of Paris to the purest selenite - then granite replaces these, then quartz, felspar and mica are seen, as well as quantities of petrifications.

“One of the singular and interesting sights on my route was the villages of the Prairie dogs. These were always found in elevated and uncovered spots. Some of them were twenty miles across. The Prairie dog resembles a squirrel in shape, size, and physiognomy. His bark, which is the only thing he has in common with the real dog, has given him his name. He burrows in the ground, excavating to the depth of from eight to ten feet, the earth it throws up being afterwards built in the form of a cone over his subterraneous abode. A large part of the day, during pleasant weather, the dogs sit on the summit of these dwellings apparently chattering together. A

few sentinels are posted to give warning of approaching danger. When an enemy is seen advancing, they bark in a peculiar way, and the entire community of dogs disappear under the earth. The Prairie dog lives apparently without water, always selecting dry situations for the towns. They close the entrance to their dwellings with dry grass at the beginning of winter, and fall to sleep till the return of spring.

“The interest created by the natural beauties, the landscapes, and the wild poesy of these immense plains, was small compared to that aroused by the numerous evidences on the route of a previous and extinct civilization. Of course, I can form very little idea as to the people to whom these antiquities ought to be attributed; but they are evidently the work of different nations, at different epochs. These tumuli consist of conical shaped mounds and pyramidal hillocks. Though it was important that I should proceed with every despatch upon my hazardous journey towards the east, I delayed two hours to make an excavation, with the assistance of Charles, into one of these rare mounds near the Rio Rouge. I took from this tumulus some bones, shells, and pieces of pottery, which indicate in those by whom they were manufactured a certain knowledge of art. The shells, curious to say, are marine, and unlike any I have ever seen in America or the West Indies; are similar to those brought you from China by Dr. Peyton. The mounds are evidently the sepulchral tombs or burial places of former generations. Built of earth, and covered with grass and trees, they much more readily resist the ravages of time, than monuments built of stone. I am much mistaken if antiquarian research does not show that ages previous to the discovery of America by Columbus, this continent was inhabited by people of an advanced civilization, as compared with the Red Skins of to-day. I shall not, however, enter upon a question so arduous in these hurried letters, but reserve much that I have to say in this con-

nection till my return. The discovery of these things had a powerful and pleasing effect upon my mind. Something, (when I considered that I might be traversing the oldest rather than the newest world,) of the same kind of feeling with which one might be supposed to tread the ground which Abraham trod; where Nahor the father of Rebecca lived; and of Laban; to whom Jacob fled to avoid his brother Esau's resentment, and whom he served fourteen years for the love he bore Rachael.

"In the few lines I have dashed off on this subject, I have not undertaken to describe even generally, still less, step by step, those vast solitudes over which I have just come. To describe nature in such boundless regions, where nature changes its aspect at every moment, and where the traveller is struck alternately with admiration and awe at the extraordinary phenomena, would be as laborious and fatiguing as a journey across them. For the present I content myself with this rapid glance."

From St. Louis, Peyton went to Kentucky, and on his way back to Virginia, arrived at the Great Kanawha river in time to join General Andrew Lewis in the battle with the Shawnee at Point Pleasant, West Virginia, on October 10, 1774, receiving a wound from which he never fully recovered. He died in 1798.

"Charles Lucas," says John Lewis Peyton, left "a numerous progeny in Virginia. His children's children continue to the present day [1867] in the service of my grandfather's descendants."

NOTES AND EXCHANGES

The February number of *The Hispanic American Historical Review* prints the first chapter of the forthcoming book "Spanish Royal Overseas Trading Companies" by Roland D. Hussey of the University of California at Los Angeles. This chapter is devoted to "Antecedents of the Spanish Monopolistic Overseas Trading Companies" and traces the origin and growth of chartered companies in other domains while Spain by an ordinance of 1561, each year organized two fleets, one known as the *flota* and the other as the galleons, which accompanied by a convey of war ships carried on the trade with America. To regulate this system, the Spanish crown had two special bodies in Spain, the *casa de contratacion* and the *consulado*. The system was more or less a failure and in consequence "adequate supplies of most of the necessities of life were habitually lacking in the colonies, either from bureaucratic mal-administration, the inability of Spain to supply wants itself or to supply goods from foreign countries, or perhaps, deliberate restriction by the merchants in order to maintain high prices. Smuggling was wide-spread, quite as much by the Spaniard as by the foreigner, and carried on with at times a cynical openness almost impossible to believe." Other contributions to the *Review* are entitled: "The South American Commission, 1817-1818" by Watt Stewart; "The French Revolution and Mexico," by John Rydjord; "The Oldest University in South America" by Carlos Concha; and "Hugo Wast, Argentina's Most Popular Novelist" by Ruth Sedgwick.

(continued on page 298)

NOTES AND EXCHANGES

(continued from page 273)

MINNESOTA HISTORY

At the eightieth annual meeting of the Minnesota Historical Society, Herbert Heaton made an address, "The Development of New Countries—Some Comparisons." This address is printed as the leading contribution to the March issue of the Quarterly of the Minnesota Historical Society. He sets up as his thesis that the historian who writes in 2029 will probably tell his readers that the most important European export of the Nineteenth Century was not coal or cloth, but human beings. He may say that the biggest European achievement happened outside Europe, in the settlement of large parts of America, Africa, Australasia, and perhaps Siberia, by the white-faced folk who, being above all things meek, entered into the inheritance predicted for them two thousand years ago." He figured that during the past century thirty million folks emigrated to new continents seeking new homes, twenty million coming to America. Biographical sketches with excellent portraits of Herschel V. Jones and Gideon Sprague Ives are given prominent place. The Minnesota Historical Society now has 1562 members. The library of the society has 167,000 books and pamphlets. The number of visitors to the Society's museum last year was 33,000. The Society receives annually from the State \$27,400 for salaries, \$20,000 for equipment, travel and office expense, and \$8000 for archive work. For the next biennium an increase of \$5400 is asked for the first year and \$5800 for the second year. In addition \$5000 is asked for the construction of newspaper racks.

VIEW OF SANTA FE

In the rooms of the Historical Society of New Mexico hang two early pictures of Santa Fe, of which visitors have

frequently asked for copies. Cuts of them have been secured and are being included in this issue of the *Review*, but unfortunately the views have been of necessity so reduced from the size of the originals as to lose many of the most interesting details and to make some description advisable.

The original of the frontispiece is a water-color painting, measuring 30" x17", by Anthony Kellner of the 5th U. S. Infantry, and dated September 15, 1866. The insets, beginning at the top and reading from left to right, are of especial interest because of the architectural details shown. They have the captions "Catholic Church" (San Miguel Chapel in its older form), "Palace" (of the Governors,) "Paroquia" (the Cathedral before it was rebuilt), "Catholic Church" (Guadalupe Church which has recently been restored somewhat as here shown), "Protestant Church" (built by the Baptists but purchased in 1866 by the Presbyterians,) "State House unfinished" (destroyed by fire in 1892; it stood where the old Federal Building now stands), "Pavilion" (as it then stood in the plaza), and the "Military Hospital" which cannot be identified in the painting but was doubtless part of "Fort Marcy Post," the parade ground of which is marked by the flag-pole.

