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NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

REPRINT

OCTOBER 1948

VICTOR WESTPHALL
ALBUQUERQUE IN THE 1870S

FRANK D. REEVE
PURITAN AND APACHE: A DIARY, I

R. S. ALLEN
PINOS ALTOS, NEW MEXICO

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

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IN APPRECIATION

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

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

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

Donald C. Cutter
Chairman, Editorial Board, NMHR



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

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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ALBUQUERQUE IN THE 1870's

By VICTOR WESTPHALL *

FROM its very beginning the fortunes of Albuquerque were linked with transportation. It was on the main trade route from Chihuahua, Mexico, to Santa Fe. The first connection with the United States was by way of the Santa Fe trail, and dates from about the time of the Mexican revolt from Spain in 1821, when Spanish colonial restrictions on foreign commerce were removed. Soon after the American occupation of New Mexico in 1846, as a strategic move in the Mexican war, the United States Army made Albuquerque a hub for military movements. The town was maintained in this capacity until late in the 1860's. Here was located an army control point from which radiated a military network. The commissary furnished supplies for distant frontier posts in New Mexico and Arizona, and from its garrison aid was sent, when needed, to points exposed to attack by Indians. The occupation forces were quick to recognize the town's central location in the fertile valley of the Rio Grande and its natural position of accessibility from all points of the compass.

During this period Albuquerque gained its reputation as a freighting center, but instead of the whistle and bell of the later freight engines, the town plaza resounded to the bawling of oxen and the braying of mules, and perhaps to the cursing of drivers as they nursed their charges the last weary yards of the long and dusty trip from the States.

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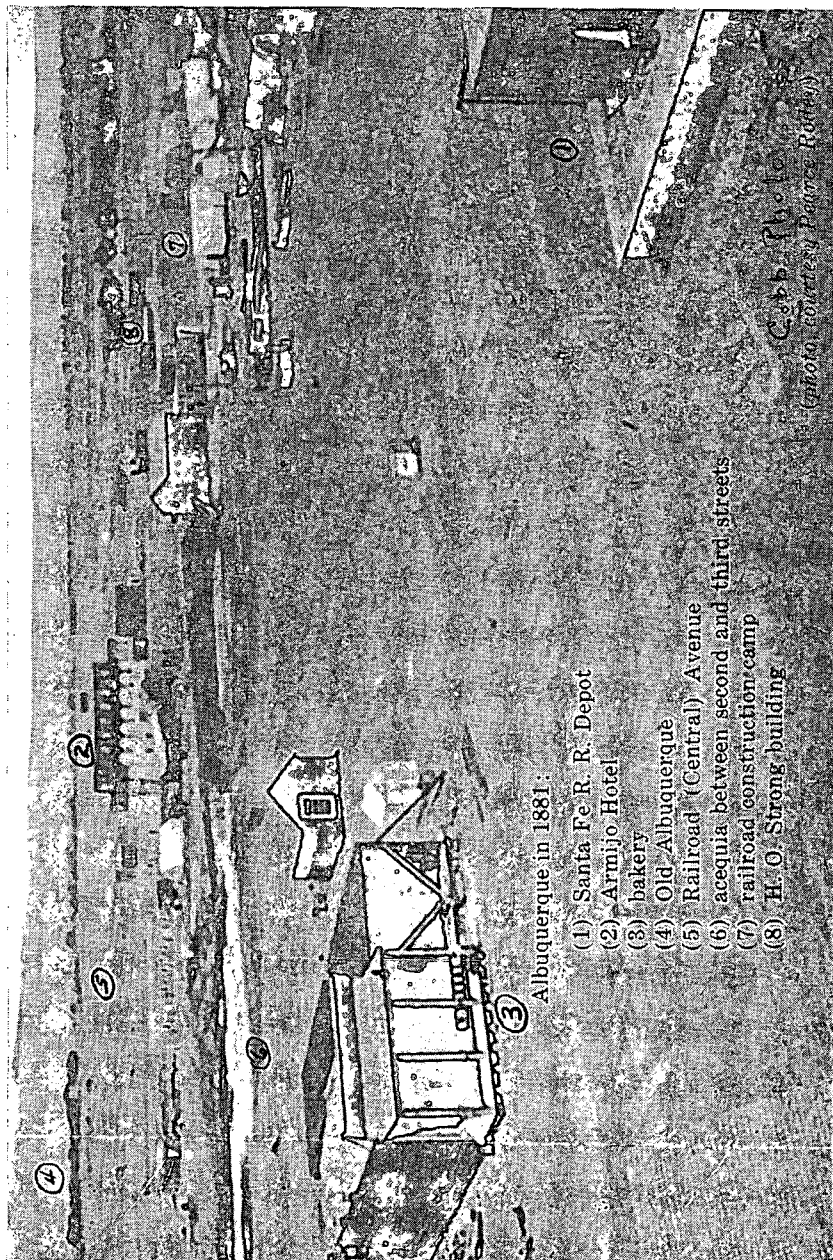
On the 27th of July, 1866, Congress authorized a grant of land to the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad Company and empowered the incorporators to locate and construct a continuous railroad and telegraph line beginning at or near the town of Springfield, Missouri, proceeding by the most eligible railroad route to a point on the Canadian river, and on to the town of Albuquerque on the Rio del Norte. From Albuquerque the route was to follow the thirty-fifth parallel of latitude, as near as might be found most suitable for railroad construction, to the Colorado river and on to the Pacific. The people of Albuquerque were well aware of the significance of their strategic position astride the proposed thirty-fifth parallel route to the Pacific, and for a number of years the specific inclusion of the town in the charter of the A. & P. caused them much hope for the future.

