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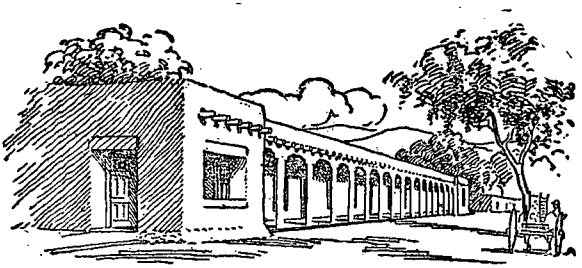

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NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XXV APRIL, 1950 No. 2

THE COWBOY—SINNER OR SAINT!

By CLIFFORD P. WESTERMEIER*

THE COWBOY is the central figure in the story of the American cattle industry. He emerges as a romantic figure in American history, a dominant and vital figure in frontier life; his spirit is American and particularly western; thus, his life unfolds in an epic around the greatest pastoral movement in the history of the world. During the short span of years, from 1866 to the end of the century, the cowboy left an indelible mark upon American culture and the West from which he cannot be separated. True, those who write about him grace him with an aura of romance and sentimentality; true, he has been cast in a mould of courage, violence and sudden death, of steadfastness and nobility, of blind devotion and even of dark deeds, but he nevertheless remained the guardian of the West. His story is one of struggle.

Sentimentalists mourn the passing of the Old West. They mourn the passing of the Men on Horseback, those Titans clad in buckskins, flopping hats and boots, and they chant a dirge for the trail which has passed through the sunset.

All has vanished? So they say—but this is not true! The Old West has grown from infancy to boyhood and now to manhood; it did not die, nor did it disappear. The Old West is still here as a part of the New West—a sturdier West in new clothing, with a new vocabulary and new interests.

The migration was essentially from East to West—

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explorers, missionaries, hunters, traders, goldseekers, and homesteaders. However, coming from the South, the cattle and their cowboy drivers bisected, in their northward drive, the westward march of American civilization and, more than any other movement, imprinted on the West its character. Out of this dramatic conflict developed the cattle industry. Little is to be said of that drama, for this is an account of the actors who played the important roles and how they appeared to the spectators of that time.

In the course of years thick volumes have been published which tell the story of the cowboy. The names of Siringo, Santee, Adams, Hough, Rollins, James, Dobie, Coolidge, Lomax, and King are familiar. Other special studies about the cattle industry, cattle wars, horses, bad men, vigilantes, rustlers, desperadoes, Indian fighters, two-gun sheriffs, buffalo hunters, the authors of which are too numerous to mention, also included a character study of the cowboy, his equipment, and his work. In addition, there are innumerable autobiographical and reminiscent accounts of old-time cattle men and cowboys who, in preserving their memoirs, have made vital contributions to the character of the cowboy. Of these old-time cowboys few are left who were in their prime in the years between 1866 and 1895. Also, one must not neglect that vast collection of cowboy literature—fiction and nonfiction—the dime novels and western 'thrillers' which are classified as sub-literary.

With the exception of the latter two, the dime novel and the western 'thriller,' which appear shortly after the Civil War, the preponderance of cowboy literature—historical, autobiographical and fictional—is the product of the last four decades. The great majority of these authors have magnified the glamorous and romantic side of the cowboy's life to such an extent that his real mission, and more often his character, are lost under a welter of inaccuracies. To assume that the whole truth about the cowboys has been completely told is as inaccurate as to assume that there are no cowboys today. This study is an attempt to portray the true picture of the cowboy as found in the writings of contemporaries in

newspapers, diaries, letters, periodicals, and also in books which, in most cases, were published before the turn of the century.

Just when the term *cowboy* was applied to the men who made a life work of tending cattle is a matter of conjecture. However, during the American Revolution the name *cowboy* was tagged to a group of American Tories who played havoc with the stock of the Whigs and Loyalists by swooping into their districts of occupation to steal cattle.[1]

In 1814 the cattle driven from certain districts in the Southern states came in contact with and infected healthy cattle. Later, in 1837, legislation was enacted in North Carolina which prevented the driving of cattle from South Carolina or Georgia to that state from the first day of April to the first day of November. However, no mention is made of the drivers or herders, but it may be assumed they were cowboys.[2]

At first it appears that the cowboy was looked upon as a curiosity. His arrival in a town invariably caused comment in the next issue of the local paper, and often these items were reprinted in newspapers of surrounding towns. The comments usually concerned his skill in handling cattle, the dangers involved, and occasionally his skill in riding was mentioned. Notes of criticism of this 'stranger' crept into some of the early writings.

An interesting letter, written over a hundred years ago, mentions the cowboy, his work, and also the beginning of his sport—the rodeo. It was written by Captain Mayne Reid to Samuel Arnold of Drumnakelly, Seaforde, County Down, Ireland. It was inscribed, "Santa Fe, 10th June, 1847." Captain Reid wrote:

> The town from which I write is quaint; of the Spanish style of building and reposes in a great land kissed by the southern sun. You have cows in old Ireland, but you never saw cows. Yes, millions of them here, I am sure, browsing on the sweet long grass of the ranges

1. *Encyclopedia Americana* (New York, 1937), 133. *Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language*, 2nd ed. unabridged (Springfield, Mass., 1945), 614.

2. "Texas Fever, Splenetic Fever, or Southern Cattle Fever," *Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture* (1899), 124-125.

that roll from horizon to horizon. At this time of year the cowmen have what is called the round-up, when the calves are branded and the fat beasts selected to be driven to a fair hundreds of miles away.

The round-up is a great time for the cowhands, a Donneybrook fair it is, indeed. They contest with each other for the best roping and throwing, and there are horse races and whiskey and wines. At night in the clear moonlight there is much dancing on the streets.[3]

As the cattle were driven out of Texas, fear of the cattle fever swept over the areas through which they passed. The *Messenger,* a newspaper of Hannibal, Missouri, on July 10, 1858, gives an account of the cattle stampedes and difficulties encountered by the drivers in rounding them up. The problem of the drivers, however, was not confined to the herding of fine Texas cattle through the city streets and to the quelling of stampedes. These men were opposed on all sides by the farmers and settlers who feared that the disease might spread to the domesticated cattle.[4]

In addition to human interference from both white and red men, the trials inflicted by nature on the drives were almost unbelievable. One of the most vivid accounts appears in the diary of George C. Duffield. In the spring of 1866, Duffield started the long drive from southern Texas to Chariton, Iowa. This is probably one of the most interesting diaries of a day-by-day account of a cattle drive. It is full of woe and hardships and although it is the story of one man, it is also the story of all men who followed this hazardous occupation, the story of their courage, daring, and resourcefulness.[5]

Not all the excitement which surrounded the cowboy took place on the long drives. Upon arriving in the cowtowns at the end of the drives, the 'boys' found themselves the center

3. Letter in the manuscript collection of Colin Johnston Robb, Drumharriff Lodge, Loughgall, County Armagh, Ireland. *See* Westermeier, C. P., *MAN, BEAST, DUST: The Story of Rodeo* (Denver, Colorado, 1947), 34. Evidently this type of frivolity had been going on for some time. An article entitled "The Santa Fe Trade," appeared in the *Missouri Republican* deploring life in that gay southwestern city. It says: "A majority of the Traders invest in the trade from $100 to $600; these *capitalists* live cheaply upon buffalo, and improve their habits and morals among the—in every way—vicious, and lascivious inhabitants of Santa Fe." *Missouri Republican,* February 16, 1830.

4. *Report of Missouri State Board of Agriculture* (1866), 20. *Missouri Statesman* (Columbia), June 24, 1859. *Laws of Missouri* 24th G. A., 1st Sess. (1867), 128.

5. *Annals of Iowa,* 14, no. 4, (Des Moines, Iowa, 1924).

of attraction and confusion.[6] The editor of the Cheyenne *Daily Leader* comments cautiously; perhaps even curiously:

It is a very entertaining sight to see a bull-whacker seated astride of a broncho horse, that has but a limited acquaintance with his rider, or the rough uses, that he is to be put to; and with Spanish spurs roweling the life out of the poor brute, nearly, and making him rear his ends in the air, alternately, while an idle crowd gather to witness and curse the exhibition made by both horse and rider.

We are induced to speak thus, in consequence of having witnessed a display of such a horse and such a rider, on Tuesday evening, near the corner of Seventeenth and Ferguson streets. There was quite a crowd and some quiet swearing. But would not such exhibitions be in better taste out on the prairie? Suppose one of these bronchos should run up the side of a brick building to the roof, or up a telegraph pole to the cross-bars and insulators, would the rider keep his seat? These bronchos are liable to do these things; we have known them to do worse things.[7]

A decade later, the same newspaper tells of an unfortunate cowboy who was attacked by a steer and badly disfigured, and owed his life to the fact that the widespread long horns straddled his head as he lay prostrate on the ground.[8]

In explaining the riding prowess of a cowboy, a newspaper correspondent attempts to educate the reading public of his paper with a vivid and lurid description of "How Cowboys Ride":

The cowboy is the real horseman. He keeps his seat under circumstances that would result in unhorsing any one not having much nerve and constant practice. When a yearling steer held by a rope to the pommel jerks the saddle half-way round the body, the cowboy must stay on the pony or run the gauntlet of wild steers and scared pony. When the half-tamed broncho, just caught from a "cavvy" of one or two hundred horses, indulges in ten minutes' spell of bucking, the cowboy must keep his seat or have a rebellious pony always on his string. When the cowboy dashed after a running steer, and the steer turns like a billiard ball, when it hits a cushion, the cowboy must

6. "A small army of cowboys filed into town yesterday afternoon. They were direct from Texas, having come up with Driskill's herd. Later in the evening they left for Sturgis, where they were paid. About $4,000 were distributed among them." "Ranch, Range and Herds," Cheyenne *Daily Leader*, Thursday, August 31, 1882.

7. Tuesday, September 11, 1873.

8. "Cowboys and Texas Cattle in the Stock Yards," Cheyenne *Daily Leader*, Wednesday, August 2, 1882.

turn with the pony, who runs with the steer, and not shoot over his head. When the pony stands on his hind legs "on a ten plate," and paws the air with his fore feet, the cowboy must cling to him.[9]

Many actual stories arise from the daily work of the cowboy. Early in the year of 1889, a graphic report of a fight between sheepherders and cowboys in the mountains near Albuquerque, New Mexico, states:

From a Mr. Edwards, a sheep-raiser in the mountains, it is learned that a terrible hand-to-hand conflict, in which pistols and knives were used, took place the other evening between the sheepherders from Sam Lund's ranch and cowboys supposed to work for W. B. Slaughter. The battle resulted in the killing of two and the wounding of four sheepherders. The sheriff has left for the scene with a posse heavily armed, and it is predicted that more murders will be committed.[10]

Later in the year, an account from Folsom, New Mexico, appears in the same newspaper. It speaks of a recent blizzard which had swept over eastern Colorado and northern New Mexico. On the night in question, Henry Miller, the range foreman of Colonel R. G. Head, with several cowboys, had camped near Sierra Grand with 1,800 beef cattle. About 4 o'clock the next morning the blizzard struck the camp and drove the cattle toward the Panhandle of Texas. The cowboys were unable to hold the cattle and the snow was so blinding in its intensity that it was impossible to see fifty feet ahead. The cowboys attempted to bunch the cattle to prevent them from wandering, but, in so doing, the men became separated. Late the next day one cowboy finally reached Head's ranch and told his story. A rescue party was sent out and found the frozen bodies of Henry Miller, Joe Martin, and Charlie Jolly not far from Folsom. The other men finally succeeded in making their way back to camp before succumbing to the cold.[11]

While the blizzard was taking its toll in New Mexico, a scene, less disastrous but no less exciting, took place in Kansas City. It is described in a newspaper article, "Steers on the Rampage," which states:

9. Cheyenne *Daily Leader*, Friday, June 29, 1883.
10. *The Republic* (St. Louis, Missouri), January 8, 1889.
11. "Cowboys Frozen," *Ibid.*, November 7, 1889.

A scene of frontier excitement occurred in this city today. It lasted for five hours and during that time a herd of stampeded Texas steers had possession of the thoroughfares in an area about two miles square. A number of persons were tossed on the horns of the infuriated beasts and before the herd was corralled again three of the number had been killed.

This morning eight cowboys started with a drove of cattle from the stockyards, bound for Clay County, across the Missouri River. The steers refused to cross the bridge, and, upon being urged, stampeded. Then the excitement began. The herd had proceeded down Bluff street for two squares at a clattering pace, clearing all before it, when four of the cowboys, with frontier foresight, cut around a block and headed it off. Before the cattle were driven back and corralled at the river's bank, eight of them had broken away from the herd and had started on a tour of the city. At Broadway and Bluff street one of the cowboys succeeded in lassoing one of the refractory animals but could not control the animal. The steer started for the river, the cowboy still on his pony and still holding the lasso. At the bluff, about 25 feet over the river, the cowboy refused to go further, but the pony and steer plunged over into the water below. Both swam ashore uninjured.[12]

The character studies of the cowboy by his contemporaries not only arouse great interest but are also very revealing. However, one must remember that in many cases these are the opinions of individual persons. Thus, a pattern of black or white is developed, that is, a pattern of the cowboy, 'sinner or saint'; nevertheless, the circumstances surrounding these individual experiences with the men of the plains condition their statements.

Charles W. Webber in his *Tales of the Southern Border* writes:

The cowboys were, in short, considered as banditti before the revolution, and have been properly considered so since. This term "Cowboy" was even then—and still more emphatically, later—one name for many crimes; since those engaged in it were mostly outlaws confessedly, and if not so at the beginning, were always driven into outlawry by the harsh and stern contingencies of their pursuit. . . .[13]

Following the 'sinner' theme, that is that all cowboys were bad—outlaws and criminals,[14] a writer for the *Topeka*

12. *The Republic* (St. Louis, Missouri), November 7, 1889.

13. (Philadelphia, 1853), 124.

14. "An unknown cowboy robbed the Turtle Mountain Bank at Dunsheith on Friday and escaped to the mountains with $1,000. The robber shortly after returned

Commonwealth expresses his opinion in "The Texas Cattle Herder":

> The Texas cattle herder is a character, the like of which can be found nowhere else on earth. Of course he is unlearned and illiterate, with but few wants and meager ambitions. His diet is principally navy plug and whiskey and the occupation dearest to his heart is gambling. . . . He generally wears a revolver on each side of his person, which he will use with as little hesitation on a man as on a wild animal. Such a character is dangerous and desperate and each one has generally killed his man. . . . They drink, swear, and fight, and life with them is a round of boisterous gayety and indulgence in sensual pleasure.[15]

Joseph G. McCoy's character sketch of the cowboy is well known. In his book *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest,* he sums up, with delicate skill, the man of the plains: The cowboy "loves tobacco, liquor, and women better than any other trinity."[16]

McCoy also writes about the frontier town, the town at the end of the cattle trails—at the rail heads. Here the cowboy finds himself after several lonely isolated months on the range or cattle drive. In his comments, McCoy seems to feel that the cowboys and the characters who swarm to these centers are to blame for the deplorable conditions which exist there. Men who had lived with dirt, danger, and death for endless months found what gaiety they could in these oases of civilization.[17] The puritanical background of this author comes to the fore in these critical accounts, yet he instigated the movement to make Abilene, Kansas, the first cowtown! His moral principles were confused.

Similar opinions are expressed in a short article appearing in the *Washington Star:*

> In the cow towns those nomads in regions remote from the restraint of moral, civic, social, and law enforcing life, the Texas cattle drovers, from the very tendencies of their situations the embodiment of waywardness and wantonness, and the journey with their herds, loiter

to town and attempted to rob a store, but a crowd gathered, ran him down and killed him." Calgary *Weekly Herald,* Wednesday, June 21, 1893.

15. (Topeka, Kansas), August 15, 1871.
16. (Glendale, California, 1940), 85.
17. *Ibid.,* 205-206, 209.

and dissipate, sometimes for months, and share the boughten dalliances of fallen women.[18]

Another writer expresses himself about the cowboy in the following terms:

As you mingle with these cowboys, you find them a strange mixture of good nature and recklessness. You are as safe with them on the plains as with any class of men, so long as you do not impose upon them. They will even deny themselves for your comfort, and imperil their lives for your safety. But impose upon them, or arouse their ire, and your life is of no value in their esteem than that of a coyote. Morally, as a class, they are toulemouthed, [sic] blasphemous, drunken, lecherous, utterly corrupt. Usually harmless on the plains when sober, they are dreaded in towns, for then liquor has the ascendency over them. They are also as improvident as the veriest "Jack" of the sea. Employed as cow-boys only six months in the year—from May till November—their earnings are soon squandered in dissolutions, and then they hunt, or get odd jobs, to support themselves until another season begins. They are never cumbered with baggage. They never own any interest in the stock they tend. This dark picture of the cowboys ought to be lightened by the statement that there is occasionally a white sheep among the black. True and devoted Christians are found in such company—men who kneel down regularly and offer their prayers in the midst of their bawdy and cursing associates. They are like Lot in Sodom.[19]

Probably one of the most interesting items appears in Alex M. Darley's book, *The Passionists of the Southwest.* It is certainly not typical of the cowboy, that is the Anglo-American, but it is so unusual that it should be included:

A prominent cattleman—Horton of Texas—sends the following to the *Sun* of New York, and it is to be supposed that it occurred in Texas; though, if so, it is the only Texas case of which the author of this book knows:

"They say the Mexican is disposed to flagellation,—that nothing so prepossesses him, however grave can be his responsibilities.

18. "Social Influences in the West," *Washington Star* (Washington, D. C.), January 1, 1878.

19. "The Cow-boys of the Western Plains and Their Horses," Cheyenne *Daily Leader,* October 3, 1882.

Most of the cowboy's profanity is unprintable. You would get an entirely new idea what profanity meant if you heard it. "The remotest, most obscure and unheard-of conceptions from heaven, earth, and hell, are linked together in a sequence so original, so gaudy, and so utterly blasphemous that you gasp and are stricken with the most devoted admiration. It is genius. . . . it would liberalize your education." White, Stewart E., "The Mountains, XIX.—On Cowboys," *Outlook,* 78 (September 3, 1904), 84.

I have seen a herd of three thousand head scattered in all directions in the midst of a storm, and enormous losses suffered because at the first thunder-clap all the cow-boys, without exception, kneeled in order to flagellate themselves till they made blood flow, invoking the divine mercy.

"When the idea of giving himself to this exercise overcomes one of these cow-boys, whether in the road or in the desert, he knows no one nor anything, and the cries he utters as he strikes himself frighten his flock, which flees at the gallop."[20]

Even the chief executive of our nation was concerned about the conduct of the cowboy in the southwestern territories. Chester A. Arthur, shortly after assuming his duties as president, gave expression to his worries of cowboy depredations. His message to Congress dated December 6, 1881, states:

The Acting Attorney-General also calls attention to the disturbances of the public tranquility during the past year in the Territory of Arizona. A band of armed desperadoes, known as "Cow Boys," probably numbering from fifty to one hundred men, have been engaged for months in committing acts of lawlessness and brutality which the local authorities have been unable to repress. The depredations of these "Cow Boys" have also extended into Mexico which the marauders reach from the Arizona frontier. With every disposition to meet the exigencies of the case, I am embarrassed by lack of authority to deal with them effectually.[21]

This is probably the blackest side of the 'sinner.' It is the cowboy painted in dark and scarlet colors against the flaming and lurid canvas of the frontier. His detractors are willing to admit that their victim strode with titanic grandeur across the stage—the desert, plains, plateaus, mountains, and brush country—yet, the cowboy may not diverge one iota from the conventional pattern of men. They forget that the cattle kingdom was a world in itself and had a culture of its own. During a span of thirty years this kingdom engraved itself on the Great Plains and upon American culture, and necessarily also upon the chief actor of the drama—the cowboy.

20. *The Passionists of the Southwest, or The Holy Brotherhood* (Pueblo, Colorado, 1893), 49.

21. Poore, Ben Perley, ed. Chester A. Arthur, *Message from the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress, December 6, 1881* (Washington, D. C., 1881), 20.

The cowboy was different, not by choice but because of his environment. He had been forged from the ore of the frontier. His life was a logical one, and if romance and glamor surround him, it is because those who created the literary cowboy also created the halo. They failed to make a distinction between work and play. They failed utterly and completely to realize that the cowboy ever worked, for the age was fabulous, the longhorns were spectacular, the drives were romantic and dangerous, and the cowboys were picturesque.

After the first amiable curiosity about the cowboy had worn off, he apparently was looked upon with distrust and suspicion and was often maligned by his contemporaries. This attitude toward him changes during the latter part of his day and especially when the cattle industry becomes a big business, and attracts people from all over the world to invest their money. Now one can find many statements in praise of the cowboy which have a ring of sincerity and are very refreshing.

General James S. Brisbin of the United States Army urges youth to 'go West':

> The West! The Mighty West! That land where the buffalo still roams and the wild savage dwells; where the broad rivers flow and the boundless prairie stretches away for thousands of miles . . . where the poor, young man finds honor and wealth. . . .[22]

Another article written by Fred J. Stanton for the Cheyenne *Daily Leader* is of a similar vein, but touches more directly on the cowboy:

> I have met among these stockmen highly educated men, as herders, whose essays on literature would throw into the deepening shade some of the sentimental so-called aesthetic sickly nonsense which society calls poetry.
>
> If you wish to do so, you can find as highly educated and refined gentlemen among the "old settlers" and "cowpunchers" of the many years ago, of these arid plains, as they were formerly called, as you can in those who come now in their Pullman cars, with Oscar Wilde aesthetic manners, accompanied with Patchoulli, [sic] Essence de Miilefleurs [sic] or seal skin sacques.

22. *The Beef Bonanza; or, How to Get Rich on the Plains* (Philadelphia, 1881), 13-14.