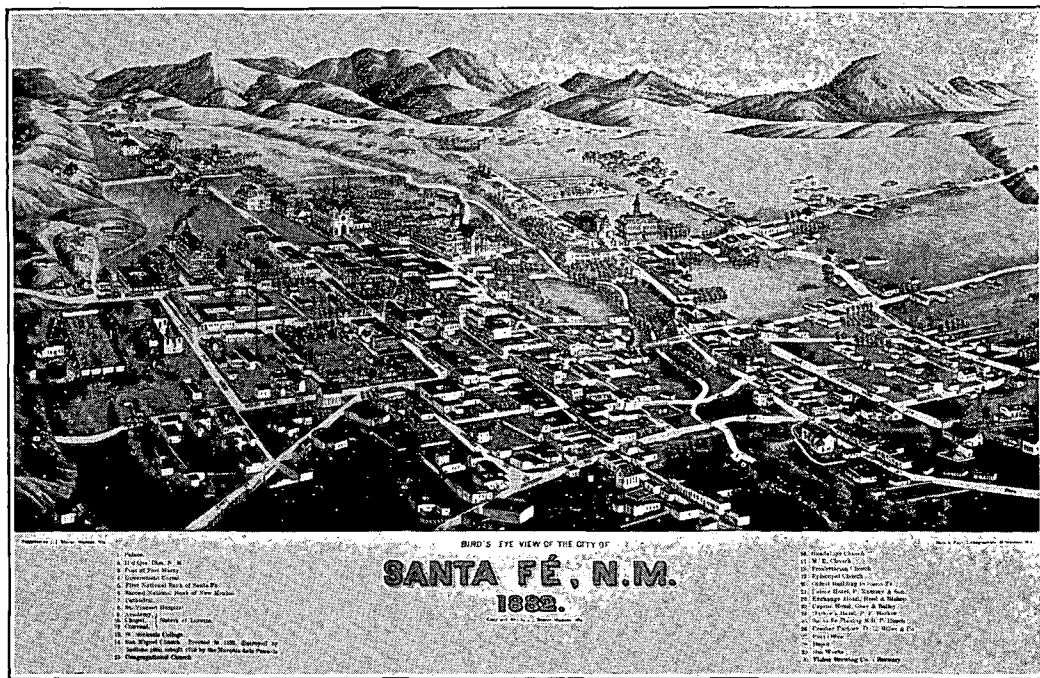
The artist seems to have done his painting from a station on the loma north of Santa Fe, near where the old road to the upper valley hit the crest. This is indicated by the cross and the laden burros in the immediate foreground, and by the fact that the painting shows the Protestant Church and San Miguel Chapel (at a little to the left of center) as in direct alignment. The view is to the southeast and at the right of the painting the distant mass of the Cerrillos and Sandia mountains has been brought much too near. We might quibble also at the way in which the artist has represented the wide sandy arroyo coming in from the left (this is not a broad river, kind reader), with the bed of the actual Santa Fe river debouching into it just to the right of the cross. In spite of any such criticisms the painting as a whole doubtless gives a very fair impression of the little

villa of Santa Fe as it appeared in the Civil War period.

The view of Santa Fe in 1882 was lithographed by Beck and Paul, of Milwaukee, and was published by J. J. Stoner of Madison, Wisconsin. The original measures 19" x 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", the cut being so much reduced as to obscure many interesting details. One can see, however, that by this time all the churches except San Miguel chapel had been given modern roofs. Fort Marcy Post (including the old Palace, and the Headquarters building where the Art Museum now stands) took in the whole area between Washington and Grant avenues; the walls of the capitol, still unfinished, stand to the north (left), with the old military cemetery back of it, and also the old Gas Works,—these last two both down in the arroyo apparently! The only bridges over the Santa Fe river are on College St. and "Bridge St." (now Galisteo); the street which later became Don Gaspar Avenue did not go south of the river but curved west to Bridge St., and Jefferson Avenue was as yet unencumbered by the D. & R. G. Railway tracks. Edifices added since Kellner made his painting in 1866 include the St. Vincent hospital, the academy, chapel and convent of the Sisters of Loretto, St. Michael's College, and a number of hotels - the Palace, Capitol, and Herlow's besides the old Exchange (which Kellner may have tried to show). The First National Bank of Santa Fe stood on San Francisco St., opposite the present Don Gaspar Ave., and the Second National Bank of New Mexico seems to have occupied the first floor of the Masonic building on the south of the plaza. There are many other points of interest about this old lithograph, one amusing fact being that, as early as 1882, a house just north of San Miguel chapel was already being pointed out to visitors as the "Oldest Building in Santa Fe." It is "no. 20" of the printed list.

TRAVELING FELLOW RETURNS

By arrangement of the Historical Society of New



A LITHOGRAPH OF SANTA FE IN 1882
From the collections of the Historical Society of New Mexico
(For description, see "Notes")

Mexico and the School of American Research, Mr. Lansing B. Bloom left Santa Fe in March, 1928, accompanied by his family, for a year or more of work in European archives. After a profitable ten days in Washington, they sailed from New York City direct to Cadiz and Sevilla, where work was begun in the great Archivo General de Indias. Soon after their arrival however, Mr. and Mrs. Bloom were asked to take charge, during the summer, of the work in Spain for the Library of Congress. They therefore moved north to Madrid and until October were at work in the archives there and in Simancas, with the services of two photographers. The results in these archives for 17th century *New Mexicana* were not very abundant, and by the first of October Mr. Bloom was glad to be relieved of the Library of Congress connection by Mr. Roscoe R. Hill (who is well known in New Mexico from his former residence and work), and to return with his family to Sevilla. There Mr. and Mrs. Bloom continued their work until April 12, making a complete survey of 17th century material of value to New Mexico, and to some extent of later material also. A list of all the material desired in the shape of photographic copies was left with Mr. Hill, and by arrangement with him and with Dr. Putnam, librarian of Congress, these copies will be secured as fast as they are available. Mr. Bloom and family made the homeward journey thru France, Switzerland and the British Isles, which gave opportunity to examine other archives in Dublin and London. They sailed from the latter city on June 1st and arrived in Santa Fe on the 14th. A fuller report of their work will be given later.

Mr. Bloom has been appointed an associate professor of history at the University of New Mexico, continuing as an associate of the School of American Research and as editor of the *New Mexico Historical Review* which, beginning with the fall issue, will also be a publication of the University of New Mexico.