In 1867 a group of railroad engineers under General W. W. Wright ran a preliminary survey through Albuquerque. They planned for their line to approach the town through Tijeras canyon and noted the moderate grade from there to the Rio Grande. Then, as later, a big question was whether the railroad should go south along the valley of the Rio Grande before turning west or whether it should strike out directly on the thirty-fifth parallel route. The railroad people favored the thirty-fifth parallel.

In July, 1871, an A. & P. party, under escort of United States troops, reached Albuquerque. Business immediately boomed, but not for long.

By October, 1871, the A. & P. had built to Vinita, Indian Territory, thirty-five miles west of the Missouri state line, but that was as far as it extended until it was reorganized and absorbed by the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad Company in 1880. The people of Albuquerque were slow to understand or admit that their dreams were not to be realized from this source. Here was a railroad that in its charter specified it was coming to their town, and it was no easy matter for them to abandon the thought that it would surely come.

Early in 1872 the previously mentioned survey party determined the best crossing of the Rio Grande to be at



Albuquerque in 1881:

- (1) Santa Fe R. R. Depot
- (2) Armijo Hotel
- (3) bakery
- (4) Old Albuquerque
- (5) Railroad (Central) Avenue
- (6) acequia between second and third streets
- (7) railroad construction camp
- (8) H. O. Strong building

Cobb Photo
(photo courtesy Paige Roth)

Isleta, about twelve miles south of Albuquerque. In subsequent railroad planning this judgment was never questioned, not even by other railroad companies, and it is fitting that the ultimate crossing of the river at that point was destined to be made by the A. & P., although it had meanwhile come under the control of the A. T. & S. F. The latter company eventually finished the line from Vinita, where the A. & P. had been forced to stop, on to Albuquerque. The A. & P. then continued westward along the thirty-fifth parallel of latitude, under the control of the A. T. & S. F.

The A. T. & S. F. had started to build in 1869. During that year it built the 27 miles from Topeka to Burlingame, Kansas. The following year it added another 34 miles in the direction of Albuquerque and reached Emporia, Kansas. By July of 1871 it had added another 74 miles and was at Newton, Kansas. The people of Albuquerque were so engrossed with the idea of the A. & P. passing through their town that it was not until about this time that they paid much heed to the progress of the other railroad. However, in August, 1871, they did take notice of this company because of reports that their road was to be finished to camp Nicholas by the following March. Camp Nicholas was near the Santa Fe trail at the point where it crossed the New Mexico line. This would place Albuquerque within a distance of 280 miles from the railroad, or a 14 day's trip by ox train. With mules or horses the time would be proportionately shorter.

The national scene took the spotlight with the depression of 1873. The Santa Fe people had been slowed down in 1872 and now they were forced to cease construction. In the five years between 1873 and 1878 the A. T. & S. F. built only thirty-five miles of track in the direction of Albuquerque. This was from Granada to La Junta, Colorado. The depression had lifted enough by 1875 so that the A. T. & S. F. could lay other tracks to nearby points in Colorado, and this was one of them. However, in Albuquerque the depression days continued until the railroad again started toward that town.

The spring of 1878 brought some change in the business

conditions of Albuquerque. Spiegelberg Bros. branch house had come to town and was setting the pace for business competition. This was two months after the A. T. & S. F. officials had decided to bargain with Uncle Dick Wootton for his toll road through Raton pass. The railroad was now started down the last stretch of this historic old Santa Fe trail and it was certain of coming to New Mexico and the Rio Grande valley.

In February, 1878, A. A. Robinson and Lewis Kingman, chief engineer and chief surveyor respectively of the A. T. & S. F., were in New Mexico looking for the possibilities of locating a main division point somewhere on the Rio Grande. They had in mind the possibility of building south and west from such a point. It is certain that they were aware of previous surveys of the thirty-fifth parallel route and very likely they were looking over the ground for themselves; consequently, they were alert to any prospects that might be available. Bernalillo, sixteen miles north of Albuquerque, was one feasible location for such a division point. On their way down the valley, Robinson and Kingman stopped by to see Don José Leandro Perea, a scion of the *conquistadores*, who was the principal landowner of that town. They approached Don José on the subject of land for a right-of-way and his price was \$425 an acre for land not worth over two or three dollars. This of course did not interest Robinson in the least and the little party of railroad pioneers went on down the valley to Albuquerque where railroad men had planned to build since 1866. For a few hours on that February afternoon it was possible that Bernalillo had within her grasp the makings of a railroad town; but railroad men are realists and when old Don José Leandro quoted his price, Bernalillo was struck from the list of possible division points for once and all.