Let me travel among these plains, and call at their cabins, the dugouts or tents of these stockmen or "cowpunchers" as they familiarly style themselves, and I find them, as a class, the soul of honor, punctiliously so, and you cannot insult them more than by an offer to pay for a meal or a bed. Go to the east, and they charge you five cents for a glass of milk. Whiskey I never met in a western "cowpunchers" camp in more than one case in twenty.[23]

Another writer, Alfred Henry Lewis, seems to have a concise and direct opinion about the man of the plains. In his *Wolfville Nights,* he writes:

On the range the cowboy is quiet, just and peaceable. There are neither women nor cards nor rum about the cow camps. The ranches and the boys themselves banish the two latter; and the first won't come. Women, cards and whiskey, the three war causes of the West, are confined to the towns.[24]

Baron Walter von Richthofen makes a pertinent statement: "Among cowboys are to be found the sons of the best families, who enjoy this romantic, healthy, and free life on the prairie."[25]

Nat Love, who disapproved of the manner in which writers had portrayed him, gives his own opinion in his *Life and Adventures:* "I was not the wild blood-thirsty savage and all around bad man many writers have pictured me in their romances, yet I was wild, reckless and free, afraid of nothing, that is nothing I ever saw. . . ."[26]

The Reverend Cyrus Townsend Brady, writing of his missionary experiences in the West, says:

I am very fond of the genuine cow-boy, now fast disappearing. I've ridden and hunted with him, eaten and laughed with him, camped and slept with him, wrestled and prayed with him, and I always found him a rather good sort, fair, honorable, generous, kindly, loyal to his friends, his own worst enemy. The impression he makes on civilization when he rides through a town in a drunken revel, shooting miscellaneously at everything, is a deservedly bad one, I grant you; but you should see him on the prairie in a round-up or before a stampede. There he is a man and a hero![27]

23. Thursday, May 25, 1882.
24. (New York, 1902), 11.
25. *Cattle-Raising on the Plains* (New York, 1885), 19.
26. *The Life and Adventures of Nat Love* (Los Angeles, California, 1907), 70.
27. *Recollections of a Missionary in the Great West* (New York, 1900), 62.

One of the pathetic experiences which Reverend Brady relates is the story of the death of a young ranchman and cowboy:

After one of the blizzards, a young ranchman who had gone into the nearest town, some twenty miles away, to get some Christmas things for his wife and little ones, was found frozen to death on Christmas morning, his poor little packages of petty Christmas gifts tightly clasped in his cold hands lying by his side. His horse was frozen, too, and when they found it, hanging to the horn of the saddle was a little piece of an evergreen-tree—you would throw it away in contempt in the East, it was so puny. There it meant something. The love of Christmas? It was there in his dead hands. The spirit of Christmas? It showed itself in that bit of verdant pine over the lariat at the saddle-bow of the poor bronco.

Do they have a Christmas out West? Well, they have it in their hearts, if no place else, and, after all, that is the place above all others where it should be.[28]

In *Reminiscences of a Ranchman,* Edgar Bronson draws a vigorous picture of meal time around a chuck wagon. He shows the cowboy as a hungry man after a hard day's work and his word picture carries a sense of rugged reality:

A merry fire blazed at the tail end of the chuck wagon. About it were sitting sixteen punchers, feeding from tin plates and cups, gorging on beans, beef, and baking powder biscuits, washed down with coffee strong enough to float an egg; men with ferocious hunger of the wolf, and the case-hardened stomach of the ostrich. They were of all ages from sixteen to sixty, but most of them under thirty, all grimy with dust, and several reeking with the blood of the day's work in corrals. . . . While no life of greater privation and hardship than the cowboy's ever existed, unless that in the forecastle of a windjammer, no merrier, jollier lot ever lived, always "joshing" each other, turning a jest on every condition in life, from the cradle to grave, but one—home and mammy, a subject on which tones always lowered, eyes softened and sometimes grew misty.[29]

Bronson writes interestingly about the cowboy; however, at times he writes so glowingly and romantically that he pictures the plainsman as a "knight of the Golden Fleece."[30] Readers of Western Americana are well aware of Sister

28. *Ibid.*, 184-185.
29. (New York, 1908), 30-31.
30. *Ibid.*, 297.

Blandina Segale's encounter with a cowboy on her way to Trinidad, Colorado:

By descriptions I have read I knew he was a cowboy! With crushing vividness—"No virtuous woman is safe near a cowboy" came to me. I made an act of contrition—concentrated my thoughts on the presence of God—thought of the Archbishop's blessing, "Angels guard your steps," and moved to such position as would put my heart in range with his revolver. I expected he would speak—I answer—he fire. The agony endured cannot be written. The silence and suspense unimaginable.[31]

Will James gives us a wistful description of his counterpart—the man he knows so well and about whom he has written so often. A cowboy himself, James shows both sides of his colleagues. Usually, he leaves the reader with a feeling of good will toward the cowboy. He also offers an explanation for a better understanding of the cowboy in emphasizing the big-hearted, generous, kind-hearted and human qualities of the cowboy, yet noting that he is subject to all human frailties.[32]

James observed with keen insight one other important clue to a more thorough understanding of the cowboy. He makes no excuses for the cowboy, but at the same time he points out that too often the renegade from the North and East, who came in contact with the 'native cowboy,' gave him a bad name.[33]

Major W. Shepherd observed that the greatest enemy of the range cattle industry was the plough. The coming of the farmer had turned parts of Kansas and Nebraska into cultivated areas; the stock withdrew and disappeared into the mountains and rough country. Shepherd writes in 1885:

Almost the whole of Wyoming, Montana, and Idaho are still unsettled, and in these territories the cattle business is still carried on somewhat in the old style. Formerly the man who shouted loudest, galloped hardest, and was quickest in drawing his "gun," was considered the most dashing cow-boy; if he had come up on the Texas trail,

31. Letter inscribed "Trinidad, Dec. 10, 1872." Segale, Sister Blandina, *At the End of the Santa Fe Trail* (Milwaukee, 1948), 29. (The conversation which took place between the nun and the cowboy is probably one of the most mirth-provoking on record.)

32. James, W. S., *Cow-Boy Life in Texas or 27 Years a Maverick* (Chicago, 1893), 38.

33. *Ibid.*, 46.

and had failed to kill his man, he was held to have wasted his opportunities. But times are changing; it is only in the south, for instance Arizona, where the term cow-boy is equivalent to desperado; in the north the men on the ranges are as good as any class of Americans. The increased value of the cattle has introduced more care and gentler handling in their management.[34]

A newspaper correspondent of the Fort Worth *Journal* spent a quiet Sunday at a ranch with the cowboys. During the afternoon a game of cards was played, and the outcome is humorously but effectively expressed in the evening service in the following prayer:

Oh, Lord! we haven't got much to worry Thee about on this occasion, as things are running pretty smooth in this part of Thy moral range. The range is pretty good, water is not very scarce, the cattle are looking fine and the calf crop is panning out amazingly, and we are not the kind of boys to come begging to the throne of grace for little things we can rustle for ourselves. We might state, oh, Lord! that it hasn't rained here for some time, and that we are soon going to need some moisture, but there is nobody hurt yet, and we suppose that the matter will be duly looked after. Lord, if and according with Thy divine pleasure and opinions of how a decent game should be conducted, forgive Pitts Neal for stealing out that ace full which he wickedly played against my flush, but if it so be that Thou art on to his many sins and much iniquity as the rest of us are, and seest fit to give him a little sample of Thy divine wrath, Lord, let it please Thee to place in his hands a diamond flush and cause him to buck against Thy servant, who shall be provided with a jack full. But, Lord, in this operation, it will be necessary to exercise a good deal of care lest he steal out four queens and scoop in the shekels of Thy servant, for verily he is mighty to pilfer, and in that case Lord, there would be an uproar thereabout, and crushed and broken bones, and moreover a great deal of faith would be shaken and lost, and Thy servant would perhaps backslide the length of many Sabbath journeys. So mote it be—Ahem.

After the devotional exercises were over Pitts Neal was heard to remark that he'd be darned if he played in the game with Luther again. He said he wasn't afraid that any one man could play dirt on him, but that he wasn't going to play against the entire kingdom of Heaven and all the boys too.[35]

During the Cattlemen's Conventions of 1884 and 1885 in St. Louis, Missouri, the cowboy comes under close scrutiny

34. Shepherd, R. E., Major W., *Prairie Experiences in Handling Cattle and Sheep* (New York, 1885), 23, 25.

35. Cheyenne *Daily Leader*, Thursday, October 4, 1883.

of his contemporaries. Already there appears that softening of expression about the cowboy which was mentioned earlier. However, this opinion is not universal.

Many notables were in attendance at the Convention of 1884: Joseph G. McCoy, M. R. Lovell, Charles Goodnight, B. H. Sandburn, C. C. Slaughter, George B. Loving, John Clay, Granville Stuart, Colonel King, and Captain Pat Garrett, who killed Billy the Kid.[36]

Among the famous guests was General Sherman who gave a short speech and concluded with the words: "I, myself, have seen the cowboys of Arizona, New Mexico, and Colorado and can say that they are a brave lot of fellows, a little wild perhaps (laughter) but on the whole with the impulses of generous and manly nature."[37]

There was a sincere appreciation of the change in the status of the men who, less than two decades before, had started out to conquer the plains and build from them a mighty empire. In the *Missouri Republican* of November 18, 1884 this statement appears:

> As a rule the delegates are fine specimens of manhood; erect and broad shouldered with faces and hands browned by exposure to the bracing atmosphere of the plains and muscles hardened by active exercise. The great majority of the men have acquired wealth in the cattle industry and many have risen from the comparatively humble position of cowboy to millionaire. It is said that quite a considerable number have commenced life in the Far West with almost nothing and risen to prominent places through hard work and strict attention to business. A finer body of men physically as well as mentally has never assembled in the city.

During the Convention of 1884, questions arose concerning the authenticity of the Cowboy Band, which was in much demand for social functions and parades, and the costumes worn by the members. There were arguments on both sides regarding this point, and a delegate from Colorado finally expressed his opinion:

> We feel that the cowboy band is out of place as long as they persist in making a parade of their leggings and revolvers. It is painfully true that people in the East had been led to believe that a greater portion

36. *Missouri Republican*, November 16, 1884; November 17, 1884.
37. *Ibid.*, November 18, 1884.

of cattlemen of Southwest and West are as a rule desperate characters; and that we roam about over the prairies armed to the teeth with knives and revolvers. We want to dispel this idea as it places us in a false light before the world. Years ago when likely to meet a bunch of Indians, we were required to go heavily armed when we followed our cattle. Times have changed and the necessity for revolvers no longer exists. On many ranches cowboys are not allowed to carry revolvers. Today the average cowboy is as good an average American citizen as can be found anywhere in America.[38]

In 1885, Mr. Lapham of Chicago, representing the Hide and Leather Dealers, appeared before the Convention to make an appeal for moderation in branding. His speech was most indiscreet because of the type of men in his audience. He told them that no where in the world was so little care taken to save the hide from excessive branding as in the Far West. He pleaded that they be at least as careful as the half-civilized neighbors to the South and the uncivilized natives of Asia and Africa. A little care would save them much money each year.[39]

However, the following remark brought forth a vigorous and vehement defense of the cowboy:

> The public believes that the native cowboy, reared on the frontier, is not possessed with the proper respect for the value of property or respect for the law, much less with those fine instincts which are alive to the keen sufferings of the brute world.[40]

Mr. Exall of Texas jumped to the defense of the cowboy in his reply:

38. *Missouri Republican*, November 18, 1884.

The mystery of the cowboy band was solved when S. S. Prunty, the editor of the *Kansas Cowboy* of Dodge City, stated that Western Kansas would take the responsibility for the cowboy band. He said it was sent as a token of appreciation of St. Louis hospitality and added that ". . . .the attire of the members of the band is the regulation dress of the plains cowboy. The spurs, pistol and leather leggings are seen every day on the cowboy of the plains. The members, while mostly cowboys in jest, are gentlemen and some represent thousands of head of bovine." *Missouri Republican*, November 20, 1884.

39. During the preparations being made for the Convention of 1884, a St. Louis tanner suggested calling a convention of the "Cattlemen's Cousins," the hide dealers, tanners and leather merchants in order that some measures might be taken to lessen the evils of branding. Sixty-five delegates arrived from New York, Boston, Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Louisville and other cities. They presented their case declaring that excessive branding caused an annual loss of several million dollars; in support of their statement they produced a two pound brand scab. *Missouri Republican*, October 22, 1884; November 16, 1884; November 19, 1884; November 28, 1885.

40. *Ibid.*, November 28, 1885.

. . . he wanted to remind the gentleman who read or wrote the paper that he was mistaken as to the lawlessness of the cowboy of the plains. There are no other class of men from the Atlantic to the Pacific who have more responsibility on their shoulders than the cowboys. Men of irresponsible character would not be entrusted with such interests. Men who owned large interests would not entrust them to men of lawlessness . . . he wanted to say that the men of the plains were the equals and the peers of the men of the cities.[41]

Judge Wallace of Colorado protested:

. . . when I hear a motion to adopt as part of the proceedings of this convention that which libels the cowboy of the West, I must be allowed respectively to enter my protest. It amounts to charging the cowboy with retrograding to a state of savagery. . . . I have lived in the state of Colorado for twelve years . . . and my life has been spent largely in dealings with these men, the cowboys . . . with reference to their character, to the large interests at stake of the men who own the herd, and the amount of money involved, do you suppose that it would be entrusted to murderers, cut-throats, and thieves? No, gentlemen, there are violators of the law in the West as in the East, but I opine that the percentage of business is quite equal to that of the East.[42]

In order to keep the situation under control, Mr. King of Utah said that curt answers were uncalled for and expressed his opinion in the following statement:

. . . I have been a cowboy for many years until three years ago but I cannot see in that report anything that particularly reflects upon my honor, upon the honor of any cowboy here, or any gentlemen from the West or those attending. You know too well gentlemen, that in our most noble pursuit men sometimes go to extremes. We have had what I consider a friendly voice asking that we do not go to extremes. That is nothing that militates against the honor or integrity of the cowboy. . . . Most of us are cowboys and I think the Eastern boys appreciate us; I know that they do not look upon us as murderers, ruffians, or cut-throats . . . but as honorable gentlemen, the free men of the great plains which God has given to America.[43]

As early as 1858, some unknown newspaper writer attempted to characterize the Westerner. "Traits of Western People" is found in the Daily *Missouri Democrat.* The writer says:

41. *Ibid.*, November 28, 1885.
42. *Missouri Republican,* November 28, 1885.
43. *Ibid.*, November 28, 1885.

> There is a certain universality in the type of the Western man, and a certain freedom and electicism in his social life, which enable them to reflect a partial likeness of the better traits and qualities, peculiar to either section of the country, however much these sections may differ in their standard of morals and manners. The extreme Southerner, the Virginian, the Yankee, recognize each his own image in the many-sided man of the West. They feel they have certain affinities for him, though they have none for each other; and he in return spontaneously fraternizes with them because he possesses a genial, catholic, though, perhaps, less cultured nature. Climate, institutions and other causes have moulded them into uniformity, and have given them rigidity and angularity of character, but the plastic nature of the Western people which the inflowing of new blood in a thousand rills promises to preserve, forbids any irreconcilable antagonism, and results in boundless variety and unity. The elements which enter into the composition of character in this region are countless, and have not yet formed into an insoluble concrete. The people are not recast by artificial means. The reign of formulas was not yet begun, but nature is left to her own sweet will. Greater physical activity, greater diversity of manners, and aspirations, and greater energy and boldness of character are the results.[44]

Although no specific division of time or years can be made, one may conclude from the foregoing statements that there was an early period in which the cowboy appeared to be a curiosity to the contemporaries of his time. They write about his appearance in towns as the cattle are driven to the rail heads, the difficulties in getting the cattle across bridges, streams, through towns and so forth. They begin to take notice of his riding ability, skill in horsemanship and the dangers ever present in his occupation. Occasionally, a cowboy kept records of his trials on the drives. During this time, farmers in the more settled portions of the country took exception to the Texas cattle, and a just fear of the "fever" was evident. Because the cowboys persisted in driving their cattle through, the farmers and settlers became antagonistic. The resultant clashes are probably the first steps in the creation of the cowboy-badman.

A second period appears in the writings of the time. Every phase of the cowboy's life is related; particular stress is given to his manners, dress, and his weaknesses of flesh—

44. *Daily Missouri Democrat*, (St. Louis, Missouri) Wednesday, September 8, 1858.

his general immorality. There is the beginning of the cow-town with its dens of iniquity. There seems to be a puritanical streak in the writings of the contemporaries of this second period and the tone is high-flowing and moralistic. The crusading spirit appears in the towns which were dependent upon the cattle industry and the cowboy for their birth and very existence. As the rail heads move westward, attempts are made to salvage the towns from the 'ruffian' of the plains.

The third period appears just as the range cattle industry collapses before the ranch cattle industry. The writers of this time take an entirely new attitude. In some cases they are inclined to look upon the cowboy as crude, rough, but essentially good—a sort of naughty-boy attitude to be overlooked. In other cases it seems that they realized that many of the wealthy cattlemen who had made a big business of the cattle industry had started as cowboys. As more money was invested in the industry, it seemed to grow in respectability, and the cowboy was caught up in this veneer. He gained in stature and esteem, he became a respectable citizen.

FREDERICK E. PHELPS: A SOLDIER'S MEMOIRS*

Edited by FRANK D. REEVE

(Continued)

I HAVE been asked many times if I was scared at the first sight of Indians, and this was my first experience. When I got to the top of the hill it took me several minutes to discover the village, so much were the wickiyups the color of the rocks and bushes. I did not see an Indian for some time, either, and when I did he was so far away I knew he could not hit anything at that distance, so I was cool enough and can honestly say I was not afraid. When we got to the creek and Stephenson explained his plan, I will frankly acknowledge I was mightily scared, and only hoped I did not show it. Pride came to the rescue at once: the knowledge that our men were looking to us for directions, the pride of the commissioned officer, and, above all, the pride that makes a man ashamed to show fear before his fellow-man.

I once heard an experienced soldier say, one whose record during the war was only equalled by the one he made as an Indian fighter, that "a man who says he is not afraid of Indians either don't know anything about it or he is a liar," and from all I have heard others say, I imagine my experience was similar to theirs. I always thought that if Stephenson had known how horribly scared I was he would hardly have spoken to me afterward so kindly as he did, so I guess I succeeded in hiding it fairly well.

* In preparing the material for the January, 1950, issue of the New Mexico Historical Review, uncorrected galley proofs were returned to the printer, resulting in certain errors in the Memoirs of Captain Phelps. The following should be read in conjunction with the Introduction:

Captain Phelps was again recalled to service when the United States participated in World War I. He was stationed at Detroit, Michigan, as recruiting officer, and then transferred for duty at the Port of Embarkation, Hoboken, New Jersey. Once again the veteran soldier retired to the more peaceful pursuits of civilian life, but with the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. A few years later, in 1923, he passed away in Urbana, Ohio.

Since the Memoirs were not recorded from day to day, but were written in later life, it was thought permissible to improve the composition, although no change has been made in meaning.

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The reader is asked to forgive certain typographical errors, especially on page 38, where Urbana, Illinois, should read Urbana, Ohio. Ed.

Ten men were to stay with horses and pack mules while the rest of us, thirty-seven in all, were to go up that hill and come down again, if we could. That's what scared me. The rocks at the top were thick with howling Indians who yelled Apache and Mexican epithets at us. Nearly all the Mescalero Apaches understood, and many of them spoke, the Mexican language, and they defiantly dared us to come on, accompanied with gestures, grotesque, but not at all decent.

And now occurred a little scene that shows the man who refuses to fight fisticuffs is not always a coward. Among the men was one such named Zubrod. Shambling in his gait, with a little weazened face, weak, colorless eyes, dirty in person and in clothes as he dared to be, he was a butt for every joke of his comrades, and had been bullied and whipped by nearly every man in the troop; there was probably not a man there who did not consider him a coward, and in some way—I don't know how—I had gotten the same opinion. When Stephenson directed me to pick out ten men to remain with the animals, the first one I selected was Zubrod, and when the others were selected Stephenson directed Foster to take charge of them, a detail that surprised me; but I did not know much then, and it did not occur to me that the care of our animals and rations was no unimportant matter. But Zubrod broke out: "Lieutenant, can't I go? Every man in the troop says I am a coward! Let me go. I'll show 'em!" And he broke down, alternately crying and swearing. Stephenson gave him a keen glance, and reading him better than I, made a motion of assent, and Zubrod took his place with the party.

Stephenson told me to take ten men and try to work around to our right and, if possible, flank their position, for that stone wall, as we may call it, looked ugly, and the hill was so steep that the men would have to use both hands to cling to rocks and bushes, and could do no firing. When I had discovered a practicable way and had gone up as far as I could without being resisted, I was to fire a pistol shot and then make a rush, with as much noise and yelling as possible, so as to make the Indians think it was another troop coming

in on them, while he, with twenty-seven others, would go straight up, or try to.

All this time we were in plain sight and not more than five hundred yards from the Indians' position. Why they did not fire on us was a mystery; probably they had little ammunition and wanted to save it for close quarters. In that day the Apaches had few, if any, breech-loading guns, little ammunition for the muzzle-loaders they did have, and were poor shots. I went to our right, up stream, about three hundred yards, and finding a kind of spur or nose that looked as though it would be easy climbing, we worked up to within five or six hundred yards of the Indian position, fired a shot, and rushed on; but we had not gone over half the distance when we came to an immense deep cañon that we could neither cross nor get around and, worse still could not see the place where our enemies were. But we kept up a devil of a din, and if those Indians did not think the devil had broken loose over there on their left, it was not our fault. All the same we kept a sharp watch, hoping we would catch sight of something, and we were not disappointed.

Looking off to our left we saw Stephenson and his men leisurely climbing the hill, the carbines slung over their backs by the sling belts, and Stephenson himself in the lead, with his Winchester carried and used as a cane. Not a shot was fired at them; when half way up they came to a ledge of rock and halted to get their breath for a minute. The day was fearfully hot; they had been on the go since three A. M.; the hill was covered with small stones and loose shale, which slid back under the foot, and it was decidedly hard "getting up stairs."