INFORMATION COMMUNICATED BY JUAN CANDELARIA, RESIDENT OF THIS VILLA DE SAN FRANCISCO XAVIER DE ALBURQUERQUE
BORN 1692 — AGE 84¹
ALBURQUERQUE

On the seventh day of February, in the year of Our Lord, 1706, this Villa de Alburquerque was incorporated under the name of San Francisco Xavier. Don Francisco Cuervo Valdez was the governor. Friar Juan Minguez, was first minister of this Villa. He had come as a missionary. Twelve families and the soldiers from the garrison residing in the town of Bernalillo came to colonize it. The heads of the twelve families were: Cristobal Jaramillo, Juan Barela, Francisco Candelaria, Feliciano Candelaria, Nicolas Lucero, Baltazar Romero, Joaquin Sedillo, Antonio Gutierrez, Cristobal Barela, Pedro Lopez del Castillo, Doña Bernardina Salas y Trujillo, a widow, and Juana Lopez del Castillo. The soldiers were: Captain Don Martin Hurtado who commanded, chief Alcalde of this place, his secretary, Juan de Piñeda, Francisco Garcia soldier, Pedro de Chavez Duran, Andres Montoya, Sebastian de Canseco, Antonio de Silva, José de Salas, Tomas Garcia and Xavier de Benavides. The Duke of Alburquerque was the Viceroy at the time of its founding and it derived its name from him. Friar Juan de Tagle was the custodian and Friar Manuel Muñoz, his assistant. The custodian resided at San Ildefonso. Governor Cuervo's administration had run two years. Friar Juan Minguez, resided in his palace.

The reconquest of this kingdom took place in 1696. This villa was founded nine years after. It covers four

1. These reminiscences were therefore recorded in the year 1776. The Spanish transcript was given by Don Federico Gomez de Orozco of Mexico City to his friend, Dr. Sylvanus G. Morley, and the latter kindly sent it to the *Review*. The translation is by Don Isidoro Armijo of Santa Fe.

NOTICIAS QUE DA JUAN CANDELARIA VECINO DE
ESTA VILLA DE SAN FRANCISCO XAUIER
DE ALBURQUERQUE DE EDAD DE 84
AÑOS NACIO EL AÑO DE 1692.

ALBURQUERQUE

El mes de Febrero a 7 días del mismo de 1706 a^s, se juntó esta Villa de Albuquerque con nombre de San Fran^{co}. Xavier siendo Govern^{or}. Dⁿ. Fran^{co}. Cuervo Valdes, y entró aquí de Misionero el P^e. Fray Juan Miquez² primer Ministro de esta Villa, y vinieron a poblarla 12 familias de vecinos del Puesto de Bernalillo y los Soldados Presidiales. Las cabezas de las dichas 12 familias fueron: Cristoval Jaramillo, Juan Barela, Fran^{co}. Candelaria, Feliciano Candelaria, Nicolas Lucero, Baltazar Romero, Juachin Sedillo, Antonio Gutierrez, Cristoval Barela, Pedro Lopez del Castillo, D^a. Bernardina Salas y Truxillo viuda, Juana Lopez del Castillo. Los soldados fueron:— el Capitan Don Martin Vrtado, Cabo y Caudillo, Alcalde Mayor de aquí, su Secretario Juan de Pineda, Fran^{co}. Garcia Soldado, Pedro de Chavez Duran, Andres Montoya, Sebastian de Canseco, Antonio de Silva, Jose de Salas, Tomas Garcia, Xavier de Venavides. Era Vi-Rey quando la fundacion de esta Villa el Duque de Alburquerque, de donde tomó el nombre esta Villa, era Custodio Fr. Juan de Tagle, y Vite Fr. Manuel Muniz, y vivia el Cust^o. en S. Ildefonso. Lleua el Gov^{or}. Cueruo 2 años de Reyno, y en su Palacio viuia el P. Fr. Juan Mirquez. La reconquista de esta Reyno fue el año de 1696 y a los nueve años se fundó esta Villa. Esta ocupa 4 Leguas de Terreno.

2. The spelling "Miquez" and that below as "Mirquez" are evidently transcript errors. The fraile is identified as *Fr. Juan Miquez*, who was a member of the ill-fated Villasur Expedition of 1720 which went from Santa Fe to the Platte River. In Meyer, *St. Francis and Franciscans of New Mexico*, he is listed as one of the 51 Franciscan martyrs of New Mexico. For more extended information, see Twitchell, *Spanish Archives of N. M.*, II, index.—L. B. B.

leagues of ground. North of this place and twenty-two leagues distant lies the villa of Santa Fe. The soldiers that came to colonize, built a Presidio, because of so few houses located on the side of the church to the north. Until today it is known as El Presidio.

BERNALILLO

The town of Bernalillo (which today pertains to Sandia) was founded in the month of February 1698. Don Francisco Pedro Cubero Rodriguez, was the governor and its first minister was friar Juan de Zavaleta, who built a church and a convent in which he lived. In the year 1735 or 36, el Rio del Norte washed away the church and convent and a few houses and his government was transferred to San Felipe de Jesus.

TOWN OF ALAMEDA

The town of Alameda was founded in 1702, Don Pedro Cubero Rodriguez being governor. It was a *visita* of Santa Ana and a pueblo of Tigua Indians. Friar Juan de Sabaleta instructed this pueblo in the Christian faith and founded it. The town of Alameda covers one fourth of a league of ground. In 1708, Alameda was depopulated, because Friar Juan de la Peña gathered the Tigua Indians residing at Alameda, to found later, as he did, the Mission of San Agustin de la Isleta, with and by the consent of the governor Don José Chacón Villa Señor and the said Friar Peña was the first minister of La Isleta, which was founded in the month of March 1708. The same said Peña was the custodian. Isleta covers four leagues of ground, one league in each direction. The town of Alameda, depopulated of Tiguas, was afterwards populated with Spaniards in 1711, when Don Juan Flores Mogollon was governor, and ever since the

Está el rumbo del Norte, y dista de la villa 22 leguas. Estos Soldados que binieron á Poblar hicieron su Presidio, razon por que las casas pocas que están al lado de la Iglesia por la parte de Norte se llama hasta oy el Presidio.

BERNALILLO

El Puesto de Bernalillo (que oy pertence á Sandia) se fundó por Febrero del año de 1698, siendo Gov^{or}. Dⁿ. Pedro Cubero Rodriguez, y fué su primer Ministro el P^e. Fr. Juan de Zavaleta, el quel hizo allí Iglesia, y conv^{to}. enque vivía y el año de 1735, ó 36 se lleó el Rio del Norte la Iglesia, Convento, y algunas casas, y entonces se adjudicó su Administⁿ. á San Phelipe de Jesus.

PUEBLO DE LA ALAMEDA

Se fundó el año de 1702 siendo Gov^{or}. Dⁿ. Pedro Cubero Rodriguez, y era entonces visita de S^{ta}. Ana, y Pueblo de Indios Tiguas á quienes catequizó el P^e. Fr. Juan de Sabaleta, y Pobló dicho Pueblo. ocupa de terreno dho. Puesto de la Alameda un quarto de legua. El año de 1708 se despobló la Alameda, por que el P^e. Fr. Juan de la Peña recogió á los Indios Tiguas que vivian en la Alameda, para fundar como lo fundó, la Mision de S. Augⁿ. de la Isleta con anuencia del Governador Dⁿ. José Chacon Villa Señor, y dicho P^e. Peña fué el primer Ministro de la Isleta, la que se fundó el mes de Marzo de 1708, siendo custodio el mismo P^e. Peña. La dicha Isleta ocupa de Terreno 4 leguas una por cada rumbo de oriente &^a. Despoblado q^e. fué este Pueblo de la Alameda de los Indios Tiguas, se pobló de vecinos el año de 1711, siendo Gov^{or}. Dⁿ. Juan Flores Mogollon; y desde entonces se adjudicó la Administracion de dho. Puesto de la Alameda, á esta Mision de Alburquerque. El año de 1712 se fundó por Dⁿ. Juan Gonzalez Baz la Capilla que hoy existe en dho. Pueblo de la Alameda. vecino de dicho Puesto.

government of Alameda pertains to the Mission of Albuquerque. Don Juan Gonzales Baz erected the chapel which is there today in the year 1712.