The citizens of Albuquerque were well aware that just because their town had been named in the A. & P. charter was no certain indication that the Santa Fe line would likewise be inclined to favor this location for a division point. It was entirely possible that they might go on past Albuquerque to Isleta where the A. & P. had previously planned

a crossing of the river. No decision was made on this point until the A. T. & S. F. took over the A. & P. in 1880. It was not until March of that year that any right of ways were purchased in Bernalillo county.

In May of 1878, word had gotten around that there would be work that year for any number of men and teams in southern Colorado and in New Mexico. Contracts had been let for grading and track laying to Clifton, New Mexico. Further contracts were expected in the near future. Stock was on sale for the New Mexico and Southern Pacific Railroad Company, a subsidiary of the A. T. & S. F., which planned to build from the north line of New Mexico, commencing at Raton pass and running via Las Vegas to Albuquerque. The estimated cost of this road was \$2,621,000. From La Junta to the New Mexico line the railroad was called the Pueblo and Arkansas Valley.

By December 7, 1878, rails had reached the New Mexico boundary and soon thereafter Albuquerque was beginning to feel the impulse consequent upon the approach of cheap and rapid transportation with the East. There was more of a stir upon her streets. New faces appeared at every turn as travelers came and went with greater frequency. Rents and property values were rising and real estate owners were starting costly improvements. Everyone was sanguine of better times in store.

In April, 1879, the A. T. & S. F. asked Las Vegas for ten thousand dollars in cash, a right of way from the south line of the Maxwell land grant to the south side of Las Vegas, thirty acres of ground for a depot, and a half interest in four hundred acres of land for an addition to the town. The people of Las Vegas were reluctant to accept the last stipulation because they feared that the railroad intended to build an entirely new town and leave the old town "out in the cold." This set the people of Albuquerque to speculating whether it would be better to pay the whole cost of erecting a new town and having the railroad come there or whether it would be better to let the railroad company select their own site without paying a subsidy, and then paying the railroad for the privilege of building on the same. The

people were in a quandary about making permanent improvements in their town. They did not know what to do about it at that time so mostly they simply waited.

By July 4, the railroad engineers had mastered the difficulties of construction through Raton pass and the first train of the N. M. & S. P. rolled into Las Vegas. From that time on changes in Albuquerque were rapid and it is well to catch a glimpse of the town as it existed before these changes set in. There was but little change from almost a decade before. Instead of the ten general mercantile businesses of 1870, there were now eleven. The leading merchants at this time were Franz Huning and Stover and Company. In 1870 the town had five lawyers and two doctors while now there were three of each. John Murphy's was still the only drug store. William Brown had dropped his advertisement as a chiropodist and dentist and was confining himself to the barber trade. He was still the only barber in town. Two blacksmith shops had been added to the one owned by Fritz Greening in 1870, while Wm. Vau and Wm. H. Ayres still had the only carpenter shop. Of bakeries there were still only two, however there were now three butcher shops instead of the one owned by Tom Post a decade before. There was still only one saloon but the merchants continued to sell liquor by the gallon. Major Werner had abandoned his hotel venture when his work as notary public and probate clerk began to take all of his time. That left two hotels owned by Tom Post and Nicholas Armijo respectively. This was one more than there had been in 1870. A few new ventures had been started since the beginning of the decade. There was one watchmaker or mender, one tailoring establishment, and two cobblers.

Such was the picture of Albuquerque on July 4, 1879, when the railroad reached Las Vegas. A decade of railroad expectations had done but little to augment the physical growth of the town, but as the gap to railway connections narrowed, the town's growth increased at an ever accelerating pace. Early in the year the people had begun to discuss the question of just where the railroad would lay its tracks in relation to the established town. As the railroad drew

nearer this problem became more acute and finally on July 8, 1879, a meeting of the prominent townsmen was called in regard to the possibility of granting a free right of way to the N. M. and S. P.

Rev. D. M. Gasparri, S.J., made probably the most accurate observations and remarks of all those gathered at this meeting. His statements on that day were significant for the future, although he had in mind only the motive of protecting some of the less fortunate members of his parish. Father Gasparri explained that irrigation land is valuable and that a 200 foot right of way through the property of the poorer farmers of the valley would be a definite hardship to them, whereas they were not the ones who stood to gain the most from the railroad. He continued by saying that these poor people could not afford to donate their scant property to the railroad company, that the wealthier members of the community should contribute toward the purchase of these lands from the poorer people, and that the grant could then be made to the railroad company. He also pointed out an alternative. It might be possible, he continued, that by a petition or for a money consideration the railroad could be induced to lay its tracks above the acequia near the bluffs on the east side of the valley. The ground there would be a little more difficult to grade but, not being under cultivation, there could be little question about giving it to the company. A committee was then appointed to consider the matter and the meeting was adjourned.

Actually this meeting was superfluous because nothing was ever done about the right-of-way. No inducement was offered to the railroad people and they built their line exactly where it was most convenient for them to do so. People of the present, who conjecture on why the tracks were laid down a mile or so away from the town that existed at the time, overlook a basic railroading principle. Railroad tracks are best laid in straight lines. The old town was situated inside a bend in the Rio Grande and it would have meant just another curve in the tracks to have reached the town. There just simply wasn't the inducement to do this!