For a moment they rested, then Stephenson's calm deliberate voice quietly said, "Come on," and as they started, from above came the ring of rifles, but too high. I saw Corporal Cooney, a magnificent-looking blue-eyed man, stagger; then he laughed grimly as a glance showed the bullet had only torn its way through his belt and shirt, just touching his side. Poor devil! five years later they shot better and he fell, fighting like a demon, alone and unaided, in a lonely

cañon, the very next day after he had sold his mining claim for a big sum and was going home to his sweetheart who had waited all these years.[35]

Then Stephenson's voice rang out clear and strong, "Now, men!" and with one whoop up they went, Stephenson's long, lank form well ahead, swinging his Winchester over his head by the muzzle, only speaking once more and then to yell at Zubrod,—Zubrod the coward who would not fight, but who was bounding ahead, his face as white as the sheeted dead, his eyes glowing like coals, ten yards ahead of everybody. "Zubrod! Zubrod! damn it, man, don't get ahead of me! Take it easy!"

Close behind Zubrod was Bullard, swinging something over his head and yelling like a maniac. I could not then imagine what he was swinging, but subsequently found it was a long-handled frying-pan he had picked up on the hill where a squaw had dropped it in her flight. He had lost his own and did not propose to risk losing his prize by leaving it behind.

Now they were almost to the crest, and then came another scattered volley that also went high; but the shooters were rattled and, beside that, they were shooting down hill, and a man almost invariably overshoots under such circumstances.

By this time the Indians concluded that the white man was going to accept his invitation to "come up the hill," in fact, had already accepted it with a demoralizing unanimity, and instantly every head disappeared. As the men swarmed over the hill, Stephenson, Bullard, and Zubrod well in advance, there was no foe to meet them, but some hun-

35. "An incident which created intense excitement throughout the western part of New Mexico in the spring of 1880 was the murder of James C. Cooney and a number of other miners by a band of Apaches under Victorio. Cooney had been Quartermaster Sergeant in the 8th U. S. cavalry, and while performing scouting duties in the Mogollon mountains in western Socorro county discovered silver. After his discharge from the army he organized the Cooney mining district and began development of extensive properties in Socorro county. His brother, Captain Michael Cooney, hewed from the solid rock, near the scene of the murder, a sepulcher for the body. The door is sealed with cement and ores from the mine, and in these ores has been wrought the design of a cross. His friends among the miners also hewed a cross of porphyry which was placed upon the summit of the rock tomb." R. E. Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, II, 439 note (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1912).

dreds of yards away were three or four Apaches just disappearing over a ridge, and from there they fled like deer in the labyrinth of cañons on that side. Through the wickiups, across the flat, to and beyond the cañons for a mile the men pantingly pursued, hoping for one fair shot, but they might as well have pursued shadows. These were mountain Indians and could run up or down hill with apparently the same ease.

But now my little party is to have a chance. Down a side ravine, gliding over the ground like ghosts, came three Indians into the main cañon some four or five hundred yards away, across and up the steep side of another hill, we firing at them, but though we kicked up the gravel all around them, we did not hit anything else.

In those days the cavalry were armed with the old Sharp's carbine with an open back sight, and a thick, stubby, front sight; and with a trigger supposed to be seven pounds pull, but near fourteen. Target practice was unknown practically, the allowance of ammunition being three shots per man per year, and the longest range three hundred yards. Think of sending out men to fight Indians who had had no target drill at all and, to quote Chambers McKibben[36] who, with that moustache, the pride of the 15th Infantry, elevated in the air, once declared, "could not hit a flock of haystacks at ten yards rise."

If we had had a chance to learn to shoot we might have killed more Indians, but as it was the almost universal rule was to "rush in to close quarters, *then* shoot." Fortunately the Indians were not as good shots as we were, poor as that was, so we nearly always got the best of them.

Meantime these three Indians were making remarkable time up the steep side of the mountain and two of them disappeared over the crest. One, however, could not resist the opportunity of showing his contempt for the white man and the white man's shooting and, turning at the very edge of the great cañon, he shouted the most opprobrious epithets in Mexican, accompanying them with gestures not at all

36. Chambers McKibbin was born in Pennsylvania. He volunteered as a private in the Union Army during the Civil War. He was promoted to 2nd Lieutenant, September 22, 1862; Captain, July 28, 1866; and retired with the rank of Brigadier General, October 3, 1902. He is listed in *Appletons' Encyclopedia.*

polite, but easy to comprehend. Corporal McNelly was standing near me, a pretty fair shot; kneeling down, he took deliberate aim at this rampageous Apache and fired. I was watching Mr. Indian through my glasses and saw him suddenly "hump" himself together, bound in the air like a ball, and in the next instant shoot over the edge of the cañon, end over end, going down with a crash on the rocks hundreds of feet below; one good Indian, anyhow. We found it impossible to get down to him, the walls of the cañon being two or three hundred feet high, and as straight up and down, almost, as the sides of a house. So we left him to the buzzards and the coyotes. By this time the men were returning from the fruitless pursuit, and the work of destruction began.

The wickiups were built of sotol[37] stocks, the lance-like stock of a species of cactus, and brush covered with pieces of canvas, hides and dirty, tattered blankets. Dozens of bridles, lariats, saddles, &c., and the numerous tracks of ponies and mules, showed that they had animals with them, but probably they were away with part of the band on a foray into Mexico at this time. One mule with a club foot was captured, instantly named "Apache," and adopted into the troop where he lived and flourished, being used as a hunting party pack animal until a snooping Inspector saw him and, lacking sense enough to know that there are times when an Inspector ought to be blind, ordered him to be turned into that capacious and rapacious receptable into which so much goes and from which nothing ever comes out —the Quartermaster's Department. The men readily offered to buy him at any price if he could be sold, for they delighted to taunt the other troop at the post when they would see them going over to our Quartermaster's to borrow a pack mule to go hunting: "Hello 'I' troop, why don't you get a mule of your own?"

Hanging to the limb of an oak tree was another mule,

37. Sotol was an important food for Apaches. The crowns of the plant were roasted in pits, dried, crushed into flour and baked in small cakes. Willis H. Bell and Edward F. Castetter, *Ethnobiological Studies in the American Southwest*, VII, 57f (Biological Series, University of New Mexico, 1941. V, no. 5). Castetter and Opler, *op. cit.*

freshly skinned and dressed, young, fat and tender, for Stephenson and I had a steak off him that night for supper. Our bacon was gone. It resembled coarse beef, rather red, but was sweet and tender and tasted mighty good.

Large tin dish pans, tin cups, canteens and so on were scattered everywhere, and finally a copy of a printed order from the War Department—something about transportation—was found stuck up in one of the huts. These things showed clearly enough that these Indians were Reservation pets. An uncut bolt of calico, with Mexican trade marks on the card, showed that they had recently been trading with Mexicans or, what was more likely, had recently raided a Mexican house or train. Besides these articles there were thousands of pounds of prepared mescal, all of which, together with saddles and everything, was soon in flames, and the work of destruction was thorough and complete. Going down to and around the base of the hill, and along the little stream, we soon found where the squaws had been making *tiswin*.[38] Some forty odd jars of earthenware, or *ollas*, were standing there filled with the unfermented liquor, and being cool, palatable and, at that stage, not intoxicating, we partook of it freely, then all the jars were broken. Had the stuff been fermented we would all have had the jimjams sure, but as it was, no harm was done.

When we finally got back to where our horses were we found Foster had captured another mule. While we were ascending the hill his quick ear caught a sound of something coming up the cañon; slipping quietly behind a big rock, some one hundred yards below the horses, he looked carefully around and saw two Indians mounted, one behind the other, on a mule, coming slowly up the trail and unconscious of danger. Why they did not hear the yells of their friends above I do not know; perhaps the winding of the cañon cut

38. "But the Apaches rivaled their pale-face brothers in the production of 'home-brew.' Their system was to bury grain on the sunny bank of a stream where the warmth and moisture caused the cereal to germinate. Then they stewed it—sprouts and all. The stew was then set aside and allowed to ferment. The Apaches called this brew "tuh-le-pah," but to the pale-face it was known as 'tiz-win.' It had a powerful 'kick'—particularly if the revelers fasted a day or two before imbibing." John P. Clum, "Es-kim-in-zin," NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, III, 419 (October, 1928).

off the sound. Cocking his carbine and taking a dead rest on the rock, he took deliberate aim at the foremost Indian and pulled the trigger. He was our best shot, the distance not over seventy-five yards, and he told me afterwards he was chuckling over his "easy pot shot," as he called it, but the cartridge missed fire. Just then one of the Indians caught sight of him, gave a whoop, and both of them rolled off and dashed into a side ravine and were out of sight in a second, leaving Foster dancing with rage and the proud captor of a sore-backed mule.

We camped that night on the little stream, and all night long the Indians kept up their yells from the surrounding cliffs; but they did not venture near camp. At daybreak they had disappeared, and we subsequently learned that they went straight back to the Reservation to get rations and get ready for another raid.

Two days after we rode into old Camp Bowie,[39] Arizona, situated at the eastern end of Apache Pass, a pass of which nearly every rod has been the scene of a tragedy, for this was a famous place for ambuscades. In the little cemetery there at the time I counted twenty odd graves, and all but two bore on the little head-boards, "killed by Indians."

It was raining in torrents when we rode into the Post, and the first thing I got was an invitation to dine with the commanding officer, a veteran Captain of the 5th Cavalry,

39. "Fort Bowie was located in Apache Pass, Chiricahua Mountains, on the road from Tucson to Mesilla. . . . The establishment of a military post at this site dates from July 28, 1862, when the 'California Column' under Brigadier General James H. Carleton, on its way to Santa Fé, passed that way, and detached a company to guard the spring at that point.

"Major T. A. Coult, Fifth California Volunteers, was assigned to command of the post on July 27, 1862. Temporary huts were erected, and the post was called Fort Bowie in honor of George F. Bowie, colonel of that regiment, then commanding the District of Southern California.

"On May 3, 1866, the Volunteer garrisons were relieved by Company E, Fourteenth U. S. Infantry, and from that date occupation of the post was continuous to 1894, when troops were withdrawn and the post abandoned. In 1894 the post was turned over to the Secretary of the Interior." *Post, Camps, and Stations, File,* cited in Martin F. Schmitt, ed., *General George Crook: His Autobiography,* pp. 163 (University of Oklahoma Press, 1946).

The Fort was located in Latitude 32° 10′ and Longitude 109° 22′. The reservation was declared by Executive Order March 30, 1870, and enlarged to 23,040 acres, November 27, 1877. See also William A. Bell, *New Tracks in North America,* p. 44 (London, 1869).

now a Lieutenant Colonel,[40] whose good wife was then, and is today, famous in the army for her generous hospitality and her good dinners.

I wanted that dinner, wanted it bad. I had been living for three days on mule meat, but how could I go? The only pair of trousers I had were minus a seat and, as I was built somewhat on the bean pole order, it was a problem where to beg, borrow or steal a pair of unmentionables. Finally at the Sutler's store, in exchange for seven dollars, I got a pair I could wear; the color was cherry-red, but I wanted that dinner. I heard they were going to have POTATOES, canned, to be sure, but still POTATOES, and I had not seen one for two years. At that time very few vegetables were raised at all, and we had been unable to raise potatoes at Bayard, so I was hungry for them, and go I did. If my hostess did notice the warm color of my trousers, she repressed her amusement and gave me that cordial welcome that characterizes army hospitality. They say no lady ever feels more highly complimented than when a man eats a hearty meal at her table; when "Pard" and I got through Mrs. S. S. Sumner must have been pleased, for we did our duty.

At the same table sat the genial Post Adjutant,[41] the First Sergeant of A Company at the Point when I was a First Classman, now the grave and dignified chief in charge of the publication of the *Records of the Rebellion.* Only a few weeks ago I saw him for the first time since that visit to Bowie, nearly twenty-five years ago, and I had scarcely entered his office in Washington when he asked, "Say, old man, what has become of your sanguinary breeches?"

40. Edwin Vose Sumner was born in Pennsylvania. He served in the Union Army during the Civil War, beginning as 2nd Lieutenant, 1st Cavalry, August 5, 1861. He attained the rank of Brigadier General, March 23, 1899.

His father was the distinguished soldier, Edwin Vose Sumner, Sr., whose career is discussed in the *DAB* and in *Appletons' Cyclopedia.*

41. George Breckenridge Davis was born in Massachusetts. He served in the Civil War as sergeant, 1st Massachusetts Cavalry, from September 10, 1863, until June 16, 1865. He was commissioned 2nd Lieutenant, June 17, 1865, and was mustered out, June 26th. Graduating from the United States Military Academy, he was commissioned 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Cavalry, June 12, 1871, and rose to the rank of Brigadier General, Judge Advocate General, May 24, 1901. His name appears on the *Records of Rebellion* as editor, serving from 1889 to 1895. See *DAB.*

We remained at Camp Bowie four or five days to let the horses and the men rest, have the horses reshod, and to arrange for the balance of our scout. The commanding officer of the Post appeared to be a good deal annoyed someway that we had found Indians within twenty miles of his Post. Years afterwards he told me that the very day before we came into Camp Bowie he had reported to the Department commander that there were no Indians within one hundred miles of his Post, and here we found a gang of them within twenty miles. He was in no way responsible, of course, as his scouts had simply failed to find them.

We moved out early on the fifth day. Marching into the San Simon valley, we turned short to the right and moved south along the eastern edge of Chirrechua [Chiricahua][42] mountains. About twenty miles south we went into camp where a beautiful mountain stream came roaring down the rocks of Horseshoe cañon.[43] This cañon we knew had frequently been a lurking place for Apaches, and some years before a desperate fight between Apaches and Lafferty's[44] troop of our regiment had taken place in it. The cañon was about three miles long and gradually narrowed until it was not more than one hundred yards in width, with rocks standing straight for hundreds of feet on each side. While searching the cañon, Lafferty had been attacked from both sides and only after a desperate fight, in which he lost several men killed and wounded and had both his jaws shattered by an Indian bullet, did he succeed in getting his men out.

Bullard and I determined to explore this cañon in hopes of getting a deer. When we drew rations at Camp Bowie, we

42. The Chiricahua mountains are in the southeastern corner of Arizona, ranging north and south. The famous Apache pass is located in their northern reaches, guarded at one time by Fort Bowie.

43. Horseshoe Canyon is on the east side of the Chiricahua mountains. W. H. Carter, *The Life of Lieutenant General Chaffee*, p. 79 (The University of Chicago Press, 1917).

44. This fight occurred October 20, 1869, when a detachment of 60 men from Fort Bowie under command of Colonel Barnard attacked the Apaches. Lieutenant Lafferty was wounded. The Indians defeated the soldiers. For the details see T. E. Farish, *History of Arizona*, VIII, 29f (State of Arizona, 1915).

John Lafferty was born in New York. He enlisted as 1st Lieutenant in the 1st Battalion, California Cavalry, July 21, 1864, and was mustered out, March 15, 1866. He re-enlisted the same year in the 8th Cavalry with the rank of 2nd Lieutenant and retired, June 28, 1878, with the rank of Captain.

found that there was no bacon there and we had to take in its place salt pork; in the intense heat of August this pork spoiled on our hands the first day, so we determined, if possible, to get fresh meat. We proceeded cautiously up the cañon for about two miles, picking our way slowly through the dense underbrush, seeing several deer, but not firing for fear there might be Indians in the pass. Finally we came to an open space several acres in extent at the very end of the pass and, as we appeared through the brush, there were the wickiups or huts of a large band of Indians within twenty yards of us. Dropping quickly to the ground we watched them for some time and finally came to the conclusion that they were abandoned, and it was a lucky thing for us that there were no Indians there, or we would never have gotten out alive. Returning toward camp we killed a deer and got back just at dark.

The next day we were marching leisurely down the western edge of the plain when we suddenly found in a little path, running at right angles to our course, two or three handfuls of Mexican beads and one or two pieces of porcupine or quill work, which we knew immediately meant that an Indian had passed that way and had dropped them. A close examination of the ground showed the tracks of one Indian; by the distance between foot steps we found that he had started to run at full speed, and we had no doubt that he had caught sight of us. The trail led up a broad valley; we followed it rapidly till we came to a high hill jutting two-thirds of the way across the pass. Here we halted while Foster and Bullard and two of the men crept to the top of the hill. They had scarcely peeped over when one of the men came sliding down and said that half a mile above, in the flat open valley, was an Indian camp and, from the confusion in the camp, they thought they were getting ready to escape. Bullard sent word that the flat was level and smooth and that a mounted charge was practicable.

Stephenson immediately directed me to take twenty men and charge at full speed, he following close behind with the balance, sending three or four men with the pack animals back into the open plain. With the twenty men I took the

trot, then the gallop and, as we turned the end of the hill, I motioned to the men to spread out to the right and left. We went up the valley at full speed for about fifty yards when the village came in sight, but almost immediately we found ourselves in a mass of broken rock and low brush through which a horse could not possibly move faster than a walk. I immediately dismounted the men, turned the horses loose and started on a run for the village. Almost at the same moment the three men at the top of the hill opened a rapid fire, yelled and motioned to us to move more to the right, which we did, and were soon in the village; but, of course, the Indians had escaped into the brush beyond, and were rapidly moving up the hill. One Indian could plainly be seen scrambling up a bare space of rock about two hundred yards distant and Sergeant Foster dropped him with a quick snap shot. We all saw him roll down, but immediately two other Indians seized him and dragged him out of sight. We hurried forward as rapidly as possible, but found only blotches of blood and then a mule track showing that they had some animals there, so they escaped with their wounded companion.

Six months afterwards the Post Surgeon at Fort Tularosa,[45] which was at the Indian reservation, told me that the Indians belonged to that reservation and that they brought this wounded man there. He was well known as "Big Foot," a notorious scoundrel who had committed many murders. The bullet had broken his leg just above the knee. As the surgeon at that time did not know that he had been away from the reservation, he took him into the post hospital to treat him, but knowing that he was a desperate and blood-thirsty Indian, he took advantage of the opportunity and put a stop to his raiding by amputating his right leg close up to the hip; he frankly acknowledged that it was entirely unnecessary,

45. Fort Tularosa was established in April, 1872, at the site of a new reservation for Apache Indians who had been located for a time at Cañada Alamosa which came to be considered unsuitable. The Indians, however, did not like the new location and were returned to Cañada Alamosa in the summer of 1874. The Tularosa reservation was located along the Rio Tularosa and tributaries in west-central New Mexico. For details see the NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, XIII, 296ff (July, 1938).

but as he explained it, he made a ——— good Indian of him anyhow.

In the camp, we found several Indian ponies and a very large amount of Mescal and other property, all of which we destroyed. We continued our march to the south until we had crossed the line into old Mexico.

One night, about ten days after leaving Camp Bowie, we camped in an open flat. There was a dry arroyo, or water course, running east and west perhaps ten feet deep and twenty feet wide, and in this was a small pool of water. Running at right angles to it was a smaller dry water course. We camped at the junction of these two, the men building their fire on the bank close down to where the smaller arroyo entered the larger. Just across this arroyo was quite a large thorn bush. Stephenson and I put our blankets under this bush and were perhaps thirty feet from the men's camp fire. Wood was exceedingly scarce, but by everybody turning out, except the herd guard, and roaming over the prairie, we succeeded in gathering a small quantity of dry sage brush, enough to boil our coffee.

The men had gathered around the camp fire just after dark to get their coffee. Stephenson and I were seated on our blankets under the brush. We had already filled our cups with coffee, for on this scout, as on nearly all scouts, we messed with the men, eating the same ration that they ate. Sentries had been put around the camp, perhaps fifty yards out, with orders to watch the skyline of the hills around us; suddenly there flashed a rifle shot and a bullet passed through the bush under which we were seated, cutting off a small branch about six inches above my head, it dropping into my lap. As quickly as a flash the cook upset the can of coffee into the fire and we were in darkness instantly. Stephenson and I both rolled into a small ravine and, climbing up the bank, found the men all lying flat on their faces in a circle with their carbines pointed in every direction, anxiously peering into the darkness in search of an enemy.

Dead silence reigned for several moments and then Stephenson called out, "Who fired that shot," and a piping voice

replied, "I did, sir." "Who are you," Stephenson asked, and the answer came, "Arenbeck, sir." "What did you shoot at?" "I did not shoot at nothing," he replied. "I wanted to see, sir, if my carbine was loaded, sir, so I snapped it, sir, and it was loaded, sir," and a roar of laughter broke out from the men. The call was a pretty close one, but we did not care so much for that as for the fact that the coffee had been upset on the fire. There was no more wood and it was too dark to gather any more, so the men had to eat their hard tack and drink muddy water instead of hot coffee. They did curse Arenbeck heartily all night, I presume, and the next day Stephenson ordered him to walk and lead his horse all day as a punishment for his gross carelessness, yet in less than a week this fool saved all our lives.

We then swung to the east, through a very rough broken country, and finally came out onto what was known as Rattlesnake plain. This was a dreary desert, probably one hundred miles long and forty or fifty miles wide, to the west of the Florita[46] mountains and, so far as known, there was not a drop of water on it. It was loose gravel and sand, thinly covered with scrub sage brush; the enormous amount of rattlesnakes we saw that day explained its name. I do not think I saw less than fifty in the twenty miles we made that day, and what in the world they lived on has been a mystery to me to this day. Rattlesnakes live very largely on frogs, toads, rabbits, and other small animals, but not a sign of life did we see that day except the snakes.