ATRISCO

Atrisco was settled in 1703, in the month of March. Don Pedro Cubero Rodriguez was the governor. It covers about two leagues of ground with the seat of government at Bernalillo, but since the founding of Albuquerque in 1706, the government was transferred there. From its founding Atrisco has been Spanish. It is 23 leagues from Santa Fé to the north.

TOMÉ

Tomé was settled in 1740, in the month of October. Don Gaspar Domingo de Mendoza was the governor. It covers two leagues of ground. Immediately the settlers began the building of the church and three small cells. It was finished in 1746 and since its founding pertains to Tomé and also belongs to the Mission of Albuquerque. It received its name from a wealthy man named Tomé Rodríguez who lived there. It is 30 leagues from Santa Fé and 8 from Albuquerque.

VALENCIA

Valencia was settled in 1751. Don Joaquin Codallos was the Governor. It covers one league of ground and is 28 leagues from Santa Fé and 6 from the Albuquerque Mission to which it pertains since its founding. It was named Valencia, after its old owner, Juan Valencia.

ATLIXCO

Se fundó el año de 1703 por el mes de Marzo siendo Gov^{or}. Don Pedro Cubero Rodriguez ocupará de Terreno como 2 Leguas, y entonces pertenecia su administracion a Bernalillo, y desde el año de 1706 q^e. se fundó Alburquerque se adjudicó al mismo. Desde su fundacion fué Atlixco de vecinos. Dista de S^{ta}. Fé 23 leg^{as}. su rumbo al Norte.

TOMÉ

Se fundó el año de 1740 siendo Gov^{or}. Dⁿ. Gaspar Domingo de Mendosa; por el mes de octubre. ocupa de Terreno 2 leguas. I desde luego comenzaron los vecinos á hacer la Iglesia, y 3 Celditas que hay, y se concluyó el año 1746. /. y desde q^e. se fundó dho Tomé perteneció, y pertenece aun a esta Mision de Alburquerque. Tomó el nombre de Tomé, por q^e. en el vivía un hombre rico llamado Tomé Dominguez. Dista de S^{ta}. Fé 30 leguas de Alburquerque 8./ su rumbo al Norte.

VALENCIA

Se pobló de vecinos el año de 1751 siendo Gov^{or}. Dⁿ. Jauchin Codallos, ocupa de terreno una legua, dista de Sta. Fe 28 leguas, de la Mision de Alburquerque á la q^e. pertenece desde que se fundó 6 leguas. su rumbo al Norte. Tomó el nombre de Valencia por q^e. su antigua Dueño era Dⁿ. Juan Valencia.

PUESTOS PERTENES^{tes} A LA ISLETA: PAJARITO

Se fundó o Pobló Juan Fernandez el año de 1711 siendo Gov^{or}. d. Juan Flores Mogollon asu entrada, y desde entonces perteneció á la Isleta. ocupa de terreno un quarto de legua, dista de la Misión de la Isleta legua y media, de S^{ta}. Fe 23 leguas su rumbo al Norte.

TOWNS PERTAINING TO ISLETA — PAJARITO

Juan Fernandez settled or founded it in 1711 when Juan Flores Mogollón entered as governor, and ever since it has pertained to Isleta. It covers 1-4 league of ground. It is one and one half leagues from the Mission of Isleta and 23 leagues from Santa Fé to the north.

LOS PADILLAS

Pablo Baltazar Romero founded or settled it in 1710. Don José Chacón was governor. It covers one eighth of a league of ground. It was named Padillas because all those who resided there were Padillas. To the north it is 23½ leagues from Santa Fé.

BELEN

Belen was founded in 1741. Don Gaspar Domingo de Mendoza was the governor. It covers four leagues of ground and is 34 leagues from La Villa de Santa Fé. It was settled by Diego Torres and Antonio Salazar and was named: "Nestra Señora de Belen." Genisary Indians helped and since then it pertains to Isleta.

SABINAL

Sabinal is in the same location as Belén and was founded in 1741.

SANDIA

Sandia was settled by Father Menchero in 1746. Don Joaquin Codallos was the governor. He settled it with Indians from Moqui, Tiguas and also moquiños, who were converted by Friars Carlos Delgado, Pedro Pino, Jose Iri-

PADILLAS

Se fundó o Pobló Baltazar Romero el año de 1710. siendo Gov^{or}. Dⁿ. José Chacon. ocupa de terreno medio quarto de legua. Tomó el nombre de Padillas; por que en él solo viven unos que se apellidan Padillas. su rumbo al Norte dista de S^{ta}. Fé 23½ leguas.

BELEN

Se fundó el año de 1741 siendo Gov^{or}. Dⁿ. Gaspar Domingo de Mendoza. ocupa de terreno 4 leguas su rumbo al Norte, dista de la Villa de Sta. Fé 34 leguas. Lo poblaron Diego Torres y Antonio Zalazar, y le pusieron Nra. Sra. de Velen, con ayuda de Indios Genizaros, y desde entonces pertenece á la Isleta.

SABIÑAL

Está en el mismo sitio de Belen; y se fundó el año 741.

SANDIA

La fundó el Padre Menchero el año de 1746 siendo Gov^{or}. Dⁿ. Jauchin codallos, y la Pobló con Indios de Moqui, y Tiguanas, tambien moquinos, á quienes convirtieron los P. P. Fr. Carlos Delgado, Fr. Pedro Pino, Fr. José Irigoyen, y Fr. Juan José Toledo, los quales Indios estaban repartidos en varios Pueblos hasta que el P^{er}. Menchero lo trajo ó recogió en Sandia dho. año de 46./.. ocupa de terreno 4 leguas su rumbo al Norte, dista de Sta. Fé 18 leguas. Sus tierras son de riego. Tiene viñas 12./.. Arboles frutales de Durazno, y Albarcoque.

SANTA FE

Estuvo en poder de los Indios tanos 14 años, y segano el año de 1694 el mismo en que se fundó y se erigió por Capital,

goyen, Juan Jose Toledo. These Indians were scattered in many towns until Father Menchero gathered and brought them to Sandia in 1746. It covers four leagues of ground. It is 18 leagues from Santa Fe. Its lands are under irrigation. There are vines and fruit trees, peach and apricot.