It is interesting to note that Santa Fe and Grant coun-

ties voted bonds to have the railroad build branch lines to Santa Fe and Silver City respectively. It wasn't necessary for Albuquerque to do this because the town was little more than a mile from the logical right-of-way which avoided both the bluffs and the bend in the river. Not many people in Albuquerque thought of this at the time and the few who did profited by their astuteness.

By September of 1879 grading was completed well below Las Vegas and track was being laid on that section of the line. On the 20th of September Don Miguel A. Otero and Governor Anthony of Kansas were in town and rumors were rife as to the purpose of their visit. It is probable that they were quietly trying to start the machinery for the raising of a bond issue. A week later it was reported that General Palmer at the instance of Jay Gould, the famous railroad man, had sent out assurances that the funds, iron, and everything necessary had been secured in order to extend the Denver and Rio Grande narrow gauge to Albuquerque immediately. Nothing more was heard of a bond issue for the N.M. & S. P., if indeed that had been the purpose of Señor Otero's visit the week before.

During November the D. & R.G. made public announcements requesting proposals for ties and grading as far as Albuquerque. At this time the European restaurant opened for business and Henry Springer started his new Mint saloon, the feature of which was a superb Monarch billiard table.

During the months of September to December Franz Huning had been buying up a tract of about 700 acres of land in the area south and east from the old town. The present day boundaries of this area are: a line beginning at the Rio Grande, near the middle of present day Tingley Conservancy Beach, running 200 feet west of and parallel to present day Laguna Boulevard which extends northeastward to join Central Avenue at Sixteenth street; from there southeast along Central Avenue to Tenth Street; from there the boundary followed the old Barelás road and acequia which today is approximated by a line from Central Avenue and Tenth Street a little east of south to a junction with the

northern end of present day Barelás Road and southward on this road to a point south of Barelás bridge, where Second Street today is closest to the river, and where the acequia approached the Río Grande; from there northwest along the Río Grande to the starting point at Tingley beach. He offered this area to the railroad for a price they would not pay. The natural route for a railroad was somewhat east of this area. The N.M. & S.P. planned to build at this more easterly location; but the D. & R.G. planned a terminal in the vicinity of Mr. Huning's property, so it is probable that his negotiations were with them. Whether they could not or would not buy this property is not certain. We shall see that Huning was too smart to be caught backing the wrong horse because he also had excellent connections with the N.M. & S.P.

By the end of 1879 trains were running forty miles south of Las Vegas and within eighty miles of Albuquerque. Grading was proceeding rapidly. The advance guard of the railroad—laborers, speculators, traders, contractors, etc.—had already come to town, and it was expected that the line would be completed by the fifteenth of March of the following year. The railroad fever was raised to a new height by the arrival of surveying parties from both the N.M. & S.P. and the D. & R.G. companies; both parties were engaged in running imaginary and real lines for their respective railroads. There was so much engineering and stake driving that the landscape took on the appearance of an immense farmer's harrow with innumerable rows of teeth. This tentative planning placed the N.M. & S. P. where it is now located (that is, the present day A.T. & S.F. railroad), while the D. & R.G. was projected to about Fourteenth Street or the vicinity of the old Huning Castle.

The street leading by Huning's mill to the proposed N.M. & S.P. depot grounds was appropriately named Railroad Avenue and is the present day Central Avenue. It was believed that this would be the principle thoroughfare of the town, so Franz Huning and Fritz Greening were busily engaged making such improvements as street widening and new bridges. Albuquerque was rapidly losing its ancient

appearance and taking on those aspects which invariably accompany American progress. New faces were to be seen daily and the monotony of the past was giving way to hurry and busy preparation for the future. Old buildings were being remodeled, new buildings were being erected everywhere, and property was changing hands at prices never dreamed of ten years before. Thus the year 1879 drew to a close and the scene was set for some remarkably rapid action during the early months of 1880.

Shortly after the new year chief engineer Robinson designated a desirable location for the N.M. & S.P. depot grounds. This was at a point on the east end of Railroad Avenue, some two hundred yards west of the branch of Los Barelás Acequia, which was situated west of the railroad tracks, and right on the direct road to Tijeras Canyon. It was planned to occupy a space 500 feet wide and 1,000 yards long, crossing at right angles to Railroad Avenue and running south from it. The depot building and car sheds were to occupy a space fronting on the Avenue, about 200 feet wide and extending north about 200 yards. This location was later changed to the present site of the depot south of Central Avenue. It was expected that the whole of Railroad Avenue would soon be built up over its entire length from the town to the proposed depot site. It was rumored that railroad officials would soon be on hand to buy the right-of-way, but no transactions were made in Bernalillo county until March. In the meantime a great deal was happening.