By four o'clock we were halfway across, hoping to reach Carselia springs[47] by daylight the next morning. The plain was not perfectly level, and, going over a swell, we were astonished to see a spot of vivid green just in front of us in the bottom of a large circular bowl-like depression. Going down to it, we found that it was a patch of green rushes perhaps three or four feet high. Stephenson and I immediately dismounted, walked out into the rushes, and soon discovered

46. Correctly spelled Florida. They extend southward from the present day town of Deming, southwestern New Mexico.

47. Carselia springs is marked as Carazillo spring on a Department of War map of 1867. The latter name is probably a corruption of Carrizalillo, or "little reed grass." The spring was near the Mexican border on the road to Janos.

that there was no water visible, but that the ground under our feet was bulb-like and shaky, and we had to proceed very carefully. We called two of the men and directed them, with their long hunting knives, which every man carried, to cut a hole in this turf to see if there was any water below it. Running his knife down through it, one of the men made a circular cut about two feet in diameter and, catching hold of the rushes, they lifted out a piece; peering down, we saw that the bulb was about one foot thick, and consisted of a tangled mass of the roots of the rushes. Upon examination of the ground the next morning, we came to the conclusion that this was the last part of what had been at one time a small lake. The water had evidently disappeared from this spot the last of all, and no doubt there were underground springs there. The rushes had grown up thick and strong and had then broken down, gradually covering the surface of the spring. The green rushes growing up year after year, perhaps for fifty years, had gradually formed a crust or bulb-like surface that we found. We called this Devin spring after the commanding officer of our Post and it was duly entered on the military maps of that part of New Mexico, so that scouting parties afterward had no trouble in finding it.

Below this was an open space perhaps six inches, and below that black liquid mud. Taking a tin cup, one of the men laid flat on his face, scooped a hole in the mud perhaps a foot deep, and almost immediately water commenced to trickle into the hole; he was soon able to take out his quart cup filled with sweet, palatable water. This was good enough for us. We went into camp at once and the men immediately cut a number of such holes; by being careful, they soon filled the camp kettles with water from which the men first filled their canteens and then commenced to water the horses; by nine o'clock every horse had had four quarts of water. The next morning we found the holes completely filled with clear sweet water, so we gave the animals all they wanted to drink and, filling our canteens, we struck across the sand once more for Carselia springs. The day was exceedingly hot and much of the ground was covered with alkali which is a kind of salty excrescence, white as snow and, crumbling as it did

under the horses' feet, rose in a cloud of dust like flour, settling on us and our animals and making us very uncomfortable. We did not reach the spring, so called, until eleven o'clock that night, and when we arrived, all we could discover were small pools of water about six inches below the level of the prairie. We drank greedily and the next morning found that the water was about one foot deep, full of fungus-like plant, small frogs, tadpoles, and lukewarm, but we remained there all that day, as the grass was thick and plentiful.

About ten yards from the spring was a little rocky knoll which, during the afternoon, I climbed to get a look over the country. Right on the top I found a circle of stones roughly piled perhaps a foot high enclosing the skeleton of a white man, and all around him a number of empty brass Winchester rifle shells. A hole in the center of the skull showed how he had met his fate. He undoubtedly was a lonely hunter or prospector caught at the spring by Indians, but had time to reach the top of the hill and make this little fort, and there had fought his last fight. There was not a particle of clothing or anything by which he could be identified, so we piled stones over his skeleton and left him.

We left this spring at three o'clock in the morning, striking down east to the foot of the Florita mountains where we knew there was a large tank or water hole. This was the hardest day's march I ever made in my twenty-one years on the frontier. The sky was cloudless and the August sun beat down on the alkali flat and, being reflected from the snow white surface, redoubled its heat, and the glare was terrible. The alkali was several inches deep with a thin crust through which the horses' feet broke, and it rose in stifling clouds, settling in every crevice of our clothing; by ten o'clock we were suffering intensely and every canteen in the camp was empty; the alkali, being slightly saline, made the thirst the greater. If I had known as much then about scouting as I did afterwards, I would not have touched my canteens, but would have kept them full for an emergency, but they were empty as soon as anybody's.

About three o'clock we struck the edge of the Floritas,

but on arriving at the tank where we expected to find water we found it entirely dry. There was nothing to do but keep along the foot of the mountains, examining every ravine and cañon in hopes of finding water, but as this water hole was the only one we had ever heard of in this range of mountains our chance seemed hopeless. By four o'clock we were in a bad state. I know that my lips were turning black; the lower lip cracked in the center and the blood, oozing out, congealed on my beard; my tongue was thick and I was absolutely unable to articulate.

Looking back at the men, I could see that they were in equally bad state. In a short while the first sergeant motioned to Stephenson and me; dropping back, we found three of the men were delirious. They had dismounted from their horses and thrown themselves upon the ground, making inarticulate noises and refusing to remount. We motioned to the other men and they seized these three men, put them in their saddles, tied their feet beneath the horse's body, and lashed their wrists to the pommel of the saddle; then another man took the bridle reins of each and we proceeded on our weary journey.

Stephenson picked out half a dozen of the men with the best horses, directed them to go ahead and, as they came to each cañon or ravine, one of them to go up in search of water, the others going ahead and doing likewise. One by one these men returned and, shaking their heads in token of failure, took their places in the weary column. We finally halted and I remember trying to stick my head under a small furze bush where there was a small spot of shade perhaps a foot in diameter. I had noticed that all the men had returned but one and that was Arenbeck, who was not supposed to have very good sense. I had scarcely been there more than a minute when I heard a faint sound in the distance which might have been a shot, followed a few seconds later by a second and then a third, and then a succession of shots evidently drawing near; suddenly, over the swell in the prairie a mile away, appeared a man on horseback, holding his gun over his head and firing into the air as fast as he could. The thought immediately struck me that

it was Arenbeck and that he had gone mad. We motioned to the men; they hurriedly mounted their horses and we moved forward at a slow walk. When Arenbeck arrived within one hundred yards of us, he put down his carbine and, coming up close, swung his canteen over his head; with a yell, he threw it straight to me and, when I caught it, I knew by the moisture on the cover and its weight that it was full of water. He told us that he had found a small supply of water about two miles farther on.

I shall never forget the temptation that almost overwhelmed me to take a swallow of that water but, of course, I did not; turning back, I went to the three crazy men, held the canteen to their mouths in turn, and let them drain every drop. We moved on as rapidly as possible and finally turned up a narrow valley. After going about two hundred yards, it narrowed to a width of only twelve or fifteen feet. Here an enormous rock extended from side to side sloping up at an angle of about forty-five degrees; Arenbeck pointed to this and I saw running over the surface of the rock a small stream of water perhaps as wide as my two hands and scarcely as thick as a knife blade. We instantly dismounted and, seeing a bank of clay close by, we took our cups and scooped out a hollow at the foot of the rock; wetting some of the clay, we lined it with the wet mud so that the water would trickle in and not be wasted in the ground. The horses had smelled the water and were plunging to get to it, so we moved them back several hundred yards, then motioned to the men one at a time to go forward. Each man was allowed to dip out his tin cup one-fourth full or half a pint. One of the men remarked that it tasted strongly of sulphur and almost immediately every man's stomach rejected it, but we knew that it would do no great harm. After each man had had his half pint, Stephenson and I took the same amount and it acted on us in the same manner. We waited half an hour and then allowed each man to have another drink, this time one pint and this stayed down. We then called for the camp kettles and were filling them one by one to give the animals water when I looked up and, approaching me, I saw one of the men who had been delirious.

This man's name was Gordon. He was a surly, savage brute, and when in the Post a hard drinker. When in the field he was one of our best men, and by far the best packer, being especially noted for his skill in using the famous "diamond loop," which is a particular method of securing packs with a rope and requires great skill. I was seated right at the spring and immediately said to him, "What do you want?" In a surly tone, he said, "I want another quart of that water and I am going to have it." I saw that the man was half crazy, but I said to him quietly, "You can't have anymore until the horses have had some. You have had the same amount as all the rest and you must wait." Quickly reaching down to his boot he drew out his long knife and, glaring savagely, he said, "I am going to have water and I will cut the bowels out of any man that interferes." I was totally unarmed, having removed my pistol and belt and laid them to one side some distance away, but the next moment a lean, brown hand came over my right shoulder, holding in its grasp a cocked revolver, and Stephenson's quiet voice said, "Gordon, this is mutiny, if you move a step I will kill you." Just at that moment I saw the first sergeant, Corcoran, slipping up quietly behind Gordon, his moccasined feet making no noise and, at a nod from Stephenson, he struck Gordon a terrific blow just below the ear and knocked him senseless; in a moment he had tied his hands and feet with a lariat lying near, and we rolled him to one side.

For ten days we had had nothing to eat but hard tack and coffee. Our pork had spoiled and had been thrown away, and we had not seen a deer since the one Bullard killed in Horseshoe cañon, now two weeks ago; but with plenty of water, we made our coffee and, although there were only two hard tack to a man, we were comparatively comfortable.

The next morning I climbed up over the rock. Finding a large flat rock perhaps six feet across and six or eight inches thick from under which the water trickled, we cut down a small pine sapling and, using this as a pry, lifted the rock; out gushed a stream of water several inches in diameter which, dashing down over the inclined rock, filled

our pool and ran out onto the prairie. We knew then what had happened, that it was a large spring which the Indians had placed a rock over to conceal.

From here to the nearest Post, Fort Cummings,[48] in Cooke's cañon, situated at the foot of Cooke's peak, was fifty miles as the crow flies across the desert. We could see Cooke's peak looming up clear and distinct and apparently not more than twenty miles away, but we knew that it was fully fifty and not a drop of water between. We filled our canteens and started at four o'clock in the morning, marched as rapidly as we could with our weakened horses, and about four o'clock in the afternoon were then within a mile of a large spring which was near the Post. Here the horses sniffed the air, smelling, of course, the water, and some of them actually broke into a jog trot, but before we reached the spring five of the horses dropped, never to rise again, dying almost instantly. The men stripped off their saddles and, throwing them on their shoulders, we went to the spring. Fort Cummings, now long abandoned, was a one company Post, garrisoned then by Company "E," 15th Infantry, under the command of First Lieutenant H. H. Humphreys,[49] who was the only officer then at the Post. It was situated in the mouth of a dangerous pass and did not cover more than an acre, and was entirely surrounded by an adobe wall, ten or

48. Fort Cummings was located near the mouth of Cooke's canyon in Cooke's range on a well traveled road westward from the Rio Grande. General Carleton established it in 1863 to keep the Apaches under control. The site was at Latitude 32° 27′ and Longitude 107° 35′. The reservation was declared by Executive Order, April 29, 1870, and embraced 2,560 acres. It was abandoned by the War Department about 1880.

"Hundreds of miles before we reached it, I listened with anxiety to the stories told me by the frontier men about the dreadful massacres perpetrated by the Indians in that dread gorge. It was said that even the soldiers dared not stir a mile from the post, and that it was 'just a toss up' whether any traveller got through alive. These reports were only the surviving echoes of events which have made Cooke's Cañon and the Miembres Mountains memorable in the annals of New Mexican massacres.

"It is said that as many as four hundred emigrants, soldiers and Mexicans, have lost their lives in that short four-mile gorge. I have conversed with a settler who has counted nine skeletons while passing through the cañon, and the graves and heaps of stones which now fringe the road will long bear record of those dreadful times." Bell, *New Tracks . . .*, II, 19, 24.

49. Henry Hollingsworth Humphreys was born in Pennsylvania. He enlisted in the Union Army during the Civil War with the rank of 1st Lieutenant (artillery), October 3, 1862, and was mustered out with the rank of Lieut.-Colonel, November 10, 1865. He re-enlisted, February 23, 1866, as a Lieutenant in the infantry. He attained the rank of Major in 1896 and retired three years later.

twelve feet high, as a protection against Indians. It was put there simply to guard the spring, which was the only water for forty-five miles on either side.

Lieutenant Humphreys, seeing us coming, hurried down to the spring and introduced himself to us, as we had never met him. He insisted that Stephenson and I go up to his quarters for supper, saying that his wife was there with him and would be glad to see us. We tried to beg off, for we were ragged and dirty; water had been altogether too scarce to use it for washing purposes, and I know that I had not washed my face but twice in the last three weeks, once at the Horseshoe cañon and once in the Florita mountains. He would take no denial. So we went up to his quarters at five o'clock and met Mrs. Humphreys, who was a nice little woman. She had been married only two months and had come straight from Philadelphia to this desolate place where there was not a woman within forty miles. She told me years afterwards that when her husband told her he wanted to invite us to dinner, she told him he must be crazy. The only thing she had in the house to eat, she said, was fresh beef, flour and coffee. She had a cow and plenty of butter and milk. Her husband told her that we had been living on hard tack and coffee for nearly a month and all she had to do was to broil two or three beef steaks, make a bushel of biscuits, a barrel of coffee, and we would do the rest.

We sat down and quickly cleared away one beef steak and two or three plates of biscuits. They were not large, were very light, and with fresh butter, the strong coffee, good cream, and a pitcher of cool milk, I don't think I ever enjoyed a meal better. Steak after steak and plate full after plate full of biscuits disappeared. In after years she told me that she was never better pleased in her life and appreciated what her husband had told her that "Quantity was what would count, not quality." She said, "Do you know how many biscuits you ate?" When I laughingly replied that I had been too busy to count, she said, "You two ate five beef steaks between you, had five cups of coffee apiece; Mr. Stephenson ate twenty-six biscuits and you ate twenty-eight, and I thought you would surely burst." I have no doubt that she

was right, but the biscuits were small, about the size of a dollar.

We remained here one day to rest and then returned to our post, Fort Bayard, fifty miles distant, taking two days for the trip, and thus ended my First Scout.

One Room and A Kitchen

Perhaps it is grand,
But I fail to see it;
To live at a "post"
As an officer's wife.
Unless you have "rank"
Above a Lieutenant,
'Tis one room and a kitchen
The rest of your life.

'Tis all very well
To "flirt" with brass buttons
But that's very different
From being a wife;
With children annoying
Your comfort destroying,
In one room and a kitchen
To drag out your life.

Now, girls, all take warning!
In life's early dawning
Don't marry at least
Till you're twenty or more;
Then try for the rank,
A Major or Colonel;
For then you'll be sure of
Three rooms or four.

I know "Uncle Sam"
Must be an old bachelor,
For he made no provision
For an officer's wife;
And the very worst fate
That I wish to befall him,
Is one room and a kitchen
The rest of his life.

—*Anonymous*

(Army Regulations prescribe the number of rooms in a post each officer may have. A Lieutenant is entitled to "one room and a kitchen"; a Captain "two rooms and a kitchen," and so on, up to a Colonel, who has "four rooms and a kitchen." "An officer's wife," who has spent fifteen years of her married life on the frontier, sends this as her contribution to the *Sabre*)

Answer to One Room and a Kitchen

One room and a kitchen
Is truly annoying,
But there are many worse things
In the army, I'm sure;
No one knows better
Than your humble writer
What we poor Lieutenants' wives
Have to endure.

First there is rank
Which we have to contend with;
No matter how nicely your house
Is arranged;
In comes an order
That your husband's superior
Is wanting the quarters,
And "yours" must be changed.

Up come the carpets
And down come the curtains,—
You must obey orders
And must not complain;
But while you are moving,
You take an oath, mental,
Never to have so much
Trouble again.

If our dear young ladies
Who are anxious to follow
The fortunes of our brave sons of Mars
"On the plains,"
Could visit but once
Our posts on the frontier,
I'm sure they would never
Be anxious again.

"Uncle Sam," truly, is a selfish old bachelor,
He treats well his nephews, but his nieces neglects;
I wish every one would rise in rebellion,
And never give up till our rights he respects.

—*Anonymous*

Fort Bayard at that time was one of the extreme frontier posts, situated in Grant county in the extreme southwest corner of New Mexico, about one hundred miles from the Arizona line. It was at the head of a small valley, and the only supply of water was a small spring, not over four feet in diameter, which trickled down through the grass several hundred yards and was finally caught in a wooden trough from which it was conveyed to the barracks and officers' quarters by a waterway. No attempt had been made to protect this water supply, and cattle tramped through the little stream. It was a great wonder that severe sickness did not occur, but this we escaped until 1872 when an epidemic of diarrhea set in among the men and nearly the whole command was laid up. The post at that time was commanded by Brevet Brigadier General Thomas C. Devin, Lieutenant Colonel, 8th Cavalry. General Devin had served through the War, coming out a Brigadier General, and was one of the best officers I ever served under. He was a little, short, stout Irishman, with steel gray eyes and an explosive temper. We all loved the old man, and most of us stood in a great deal of awe of him for, when anything went wrong, he was apt to break out in very vigorous language.

I was almost at once appointed Post Adjutant in addition to my duties as troop officer, and was Adjutant under him for over three years. When this sickness broke out, he and I went down to the water supply; when he saw the state of

affairs, his language was pointed and forcible to say the least. He immediately ordered the spring to be walled up, covered with planks, and a plank trough laid several hundred yards long, so that the water could be kept pure. Lumber at that time was exceedingly high, the only supply coming from a sawmill about twenty-eight miles distant; a common rough board cost the Government sixty dollars per thousand. There was no appropriation to buy lumber for this purpose, but he promptly issued a peremptory order to the Quartermaster to buy it anyhow. When the vouchers finally reached Washington they came back disapproved, and with directions that the entire cost be charged to General Devin; I have never seen a madder man, and have never heard more forcible language. Of course, he at once explained the absolute necessity of the purchase to protect life and the Government finally paid for it.

In August, 1871, I made my first scout, an account of which will be found in a previous chapter which I wrote for a little magazine published at the Pennsylvania State College, by request of the Kirby boys of Urbana who were attending that school, and were the editors. In 1872, in addition to my duties as troop officer and Post Adjutant, I was put in temporary command of two companies of infantry, all of whose officers were absent on various duties. I was also made temporarily Quartermaster and Commissary, Post Treasurer, Post Signal Officer, and Post Ordnance Officer. In the Quartermaster's Department I had one soldier clerk, and in the Commissary Department the same, so that I had to work from daylight to dark and frequently remained in the office till ten o'clock at night making up reports and papers. About this time my Post baker deserted with four others; I found at once that he had sold the supply of flour sent to the bakehouse to be made into bread, and had eloped with the money. Of course, I was personally responsible for this and instantly made it good, amounting to about fifty dollars. General Devin directed me to take four men and go in pursuit. As we had received word that they had been seen on the Rio Miembres, a small stream about twenty miles east and on the other side of the Santa Rita mountains, I

left the Post with my party, all mounted, carrying five days' rations in our saddle bags. By the time that we had arrived at the top of the mountains darkness had fallen and the trail was almost undistinguishable, but by walking ahead and frequently striking matches we managed to work down the trail, and just at daylight arrived at the ranch on the river. Here we rested for an hour and soon found the trail of the four men going down the Miembres. There was a slight fall of snow on the ground and the tracks were easily followed, especially as one of the deserters had a peculiar patch on the heel of his boot, and one of my party happened to be the shoemaker who had put that patch on. All day we trailed them down the valley, expecting momentarily to overtake them, but darkness fell and with it came a terrific snow storm. We had no tent, of course, and that night was the first time that I ever slept in the open in a blizzard, and without shelter, but we bivouacked in a patch of cedar trees where we could obtain plenty of dead timber. We had a big fire and, as each man was provided with a pair of blankets and an overcoat, we got along very well. Fortunately for me, I had a buffalo robe; wrapping up in this and drawing my soft wool hat over my face, I slept comfortably all night, and was astonished in the morning to find six inches of snow on top of my bed. The snow hid the trail completely, so we hurried down the creek as fast as we possibly could until we struck the little town of Rio Miembres. This consisted of about twenty miserable adobe houses all occupied by Mexicans. I stationed two men, one on each side of the village. I took the other two and searched every house, the Mexicans offering no objection, but without avail. We made a complete circuit of the town several miles out and finally struck the trail, where the snow had not fallen, heading toward the Rio Grande. We followed this up rapidly, camping that night at Mule springs,[50] and the next day reached a little settlement on the Rio Grande after a march of forty-five miles. Seeing the trail leading into a house, we promptly surrounded it and I tried to open the door, but found some-

50. Mule springs lies west of Fort Thorn (on the Rio Grande) on the road to Cooke's canyon.

one inside was holding it. Calling Sergeant Thomas, of my party, we threw ourselves against the door and burst it open; I seized a Mexican, who had drawn his revolver, just in time to prevent him from firing.

Sitting around the fire at the other end of the room were three of the deserters who promptly surrendered. I found that one of them, and that my baker, had purchased a horse, no doubt with money that he had obtained from the sale of the flour, and had fled up the Rio Grande; the other man had separated from the rest the day before. We stayed there that night and the next day. I took these three to Fort McRae[51] and placed them in the guardhouse. To get there we had to cross the Rio Grande, which was in flood and full of floating ice, but I placed each prisoner behind a man with a large horse and, plunging in the river, we swam our horses across. Here I left all my party except Sergeant Thomas and Captain Farnsworth,[52] of my regiment, who commanded the post. He let me have two fresh horses, and that night we crossed the Jornada del Muerto, which in English is "The journey of death," a flat level desert. Marching forty-five miles by moonlight, I reached my old station, Fort Craig, at daybreak. Here we obtained breakfast and pushed rapidly up the Rio Grande until we arrived at Los Lunas, where I secured the services of the Sheriff by telling him that there was a reward of thirty dollars for the men. He persuaded two Mexicans to let us have fresh horses, leaving our own as security. We hurried up the river, going at a trot and gallop all day, and shortly after dark swam the river at Albuquerque and soon found that my man had left there that morning. Here I halted and told the Sheriff to go ahead and arrest him, for if I or Sergeant Thomas were present, he could not get a reward; he soon overtook the man only twenty miles above and brought him back. On searching

51. Fort McRae was established in 1863 near Ojo del Muerto or the Spring of Death, on the north end of the Jornada del Muerto, for the protection of travelers along that dreaded road. The reservation was declared by Executive Order May 28, 1869, with an area of 2,560 acres. It was abandoned by the military about 1876.