SANTA FE

Santa Fé was in the power of the Tano Indians for 14 years but was recovered in 1694. The same year it was settled, it was built as the Capital, and the Presidio was built in the same year by 100 soldiers. Don Diego de Vargas was governor and conqueror. His first minister was Juan de Zavaleta. In this conquest De Vargas was accompanied by the Friars Tricio, Zavaleta, Carbonera, Corrales, Farfan, Chavarria, Mata, Vargas, Juan de la Peña, Juan Tagle. It lies to the north. Its lands are irrigated. Its crops consist of all kinds of grains. Its fruits are apricots and plums of all kinds—some not unlike those of Spain. The conquest of the Villa was accomplished on the 25th day of January, 1694, the day of the Conversion of Saint Paul. Immediately upon the success of the conquest it was settled by Spaniards and never again have Indians lived there. Its climate is very frigid.

ITS TOWNS — CIENEGUILLA

Cieneguilla was settled in 1698. Don Diego de Vargas was the Governor. It covers one league of ground. Looking to the north it is four leagues from Santa Fé. Its lands are irrigated and get water from el Rio de Santa Fé. Its crops consist of all seeds planted, no fruits. Since founded it pertains to Santa Fé.

CIENEGA

Cienega was settled 1715. Don Felix Martinez was the

Fray Juan de la Peña, Fr. Juan Tagle, su rumbo al Norte, sus Tierras de riego, sus frutos todo genero de semillas, sus frutas Albercorque, y ciruelas de todas calidades, y unas como las de España. se ganó dha. Villa el 25 de Enero de 1694 dia de la conversion de San Pablo. Luego que se ganó se pobló de vecinos, y jamas ha hauido en ella Indios. Su clima frigidisimo.

SUS PUESTOS

Cieneguilla se fundó en el año de 1698, siendo Gov^{or}. D^o. Diego de Bargas. Ocupa de terreno una legua, su rumbo al Norte. dista de Sta. Fe 4 leguas sus Tierras de riego, con la Agua del riachuelo de Sta. Fe. sus frutos las Semillas q^e. siembran. fruta ninguna. Desde su fundacion se adjudico á Sta. Fe. de vecinos.

CIENEGA

Se pobló de vecinos el año de 1715 siendo Gov^{or}. d. Felix Martinez, su rumbo al Norte, ocupa de Terreno media legua. Sus tierras de riego con agua de los ojos del Alamo dista de Sta. Fe 4 leguas. Sus frutos toda quanta semilla se siembra. Frutas ninguna.

ALAMO

Se pobló el año de 1730 siendo Gov^{or}. D^o. Geruasio Cruzate y Gongora; ocupa de terreno un quarto de legua. Sus tierras, y demas como la cienega, dista de Sta. Fe. 4 leguas.

CANADA DE JUAN LOPEZ

Solo hay una casa de Phelipe Romero.

LOS PALACIOS

Se fundó el año de 1698 por Antonio Baca, su terreno

governor. It covers half a league of ground. Its lands are irrigated with water from "Los Ojos del Alamo." To the north it is four leagues from Santa Fé. Its crops consist of all seeds planted. No fruits.

ALAMO

Alamo was settled in 1730. Don Geruasio Cruzate y Gongora was the governor. It covers one fourth of a league of ground. Its lands and topography are similar to those of Cienega. It lies four leagues from Santa Fé.

CAÑADA DE JUAN LOPEZ

There is only one house there, the house of Felipe Romero.

LOS PALACIOS

Los Palacios was settled in 1698, by Antonio Baca, Covers half a league of ground and its lands are irrigated with water from El Rio de La villa. Its crops consist of grains, its fruits of limes the sourness of which is the same as that of lemons. Is $2\frac{1}{2}$ leagues from Santa Fé.

PINO

Pino was settled by Juan Garcia in 1740: Don Gaspar Domingo Mendoza was the governor. It covers half a league of grounds, its lands are irrigable and its fruits are similar to those at Palacios. Two leagues distant from Santa Fé. The name Pino was given after a beautiful pine tree.

PUEBLO QUEMADO

Pueblo Quemado was settled in 1730; by Cristobal Baca.

media legua sus tierras de riego con la agua del Rio de la Villa. sus frutos semillas sus frutas limitas cuio agrio es el mismo q^e. el del Limon. dista de Sta. Fe 2½ leguas.

PINO

Se pobló por Juan Garcia el año de 1740 Gov^{or}. Dⁿ. Gaspar Domingo de Mendosa. su terreno media legua. Sus tierras de riego, y frutos como los Palacios. dista de Sta. Fe 2 leguas. tomó el nombre por que tiene un hermoso Pino.

PUEBLO QUEMADO

Se pobló el año de 730 por Cristoval Baca era Gov^{or}. Dⁿ. Geruacio Cruzate y Góngora. Su terreno un quarto de legua. sus tierras de riego con el Rio de la Villa, y frutos demas como los Palacios. Dista de Sta. Fe una legua y quarto.

Entrando mas adentro del Norte tiene Sta. Fe el Puesto del Rio de Tesuque que se fundó ó pobló el año de 1740 siendo Gov^{or}. Dⁿ. Gaspar Domingo de Mendosa. su terreno media legua. sus tierras de riego del Rio de Tesuque, sus frutos las semillas q^e. siembran, frutas limitas. Dista de Sta. Fe 2 leguas.

SERIE DE GOVERNADORES

- 1692-1697. Primer Goven^{or}. despues de la reconquista Dⁿ. Diego de Bargas Ponce de León Sapata Lujan entró el año de 1692 - gouernó cinco años.
- 1697-1703. Don Pedro cubero Rodríguez, entró el año de 1697 gouernó cinco años.
- 1703-1704. Don Diego de Bargas otra vez entró el año de 1703, gouernó un año, y murió de empacho en Bernalillo, porq^e. benia de Campaña muerto de ambre, y tomó unos huevos de los que se le origino el empacho. está enterrado en la Villa de

Don Geruacio Cruzate y Gongora was the governor. It covers one fourth of a league of ground. Its lands are irrigated with the water from El Rio de La Villa. Its products are those that are raised at Palacios. It is one and one fourth leagues distant from Santa Fé.

TESUQUE

Penetrating further north, Santa Fe has the town of Rio de Tesuque, founded in 1740. Don Gaspar Domingo Mendoza was the governor. It covers half a league of ground. Its lands are irrigated by the water from el Rio de Tesuque. Its products consists of seeds planted—its fruits are limes. It is 2 leagues from Santa Fé.