In March and early April Franz Huning, William C. Hazeldine, and Elias Stover were furiously buying up land between Barelás road and the proposed depot site. This was the area later to be known as the *original town site*. It seems certain that these three Albuquerque citizens were acting under the auspices of the New Mexico Town Company (a subsidiary of the N.M. & S.P. Railroad Company) which was organized on March 3, 1880. Hazeldine was an attorney for the Santa Fe railroad, while Stover was one of the original backers of the railroad company and one of the incorporators of The New Mexico Town Company. This trio made a perfect foil for acquiring the right-of-way land on a basis

which made it appear that some of the town's citizens were promoting the deal, and it thus took on somewhat the proportions of a civic enterprise. The railroad, as has been previously explained, was somewhat limited in the area over which it could most conveniently lay track, and it was to its interest to acquire a right-of-way through this area without paying an exorbitant price. During March the railroad bought up most of the right-of-way north of Albuquerque and at the same time Stover, Hazeldine and Huning were buying up land for right-of-way, and for the town site near Old Albuquerque. The railroad did not oppose these purchases in any way.

The land which comprised the actual depot grounds was purchased by these three between March 6 and April 3. Only two persons refused to sell and they were dealt with separately by the railroad itself. They were Antonio Candelaria and Ignacio Lopez. On April 9 and 10, Huning, Hazeldine, and Stover deeded their holdings to the N.M. & S.P. for \$1.00. Furthermore, on May 8, they deeded the whole of the *original town site* to the New Mexico Town Company, likewise for \$1.00. At the same time the three men had an agreement with the New Mexico Town Company whereby they were to receive jointly from the Company one-half of all net profits derived from the sale of lots situated on lands owned by said Company. The same contract listed Wm. E. Talbot and Mariano Armijo as agents for the sale of this property. In this manner the railroad got out of what could have been an embarrassing situation and our farsighted trio acquired an excellent business proposition. The town had refused to vote a bond issue, and it is quite possible that some individuals might have held out for prohibitive prices for their land had they been approached directly by the railroad agents instead of by citizens of the town. At the same time it is hardly necessary to point out the business advantages to be gained by all concerned from the sale of lots in the original town site.

Eventually the original town site, which is the present-day business district, came to be called New Albuquerque. However, that name was first applied to a plat of ground

called the Stover addition. This land was situated southwest from and adjoining the Old Town. It was south of Railroad Avenue (Present-day Central) and west of Barelás road which at that time extended northwest from the north end of present-day Barelás Road to a junction with Central Avenue at Tenth Street. It had been purchased by William Talbot and Mariano Armijo who laid it out with six streets running east and west and eight north and south. Just as Franz Huning prepared for the coming of both railroads, so did Talbot and Armijo have the same idea because this property was in the region favored by the D. & R.G. It has already been pointed out that they later became agents for the New Mexico Town Company.

All this development was taking place while the N.M. & S.P. was progressing steadily. By February 9 it had reached Galisteo, sixty-seven miles from Albuquerque, and was moving ahead at the rate of about a mile a day. The D. & R.G. had not yet given up and Albuquerqueans were counting on the competition two railroads would afford.

Albuquerque was now a busy little town indeed. The Central bank had been organized with Jefferson Reynolds as president, and instead of one saloon there were now fifteen. There were two hardware stores, a saddlery, a shoemakers shop, two Chinese laundries, six architects and builders, about twenty carpenters, two seamstresses, two pawn brokers, two wholesale liquor stores, a planing mill, a grist mill, two drug stores, half a dozen restaurants, a tan yard and wool pulling house, a sash door and blind store, and the professions were represented by five doctors, six lawyers, one assayer, and one editor. With the approach of the railroad, mining activities were rapidly increasing. In 1869 there were two mining claims filed and in 1871 just one. The next record is 1875 when there was one claim filed and there were no others until 1880, the year the railroad arrived. In 1880 there were no less than 137 claims! The population had nearly doubled in the past decade and most of this was during the year before the railroad arrived.

By April 3 the tracks were only two miles north of

town and the last rail was laid about 4 P. M. on April 5, 1880. On the sixth a train of freight cars, loaded with stores and supplies for the contractors, pulled into the depot grounds. At last Albuquerque had a railroad, but negotiations with the authorities as to a proper date for the reception celebration were delayed for several days, and the official welcoming was not held until the twenty-second.

The railroad boarding car and camp moved in on the 7th, and on the 8th grading was started southward in preparation for the tracks of the A. & P. Sleepy Old Albuquerque had never seen anything like this before! An era of progress had arrived.

When the tracks were only a few miles away on April 3, a meeting was called to discuss Albuquerque's railroad reception. The meeting was called to order by Judge Hazeldine, and Franz Huning was elected to the chair. Other officers were then selected, among them were Elias Stover and Santiago Baca, Vice Presidents, and Major Werner, Secretary. The various committees set to work and within the following week financial arrangements had been made. The invitations committee had arranged with the officials of the N. M. & S. P. for the reception to be held on April 22. At the same time the program was arranged and everything was in readiness for the gala event.

Daylight of the 22nd found the plaza decorated with flags and before the noonday hour the battery announced, in thunderous tones, the commencement of the ceremonies. By noon the procession had formed and proceeded to the depot where the different officers were provided with a couple of flat cars for a platform. When the special train arrived, with the railroad officials and four hundred invited guests from Bernalillo, Santa Fe, and other points, those who could mounted the platform and listened to the addresses. The rest of the large gathering remained in carriages or gathered on other flat cars nearby.