52. Henry J. Farnsworth was born in New York. He served with the Union Army during the Civil War with the rank of Captain of Volunteers July 8, 1864, and was mustered out, September 1, 1867, as Brevet Lieut-Colonel. He re-enlisted as 1st Lieutenant, 34th Infantry, June 14, 1867, and was promoted to Captain, May 17, 1876.

him, I found about one hundred dollars in his pockets of which I, of course, took possession. He acknowledged that he had sold the flour for about fifty dollars and asked me to repay myself out of his money, which I did. From here I sent word to Santa Fe, and a man was sent out from there who captured the fifth and last man. I returned at once to Fort McRae, my prisoner riding his pony, which was one of the best Mexican ponies I ever saw. Before I arrived at Fort Bayard I bought it of him for twenty-five dollars cash, intending to present it to my wife for her own use, and she rode it frequently up to the time of her death. Arriving at Fort McRae, I found Captain Farnsworth on a scout, but his sergeant let me have a rickety old ambulance. We hitched up four wild pack mules; with one man leading each mule, and the prisoners inside, we led them out on the prairie, then turned them loose, and I verily believe they never stopped running under ten or twelve miles, we galloping along behind; but the driver kept the general direction, and that night we arrived at old Fort Cummings where there was one company of infantry stationed, having made forty-five miles in a little over six hours; the next day I sent the ambulance back, took the irons off my prisoners and marched them to Fort Bayard. On this trip I had made a distance of about four hundred miles in eight days, an average of about fifty miles a day, and shortly afterward received a strong letter of commendation from the Department commander, which afterwards became useful to me when I got into serious trouble with the District commander.

(To be continued)

CHECKLIST OF NEW MEXICO PUBLICATIONS

By WILMA LOY SHELTON

(*Continued*)

Middle Rio Grande conservancy district.

Created in 1923; organized on August 26, 1925; reorganized in 1927 according to 1927 laws.

Report of the chief engineer, Joseph L. Burkholder, submitting a plan for flood control, drainage, and irrigation of the Middle Rio Grande conservancy project, Albuquerque, 1928-29. 2v.
v.1 The official plan approved Aug. 15, 1928.
v.2 Contract forms and specifications. 1929.
v.3 and 22 vol. of exhibits containing five special reports and 290 drawings accompany this report and are a part of it but have not been published in form available for distribution. v.1 p.3.

Annual report of the Board of commissioners of the Middle Rio Grande conservancy district. Albuquerque, 1926—
Aug. 26, 1925-Aug. 27, 1926 37p. v.1 (J. L. Burkholder, engineer)
Aug. 31, 1926-Aug. 31, 1927 7p. v.2 (J. L. Burkholder, engineer) typew.
Sept. 1, 1927-Aug. 31, 1928 4p. v.3 (J. L. Burkholder, engineer) typew.
Sept. 1, 1928-Aug. 31, 1929 4, (1) 18p. (J. L. Burkholder, engineer) typew.
Sept. 1, 1929-Aug. 31, 1930 9p. (J. L. Burkholder, engineer) typw.
Sept. 1, 1930-Aug. 31, 1931 7, 6p. (J. L. Burkholder, engineer) typew.
Sept. 1, 1931-Aug. 31, 1932 16p. (J. L. Burkholder, engineer) typew.
Sept. 1, 1932-Aug. 31, 1933 14p. (C. H. Howell) typw.
Sept. 1, 1933-Aug. 31, 1934 12p. (C. A. Anderson) typew.
Sept. 1, 1934-Aug. 31, 1935 27p. (C. A. Anderson) typew.
Sept. 1, 1935-Aug. 31, 1936 43p. (C. A. Anderson) typew.
Sept. 1, 1936-Aug. 31, 1937 (5)p. (W. C. Oestreich) typew.
Sept. 1, 1937-Aug. 31, 1938 8p. (W. C. Oestreich) typew.
Sept. 1, 1938-Aug. 31, 1939 22p. (Stanley Phillippi) typew.
Sept. 1, 1939-Aug. 31, 1940 26p. (Stanley Phillippi) typew.
Sept. 1, 1940-Aug. 31, 1941 17, (7)p. (Stanley Phillippi) mimeo.
Sept. 1, 1941-Aug. 31, 1942 15, (10)p. (Stanley Phillippi) mimeo.
Sept. 1, 1942-Aug. 31, 1943 16, (11)p. (Hubert Ball) mimeo.
Sept. 1, 1943-Aug. 31, 1944 17, (12)p. (Hubert Ball) mimeo.
Sept. 1, 1944-Aug. 31, 1945 16, (11)p. (Hubert Ball) mimeo.
Sept. 1, 1945-Aug. 31, 1946 17, (10)p. (Hubert Ball) mimeo.

Sept. 1, 1946-Aug. 31, 1947 12, (12)p. (Hubert Ball) mimeo.
Sept. 1, 1947-Aug. 31, 1948 12, (10)p. (Hubert Ball) mimeo.

Middle Rio Grande conservancy district; bondholders committee . . . refunding program . . . (Albuquerque) n.d. 35p.

Official statements . . . 8,026,000 refunding bonds of 1946; bids to be received 11 A.M. MST May 27, 1946 at the district's office in Albuquerque (1946) 18, A-L p. (Roscoe D. Manning)

Transcript of Proceedings; organization district. (Albuquerque, 1923-26) 309p. (Part 1 case no. 14157)

Office of state comptroller.

Established in 1923; formulates, prescribes and installs accounting systems and post audits all state, county and city transactions.

Biennial report.
1923-Dec. 15, 1924 11-12 fiscal yr.
*July 1, 1924-June 30, 1926 86p. 13-14 fiscal yr. (R. H. Carter)
July 1, 1926-June 30, 1928 96p. 15-16 fiscal yr. (G. Mirabal)
July 1, 1928-June 30, 1930 (47)p. 17-18 fiscal yr. (R. F. Asplund)
July 1, 1930-June 30, 1932 39p. 19-20 fiscal yr. (J. N. Vigil
July 1, 1932-June 30, 1934 151p. 21-22 fiscal yr. (J. N. Vigil)
July 1, 1934-June 30, 1936 168p. 23-24 fiscal yr. (J. O. Gallegos)
July 1, 1936-June 30, 1938 25-26 fiscal yr. (J. O. Gallegos)
July 1, 1938-June 30, 1940 27-28 fiscal yr. (C. R. Sebastian)
July 1, 1940-June 30, 1942 182p. 29-30 fiscal yr. (C. R. Sebastian)
**July 1, 1942-June 30, 1946 303p. 31-34 fiscal yr. (C. R. Sebastian)

An act creating the Office of state comptroller of the state of New Mexico. (Santa Fe) n.d. (20)p.

Circular letters. July 1, 1939-date. mimeo.

Compilation of rules, regulations and laws pertaining to public officials of the state of New Mexico . . . Juan N. Vigil; state comptroller. n.p.n.d. (12)p.

Rules and regulations for the preparation of vouchers, Juan N. Vigil, state comptroller; approved by the State board of finance, 1935. (Santa Fe, 1935) 4p.

Rules and regulations for the expenditures of public funds and the preparation of vouchers as of May 1, 1945. (Santa Fe, 1945) (6)p.

Rules and regulations for the expenditure of public funds and the preparation of vouchers as of Aug. 26, 1947. (Santa Fe, 1947) (6)p.

*Includes County activities for the 11, 12, 13 and 14th fiscal years.
**typw. copy in comptroller's office. Not published since June 30, 1942.

Rules and regulations for expenditures of school funds as promulgated by the Office of state comptroller. (Santa Fe, 1940) (4)p.

Rules and regulations for the preparation of vouchers for expenditures of public moneys as promulgated by the Office of state comptroller; C. R. Sebastian, state comptroller. (Santa Fe, 1949) (6)p.

Rules for preparation of motor vehicle reports and reimbursements of gasoline, oil and minor repairs incurred on state-owned motor equipment, no. 31-1. Santa Fe, 1942. 2p. mimeo.

State comptroller's prescribed procedure for departmental, institutional, county and municipal auditing . . . C. R. Sebastian, state comptroller, Santa Fe (1940) 8p.

Travel regulations, amending rules and regulations of February, 1940, pertaining to travel reimbursement. (Santa Fe, 1942) 1 leaf mimeo.

Oil conservation commission.

Established in 1935; regulatory body charged with the prevention of waste of oil and gas resources and the attainment of greater ultimate recovery; governed by the Governor, Commissioner of public lands and the State geologist, who is secretary and executive director.

Circular. no. 1—Santa Fe, 1935—

no. 1 Oil and gas conservation law and general rules and regulations for the conservation of oil and gas in N. M. Aug. 12, 1935. Santa Fe, 1935. 31p. Reprinted Feb. 1, 1937.

no. 2 Special rules and regulations for the Hobbs, Jal, Cooper, Eunice and Monument fields, Lea county; issued Sept. 3, 1935.

no. 3 Special rules and regulations for the Lea county fields; issued . . . Feb. 1, 1937. (Santa Fe, 1937) 9p.

no. 4 Rules and regulations for carbon dioxide fields in the state of N. M. issued . . . July 1, 1937. (Santa Fe, 1937) 7p.

no. 5 Statutes and rules and regulations for the conservation of oil and gas in New Mexico; comp. Nov. 16, 1942. Santa Fe, 1942. 57p.

no. 6 Containing rules, orders and oil and gas conservation laws of New Mexico, comp. under the supervision of R. R. Spurrier, sec., by Carl B. Livingston. Santa Fe, 1946. 80p. mimeo.

no. 6-A Abstract of rules, orders, and oil and gas conservation laws in New Mexico, by Frank C. Barnes . . . (Santa Fe, 1948) 18p.

New Mexico oil and gas production data for 1946 (exclusive of Lea

county) comp. by N. R. Lamb and W. B. Macy. (Santa Fe) 1947. 171p.

Orders. no. 1—Santa Fe, 1935—

Report of the cash receipts and disbursements . . . for the fiscal year July 1, 1936-June 30, 1937. (2)p. (Frank Worden)

The San Juan basin of Northwestern New Mexico and parts of Arizona, Colorado, and Utah; map drawn by L. A. Livingston, approved by F. C. Barnes; R. R. Spurrier, state geologist. Santa Fe, 1948.

Structures of the San Juan basin of northwestern New Mexico and parts of Arizona, Colorado, and Utah; Frank C. Barnes, state geologist. Santa Fe, 1949. (map)

Yearbook and directory, 1943; ed. under the supervision of John M. Kelly, directed by Carl B. Livingston and George A. White. (Santa Fe) 1944. 117p.

Penitentiary.

Finished in 1885; prior to that time prisoners of the territory were sent to the Kansas State Penitentiary at Lansing, Kansas.

Report of the Board of commissioners and superintendent.

Mar. 10, 1885-Dec. 30, 1885.

Jan. 1, 1886-Jan. 23, 1887 22p. (T. P. Gable)

Jan. 1, 1889-Dec. 31, 1890. (H. C. Burnett)

Dec. 1, 1890-Nov. 30, 1892 71p. (J. R. DeMier)

Dec. 1, 1892-Nov. 30, 1894 48p. (E. H. Bergmann)

Dec. 1, 1894-Dec. 31, 1896 60p (E. H. Bergmann)

Jan. 1, 1897-Dec. 31, 1898 61p. (E. H. Bergmann)
Also in Message of Gov. M. A. Otero to the 33d Legislative Assembly Jan. 16, 1899. Exhibit "AA". 47p.

Mar. 1, 1899-Nov. 30, 1900 32p. (50-51 fis. yrs.) (H. O. Bursum)
Also in Message of Gov. M. A. Otero to the 34th Legislative Assembly Jan. 21, 1901. Exhibit "I". p. 361-384.

Dec. 1, 1900-Nov. 30, 1902. 22p. (52-53 fis. yrs.) (H. O. Bursum)
Also in Message of Gov. M. A. Otero to the 35th Legislative Assembly Jan. 19, 1903. Exhibit "I". 22p.

Dec. 1, 1902-Nov. 31, 1904. 28p. (54-55 fis. yrs.) (H. O. Bursum)
Also in Message of Gov. M. A. Otero to the 36th Legislative Assembly Jan. 16, 1905. Exhibit "I". 28p.

Dec. 1, 1904-Nov. 30, 1906. 27p. (56-57 fis. yrs.) (Arthur Trelford)
Also in Message of H. J. Hagerman to the 37th Legislative Assembly Jan. 21, 1907. Exhibit 5. 27p.

June 1909-Nov. 30, 1911 23, 19, 25p. (60-62 fis. yrs) (J. W. Reynolds, Cleofes Romero)
Dec. 1, 1911-Nov. 30, 1912 28p. (63 fis. yr.) (J. B. McManus)
Dec. 1, 1912-Nov. 30, 1913 34p. v.1 (J. B. McManus)
Dec. 1, 1913-Nov. 30, 1914 42p. v.2 (J. B. McManus)
Dec. 1, 1914-Nov. 30, 1915 29p. v.3 (J. B. McManus)
Dec. 1, 1915-Nov. 30, 1916 35p. v.4 (J. B. McManus)
Dec. 1, 1916-Nov. 30, 1917 36p. v.5 (Thos. Hughes)
Dec. 1, 1917-Nov. 30, 1918 40p. v.6 (Thos. Hughes)
Dec. 1, 1918-Nov. 30, 1919 28p. v.7 (Fidel Ortiz)
Dec. 1, 1919-Nov. 30, 1920 27p. v.8 (Fidel Ortiz)
Dec. 1, 1920-Nov. 30, 1921 22p. v.9 (Placido Jaramillo)
Dec. 1, 1921-Nov. 30, 1922 28p. v.10 (Placido Jaramillo)
Dec. 1, 1922-Nov. 30, 1923 27p. v.11 (J. B. McManus)
Dec. 1, 1923-Nov. 30, 1924 29p. v.12 (J. B. McManus)
Dec. 1, 1924-June 30, 1925 25p. v.13 (J. B. McManus)
July 1, 1925-June 30, 1926 29p. v.14 (J. B. McManus)
July 1, 1926-June 30, 1927 21p. v.15 (P. J. Dugan)
July 1, 1927-June 30, 1928 21p. v.16 (P. J. Dugan)
July 1, 1928-June 30, 1929 22p. v.17 (P. J. Dugan)
July 1, 1929-June 30, 1930 22p. v.18 (P. J. Dugan)
July 1, 1930-June 30, 1931 23p. v.19 (E. B. Swope)
July 1, 1931-June 30, 1932 23p. v.20 (E. B. Swope)
July 1, 1932-June 30, 1933 22p. v.21 (E. B. Swope)
July 1, 1933-June 30, 1934 21p. v.22 (E. B. Swope)
July 1, 1934-June 30, 1935 24p. v.23 (J. B. McManus)
July 1, 1935-June 30, 1936 21p. v.24 (J. B. McManus)
July 1, 1936-June 30, 1937 25p. v.25 (J. B. McManus)
July 1, 1937-June 30, 1938 25p v.26 (J. B. McManus)
July 1, 1938-June 30, 1939 27p. v.27 (J. B. McManus)
July 1, 1939-June 30, 1940 23p. v.28 (J. B. McManus)
July 1, 1940-June 30, 1941 44p. v.29 (J. B. McManus)
July 1, 1941-June 30, 1942 24p. v.30 (J. B. McManus)
July 1, 1942-June 30, 1943 (26p.) v.31 (J. B. McManus)
July 1, 1943-June 30, 1944 (30p.), v.32 (J. B. McManus)
July 1, 1944-June 30, 1946 (24) p. v.33 (Howell Gage)
Title varies: Report of the Board of penitentiary commissioners, 1899/1900-1904-06; Annual Report of the Board of commissioners and supt., 1892/94-date.

Informe bienal del cuerpo de comisionados y del superintendente de la penitenciaria de Nuevo Mejico al gobernador de Nuevo Mejico; por los dos anos concluyendo Diciembre 31, 1898. Santa Fe, Compania impresora del Nuevo Mejicano, 1899. 61p.

Informe de la comision de la penitenciaria de la asamblea legislativa vigesima nona del Nuevo Mejico. Santa Fe, Febrero, 1891. Santa Fe, Compania impresora de Nuevo Mejicano, 1891 53p.

Informe de la comision de la penitenciaria de la camara de representes de la asamblea legislativa trigesima; Santa Fe, Febrero de 1893. Santa Fe, Compania impresora del Nuevo Mexicano, 1893. 71p.
(covers Dec. 1, 1890-Nov. 30, 1892)

Informe del cuerpo de los comisionados de la penitenciaria al gobernador de Nuevo Mejico; por los anos fiscales 54 to y 55 to; comenzando el ler dia de Diciembre, 1902, y concluyendo en el dia 30 de Noviembre, 1904. Incluyendo el informe del superintendente, H. O. Bursum. Santa Fe, Imprenta de la compania publicista del Nuevo Mejicano, 1904. 28p.

Informe de la junta de los comisionados de la penitenciaria al Gobernador de Nuevo Mejico; por los anos fiscales 50 y 51 to; comenzando al dia tro de Marzo, 1899 y concluyendo el dia 30 de Noviembre, 1900. Incluyendo el informe del supt. H. O. Bursum. Santa Fe, Compania impresora del Nuevo Mejicano, 1901. 32p.

The other side, Warden Gable's reply to the Report of the Special standing committee on penitentiary of the 27th Legislative assembly. Las Vegas, J. A. Carruth, printer, 1887. 10p.

The prison labor problem in New Mexico, a survey by the Prison industries reorganization administration. Washington, 1938. 2,361 leaves incl. 8 tables.
Reproduced from typewritten copy.
Survey made at the request of Gov. Clyde Tingley and Supt. J. B. McManus acting for the Penitentiary commissioners board.

Report of the penitentiary committee of the House of representatives of the Legislative assembly . . . Santa Fe, 1887.

Report of the committee on penitentiary affairs; Council of the twenty-ninth Legislative Assembly of New Mexico; adopted February 26, 1891. Santa Fe, New Mexican printing company, 1891. 22p.

Report of the penitentiary committee of the House of representatives of the 30th Legislative Assembly . . . Santa Fe, New Mexican printing company, 1893. 71p.

Reporte bienal del cuerpo de comisionados y superintendente . . . por los dos anos que terminan Noviembre 30 de 1894. Santa Fe, Compania impresora del Nuevo Mejicano, 1894. 48p.

Reporte bienal del cuerpo de comisionados y superintendente de la penitenciaria de Nuevo Mejico . . . por los dos anos que concluyen Diciembre 31, 1896. Santa Fe, Compania impresora Del Nuevo Mejicano, 1897. 60p.

Rules and regulations of the Prison board of parole, adopted by the Board of parole, April 14-15, 1937. n.p.n.d. (3)p.

Rules to be observed by prisoners, revised and adopted by the Board of penitentiary commissioner, Nov. 1, 1939. (4)p.

Rules and regulations for the government of the officers, guards, and employees. Oct. 14, 1944. n.p.n.d. 8p.

Public service commission.

Created in 1941; regulates and supervises public utility companies with respect to rates and service regulations and also with respect to securities issued.

Annual report 1st—1941/42—Santa Fe, 1942—
July 13, 1941-June 30, 1942 39p. v.1 (G. S. Carter)
July 1, 1942-June 30, 1943 20p. v.2 (J. E. Miles)
July 1, 1943-June 30, 1944 48p. v.3 (C. E. McGinnis)
July 1, 1944-June 30, 1948 112 p. v.4 (W. W. Nichols)

General orders no. 1—1941—Santa Fe, 1941—

no. 1-2 New Mexico public utility act and rules. Chapter 84, Laws of 1941, effective July 13, 1941. General order no. 1; rules of practice and procedure, effective Oct. 15, 1941; general order no. 2: tariff schedule rules, effective Oct. 15, 1941. (Santa Fe, 1941.) 74p.

no. 3 Regulations to govern the preservation of records of public utilities, effective Oct. 15, 1941. (Santa Fe, 1941) 21p.

no. 4 (Governing the sale, lease, or purchase of any public utility plant). (Santa Fe, 1941) 1 sheet (Typew).

no. 5-6 Safety rules and regulations. General order no. 5: electric rules and regulations governing the safe use, installation and maintenance of electric utility appliances and equipment, effective January 1, 1942; and General order no. 6: Gas rules and regulations governing the operation of gas utilities and safe use, installation and maintenance of gas piping and appliances, effective Nov. 17, 1941 . . . (Santa Fe, 1941). 52p.

no. 7 Adopting uniform system of accounts for electric utilities (effective Dec. 1, 1941) (Santa Fe, 1941) (2)p. mimeo.

no. 8 Adopting uniform system of accounts for gas utilities (effective Dec. 1, 1941) (Santa Fe, 1941) (2)p. mimeo.

no. 9 Adopting uniform system of accounts for water utilities (effective Dec. 1, 1941) (Santa Fe, 1941) 1 sheet mimeo.

no. 10 Requiring reports of certain proposed extensions (effective Dec. 1, 1941) (Santa Fe, 1941) 1 sheet mimeo.

no. 11 Order adopting uniform system of accounts for water utilities (Feb. 23, 1943) 2p. mimeo.

no. 12 List of retirement units for electric utilities. (effective Jan. 1, 1946) 1p. mimeo.

no. 13 List of retirement units for gas utilities. (effective Jan. 1, 1946) 1p. mimeo.

no. 14 List of retirement units for water utilities. (effective Jan. 1, 1946) 1p. mimeo.

no. 15 Rules and regulations for dispensing liquified petroleum gases.

no. 16 In the matter of rules and regulations governing licenses required to procure bonds and insurance under provisions of secs. 10 and 11 of chap. 214, N. M. Sess. laws of 1947, as amended.

New Mexico public utility act; chap. 84, Laws of 1941, effective July 13, 1941. General order no. 1: Rules of practice and procedure, effective Oct. 15, 1941; general order no. 2: Tariff schedule rules, effective Oct. 15, 1941. (Santa Fe, 1941) 74p.

Public service commission. Liquified petroleum gas division.

An act providing for safety regulation and control of the liquified petroleum gas industry and repealing chap. 155, N. M. Session laws of 1939. Effective March 20, 1947. (Santa Fe, 1947) 8p. (chap. 214, Laws of 1947)

Publicity bureau.