SERIES OF GOVERNORS

- 1692-1697 The first governor of the reconquest. Don Diego de Vargas Ponce de Leon Zapata Lujan, entered in 1692, ruled 5 years.
- 1697-1703 Don Pedro Cubero Rodriguez, entered in 1697, ruled 5 years.
- 1703-1704 Don Diego De Vargas again entered in 1703, ruled one year and died of indigestion. Was returning from his campaign famished. Ate some eggs which made him ill. Is buried in La Villa
- 1704-1705 Santa Fé. Juan Paez Urtado succeeded him and ruled one year.
- 1705-1708 Don Francisco Cuervo Valdez, entered in 1705, ruled three years.
- 1708-1713 Don Juan Chacón, entered in 1708, ruled five years.
- 1713-1715 Don Juan Flores Mogollon, entered in 1713, ruled not quite three years. At the beginning of the third year he was succeeded by
- 1715-1717 Don Felix Martinez in the year 1715, because trouble arose between Mogollon and the Presi-

- 1704-1705. Santa Fé Quedó de Gov^{or}. interino Dⁿ. Juan Paez Vrtado, y duró de interino un año.
- 1705-1708. Don Francisco Cuervo Baldes, entro el año de 1705 gouerno tres años.
- 1708-1713. Don Jose Chacon entró el año de 1708. gouernó cinco años.
- 1713-1715. Don Juan Flores Mogollon, entró el año de 1713, gouernó tres años no cabales; porq^e. al principio
- 1715-1717. del año 3^o le bino el gouierno a Felix Martinez el año de 1715, por oposicion q^e. hubo entre el Mogollon. y Press^o, la qual se originó de q^e. Mogollon, quitaba asu arbitrio las Plasas á Soldados, y á estos los defendía Martínez como su Auilitado Tubo el Gouierno Martinez 2 años.
- 1717-1722. Le succedio Dⁿ. Antonio Velarde Cosio entró el año de 1717 gouernó cinco años.
- 1722-1730. Don Juan Domingo Bustamante, entró el año de 1722 gouernó 8 años.
- 1730-1736. Don Geruasio Cruzate y Gongora entró el año de 1730 gouernó 5 años 7 meses.
- 1736-1738. Don Enrrique Olauide y Michelena entró a fines del año de 736, gouernó dos años.
- 1738-1743. Don Gaspar Domingo de Mendosa, entró el año de 738 a fines gouernó cinco años.
- 1743-1748. Don Juachin Codallos entró el año de 43, gouernó cinco años.
- 1748-1753. Don Tomas Velez Capuchin entro el año de 48, gouernó cinco años.
- 1753-1760. Don Francisco Marin del Valle entró año de 53 gouernó siete años.
- 1760-1760. Don Manuel Portillo de Vrrisola, entró el año de 60 de interino, y gouernó 9 meses.
- 1760-1765. Don Tomas Velez Cachupin otra vez entró a fines de 60 gouernó cinco años.
- 1766-1776. Don Pedro firmin de Mendinueta entró año de 66 á principio de Marzo, y lleua 10 años.

- dio, and it began when Mogollon took the towns at will from the soldiers whom Martinez defended. Martinez ruled for two years.
- 1717-1722 Don Antonio Velarde Cosio, who entered in 1717 and ruled five years.
- 1722-1730 Don Juan Domingo Bustamante, entered in 1722, ruled eight years
- 1730-1736 Don Geruasion Cruzate y Gongorra, entered in 1730, ruled five year and 7 months.
- 1736-1738 Don Enrique Olavi y Micelena, entered at the end of 1736, ruled two years.
- 1738-1743 Don Gaspar Domingo de Mendoza, entered in 1738, ruled five years.
- 1743-1748 Don Joaquin Codallos, entered in 1743, ruled five years.
- 1748-1753 Don Tomas Veles Cachupin, entered in 1748, ruled five years.
- 1753-1760 Don Francisco Maria del Valle, entered in 1753, ruled seven years.
- 1760-1760 Don Manuel Portillo de Urrisola, entered in 1760, ruled nine months as an appointee.
- 1760-1766 Don Tomas Veles Cachupin, entered again at the end of 1760, ruled five years.
- 1766-1776. Don Pedro Fermin de Mendinueta, entered in 1766 on the first of March and has now ruled ten years.

INDIAN WARS

General Don Diego de Vargas conquered and won this kingdom for himself in 1694. Don Pedro Cubero Rodriguez, entered Moqui in 1701 on the west side with 600 men for the purpose of conquering the Moquis but the Moquis drove him away with clubs. Don Diego de Vargas, in his second administration made a campaign against the "Farones" in 1704 coming south with 500 men, but he never

El Gobernador Don Diego Bargas conquistó, y ganó este Reyno el año de 1694, por si mismo. Don Pedro Cubero Rodriguez entró a Moqui el año de 1701 por el Poniente, con 600 hom^s. a fin de conquistar a los Moquinos, y estos lo echaron a Palós. Dⁿ. Diego Bargas en su 2^a vez de gouierno salio á Campaña contra los Farones el año de 1704 con 500 hombres por el rumbo del Sur. no los llegó a ver, y a su regreso se empacho con hueuos, y se murió. El interino Paez nada hizo. Dⁿ. Fran^{co}. Cuerbo Valdez, nada. Don Jose Chacon nada. Don Juan Flores Mogollon nada. Don Felix Martínez entró a las Tetillas sierra de Sandia rumbo al Sur con 300 hombres contra los Farones, capturó 25 hombres, y mugeres, mato no se sabe quantos entró al Serro de San Antonio rumbo entre Oriente y Norte, con 350 hombres contra los Iutas, mató toda la Ranchería q^e. encontró, que pasaron de 150, y capturó 350 con hombre y mugeres, y por que los dichos estaban de Paz, se le originó q^e. le quitaran el gouierno. Entró á Gila rumbo al Sur con 25 hombres contra los Gileños, a quienes nada hizo, y tomó salir con vida. Don Antonio Valverde entró a siete Rios rumbo al Sur con 300 hombres contra los Pharones, y nada hizo porqué se le subieron á la Sierra. Dⁿ. Juan Domingo Bustamante entró al Rio Salado rumbo al Sur, y la Sierra obscura rumbo al Sur con 600 hombres contra Farones. nada hizo por qué se metieron a la Sierra. Don Gervasio Crusate y Gongora jamas salió. Don Enrique Clauí, y Michileno, no salió. Don Gaspar Domingo de Mendosa no salió. Don Tomas Velez Cachupin entró al Charco rumbo entre medias de Oriente y Sur con 300 hombres contra los Cumanches, mató como 200, capturó 5 y a 4 les dió libertad, y solo trajo con sigo uno. con estos 4 qué dió libertad, mandó a decir a los Cumanches que siempre que le hostilizaran sus Pueblos, hauia de hacer lo mismo, y acabar con todos. Dⁿ. Fran^{co}. Marín del Valle salió con 300 hombres hasta Taos contra los Cumanches, desde donde mandó a su Teniente Dⁿ. Manuel Sánchez Galuizu, a reconocer unas lumbres q^e. se veian por las inmediaciones de Pecos, y con dho. Teniente salieron 100 hom-