Franz Huning, president of the day, called the meeting to order and resolutions were read in English and Spanish. Don Miguel Otero, Vice President of the A. T. & S. F., responded on behalf of the railroad company, and Judge Hazel-

dine followed with the best speech of the day. His words ably summed up the attitude of the people toward the railroad:

When on this eventful morn the first struggling beams of light broke over the brow of yonder range of mountains, grave sentinels standing guard eternally over our beloved and fertile valley, the day was born that was to be the day of all days for Albuquerque, the Queen City of the Rio Grande, a day long expected and anxiously looked forward to by the friends of progress and advancement, a day ever after to be known and remembered as that on which our ancient city of Albuquerque, after having attained years of maturity—for our Queen City is no infant, having reached a healthy and robust youth long before our patriotic forefathers had made that glorious and successful bid for freedom which released them from the galling and oppressive yoke of tyranny, and ushered into the world that new nation which was to be the cradle of liberty, the home of freedom, and the refuge of the oppressed, and of which it is our good fortune to be citizens—was through the pluck, vim and enterprise of the management of the A. T. & S. F. RR. connected with the rest of the civilized world. . . .

I know full well that comparisons are odious but for one moment let us look back on the not too far off days when it took from three to six months of perilous travel across the trackless prairie, surrounded by dangers of all kinds and in constant dread of attack from bloodthirsty Indians, to transport the goods of the merchants from the Missouri river here; when it required from twelve to twenty days of constant and uncomfortable staging for a passenger to travel the same distance by coach; when one mail per month was the maximum given our people; when telegraphs were unknown, and railroads a myth (and many of my hearers can remember those times) and compare the old with our situation today, when we can take our seats in Albuquerque aboard a palace car and be comfortably conveyed to Kansas city in less than fifty hours from the time we take our parting glance at the glistening waters of our own Rio Grande.

Today the new civilization of the east is brought into contact with the ancient civilization of New Mexico. Today the bell of the locomotive tolls the death knell of old foggyism, superstition, and ignorance, and proclaims in clairion notes that henceforth knowledge, education, advancement and progress shall be the right of our people. Are we in Albuquerque prepared to take advantage of this opportunity, and make this the epoch in the history of our town? I answer unequivocally, we are. We have within ourselves the necessary elements of success. Our town is located in the right place and occupies a commanding position, and is therefore bound, if we put forth the proper efforts, to become the railroad center of New Mexico. Our people are alive and earnest, and knowing that they hold their destinies in their own hands, they have the right material in them to

work it out, and will, in the future as in the past, pull together for the common good. Now that this mighty factor in the affairs of nations and states, the railroad, has come to our door, New Mexico will no longer be known as *Terra Incognita*. Writers in leading New York papers will no longer say, as they did a few years ago, that it ought to be annexed to the United States. Letters will not be written asking us at what time the steamboats arrive at Santa Fe, nor will old world lawyers, in drafting legal instruments, locate New Mexico in South America, but it will be the promised land toward which the eyes of the emigrant will be longingly turned. The invalid will seek our territory to repair his shattered health and the capitalist will come here to swell his gains. The artist will come here to paint our magnificent scenery, the miner to unearth the immense wealth now hidden in her rugged breast, the man of leisure to enjoy life in this glorious climate, where the main fact of existence is a pleasure; and where can the requirements of these various classes be so well supplied as in our own city? We have a climate unsurpassed by any other locality in or out of New Mexico, we have all the advantages of society, churches and schools, grand and picturesque scenery, of mountains full of precious metals, of stores of every class and description, of wideawake and enterprising business men, and a population ever ready to extend the right hand of friendship and goodwill to the worthy newcomer. I am sure that you will each and every one concur with me, and that I will express the popular sentiment when I say that to the officers of the A. T. & S. F. RR. we offer our sincere congratulations upon this auspicious occasion, when after surmounting untold difficulties, and the expenditure of vast amounts of money, you have at last completed your road to Albuquerque. . . .

After more speeches, everyone climbed aboard the train for an excursion to Bernalillo. Within half an hour the whole ten cars of people were enjoying the hospitality of their neighboring town. A sumptuous repast was spread before them and the hungry and thirsty excursionists did it ample justice. More speeches followed. At this point good cheer was flowing freely and representatives of the two towns agreed to bury the hatchet and henceforth live in peace and goodwill toward each other. Then everybody again climbed aboard the train and Albuquerque was soon reached. The assemblage adjourned to the Old Town Plaza, and shortly spirits were really "high," for on the plaza were several barrels of wine with tin cups chained to them. The public was invited to drink their fill as the program proceeded. At sunset "loud roared the dread artillery"; once more music

filled the air and when darkness threw its mantle over the town, fireworks filled the sky with a brilliant display. Judge Trimble succeeded the pyrotechnics with an oratorical exhibition. He was followed by Governor George B. Anthony, Judge Prince, and Don Tranquilino Luna. Father Gasparri was the last speaker on the program and he fittingly pointed out that the railroad had entered Santa Fe first as the head and capital of the territory, but that it entered Albuquerque as the heart and center from which the blood of life flowed to nourish the whole body.