A guide to New Mexico for the homeseeker, investor, tourist, sportsman, healthseeker; its resources and opportunities in government lands, state lands, farming, stock-raising, mining, manufacturing, climate, scenery, fish and game. A handbook of facts rev. to May 1, 1917, by the New Mexico publicity bureau, State land office, Santa Fe, N. M. (Santa Fe? 1917) 89p.

New Mexico, its resources in public lands, agriculture, horticulture, stock raising, coal, copper, gold and other minerals. Its attractions for the tourist, homeseeker, investor, sportsman, healthseeker and archaeologist. Published by the Bureau of publicity of the state land office, Santa Fe, N. M., 1916. Santa Fe, State record print, 1916. 84p.

———— rev. ed. Santa Fe, 1916. 100p.

Net output of productive mines of New Mexico during 1915. Santa Fe, 1916. fold. table. 35½x23 cm. (fold. to 25x9 cm.)

Rio Grande compact commission.

Ratified and approved March 1, 1939, by N. M. legislature for the purpose of effecting an equitable apportionment of the use of the waters of the Rio Grande.

Annual report to the governors of Colorado, New Mexico and Texas.
1939-1940 41p. v.1-2 (T. M. McClure for New Mexico)
1941 44p. v.3 (T. M. McClure for New Mexico)
1942 46p. v.4 (T. M. McClure for New Mexico)

1943 47p. v.5 (T. M. McClure for New Mexico)
1944 54p. v.6 (T. M. McClure for New Mexico)
1945 43p. v.7 (T. M. McClure for New Mexico)
1946 39p. v.8 (J. H. Bliss)
1947 8p. v.9 (J. H. Bliss)

Rio Grande compact. Santa Fe, (1939) 30p.

*Secretary of state.**

Established in 1846; publishes official documents, publications, election supplies and is the depository for proclamations, appointments, insurance held on capitol buildings, copies of reports and duties of all public offices; ex-officio member of State canvassing board, State investment board, State retirement board, secretary of Capitol custodian commission and is charged with a number of other miscellaneous duties.

Report

July 1, 1897-Dec. 31, 1898. (Geo. H. Wallace)
in Message of Gov. M. A. Otero to the 33rd Legislative assembly. Jan. 16, 1899. "Exhibit C" p. 109-10.
also in Council and House journals, 1899. "Exhibit C" p. 109-10.

Dec. 31, 1898-Dec. 31, 1900. (Geo. H. Wallace)
in Message of M. A. Otero to the 34th legislative assembly. Jan. 21, 1901. Exhibit "C" p. 115-21.

Dec. 31, 1900-Dec. 31, 1902. 75p. (J. W. Raynolds) E&S
also in Message of M. A. Otero to the 35th legislative assembly. Jan. 19, 1903. "Exhibit M" 10p.

Jan. 1, 1903-Dec. 31, 1904. (J. W. Raynolds)
in Message of M. A. Otero to the 36th legislative assembly. Jan. 16, 1905. "Exhibit M" 8p.
also published with legislative manual, 1907. p. 11-16.

Jan. 1, 1905-Dec. 31, 1906. (J. W. Raynolds)
in Message of J. J. Hagerman to the 37th legislative assembly. Jan. 21, 1907. "Exhibit 8." 10p.
also published with Legislative manual, 1907. p. 11-16.

Jan. 1, 1907-Dec. 31, 1908. (Nathan Jaffa)
published with Legislative manual, 1909. p. v.-xv.

* New Mexico did not become a State until 1912, but the current title for a State department is used in this Check List. The office of *Territorial* secretary was established in 1846.

Jan. 1, 1909-Dec. 31, 1910. 33p. (Nathan Jaffa) published with Legislative manual, 1911.

1909-1910-1911 15p. (Antonio Lucero) E&S

Jan. 15, 1912-Nov. 30, 1912. 20p. (Antonio Lucero)

Dec. 1, 1912-Nov. 30, 1914. 19p. 1-2 fiscal yr. (Antonio Lucero)

Dec. 1, 1914-Nov. 30, 1916. 14p. 3-4 fiscal yr. (Antonio Lucero)

Dec. 1, 1916-Nov. 30, 1918. 17p. 5-6 fiscal yr. (Antonio Lucero)

Jan. 1, 1919-Dec. 31, 1920. 19p. 7-8 fiscal yr. (Manuel Martinez)

Jan. 1, 1921-Dec. 31, 1922. 7p. 9-10 fiscal yr. (Manuel Martinez)

Jan. 1, 1923-Dec. 31, 1924. 7p. 11-12 fiscal yr. (Mrs. S. C. Chacon)

Jan. 1, 1925-Dec. 31, 1926. 8p. 13-14, 1st ½ of 15 fis. yr. (Mrs. S. C. Chacon)

Jan. 1, 1927-Nov. 30, 1928. 14p. last ½ of 15, all of 16, 1st of 17 (Mrs. Jennie Fortune)

Jan. 1, 1929-Nov. 30, 1930. 13p. last of 17, all of 18, 1st of 19 (Mrs. E. A. Perrault)

Jan. 1, 1931-Nov. 30, 1932. 14p. last of 19, all of 20, 1st of 21 (Mrs. M. R. Baca)

Jan. 1, 1935-Dec. 31, 1936. 13p. last of 23, all of 24, 1st of 25 (Mrs. E. F. Gonzales)

July 1, 1936-Dec. 31, 1942. 20p. 25-31 fiscal years (Mrs. J. M. Gonzales)

Jan. 1, 1943-Dec. 31, 1946. 34p. last half 31 fis. yr. 32-34, 1st ½ 35th (Mrs. C. E. Cleveland)

Jan. 1, 1947-June 30, 1948. 48p. last half of 35 and all of 36 fis. yr. (Mrs. M. A. Romero)

July 1, 1948-June 30, 1949. 46p. (Mrs. M. A. Romero)
Beginning with 1931/32 includes the Report of the Capitol Custodian Committee. Title varies: Report of the secretary of state and capitol custodian committee 1943-46; Audit report, secretary of state and capitol custodian committee, 1947—

Abstract of votes cast in 1902. (Santa Fe) 1903.

An act relating to absentee voting by members of the armed forces of the U. S., passed by special session of the sixteenth legislature of the state of New Mexico, 1944. (Santa Fe) 1944. 13p.

Communication of the Secretary of the territory of N. M. in answer to resolutions of the Legislative assembly of the territory, Dec. 30, 1851. Santa Fe, Printed by J. L. Collins & W. G. Kephart, 1852. 9p. (W. L. Allen, sec.)

Corporation filings, territory of New Mexico, 1909. List of original and amended certificates of incorporations as required by sec. 123, chap. 79, Laws of 1905. Santa Fe, 1910. 20p.

Corporation filings, territory of New Mexico, 1910. List of original and amended certificates of incorporation as required by sec. 123, chap. 79, Laws of 1905. Santa Fe, 1911. 16p.

The Declaration of American independence, constitution of the U. S. of America with the amendments thereto and the organic act of the territory of New Mexico with its amendments. Santa Fe, 1867. 91p.

Directory of elective officials and legislative manual.
1939-40 77,(68)p.
1940-41 77,(70)p.

Directory of the . . . General assembly . . . (Santa Fe) 1912-

1912	144p.	v. 1
1915	185p.	v. 2
1917		v. 3
1919		v. 4
1921	188p.	v. 5
1923	90p.	v. 6
1925	197p.	v. 7
1927	162p.	v. 8
1929		v. 9
1931	141p.	v.10
1933		v.11
1935		v.12
1937		v.13
1939		v.14
1941	(20)p.	v.15
1943		v.16
1945		v.17
1947		v.18
1949	(18)p.	v.19

Title varies v.1-10. Legislative directory.

Election code of the state of New Mexico, as amended by the legislature, 1939 session. Comp. by A. M. Fernandez, assistant attorney general, under the supervision of Mrs. Jessie M. Gonzales, secretary of state. (Santa Fe, 1939) 67p.

Election code of the state of New Mexico, as amended by the legislature, 1941 session. Comp. by C. C. McCulloh, assistant attorney general, under the supervision of Mrs. Jessie M. Gonzales, secretary of state. (Santa F, 1941) 70p.

Election code of the state of New Mexico; rev. to include all amendments to Jan. 1, 1946. Comp. under the supervision of Cecilia Tafoya Cleveland, secretary of state. (Santa Fe, 1946) 103p.

Election code of the state of New Mexico; rev. to include all amendments to July 1, 1949. Comp. under the supervision of Mrs. M. A. Romero, secretary of state. (Santa Fe, 1949) 102,xxii p.

Informe del secretario del territorio; J. W. Raynolds, Diciembre 31, 1900-Diciembre 31, 1902. Santa Fe, Compania impresora del Nuevo Mexicano, 1903. 75p.

Instructions and laws for notary public . . . March, 1942. (Santa Fe, 1942) 11p.

Instructions for registration clerks; instructions for clerks of registration in carrying out the provisions of chap. 152 of the session laws of 1939 relative to permanent registration in New Mexico; issued by Jessie M. Gonzales, secretary of state. (Santa Fe, 1939) (8)p.

List of registered motor vehicles. East Las Vegas, La Voz del pueblo print, 1914. 52p.

New Mexico licensed embalmers, valid until April 1, 1943. (Santa Fe, 1942) (8)p.

The 1927 election code as enacted by the eighth legislature . . . (Santa Fe, 1927) 47p.

The 1927 election code as enacted by the eighth legislature . . . and as amended by the tenth and eleventh state legislatures. (Santa Fe, 1933) 51p.

Legislative blue-book, of the territory of New Mexico. With the rules of order, fundamental law, official register and record, historical data, compendium of facts, etc. Comp. by W. G. Ritch, secretary of the territory. 1st ed. Santa Fe, W. C. Green, public printer, 1882. 154,46(i.e.50)p.

"Introductory; New Mexico. A sketch of its history and review of its resources. By Hon. W. G. Ritch" p. 5-46, at end of volume.

Report of the Secretary of the territory and legislative manual 1905-1911. Santa Fe, New Mexican printing co., 1905-11. *

1905 301p. (J. W. Raynolds)

1907 248p. (J. W. Raynolds) pub. by Albuquerque morning journal.

1909 274p. (Nathan Jaffa) (Includes Official record, 1846-1909)

1911 333p. (Nathan Jaffa) (Includes Official record, 1846-1911)

Continuation of legislative bluebook 1882.

New Mexico blue book or state official register 1913- Santa Fe, 1913-

1913 411p. (Antonio Lucero)

1915 389,(6)p. (Antonio Lucero)

1917 343p. (Antonio Lucero)

1919 320p. (Manuel Martinez) (Contains war work of New Mexico)

1921 145,(110)p. (Manuel Martinez)

1923-24 64,(105)p. (Mrs. Soledad Chacon)

1925-26 69,(103)p. (Mrs. Soledad Chacon)

1926-27 73,(122)p. (Mrs. Jennie Fortune)

1929-30 85,(231)p. (Mrs. E. A. Perrault)

1931-32 87,(102)p. (Mrs. M. P. Baca)
1933-34 287p. (Mrs. M. P. Baca)
1935-36 180p. (Mrs. E. F. Gonzales)
1937-38 82p. (Mrs. E. F. Gonzales)
1939-40 238p. (Mrs. J. M. Gonzales)
1941-42 91,(146)p. (Mrs. J. M. Gonzales)
1941-42 supp. (71)p. containing the official statistics of the primary election. Sept. 14, 1940
1943-44 176p. (Mrs. C. T. Cleveland)
1945-46 179p. (Mrs. C. T. Cleveland)
1947-48 195p. (Mrs. M. A. Romero)
Continuation of the Report of the secretary of the territory . . . and Legislative manual . . . 1905-1911.

Official register corrected to . . . Santa Fe, 1903-1911.
June 1, 1903 13p. (J. W. Raynolds)
June 30, 1905 13p. (J. W. Raynolds)
also in Legislative manual, 1905. p. 31-43.
Jan. 1, 1907
also in Legislative manual, 1907. p. 29-42.
Jan. 1, 1909
also in Legislative manual. 1909. p. 26-39.
June 1, 1911 19p.
also in Legislative manual, 1911. p. 99-121.
1912 22p.

Sample ballot; November election, 1920. Santa Fe, 1920. 1 leaf.

Official roster, list of elective state, legislative and county officers . . .
Santa Fe, 1915-
1915-16 22p.
1918 (16)p.
1922 (11)p.
1925-26 (16)p.
1927-28 (16)p.
1929-30 (16)p.
1933-34 (16)p.
1935-36 (14)p.
1937-38 (38)p.
1939-40 (40)p.
1941-42 (37)p.
1943-44 (40)p.
1945-46 (37)p.
1947-48 (37)p.
1949-50 (40)p.
Title varies: 1915-16, called Official register; 1918, State officers elected; 1937-40, Roster.
1919-21, 1924, 1931-32 not published.

Sheep Sanitary Board.

Established in 1897; appoints inspectors, adopts and publishes such rules and regulations as necessary, prescribes methods of dipping of sheep and necessary quarantine and sanitary measures.

Report
Dec. 15, 1898-Dec. 15, 1900. (H. F. Lee)
in Message of M. A. Otero to the 34th Legislative assembly. Jan. 21, 1901 Exhibit K p. 325-32.
Dec. 15, 1901-Dec. 1, 1902. (H. F. Lee)
in Message of M. A. Otero to the 35th Legislative assembly. Jan. 19, 1903 Exhibit P. 20p.
Nov. 30, 1902-Nov. 30, 1904. (H. F. Lee)
in Message of M. A. Otero to the 36th Legislative assembly. Jan. 16, 1905. Exhibit P. 6p.
Dec. 1, 1905-Nov. 30, 1906. (H. F. Lee)
in Message of H. J. Hagerman to the 37th Legislative assembly. Jan. 21, 1907. Exhibit 18. 16p.
Dec. 1, 1906-Nov. 30, 1908. typew.

Directions for the preparation and use of lime and sulphur sheep dip. 1902.

Directions for the preparation and use of tobacco and sulphur sheep dip. 1902.

Direcciones para la preparacion y uso de Bano Para ovejas recommendado por el cuerpo de sanidad de ovejas de Nuevo Mexico. Albuquerque, La Bandera Americana, 1902. 12p. Includes "Direcciones para la preparacion y el uso de Bana de ovejas con el remedio de Tabaco y Azufre." p. 6-12.

To sheep growers, Apr. 10, 1902. Albuquerque, 1902.

Important order, July 20, 1901. Albuquerque, 1901. (circular ordering the dipping of sheep for scab. Also in Spanish)

The New Mexico brand book, 1937 . . . (showing all sheep and goat earmarks and brands recorded, and all new marks and brands recorded up to February 12, 1937) Albuquerque (1937) 64p.

The New Mexico brand book, 1939 supplement . . . (showing all sheep and goat earmarks and brands recorded from February 1937 to July 1939) Albuquerque, (1939) 17p.

New Mexico earmarks and brand book, 1949 . . . showing all the earmarks and brands registered for sheep and goats at close of books Sept. 1, 1949 . . . Albuquerque, 1949. (48)p.

Special revenue commission.

Created in 1920 to investigate and report upon the question of adopting an income tax for the state, with reference to existing systems of taxation, and appropriating money to pay the expenses.

Memorandum on the revenue and taxation code for N. M., drafted by the N. M. Special revenue commission, and embodied in House bill no. 100. Memorandum prepared by George S. Downer. Feb. 1920. (Santa Fe, 1920) 24p.

Report of hearings of the New Mexico Special revenue commission held at Santa Fe, August 16-20, 1920. (Albuquerque, Central ptg. co., 1920) 204p.

Report of the New Mexico Special revenue commission to the governor and the Legislature of the state of New Mexico made in accordance with chap. 9, fourth state legislature, extra session, 1920. Reservations as to main report by Mr. Joerns . . . Santa Fe, (New Mexican publishing corp.) 1920. 60p.

Report of the New Mexico Special revenue commission to the governor and the Legislature of the state of New Mexico, made in accordance with chap. 9, fourth state Legislature, extra session, 1920 . . . Santa Fe. (Printed by the Santa Fe New Mexican publishing corporation, 1920) 324p.

Report on the New Mexico state educational institutions and the general education system of New Mexico, by W. C. Bagley . . . With letters from Professor E. P. Cubberly and Professor Geo. D. Strayer to the New Mexico special revenue commission. Santa Fe, (Printed by the Santa Fe New Mexican publishing corporation) 1921. 62p.

Statement by Robert Murray Haig in response to Mr. Joern's dissenting opinion to report of the Special revenue commission to the governor and Legislature of the state of New Mexico. Santa Fe, 1921. 7p.

State bank examiner.

Created in 1915; administers the N. M. banking laws, Building and loan laws, the Small loan act, the Credit union and Blue sky law.

Annual report

1915 57p. v. 1 (R. H. Carter)
1916 76p. v. 2 (R. H. Carter)

1917	unp.	v. 3	(G. H. Van Stone)
1918	unp.	v. 4	(G. H. Van Stone)
1919	59p.	v. 5	(J. B. Read)
1920	56p.	v. 6	(J. B. Read)
1921	48p.	v. 7	(J. B. Read)
1922	49p.	v. 8	(J. B. Read)
1923	unp.	v. 9	(L. B. Gregg)
1924	79p.	v.10	(L. B. Gregg)
1925	88p.	v.11	(W. P. Saunders)
1926	44p.	v.12	(L. A. Taume)
1927	30p.	v.13	(L. A. Taume)
1928	40p.	v.14	(L. A. Taume)
1929	42p.	v.15	(L. A. Taume)
1930	38p.	v.16	(L. A. Taume)
1931	32p.	v.17	(John Bingham)
1932	32p.	v.18	(John Bingham)
1933	29p.	v.19	(John Bingham)
1934	30p.	v.20	(W. P. Saunders)
1935	29p.	v.21	(W. P. Saunders)
1936	29p.	v.22	(W. P. Saunders)
1937	29p.	v.23	(W. P. Saunders)
1938	31p.	v.24	(W. P. Saunders)
1939	32p.	v.25	(N. P. Walter)
1940	27p.	v.26	(N. P. Walter)
1941	40p.	v.27	(W. P. Saunders)
1942	40p.	v.28	(W. P. Saunders)
1943	40p.	v.29	(W. P. Saunders)
1944	40p.	v.30	(W. P. Saunders)
1945	40p.	v.31	(W. P. Saunders)
1946	47p.	v.32	(W. P. Saunders)
1947	49p.	v.33	(W. P. Saunders)
1948	51p.	v.34	(W. P. Saunders)

v. 1-8 have the title: Annual report of the state banking department;

v. 9- have title: Annual report of the State bank examiner. Reports are for the calendar year.

An act relating to credit unions; providing for their organization, regulation, operation and dissolution; and declaring an emergency. (Santa Fe, 1945) 8p. (chap. 129, Laws of 1945)

Bank act, an act to define and regulate the business of banking . . . Santa Fe, State corporation commission, 1915. 27,(4)p. (chap. 67, Laws of 1915)

Blue sky law . . . effective June 12, 1921. Santa Fe, 1921. 14p.

Laws relating to the banks of discount and deposit, savings banks, trust companies, and building and loan associations, 1910. Santa Fe, 1910. 92p.

Laws relating to building and loan associations . . . 1940. (Santa Fe, 1941) 12p.

New Mexico bank act. Chap. 67, laws of 1915; chap. 56, laws of 1917; chap. 120, laws of 1919. Santa Fe, 1919. 37p.

New Mexico bank act . . . Santa Fe, 1923. 63p.

New Mexico bank act, containing enactments governing banks. Santa Fe, 1926. 47p.

New Mexico bank code, 1927; to and including the Session laws of 1927; comp. and annotated by Juan A. A. Sedillo. (Santa Fe, 1927) 143p.xxxvi

New Mexico bank code, 1929. Building and loan laws, 1931. (Santa Fe, Santa Fe New Mexican pub. corp., 1932) 57p.

New Mexico bank code, 1933. Building and loan laws, 1933. (Santa Fe, 1933) 68p.

New Mexico bank code, 1939. (Santa Fe, 1939) 64p.

New Mexico bank code, 1943. (Santa Fe, 1943) 70p.

Report of condition of New Mexico state banks as of Dec. 31, 1940. (Santa Fe, 1941) 1 sheet

Securities and blue sky laws of the state of New Mexico. Santa Fe, 1941. 22p.

Securities and "Blue sky" laws of the state of New Mexico. Santa Fe, 1948. 28p.

Small loan act . . . (Santa Fe, 1947) 14p.

Small loan law of the state of New Mexico. (Santa Fe, 1939) 7p.

State board for vocational education.

Established in 1931 to administer federal vocational education.

Annual descriptive report to the U. S. Office of education, 1937-40. State college, 1938-40. 3v.

The agricultural counselor. v. 1- September, 1925- monthly

Books for home economics libraries. (State college, 1929) 5 leaves. mimeo.

Films for home economics classes. State college, 1946. 15p.

Home economics counselor. v. 1- Sept., 1925-

Home economics education . . . course in the high school. State college, State department of vocational education, 1931. 165p.

Graphic standards for furniture designers . . . Santa Fe, 1939. 28p. Drawings by W. T. Lumpkins, Jr.

Home spinning and weaving for a vocation. Dyes and dyeing, by D. W. Rockey and R. C. Pycha . . . issued January 31, 1933 . . . (Albuquerque, 1933) 101-201p. mimeo.

New adaptions from authentic examples of Spanish colonial furniture. Santa Fe, 1935. 16 drawings mimeo.

New Mexico colonial embroidery . . . Santa Fe, The department, 1935. 4 numb. leaves 52pl.

New Mexico student home economics club. News letter Spring, 1929. State college, 1929.

Revised plans for vocational education in New Mexico under the supervision of the Smith-Hughes act; adopted by the State board of vocational education April, 1919, and approved by the Federal board for vocational education Sept. 1919. Albuquerque, Central printing co., n.d. 52p.