saw them, and on his return trip became ill with indigestion by eating eggs and died. His successor Paez, did nothing. Don Cubero Valdez did nothing. Don José Chacón accomplished nothing. Don Juan Flores Mogollon, accomplished nothing. Don Felix Martinez entered the first hills of the Sandia mountains on a southerly direction with 300 men against the "Farones." He captured twenty five men and women and killed, no one knows, how many. He entered El Cerro de San Antonio in an eastern and northerly direction, with 350 men against the Utes. He killed all of an encampment which he found, more than 150, and captured 350 men women and children but because these Indians were on peaceable terms opposition arose against him to depose him. He went to Gila on the south with 25 men against the Gileños, but could accomplish nothing and barely escaped with his own life. Don Antonio Velarde reached "Siete Rios," on the south with 300 men against the "Pharones" and could do nothing with them as they took to the the tops of the mountains. Don Juan Domingo Bustamante went to the "Rio Salado" on the south and "Sierra Oscura" also on the south with 600 men against the "Farones." He accomplished nothing. They escaped into the mountains. Don Gervasio Cruzate y Gongora never took the field. Don Enrique Olavide y Michelena did not take the field. Don Gaspar Domingo de Mendoza, did not take the field. Don Tomas Veles Cachupin, reached "El Charco" between the north and south with 300 men against the Comanches. He killed about 200. Captured five but four were given their liberty bringing back only one. He sent a message to the Comanches telling them that as long as they were hostile to his towns he would repeat the killing and would exterminate them. Don Francisco Marin del Valle took the field with 300 men and went as far as Taos against the Comanches. From here he sent his Lieutenant, Don Manuel Sanchez Galvizu on a reconitering tour to Pecos to report on some fires that were burning there. With the Lieutenant went 100 men. They found nothing

bres, nada encontraron, y se regresaron todos a la Villa. Bolvió á salir por Galisteo rumbo al Sur, con 300, contra los Cumanches, a quienes alcanzó y mató como 40, ó 50, Salió con mil hombres vecinos, Soldados, Indios de los Pueblos y Yutas Gentiles contra los Cumanches, en solicitud de 56 Captiuas del Valle de Taos, y haviendo caminado 25 días nada consiguieron, Don Manuel Portillo de Vrrisola salió a Taos con 400 hombres á esperar a los Cumanches tubo a la Gente en estacam^{to}. como un mes, y nada se hizo. Volvió orta vez á Taos con 200 hombres, soldados y vecinos, contra los Cumanches, quienes ya tenian allí su Ranchería y componían el numero de 201 Gandules, Mugerres y muchachitos como 300, y al 3^o día de estar en Taos el Govern^{or}. Portillo entraron a berlo 14 Capitanes de los Cumnaches a quienes Portillo preguntó por las 56 Captiuas qué se hauian lleuado de la casa de Pando? Y respondieron: qué se mantenían en distintas rancherías de las suyas, y que solo traian de las mismas 7, con las quales benian a celebrar las Paces, pidiendo por cada una de ellas algunas cosas, como cavallo &a. y entonces Portillo les dijo: que lo que les daría sería Poluora, y bala, pues no era ese, modo de pedir paces, de lo que se originó entregar 6 captivas, quedando en la ranchería un muchachito captiyo de 9 años de edad, el que no quizo salir de dha, ranchería, y mirando los cumanches el movimiento de dicho Cautivo, se le negaron a entregarlo, y á instancia de dicho Portillo tomaron las Armas en su Defenza, y al auiso que se dió al Gov^{or}. por su Teniente monto a cauallo, llegó a dha ranchería, entregaron el cautivo, y mandó echarles cerco triplicado de Yutas, Indios y Españoles, para determinar á otro día de dha, ranchería. Los 14 Capitanes Cumanches se apoderaron de las casas reales los que se mantubieron con guarnición: á otro día se atacó dha. ranchería, la q^e. clamava por la paz, y no admitida; descargó la tropa quedando tirados 60 Gandules, y 18 mugeres, y muchachitos, de presa pasaron de 150, Los Cápitanes a los tres días, se determinó por dho. Cauallera q^e. se quemaran las casas reales por que no se halló otro modo de

and returned to La Villa. (Santa Fé). He made another campaign thru Galisteo on the south with 300 men against the Comanches whom he fought and killed 40 or 50. Again he took the field with 1000 men, soldiers gentile Utes and Pueblo Indians to combat the Comanches in quest of 56 captive women whom the Comanches captured from El Valle de Taos, but after twenty five days campaign nothing was accomplished.

Don Manuel Portillo de Urrisola took the field to Taos to await and attack the Comanches. He camped about one month but accomplished nothing. He made a return campaign back to Taos with 200 men, soldiers and neighbors against the Comanches who had made an encampment there with 201 warriors women and children, about 300 in all. On the third day of camping in Taos Governor Portillo was called upon by fourteen Comanche captains. Portillo took advantage of this opportunity and inquired about the 56 captive women whom they had carried away from "La Casa de Pando." The Comanches replied that these captives were divided among many settlements scattered about and that only seven were with them in their settlement. They told Portillo that the object of their visit was to negotiate peace using these captives a medium for peace and that they would return these upon receiving some consideration of value for them and that in lieu therefor they would treat for peace. For instance they would take one horse for one captive, etc. Portillo replied as Portillo might. He said to them: "What I am going to give you is powder and bullets. That is not the way to ask for peace." The result of these remarks was the return of six of the captive women. A child nine years old still remained at the settlement. The child refused to leave and the Comanches taking notice of the boy's attitude refused to deliver him. Portillo ordered an attack to defend the child. Portillo's Lieutenant mounted his horse and rode to the settlement and recovered the captured child. It was then ordered that the Comanches be encircled in a triplicate manner of maneuvers

poder repararles sus insultos. Dⁿ. Tomás Velez 2 entradas nada. Boluio á salir por el ojo caliente con 300 hombres, contra los Cumanches con 300 hombres, y los siguieron 15 días, y no se encontraron. Boluio á salir contra dchos. con 500 hombres al Norte para el Río de Napeste no se hizo nada. Boluio á salir por el ojo caliente con 300 hombres, entre Norte y Sur en seguimiento de los mismos, y en el Río de los Conéjos encontró como 15 dhos. les quitó la cauallada que se lleuan, y ellos se escaparon hüllendo. Salió tambien para el Río de S. Antonio con 200 hombres entre oriente y Norte, á esperar los Cumanches, se esperaron seis días, y no se hizo nada.

Salió al ojo caliente, con 80 hombres, entre Norte y Sur, y no hizo nada.

En el año de mil setecientos, y setenta, hallándose este Reyno del Nuevo Mexico sumamente afligido con tan continuas, como crueles yrupciones de enemigos Barbaros, que le circundan, y reflexionando algunos de sus vecinos, las cortas fuerzas para resistirlos, y que los humanos socorros estaban mui distantes y dificiles, acordaron buscarlos en Dios, por medio de la eleccion de un Patron, que representase a su Divina Magestad sus angustias, y suplicas, y por su interseccion conseguir el remedio; atentos á que desde su Población no se hauia nombrado alguno, a quien con lá especialidad de Patron se dirigiesen sus suplicas.