The reception came to a happy end, and the town had its railroad. Some of the business houses of Old Albuquerque cheerfully moved nearer to the railroad depot; a few dourly refused to budge and became part of the tradition that maintains Old Albuquerque's bright light as a chapter in the romantic history of the Southwest. Through the whole story shines the one clear fact that Albuquerqueans realized their possible modern progress was to be inevitably linked with the coming of railroad transportation. They were fully aware that this same railroad would strangle and stunt the development of their beloved Old Town, but they were willing to make this sacrifice for the sake of the better economy a railroad would afford.

PURITAN AND APACHE: A DIARY

Edited by FRANK D. REEVE

Introduction

HENRY M. LAZELLE was born in Enfield, Massachusetts, September 8, 1832.¹ He entered the United States Military Academy on July 1, 1850, and graduated July 1, 1855, standing number thirty in his class. He started on his army career with the rank of Bvt. Second Lt. in the 1st Infantry, stationed at Fort Columbus, New York. In November, 1855, he arrived at Fort Bliss,² Texas, for duty and served on the Southwestern frontier until the outbreak of the Civil War. Meanwhile, he had been transferred to the 8th Infantry, October 9, 1855, with the rank of Second Lt.

During his term of service on the Southwestern frontier, Lt. Lazelle participated in the Bonnevill campaign against the Apache in the spring of 1857, and in the summer of 1858 he saw service against the Navaho. When the Mescalero Apache raided San Elizario in 1859, Lt. Lazelle with a detachment of thirty men started in pursuit on January 31 to recover stolen stock. He was defeated by the Indians in Dog Cañon, in the Sacramento Mountains, with a loss of three killed and seven wounded, with himself included among the wounded.³ On June 17 of that same year, he led a detachment from Anton Chico, New Mexico, on the upper Pecos river, along the right bank of that stream to Fort Lancaster, Texas.⁴ Either before or after that mission, he marched to Fort Smith, Arkansas. The following year he

1. The bulk of the biographical material on Lazelle was obtained through the courtesy of B. F. Evans, Jr., Lt. Col., Infantry, United States Military Academy; under date of December 29, 1947. Other sources of information are: Association of Graduates (U. S. M. A.), *Annual Report, 1918*; Appletons' *Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, 1887; Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, vol. 1 (Washington, 1903).

2. For the military history of Fort Bliss see M. H. Thomlinson, *The Garrison of Fort Bliss, 1849-1916* (Hertzog & Resler, Printers, El Paso, Texas, 1945).

3. Frank D. Reeve, "The Federal Indian Policy in New Mexico, 1858-1880," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, IV, 261 (July, 1938).

4. A. B. Bender, "Government Explorations in the Territory of New Mexico 1846-1859," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, IX, 30 (January, 1934).

was back at Fort Bliss, and also spent some time at Fort Fillmore.

Shortly after the outbreak of the Civil War, Lt. Col. I. V. D. Reeve surrendered six companies of the 8th Infantry to superior Confederate forces under Col. Earl Van Dorn on May 9, at San Lucas Springs, fifteen miles west of San Antonio, Texas. The Union troops were the garrisons from Forts Bliss, Quitman and Davis. Among the prisoners was Lt. Lazelle.⁵ He was promoted to the rank of Captain in June.

Lazelle was exchanged in the summer of 1862 and served as Acting Assistant Commissary General of Prisoners at Washington from June 4, 1862, until September 16, 1863. He then returned to active duty in command of a regiment in operations against Mosby's Guerrillas and then of a Cavalry Brigade, 22nd Army Corps, serving until October 19, 1864. On October 23, 1863, he was appointed Colonel of the 16th New York, Cavalry Volunteers, and advanced to Bvt. Major in the regular army on September 19, 1864, "for gallant and meritorious services in action near Culpepper, Virginia." He resigned his volunteer commission on October 19. From January 6 to February 12, 1865, he served as acting Assistant Inspector General on the staff of Major General Steele, and from February 12 to July 9, he was Assistant Provost Marshal General of the Military Division of West Mississippi.

After the War, Lazelle held numerous tours of duty in the South, East and West. He was on Recruiting Service from July 18, 1865 to March 2, 1866; in command of a company and Post at Charlotte, North Carolina, March 1866 to December 1867; at Columbia, South Carolina, until October 1870; David's Island, New York, until July 5, 1872; on the Yellowstone Expedition against Indians from July 26 to October 15; at Omaha Barracks, Nebraska, October 26 to May 24, 1873; on the second Yellowstone Expedition to October 12; at Fort D. A. Russell, Wyoming Territory, until February 22, 1874; on the Sioux Expedition to March 1874; at the Spotted Tail Agency, Dakota Territory, to May 26;

5. *Records of the Rebellion*, Series I, vol. i, p. 568.

on leave of absence from May 26 to July 23; frontier duty in command of Fort Yuma, California, September 24 to March 24, 1875; in command at Fort Sully, Dakota Territory, June 8, 1875 to April 24, 1877; in command of a Battalion in the field in Montana until November 11; Fort Sully, Dakota Territory, from November 11, 1877, to August 18, 1878; and at Camp Ruhlin, Dakota Territory, August 27 to June 1879.