Spanish colonial furniture bulletin . . . (Santa Fe, 1933) 1 v. mimeo.

Spanish colonial painted chests; designed from church altars, designs from retablos, creative designs . . . Santa Fe, 1937. 4p. 38 drawings. mimeo.

Suggestive short unit courses for classes in home economics for adults. State college, 1929. 65p. mimeo.

Tables for the determination of minerals, by Samuel Dinnington-Strain. Santa Fe, issued by the New Mexico department of vocational education, B. H. Sewell, State supervisor of trade and industrial education, 1935. 27 numb. leaves.

Tanning bulletin. Santa Fe, The department, 1934. 9 numb. leaves. mimeo.

Teachers of home economics in New Mexico, 1939-40. State college, (1939)

Tin craft in New Mexico . . . comp. by N. M. State department of vocational education, Department of trades and industries, Brice H. Sewell, state supervisor. (Santa Fe) 1937. 26pl.
Reproduced from type-written copy.

Tin frames . . . Santa Fe, The department, 1935. 22 drawings, mimeo.

Vegetable dyes bulletin. Issued by New Mexico department of vocational education. Brice H. Sewell, state supervisor of trade and industrial education, in collaboration with Mabel Morrow, director, Arts and crafts department, U. S. Indian school, Santa Fe, Jan. 1934. (Santa Fe, 1934) 8 numb. leaves mimeo.

Vocational bulletin, nos. 1-7. Santa Fe, State department of education, 1917-1923.

no. 1 Plans for vocational education in New Mexico under the provisions of the Smith-Hughes act . . . 1917. 22p.

no. 2 Outline for vocational education in New Mexico . . . adopted by the State board of education August 24, 1918 and

approved by the Federal board for vocational education, Sept. 9, 1918. 42p.

no. 3 Course of study for automobile maintenance and repair. 1918. 43p. (Industrial series no. 1)

no. 4 Revised plans for vocational education in New Mexico . . . prepared under the direction of R. C. Miller, director for vocational education, 1919-1920. 52p.

no. 5 State plans for vocational education in New Mexico. 1922. 44p.

no. 6 Outline of work being done by the various bureaus, organizations, and agencies interested in the development of agriculture in New Mexico. 1922. 30p.

no. 7 Course of study: Vocational home economics all-day schools prepared by Ruth Taylor Foard. 1923. 112p.

Vocational news bulletin. Santa Fe, Department of education, 1921. v. 1 no. 1-6; Jan.-Oct. 1921.
no. 1,6 mimeo.

Vocational news; the voice of vocational education, National defense training in New Mexico. v. 1 no. 1-10. Nov. 1, 1941-Aug. 20, 1942. Santa Fe, 1941-42. Discontinued.

Vocational rehabilitation of physically handicapped persons in the state of New Mexico through the Vocational rehabilitation service of the State department of vocational education, Brice H. Sewell, director. Santa Fe, n.d. (4)p.

Weaving bulletin. Santa Fe, The department of education, 1937. 23 drawings. mimeo.

State board of accountancy.

Created in 1921; regulates the examination, qualification, registration and practice of public accountants and provides penalties for the violation of this act.

Register of New Mexico certified public accountants, July 1936-
July 1935-June 30, 1936 (3)p. (J. B. Stephenson)
July 1936-June 30, 1937 (7)p. (E. D. Reynolds)
July 1937-June 30, 1938 7p. (E. D. Reynolds)
July 1938-June 30, 1939 8p. (E. D. Reynolds)
July 1939-June 30, 1940 8p. (E. D. Reynolds)
July 1940-June 30, 1941 8p. (E. D. Reynolds)
July 1941-June 30, 1942 8p. (E. D. Reynolds)
July 1942-June 30, 1943 8p. (E. D. Reynolds)
July 1943-June 30, 1944 8p. (E. D. Reynolds)
July 1944-June 30, 1945 8p. (E. D. Reynolds)
July 1946-June 30, 1947 11p. (J. B. Murray)

July 1947-June 30, 1948 14p. (C. L. Linder) mimeo.
July 1948-June 30, 1949 14p. (C. L. Linder) mimeo.

Directory of members and code of ethics, Sept. 1, 1933. n.p.n.d. (9)p.

New Mexico public accountancy act of 1947; rules of professional conduct; rules and regulations adopted by the Board. Santa Fe (1947) 20p.

State board of finance.

Established in 1923; has general supervision of fiscal affairs and of safe keeping and depositing of all moneys and securities in the hands of the state and makes necessary rules and regulations.

Minutes of the regular and special meetings from 1923-date on file in auditor's office.

Public moneys act; provision of 1929 Compilation, N. M. statutes, annotated and amendments by the 11th state legislature, contained in the 1933 Session laws; approved March 16, 1933, effective April 15, 1933. Santa Fe (1933) 27p.

Rules and regulations for the preparation of vouchers . . . approved by State board of finance. (Santa Fe) 1935 (4)p.

State board of nurse examiners.

Established in 1923; registers all graduate nurses.

An act relating to professional nursing in the state of New Mexico. Approved Feb. 13, 1923 (Albuquerque) 1923. 7p.

An act relating to professional nursing in the state of New Mexico to establish a Board of examiners for graduate nurses and to regulate the practices of professional nursing in the state of New Mexico. (Albuquerque) 1925. 8p.

An act relating to professional nursing in the state of New Mexico to establish a Board of examiners for graduate nurses, and to regulate the practices of professional nursing in the state of New Mexico. Passed by the thirteenth legislature of the state of New Mexico in 1937. (Albuquerque) 1937 8p.

Curriculum, minimum requirements for accredited schools of nursing as approved by the New Mexico state board of nurse examiners. Jan. 1924. (Albuquerque, 1924) (12)p.

List of registered nurses holding cerificates permitting practice in New Mexico. Albuquerque, 1939-

Jan. 1938-Jan. 1939 (11)p. (Ella Bartlett)
Jan. 1, 1941-Jan. 1, 1942 (16)p. (Teresa McMenamin)
Jan. 1, 1943-Jan. 1, 1944 (17)p. (Teresa McMenamin)
Jan. 1, 1944-Jan. 1, 1945 (18)p. (Teresa McMenamin)
Jan. 1, 1945-Jan. 1, 1946 (25)p. (Teresa McMenamin) mimeo.
Jan. 1, 1946-Jan. 1, 1947 ( )p. (Mary Pickett)
Jan. 1, 1947-Jan. 1, 1948 (17)p. (Teresa McMenamin)
Jan. 1, 1949-Jan. 1, 1950 23p. (Hazel W. Bush)
Title varies: 1938-Jan. 1, 1947 Names of registered nurses . . .; Jan. 1, 1947-Jan. 1, 1948—List of registered nurses . . .

Policies, regulations and recommendations for the accreditation of New Mexico schools of nursing. (Albuquerque) 1945. 11p.

Regulations and recommendations for the accreditation of New Mexico schools of nursing; adopted 1939 by the New Mexico state board of nurses examiners. (Albuquerque) 1939. 12p.

Rules governing the examinations of the New Mexico state board nurse examiners. (Albuquerque) n.d. 4p.

Rules, regulations and curriculum for accredited schools of nursing. (Albuquerque) 1931. 12p.

State board of registration for professional engineers and land surveys.

Created May 1935; looks after the registration of engineers and land surveyors.

Annual report . . . to the governor for the year ending June 30 . . . containing the law, by-laws, rule and regulations of the board with a roster of registered professional engineers and land surveyors entitled by law to practice in the state . . . Santa Fe, 1935—
June 4, 1935 typed letter (T. M. McClure)
July 1, 1935-June 30, 1936 37p. v.2 (T. M. McClure)
July 1, 1936-June 30, 1937 41p. v.3 (T. M. McClure)
July 1, 1937-June 30, 1938 40p. v.4 (T. M. McClure)
July 1, 1938-June 30, 1939 41p. v.5 (T. M. McClure)
July 1, 1939-June 30, 1940 43p. v.6 (T. M. McClure)
July 1, 1940-June 30, 1941 40p. v.7 (W. C. Smith)
July 1, 1941-June 30, 1942 38p. v.8 (T. M. McClure)
July 1, 1942-June 30, 1943 37p. v.9 (T. M. McClure)
July 1, 1943-June 30, 1944 37p. v.10 (T. M. McClure)
July 1, 1944-June 30, 1945 45p. v.11 (T. M. McClure)
July 1, 1945-June 30, 1946 41p. v.12 (T. M. McClure)
July 1, 1946-June 30, 1947 57p. v.13 (J. H. Bliss)
July 1, 1947-June 30, 1948 87p. v.14 (J. H. Bliss)
July 1, 1948-June 30, 1949 64p. v.15 (J. H. Bliss

New Mexico engineers and surveyors registration act. Santa Fe, n. d. 11p.

State Budget.

1917 legislature gave the governor the authority to prepare and submit to the legislature a complete budget of proposed revenues and expenditure for the ensuing two years; items could be reduced or cut out but not raised by the legislature; repealed in 1919.

From 1919 to 1947 the governor prepared the budget but the legislature was free to raise or lower the items; since 1947 the budget director submits budget requests to the governor for submission to the state legislature.

Biennial period . . . submitted to the . . . legislature by . . . governor of New Mexico.

July 1, 1919-June 30, 1921 36p. Fourth legislature (8- 9 fis. yr.) (O. A. Larrazola)

July 1, 1921-June 30, 1923 43p. Fifth legislature (10-11 fis. yr.) (M. C. Mechem)

July 1, 1923-June 30, 1925 82p. Sixth legislature (12-13 fis. yr.) (J. F. Hinkle)

July 1, 1925-June 30, 1927 83p. Seventh legislature (14-15 fis. yr.) (A. T. Hannett)

July 1, 1927-June 30, 1929 77p. Eighth legislature (16-17 fis. yr.) (R. C. Dillon)

July 1, 1929-June 30, 1931 101p. Ninth legislature (18-19 fis. yr.) (R. C. Dillon)

July 1, 1931-June 30, 1933 112p. Tenth legislature (20-21 fis. yr.) (Arthur Seligman)

July 1, 1933-June 30, 1935 156p. Eleventh legis. (22-23 fis. yr.) (Arthur Seligman)

July 1, 1935-June 30, 1937 153p. Twelfth legislature (24-25 fis. yr.) (Clyde Tingley)

July 1, 1937-June 30, 1939 200p. Thirteenth legis. (26-27 fis. yr.) (Clyde Tingley)

July 1, 1939-June 30, 1941 186p. Fourteenth legis. (28-29 fis. yr.) (J. E. Miles)

July 1, 1941-June 30, 1943 263p. Fifteenth legis. (30-31 fis. yr.) (J. E. Miles)

July 1, 1943-June 30, 1945 166p. Sixteenth legis. (32-33 fis. yr.) (J. J. Dempsey) mimeo.

July 1, 1945-June 30, 1947 178p. Seventeenth legis. (34-35 fis. yr.) (J. J. Dempsey) mimeo.

July 1, 1947-June 30, 1949 215p. Eighteenth legis. (36-37 fis. yr.) (T. J. Mabry) mimeo.

State budget director.

Created in 1947; studies budget requests of all state departments and institutions and advises the State board of finance concerning budget needs.

Report of budgets submitted by state departments, institutions, boards and commissions for the biennium ending June 30, 1951 to the governor and state comptroller; for review and transmission to the nineteenth legislature as required by chapter 193 of the Session laws of 1947. Santa Fe, 1949. 71p. (J. C. Hester)

State canvassing board.

Constitution provides for the returns of every election for state officers to be sealed and transmitted to the Secretary of State, who with the governor and chief justice constitute the state canvassing board which canvasses and declares results of election. Election returns for 1911-1941 are in the New Mexico Blue books for 1913-1941/42.

Canvass of returns of general election held Nov. 7, 1944. Santa Fe, 1944. 1 sheet.

Election returns, special election held Sept. 17, 1935 on five constitutional amendments. Santa Fe, 1935. 3 sheets (typed)

Officials returns of the 1942 primary and general elections and the report of the State canvassing board. Compiled by Cecilia Tafoya Cleveland, secretary of state. (Santa Fe, Santa Fe press, inc., 1942) (275)p.

Official returns of the 1946 primary and general elections and the report of the State canvassing board. Comp. by Alicia Romero, secretary of state. (Santa Fe, 1946) 1 v.

Official returns of the 1948 elections; general election, Nov. 2, 1948; primary election, June 8, 1948. Compiled under the supervision of Alicia Romero, secretary of state. Santa Fe, (1949) 526p.

State corporation commission.

Established in 1912; enforces all provisions of the constitution and administers all laws passed by the legislature designed to regulate and control the corporations of the state. The Commission is made up of five major departments: Motor transportation dept., Rate dept., Franchise tax dept., Insurance dept., and Corporation commission.

Annual report

Jan. 16, 1912-Dec. 31, 1912 534p. v. 1 (H. H. Williams, chairman)
Jan. 1, 1913-Dec. 13, 1913 499p. v. 2 (H. H. Williams, chairman)
Jan. 1, 1914-Dec. 31, 1914 345p. v. 3 (M. S. Groves, chairman)
Jan. 1, 1915-Dec. 31, 1915 351p. v. 4 (M. S. Groves, chairman)
Jan. 1, 1916-Dec. 31, 1916 328p. v. 5 (M. S. Groves, chairman)
Jan. 1, 1917-Dec. 31, 1917 116p. v. 6 (H. H. Williams, chairman)
Jan. 1, 1918-Dec. 31, 1918 117p. v. 7 (H. H. Williams, chairman)
Jan. 1, 1919-Dec. 31, 1920 146p. v. 8-9 (H. H. Williams, chairman)
Jan. 1, 1921-Dec. 31, 1922 153p. v.10-11 (H. H. Williams, chairman)
Jan. 1, 1923-Dec. 31, 1924 140p. v.12-13 (H. H. Williams, chairman)
Jan. 1, 1925-Jne. 30, 1926 129p. v.14-15 (Bonifacio Montoya, (chairman)
July 1, 1926-Dec. 31, 1929 263p. v.16-18 (H. H. Williams, chairman)
Jan. 1, 1930-Dec. 31, 1931 230p. v.19-30 (J. S. Baca, chairman)
1932-1935 not printed
Jan. 1, 1936-Dec. 31, 1937 148p. v.25-26 (Robert Valdez, chairman)
Jan. 1, 1938-Dec. 31, 1938 92p. v.27 (Robert Valdez, chairman)
Jan. 1, 1939-Dec. 31, 1940 142p. v.28-29 (Robert Valdez, chairman)
Jan. 1, 1941-Dec. 31, 1942 144p. v.30-31 (D. R. Casados, chairman)
Jan. 1, 1943-Dec. 31, 1944 158p. v.32-33 (D. R. Casados, chairman)
Jan. 1, 1945-Dec. 31, 1946 216p. v.34-35 (G. W. Armijo, chairman)

Biennial report
Dec. 1, 1912-Nov. 30, 1914 20p.
Dec. 1, 1914-Nov. 30, 1916 14p.
Dec. 1, 1922-Nov. 30, 1924 37p.

Amendments to general corporation laws; chap. 112, Laws of 1917. Las Cruces, (1917) 12p.

An act declaring any mechanical plant, business or establishment operated within the state . . . to be public utilities and providing for the state corporation commission to regulate . . . H. B. no. 403; approved March 14, 1927 as amended by Senate bill no. 97, March 1939. n.p.n.d. 3p. mimeo.

Constitutional provisions and laws relating to the State corporation commission defining its powers and duties, etc. prescribing procedure as to hearing of complaints and grievances, and providing for filing of tariffs and schedules with the commission by all public service corporations . . . July 25, 1912. (Santa Fe (1912) 19p.

Corporation laws of the state of New Mexico . . . to and including the session laws of 1917. n.p.n.d. 248p.

General corporation laws of the state of New Mexico; codification of 1915, (as amended) including provisions of the state constitution relating to corporations, 1919. Santa Fe, 1919. 100p.

Corporation laws of the state of New Mexico, general and special; compiled from state constitution; codification of 1915 (as amended) Session laws of 1915, 1917, 1919, 1921. Santa Fe, 1921. 308p.

General corporation laws of the state of New Mexico; rev. to conform to the provisions of the constitution . . . Santa Fe, 1913. 65p.

General corporation laws of the state of New Mexico, including provisions of state institutions relating to corporations. Santa Fe, 1915. 92p.

General incorporation laws of the territory of New Mexico. Approved March 15, 1905. Albuquerque. The corporation organization and management co. (1905) 66p.

Irrigation laws. Provisions of constitution and laws of the state of New Mexico, relating to incorporating and government of irrigation companies and water users' associations. Albuquerque, 1913. 32p.

New Mexico incorporations, original and amended, 1905. As required by Sec. 123, Chap. 79. Laws, 1905. Santa Fe, New Mexican printing co., 1906. 13p.

Railroad map of New Mexico. Prepared under the direction of the State corporation commission. (Santa Fe) 1913.

Railroad map of the state of New Mexico. Prepared under the direction of the State corporation commission. (Santa Fe) 1917. 27½ x 31 in.

Reply to House joint resolution no. 8, second legislature relative to

passenger fares locally within the state of New Mexico. March 9, 1915. Santa Fe, (1915) 14p.

Reply to the Honorable House of representatives of the Third State legislature pursuant to House resolution no. 3 n.p.n.d. 56p.

Special report of State corporation commission to the governor of New Mexico. Santa Fe, 1919. 11p.

(To be continued)

Notes and Documents

THE LA JUNTA ARCHIVES *

Missions were established among the Patarabuey Indians of La Junta, the region of the junction of the Rio Conchos with Rio Grande, as early as 1683, and there are numerous documents available dealing with explorations and the founding and maintenance of missions there. To the best of my knowledge, the actual records of the La Junta missions are not available however. Other available documents deal with investigations of the possibilities of locating a *presidio* at La Junta, and with the actual establishment of the *presidio* in 1760. "El Presidio del Norte de la Junta de los Rios" apparently was established in the immediate vicinity of the Indian pueblo which had been named Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe and on the present site of Ojinaga, Chihuahua, on the high mesas south and west of the actual junction of the streams.

Early in my research on the archaeology and the ethno-history of the La Junta area I attempted to locate surviving mission or *presidio* records in Ojinaga itself, but without success. During the last summer several Church records were located, and superficially examined, that at least overlap the *presidio* period, although they do not extend back to the previous mission period. These records are part of the archives of the Catholic Church on the old plaza in Ojinaga and were located through the initiative and interest of Mr. Thomas St. Clair of the Border Patrol of the U. S. Immigration Service, then stationed at Presidio, Texas.

In the course of checking the ancestry of individuals thought to be Mexican citizens illegally in the United States, Mr. St. Clair had official access to the various records of modern Ojinaga and thereby discovered the existence of the older Church records. He kindly informed me of his discovery and in June of 1949 succeeded in inducing the *padre* currently in charge of the records to allow me to inspect them briefly. A few notes were made at that time and plans were laid for future more detailed studies. When Mr. William Newcomb, Sr., of the Department of Anthropology of The University of Texas and Mr. James Garner, a graduate student in the department, attempted to investigate the records, however, they were refused permission for further inspection at that time.

Although the records are of limited number and deal with extremely detailed and specialized subjects, they are nevertheless valuable additions to our knowledge of La Junta history and an effort should be made to make transcripts or photostats of them before the older volumes become illegible or are otherwise destroyed. According to my own brief notes the records include the following bound volumes:

(1) "Matrimonios de 1798-1842" (contains some documents from the 1770 decade).

* Prepared for publication by Charles J. Kelley, Associate Professor of Anthropology and Curator of the Anthropological Museum, The University of Texas.

(2) "Matrimonios de 1822 [should be 1842?] a 1862."
(3) "Libro de Partidos y Bautismos pertenecientes de los años de 1856-1857, 1858, 1859, y 1860, 1861, 1862, 1863, 1864. 1856 a 1864."
(4) "Libro de Bautismos del Año de 1864. Pueblo de Ojinaga, Chihauhua, 1864-1868."

The books also contain records of *visitas* of the La Junta mission such as Coyame, Mesquites, etc. Many of the older documents deal with petitions of soldiers stationed at the *presidio* for permission to marry women of the pueblo. Used in connection with the lists of soldiers stationed at the presidio or sent on the expedition to found it, and the lists of converts given in available documents, these records should provide considerable enlightenment as to the ethnic sources of the modern population of La Junta. The older documents are badly faded and cracked and desperately need careful attention, not to mention transcription. There may be other records, since the *padre* brought these out one at a time and with considerable reluctance.

Mr. St. Clair pointed out that several changes occur in the name used for the pueblo in the various documents. In the oldest documents the name used is "El Real Presidio de Señor Santiago de la Junta de los Rios." I saw no usage of the earlier name still current in the 1750-1760 decade, "Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe." By 1795 the name had been shortened to "El Real Presidio de Santiago del Norte" and shortly thereafter to "El Presidio de Santiago del Norte." This was then further reduced to "El Presidio del Norte," which continued in use until November, 1865, when the pueblo name was officially changed to "Ojinaga," after Manuel Ojinaga, a leader in the fight against the French, and Governor of Chihuahua, who was killed in combat that year. Modern Presidio, Texas, preserves in abbreviated form the old name.

Although I have no means of rescuing, photographing, transcribing, or studying these archives, I will be glad to aid in every way possible the work of any person or institution that is interested in saving these fragments of La Junta history which otherwise will inevitably be lost.

* * *

The Historical Society of New Mexico met in the Women's Board Room, Museum of New Mexico Art Gallery, December 9, 1949, at 7:30 P. M. Officers present were Paul A. F. Walter, President; Wayne Mauzy, Corresponding Secretary; Albert G. Ely, Treasurer; Hester Jones, Recording Secretary.

The minutes of the last biennial meeting were approved as published in the April, 1946, issue of THE NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW. The report of the Treasurer was adopted. It is appended hereto. The Treasurer also reported that the membership of the Historical Society stands at 649.