Vien entendidos dichos vecinos de que la mas poderosa interseccion para con el omnipotente, es su Santísima Madre, cuiá Sagrada Imagen, con Título del Rosario, se venera en la Iglesia Parroquial de esta Villa de Santa Fé conducida por el conquistador Don Diego de Bargas por cuio motivo llaman la conquistadora, resoluieron elegirla por especial jurada Patrona de este dho. Reyno, y q^o. se celebre a honor suyo una annual funcion en dha. Iglesia, con la mas posible solemnidad, en la primera dominica del mes de

by Utes, Pueblos and Spaniards, to hold them and to determine on the following day what action to take. The fourteen Comanche captains took possession of the Royal Houses, which they used as forts. On the following day the Comanches were attacked and begged for peace which they did not get. The troops fired upon them leaving on the ground sixty warriors, eighteen women and children. Over 150 were captured. Three days after, Portillo decided upon setting fire to the royal houses, as there were no other means of reparation for the insults.

Don Tomas Velez, made two campaigns—but did nothing. Don Pedro Mendinueta went thru Pecos on the east against the Comanches with 300 men chasing them for fifteen days, but never fought them. Again he took the field against them with 500 going north to “Napeste” [Arkansas] River” but nothing was accomplished. Once again he took the field by “Ojo Caliente” with 300 men on a northerly and southerly direction trailing them and was finally rewarded at Rio Conejos where he overtook fifteen Comanches. He took their horses away from them, but they saved their lives by running to escape. He also went to El Rio de San Antonio with 200 men on an easterly and northerly direction, to lie in wait for the Comanches. They camped and waited six days. Nothing happened. He rode to Ojo Caliente with 80 men on a southerly and northerly direction, but did nothing.

In the year 1770, the kingdom of New Mexico found itself in such affliction with so many continued and cruel attacks from barbarous enemies which surrounded them that the people began to think, pressed by the urgent necessity of supplies, scarcity of fighting forces to resist the enemy—the human succor so far away and so difficult to reach and obtain, that they seek all these blessings from God thru the selection of a Patron Saint that would represent to His Divine Majesty their anguish, supplications and prayers to obtain the remedy, and since in the town there was no patron to whom to address their petitions.

Octubre: y para que fuese con anuencia de todos los auitantes del supra dicho reyno, se presentaron seis de dhos. vecinos por escrito al Señor don Pedro Fermin de Mendieta del orn. de Santiago Coronel de los Reales Exercitos, Governador, y Capitan General de este yá dicho Reyno, Y fueron Don Phelipe Tafoya, Don Antonio José Ortiz, Don Toribio Ortiz, Don Manuel García Pareja, Don Bartolomé Fernandez, Y Don Carlos Fernandez, proponiendo en él, el fin, y motiuos, y dejando a su prudente y debotta conducta, los medios correspondientes al logro de sus deseos.

Proueyó su Señoría que el citado escrito pasase á los religiosos Misioneros, que lo son del Seráfico orn. de Sn. Fran^{co}. para que en sus respectiuas Misiones, instruyesen á sus Feligreses en el contenido de la propuesta y q^e. si fuese aceptado se nombrasen diputados que en sus respectiuos partidos recibiesen lo qué cada uno delos vecinos quisiese dar (sin intervenir fuerza ni aun persuacion) para poner un pie de Ganado menor obejuno qué reditase annualmente los necesarios para la predicha solemnidad. Logrose todo, aun mejor de lo qué se deseaba.

El mismo año de setenta antes que el pie de Ganado, qué llegó a mil, y quinientas obejas, reditase, costeo el mencionado Señor Governador la primera funcion de Iglesia, y juntam^{te}. un ornamento completo, y bestido para la Imagen, de la mejor tela q^e. hallo en Mexico, y una caxa con llaue en qué se guarda, con el residuo de la cera qué arde, y todo al cuidado delos mayordomos que annualmente se han ido sucediendo. Y fueron los primeros en el año de 71, Don. Carlos Fernandez Y Don Bartolomé Fernandez, el de setenta, y dos, Dn. Antonio José Ortiz, Y Dn. Blas García, el de setenta y tres, Dn. Fran^{co}. Trebot Nauarro y Dn. Diego Antonio Baca, el de setenta y quatro, Dn, Toribio Ortiz y Dn. Manuel Saenz de Garuisu, el de setenta y cinco Dn. Juan Antonio Ortiz, Y Dn. José Calues, el de setenta y seis Don Antonio José Ortiz, segunda vez, y se ofreció a serlo por toda su vida con la ayuda de Dn. Cristoval Vigil.

Well knew all the people that the most powerful petitioner with whom to reach the Omnipotence was His Saintly Mother whose sacred Image under the name "El Rosario" is worshipped at the parroquial church of this Villa de Santa Fé, conducted under the Conqueror Don Diego De Vargas, and on account of which she is called the "Conquistadora" they resolved to elect her under oath Special Patron Saint of the Kingdom, and that there be celebrated in her honor an annual Feast in the Church with all the possible solemnity, on the first Sunday of the month of October, and in order that it may be so with the universal approval of all the inhabitants of the kingdom, six of the men addressed themselves in writing to Señor Don Pedro Fermin de Mendinueta of the Order of Santiago, Colonel of the Royal Armies Governor and Captain General of the Kingdom, and they were Don Felipe Tafoya, Don Antonio José Ortiz, Don Toribio Ortiz, Don Manuel Garcia Pareia, Don Bartolome Fernandez, and Don Carlos Fernandez. They set forth in the writing their object and motives, leaving to his prudent and devout arrangement the measures necessary to attain their desires.

His highness resolved that the written instrument be circulated among the religious, the missionaries of the Seraphic Order of San Francisco, in order that in their respective missions they might inform their parishioners of the contents of the request, and if accepted, that there be appointed deputies who would receive whatever the parishioners might wish to donate (but without force or even persuasion) to set foot and initiate the idea of raising sheep in order to produce the annual necessary costs for the said solemnity. Everything was accomplished far beyond their hopes and dreams. In the same year of 1770, before the sheep which were 1500, produced any revenues, the governor paid for the first feast of the church, together with a complete outfit of vestments and robes for the image of the very best quality of weaves found in Mexico—and a chest

with a key where it is kept with the unburned wax, and all in care of the Mayordomos who succeed themselves annually. The first mayordomos who served in 1771 were Don Carlos Fernandez and Don Bartolome Fernandez. In 1772, Don Antonio José Ortiz and Don Blas Garcia. In 1773 Don Francisco Trebot Navarro and Don Diego Antonio Baca. In 1774, Don Toribio Ortiz and Don Manuel Saenz de Garvisu. In 1775, Don Juan Antonio Ortiz and Don Jose Calves. In 1776 Don Antonio José Ortiz, for the second time and offered to do so for life with the aid of Don Cristobal Vigil. This celebration continues without interruption until this the year of 1777, and also the burning of over three hundred candles of white wax of the north on the Altars and brackets, and it is hoped that it will be perpetuated because of the acknowledged and miraculous favors from the Powerful intercession of the Sovereign Queen of all Creation and the blessings we have experienced and are experiencing.

(concluded from page 295)

Sigue esta Celebridad sin decadencia alguna hasta el presente años de 77, ardiendo en los Altares Imanos mas de tres-cientas velas de cera blanca del Norte, y se espera se perpetuará á vista de los palpables fauores qué de la poderosa interseccion de la Soberana Reyna detodo lo criado, se hán experimentado, y experimentan.