Resolutions drawn up by Rupert Asplund as memorials to Dr. Edgar L. Hewett, Mr. Francis T. Cheetham, and Mr. Lansing B. Bloom, were adopted as drafted. The text of these resolutions is appended to the minutes.

The Recording Secretary suggested that it would be well to acquaint people in Los Alamos of the purposes of the Society and to solicit their membership. The Secretary was asked to secure lists from Dorothy McKibben, A. E. C. Santa Fe Office.

Curators' reports were next submitted.

Mrs. Marjorie Tichy, Curator of Archaeology, reported on the accessions of the Historical Society.

Miss Evelyn Bauer, Librarian, presented the request of the University of New Mexico that a number of exchange publications be deposited in the University Library, such publications relating to fields other than the Southwest. The Society recommended that while publications from a number of States should be deposited in the Historical Society Library, Santa Fe, others might be directed to the University Library, and suggested that details might be worked out later. Miss Bauer also reported on library accessions.

Dr. Arthur Anderson reported on documentary accessions.

The report of the Nominating Committee was submitted by its Chairman, Mr. Rupert Asplund. The following candidates for office for the next biennium were named: Paul A. F. Walter, President; Pearce Rodey, Vice President; Wayne L. Mauzy, Corresponding Secretary; Albert G. Ely, Treasurer; and Hester Jones, Recording Secretary. The motion to accept the Nominating Committee's report was unanimously accepted, and the officers elected by acclamation.

On recommendation of the President, the following new Fellows were elected: Dr. Herbert O. Brayer, Fray Angelico Chavez, Dr. Charles E. Dibble, Father Crocchiola, and Dr. Theodore Treuthlein. The President recommended that certificates be made up and issued to the Fellows.

The President called attention to the gift to the Society of the earliest certificate of membership known to exist, issued to Jonathan Letterman, 1860, just after organization of the Society (December, 1859). He stated that Bishop Lamy was also a charter member of the Society or one of the earliest members. The President also recommended that the Society's seal be kept in the Museum safe.

Upon adjournment, a program followed, consisting of a talk by Dr. Arthur J. O. Anderson on the translation of the Aztec of Sahagun's *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España,* being carried out in collaboration with Dr. Dibble. This was followed by a talk by Fray Angelico Chavez, pertaining to his study of family names and family origins in New Mexico.

Respectfully submitted,
HESTER JONES
Recording Secretary

Book Reviews

Le Secret de Junípero Serra, Fondateur de la Californie, 1769-1784. Maximin C. J. Piette. Washington, D. C.: The Academy of American Franciscan History ['Imprimerie de Lamirande, Montreal, Canada], 1948. Pp. 480, 595. Outline maps, photographs, and facsimiles. $6.00.

In his *Evocation de Junípero Serra* (Washington, 1946), Dr. Maximin C. J. Piette gave to students of the early history of the "Golden State" a remarkable bibliographical essay which, it was promised, would be followed by a biography of Serra and an edition of his letters. The second part of this trilogy has now appeared.

As in the *Evocation,* so in the *Secret* Doctor Piette is definitely the philosopher and psychologist. At times it seems as if he had forgotten that he is a biographer and is concerned not so much with Serra's contribution to California history as with the problem of determining in what lay Serra's greatness. Incidentally, his eventual decision seems to be that it was (1) the missionary's supernatural love of his enemies, (2) his constant returning of good for evil, and (3) his glorification of God through saving the souls of "his dear Indians" (pp. 19, 235-40).

Following a long (pp. 7-29) and somewhat involved introduction the author divides his two volume work into three Books; these, in turn, are divided into parts and chapters.

Part One of Book I (the latter entitled, "L'entrainement du pionnier, 1713-1769") gives what, for lack of evidence, is necessarily a rather incomplete account of Serra's childhood and early manhood, his entrance into the Franciscan Order and his decision, after reading the lives of the saints, to be a missionary in the Indies of America. Dominated thus by the fascination of bringing "gentiles" into the church he gave up what would probably have been a great preaching career.

Part Two describes his voyage from Palma to Cadiz and

thence, saved by Santa Barbara from shipwreck (p. 98), to Vera Cruz. Here he had to decide whether he should ride or walk to Mexico City. Despite friendly advice to the contrary he insisted on the latter and continued this practise wherever possible all through his life in California. Part way on the journey to the capital he was bitten by a poisonous insect and from that time on he was beset with lameness (p. 123).

Part Three describes his life as a missionary in the Sierra Gorda, an experience which was to come in handy in California. In 1758 (Part Four) he became a sort of circuit rider (*missionaire volant*) and later a supervisor of novices.

In 1767 occurred the expulsion from New Spain of all members of the Jesuit Order. This event (described in Part Five) brought about a jurisdictional quarrel between the Franciscan Colleges of San Fernando, Jalisco, and Querétero. Serra participated wholeheartedly in this rather sordid affair and his contribution to the success of the *Fernandinos* was so outstanding that Dr. Piette insists it proved that he had the makings of an F. B. I. director or a Justice of the Supreme Court (p. 195). At any rate the *Fernandinos* won out and April 1, 1763, Serra landed in *Vielle* (i.e. Lower) *Californie* and during the next year participated in Galves' preparations for the occupation of *Californie Nouvelle* (i.e. Upper California).

With Book II (*La Californie-Naissante,* 1769-1784) Father Piette begins the life of Serra in Alta California, to use the Spanish name for the Golden State. Part One of this Book covers Portola's regime and Part Two that of Fages (1770-1774). Part Three describes in detail Bucareli's contribution to the establishment of the California missions. Part Four (pp. 3-253 of Volume II) tells the story of Serra's battle with Rivera—*Combat de Coqs*—(1774-1777). Part Five does the same thing with Serra's conflicts with Governor Neve (1777-1782).

Book III (Calvaire de Junípero) is the shortest of the three books. Part One describes the near catastrophe resulting from the Bishop Reyes episode; Part Two gives a gen-

eral account of the Missions in Serra's last days; Part Three recounts Serra's death.

Despite the fact that Dr. Piette looks upon the *Secret* as primarily an analysis of Serra's character, an analysis based largely on the letters which Serra wrote and received, the truth is that it will serve the historian fully as much as the philosopher and the psychologist. Throughout the book the author gives the historical background necessary for an understanding of the situations and individuals referred to in the letters. As a result, although the *Secret* is definitely tied to the other portions of the trilogy and is really a continuation of the *Evocation,* it can function by itself. As an actual fact there is considerable duplication of material presented in the earlier work; the most notable is the reprinting in the *Secret* of the maps and facsimiles previously used.

For the casual reader the *Secret* will have an appeal because (1) the portion of the letters which the author has selected is full of human interest and (2) the author has a broad religious and literary background to which is joined a modern secular sense of humor.

For a Californian the most interesting single chapter will probably be *Junípero et la guerre d'Indépendence* (pp. 450-458). Who is to gain-say the influence of Junípero's prayers and the meager monetary contributions taken from the missions' scanty store of *pesos!*

For the student of early California history the *Secret* will provide an opportunity to check up on contemporary materials such as Palou's famous *Vida.* Even more important, Dr. Piette's strictures as to the accuracy of University of California writers on this period should start a small fur-flying affair.

From the standpoint of the reviewer the author has made only two major mistakes. First, since the people who will be most interested in the *Secret* most often will have a reading knowledge of either English and/or of Spanish, all three portions of the trilogy should have appeared first in English or Spanish.

In the second place, just as in the case of the *Evocation,*

the *Secret* lacks an index. It is true that the *Table des matieres* is extensive and that the numerous chapter headings may be thought of as substitutes. Unfortunately, these headings are usually witty stimuli of curiosity rather than purveyors of information.

Aside from these two criticisms the reviewer can provide only commendation. Fortunate indeed is it that in California's centennial years Dr. Piette has been able to produce what will generally be agreed is the "premiere biographie complete . . . de Junípero Serra . . . la gloire la plus pure de la Californie enchantress" (p. 5).

Occidental College OSGOOD HARDY

Young America 1830-1840. Robert E. Riegel. Norman, Oklahoma: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1949. Pp. xii, 436. $5.00.

Dr. Riegel is author of several standard books: a history of western railroads and of the westward movement (*America Moves West*), of a text on U. S. History, and is editor of an *Introduction to the Social Sciences*. He is well qualified as author of the present work, which treats the social and cultural history, the life of the common man, in the era of Jackson.

This book deals with the common man's every day life, not with the oft told tale of his achievement of the franchise and his assumption of political power, retold recently by the younger Schlesinger, by Joseph Dorfman, and by many others. The present work is concerned rather with the social and economic account of how he earned his living, his education and ideas, the position of women and children, and of popular amusements and attitudes.

In the 1830's the United States was a noisy and aggressive nation. It was sure that its institutions were the best that the world had ever seen. Expanding in view of Manifest Destiny, it felt a necessity to inform the rest of the world as to its superiority. Aristocracy, the spinning wheel, canals and horse carriages were giving way to the world of democ-

racy, factories, steamboats and railroads. With its rise of city life, and first power of the working class, this decade saw the real emergence of modern America. Dr. Riegel in this book has dealt with social and economic phases of history which are usually ignored in conventional works, but with phases of history which prove this truly a transitional period, with great influence upon the future external and internal growth of the United States.

In Part I, the author portrays the American of the 1830's as a changing world, contrasting the life of the people living in the eastern cities with that in the Ohio Valley, the trans-Mississippi West, the Great Plains and the Rocky Mountains, during the heyday of the fur companies and mountain men who first explored the West and laid the foundations for its conquest by Texas war and diplomacy, by Oregon diplomacy and by the Mexican War.

Part II deals with economic and social life, contrasting the problems of the small farmer of New England and the Ohio Valley frontier with those of the southern slave plantation. Problems of the city business entrepreneur are contrasted with those of the daily wage earner. Contrasts are also made as to transportation by stagecoach and steamboat, canal barge and railroad car.

Part III covers American social life at home: homes and hotels, women, schools and churches, reformers, doctors and scientists. Part IV covers Americans at play: sports, the Arts, literature and thought.

Bibliography and index seem entirely adequate. Forty pages of illustrations are among the high points of the book in social interest, and for value to professional historians and teachers.

This book is the result of preparation and research extending over many years. Both as to text and illustrations, it seems superior to the *Pageant of America, History of American Life,* or older histories such as McMaster's, for its period. To Dr. Riegel all historians are permanently obligated; all teachers will find it highly useful.

University of Nevada AUSTIN E. HUTCHESON

Frontier Justice. Wayne Gard. Norman, Oklahoma: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1949. Pp. xi, 324. $3.75.

Wayne Gard, the author of *Frontier Justice,* has placed arbitrary limits upon his subject. He has divided his book in four rather equal parts, and to them he has given the respective titles: Vengeance, War on the Range, Vigilantes, and Arms of the Law. All phases of justice dealt with have for their setting the trans-Mississippi West. The lands of mesquite and prickly pears are especially favored. Those looking for discussion of frontier justice in the Colonial West and on the trans-Alleghany frontier must therefore search elsewhere, as must also those interested in this subject with reference to the trans-Mississippi West prior to about 1835.

Within these self-imposed space and time boundaries, the author has made an honest effort at collecting and digesting both primary and secondary sources. His search for materials placed him in contact (most likely personally) with libraries and historical societies throughout the West. A wide assortment of newspapers and books, old and new, have been consulted in the preparation of this generously annotated work. Related here, then, is the story of feuds, outlawry, legal and extra-legal law enforcement, and frontier skirmishes that in the mind of the author exemplifies the administration of "frontier justice" as found on the Plains, the deserts of the Southwest, and in the mining camps of California and the Pacific Northwest.

Many of the subjects, incidents, and personalities written about are familiar to readers of western history, notably the Johnson County War, the Plummer Gang, the San Francisco Vigilantes, "Wild Bill" Hickok, and Wyatt Earp. And equally noticeable is the omission of subjects that might well come under the heading frontier justice: the James-Younger Gang (one line is given to Jesse James), mining camp strikers in Idaho, and feuds arising from water (irrigation), timber, and oil rights and exploitations. And strangely enough, the Mountain Meadows Massacre is not even mentioned. For all its omissions, the book is a comprehensive

narrative of events associated with lawlessness and frontier administration of what is considered to be frontier justice. The style is readable; the book is attractively printed; good illustrations and an index are included.

Indiana University O. O. WINTHER

The Mission of San Gregorio de Abó; a Report on the Excavation and Repair of a Seventeenth-Century New Mexican Mission. Joseph H. Toulouse, Jr. Monographs of the School of American Research, No. 13. Santa Fe, New Mexico (University of New Mexico Press), 1949. Pp. 42. Illustrated. $3.00.

Toulouse's report on Abó first summarizes its history as known from documentary sources, from the first visit to Abó pueblo by Spanish explorers in the 1580's through the founding of a mission establishment there about 1625 or 1630 up to abandonment of both pueblo and mission in the 1670's. Abó and the other "Salinas" settlements were abandoned a few years before the Pueblo Rebellion of 1680, owing to crop failures and Apache attacks.

Drawing on hitherto unpublished information, obtained by Dr. F. V. Scholes from the Archivo General de Nación in Mexico City, Toulouse summarizes missionary activities at Abó in the 1620's, earlier than the previously known establishment of San Gregorio in 1629 by Father Acevedo. The later seventeenth-century history of Abó is very briefly outlined, with a list of the Franciscans known to have been stationed there. There is very little discussion of the problem of the exact construction-dates of San Gregorio, or analysis of the architectural remains for time and sequence of construction.

In connection with Toulouse's view that Espejo visited Las Humanas ("Gran Quivira") rather than Abó early in 1583, it may be questioned whether the known presence of more than three kivas at the former pueblo is sufficient to justify the statement that Luxán's description of a pueblo with two plazas and kivas fits only that one site.

The report next describes briefly the natural setting—

the underlying and exposed rock formations, largely sandstone, and the plant cover of grasses, shrubs, and junipers. Piñon is mentioned in a general paragraph, but not in the technical listing of vegetation at Abó. Piñon nuts were found in the excavations; piñon wood was used in the mission, as well as juniper and larger beams from forest trees of the higher mountains.

After a section on the techniques of excavation used and the types of archeological findings, Toulouse describes the mission's architecture and the objects recovered within it. He speaks of the Spaniards accepting the Pueblo style of architecture, a widespread misconception or half truth, as recently discussed by J. B. Jackson in the *Southwest Review*. The details of mission construction are well described, but no restoration drawings are offered.

Toulouse, an archaeologist, had to do not only the actual field work himself but also all the related interpretive study of the material, including documentary history and architectural and religious aspects, with a little assistance from specialists such as Dean Scholes, George Kubler, and Fray Angélico Chávez, and—for identification of plant remains—Volney Jones of the University of Michigan.

Just published also is the report on another Franciscan mission of the same period, excavated, studied, and written up by a task force of several specialists: *Franciscan Awatovi*, by J. O. Brew (archaeologist, director of the Peabody Museum of Harvard University), Ross Montgomery (Los Angeles architect who has studied old Spanish missions for at least a quarter of a century), and others. The report on the Awatovi mission (as a Hopi pueblo, in what is now northeastern Arizona, historically part of New Mexico) is just ten times the size of the Abó report and contains a wealth of detail on Franciscan architectural and organizational or procedural aspects.

Most of this background information would apply likewise to Abó, and the Awatovi report consequently is useful for the fuller interpretation of Abó as well as being an extremely valuable study in itself. Singlehanded, Toulouse has naturally not been able to equal the monumental Awatovi

publication; but in his report, archaeological in approach and arrangement, he has not neglected the other related fields. It is regrettable, however, that no restoration drawing was included to give more life and meaning to the ground plan and the photographs.

On one point Toulouse omits an explanation or theory which is given much emphasis in the Awatovi report. In the patio or garth of the mission at Abó, as also at Quarai, was found an aboriginal kiva within the Christian building and obviously related to it. Ross Montgomery points out, in connection with discussion of the Hopi kiva found underneath the Awatovi church, that this was deliberate symbolic superposition of a Christian edifice over a pagan temple.

Other structural features of special interest include traces of painted ornamentation of the wall plaster; a turkey pen—although no turkey bones were found in the kitchen refuse; and a few rooms with no doorways in the friary quadrangle, evidently entered by roof hatchways like so many Indian pueblo rooms.

Burials were found in front of and behind the mission church, and also within the church under the nave floor, as at Awatovi. All the subfloor burials in the Abó church, interestingly enough, were of children and were accompanied (like pagan Pueblo Indian burials) by pieces of pottery.

Objects found in the excavation include a good deal of pottery and a few other clay objects; animal-bone tubes and awls; roughly chipped stone choppers and neatly flaked arrowheads; metates, and manos; fragments of carved wood; handwrought nails and other metal objects of European origin; a tiny Venetian glass bead; bones of sheep, goat, bison ("buffalo"), and other animals; seeds or other remains of corn, cactus, and other native plants, and of crops introduced by the Franciscans—grape, plum, peach, watermelon, cantaloupe, chili, coriander.

The pottery is largely of local New Mexican Indian manufacture—rough dark plain, smooth and polished red, glaze-paint polychrome, and late developments of Chupadero Black-on-white; also a few pieces of Tewa, Zia, Acoma-Zuñi,

and Hopi types. Pottery imported to New Mexico by the Franciscans includes not only the Mexican "majolica" ware from Pueblo but also true Chinese porcelain (brought from the Orient to Acapulco by the Manila galleons). The locally made vessels of New Mexican Indian pottery in European shapes—soup dishes, redware cups, a black-on-white chalice, —are of special interest.

Appendices include a lengthy quotation describing Puebla ware and its background, from Edwin A. Barber's "Mexican Majolica" (1915); and Volney Jones' report to Toulouse on the organic remains.

The Abó report is illustrated with 42 photographs and 33 drawings of excavations and objects, plus a map showing New Mexico mission and Indian tribes of 1600-1680. Among the few errors observable in this excellent report is the mention of the Comanche Indians on the map and once in the text. These fierce and feared raiders did not, so far as is known, come down into the panhandle region and begin to drive the Apaches from the plains of eastern New Mexico until shortly after 1700, at least a quarter of a century after the abandonment of the Salinas pueblos.

Toulouse did a fine piece of work, in the field, of the important excavation and repair of the mission of San Gregorio de Abó; and now the valuable historical information (historical in the broadest sense, taking in architecture and crop plants and kinds of pottery) gained in that work is permanently recorded and made readily available in a worthy addition to the School of American Research monograph series.

National Park Service, Santa Fe ERIK K. REED

A Village That Chose Progress: Chan Kom Revisited. Robert Redfield, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1950. Pp. ii, 187. $2.75.

In 1931 Robert Redfield visited Chan Kom, a Maya village in Yucatan which at that time was just coming into extensive contact with urban-industrial civilization. His report on life in the village, written in collaboration with

Alfonso Villa Rojas, Mexican anthropologist and former teacher in Chan Kom,* is a penetrating account of the social relations and values of a folk people and of the changes that occur as a result of their being drawn into the social, political, and economical orbits of a city (Mérida) and a nation (México).

In 1948 Dr. Redfield again visited Chan Kom. His account of the changes that have taken place in the seventeen years between his two visits makes up the subject matter of *A Village That Chose Progress*, a book which, in his words, "is a part of the biography of a community, of a people who conceived a common purpose, and of what they did to realize it."

The common purpose of the people of Chan Kom was to become a pueblo, an independent municipality having direct political ties with the central government at Mérida. In achieving this purpose and consolidating their new status, the villagers have rebuilt their community on the pattern of a Spanish settlement, have acquired a straight road connecting them with Chichen Itza and indirectly with Mérida, have experienced the setting up of a school and the presence among them of a series of teachers, have entertained a cultural mission from Mexico City, have attained new levels of economic security, and have withstood the effects of a religious schism resulting from the immediately successful efforts of a group of Protestant missionaries who were for a time in the village. The individual and cumulative effects of these and other influences which have operated on the village during the past seventeen years are brilliantly examined by Dr. Redfield, who brings to his talk not only a thorough understanding of the Maya people but also an unusual talent for writing with clarity and simplicity of matters which in themselves are neither clear nor simple.

The Chan Kom of 1948, as contrasted with that of 1931, had more people, more stone houses, more cattle and hogs, more corn in storage, more business establishments, more visitors, and somewhat more awareness of and contact with

* *Chan Kom: A Maya Village*. Carnegie Institution of Washington, Publication No. 448. Washington: 1934.

the world outside the village. It had a government and a set of officials, two bands, a plaza, and a group of boys and young men who wasted their energies in the unproductive game of baseball. It had also a few worries that it did not have before and a new sense of uneasiness. The old leaders, who were responsible for the setting of the village goal and whose practical wisdom and administrative skill had much to do with attaining that goal, were beginning to see that change once started is hard to stop and that progress has penalties as well as rewards. The changes that occurred in Chan Kom were not great, but the implications of those changes have profound significance for the future of the village, a significance that the older generation was in 1948 just beginning to grasp and to fear. It is not without meaning that a number of village leaders have, in the recent past, established private agricultural establishments outside the village to which they can retire and perhaps maintain their old way of life. They are aware that the future of Chan Kom belongs to the young men, men who have been to Mérida and who have liked what they found there, men who will be more interested in bringing the new than in preserving the old, men who want, as did the generation before them, to define progress in their own terms and seek it in their own way.

The people of Chan Kom are, as Dr. Redfield points out, "a people who have no choice but to go forward with technology, with declining religious faith and moral convictions, into a dangerous world. They are a people who must and will come to identify their interests with those of people far away, outside the traditional circle of their loyalties and political responsibilities." And the story of Chan Kom is, with variations, the story of all folk people who have come by chance or design into intimate or extended contact with Western civilization.

A small amount of progress, like a small amount of pregnancy, represents a goal that is hard not to exceed. One could wish that those in our culture who have decided to go ahead with the construction of the hydrogen bomb might read Dr. Redfield's book and ponder its moral.

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