After serving as Commandant of Cadets at West Point from June 1879 to August 1882, and being advanced to the rank of Lt. Col. on June 26, Lazelle returned to the West in command of Fort Craig, New Mexico, December 1882 to February 1884. He next served as Assistant Inspector General, Division of the Pacific, with headquarters at San Francisco, California, until June, 1885. He was detailed as Representative of the United States to witness the maneuvers of the British Army in India from November 1885 to March 1886. Returning home, he was made Assistant Inspector General, Department of the Columbia, at Vancouver Barracks, Washington Territory, until June 1887. From June 1887 until February 1889 he was stationed at Washington, D. C., in charge of publication of the records of the War of the Rebellion.

With the rank of Colonel, received on February 2, 1889, Lazelle once more returned west as commander at Fort Clark, Texas, where he served from October until July 1894. He was on sick leave from March to November 1, 1893, and a year later, on November 26, retired from active service for disability in the line of duty. On April 23, 1904, he was granted the rank of Brigadier General.

In civil life, Lazelle was a farmer in Virginia until 1898. From then on he alternately lived in Winchester, Massachusetts, and Canada. He died at Georgeville, Province of Quebec, on July 21, 1917, at the age of eighty-four.

General Lazelle had found time to write both during his military career and in civil life. He was the author of numerous publications: *One Law in Nature, Matter Force and Spirit, Review of the Situation in the Southern States, New*

Mexico and Arizona, The Leavenworth School of Instruction, Stability in Present Form of Our Universe, Military Life in India, Evolution in Warfare, Changes Necessary in Infantry Tactics, Improvements in the Art of War, and, first in time no doubt, his *Journal* of the Bonneville campaign.

In this *Journal*, Lazelle reveals himself to be a rather unusual young man. He was well read and a keen observer, indeed a very critical one, of both man and nature. He thrilled to the beauties of the Southwestern country, and reacted strongly against its seeming monotony. Vast stretches of country, marked by distant mountain ranges and sparse vegetation, were too strong a contrast to the eastern woodland country for him to make ready adjustment. But the grandeur of the mountains at close view could not be ignored, and he reveled in their glories.

He reacted equally strongly toward people; he had generous praise for those he admired, and sharp criticism for others. His Puritan and Eastern background ill prepared him to understand the peoples of the Southwest, the Mexican and the Indian. Their way of life, primitive as it was in comparison to his accustomed ways, aroused sharp reactions of disgust; in fact, so sharp at times that the reader must be on guard lest he take offense. And the spirit of seventeenth century intolerance in religious affairs echoes in his writing. It must be said that Lazelle was not writing for publication; he probably put on paper what he would not have uttered out loud.

The young Lieutenant was not above analyzing himself while commenting on his colleagues. He professed to be a misanthrope. It is certain that he did not spend much time in company with fellow officers, especially when they were in a convivial mood. He did not drink intoxicating liquor, although it can be inferred that he was not always a teetotaler. His attitude on this matter was due to the influence of a woman whom he never mentions by name. In one passage he writes Mrs. L-----. She may have been his wife, although available biographical material does not mention that he was married. At any rate, he writes of her with great feeling and was very much in love with her. Despite

the young Lieutenant's Puritanic background, his sharp criticism of people, and his straight-laced conduct, he was not devoid of humor, so an occasional lighter touch appears in the *Journal*.

The occasion for keeping this daily record of his doings was the campaign against Apache Indians in Southwestern New Mexico in 1857. The tribesmen had long been a thorn in the side of the American and Mexican people. They raided the settlements in the Rio Grande valley and depredated southward into Mexico.⁶ The situation was so bad along the border in the 1850's that President Buchanan toward the end of the decade recommended "a temporary protectorate over the northern portions of Chihuahua and Sonora and to establish military posts within the same. . . ."⁷

In 1857 the government launched a major campaign against the Apache. The expedition consisted of two columns under the general command of Col. Benjamin L. E. Bonneville.⁸ The northern column, under command of Col. William Wing Loring,⁹ moved southward from Santa Fe and joined forces with the southern column temporarily. A detachment from Loring's command attacked the Apache on May 24, recovering about 1,000 sheep which they had stolen from the Rio Grande valley, killing seven Indians and capturing nine. He was then ordered to the Navaho country to keep that tribe pacified.¹⁰

The southern column, under command of Lt. Col. Dixon

6. A detailed account of this Indian situation can be found in R. H. Ogle, "Federal Control of the Western Apaches, 1848-1886," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, XIV, 309-365 (October, 1939). Reprinted as Vol. IX, New Mexico Historical Society, *Publications in History*.

7. James D. Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the President*, V, 514. (December 6, 1858).

8. Bonneville was born in France, but came to this country at an early age. He graduated from the United States Military Academy in 1815. Forty years later he had achieved the rank of Colonel in command of the 3rd Infantry. Heitman, *Historical Register* . . . He assumed command of the Military Department of New Mexico in 1858. Bonneville secured a leave of absence from the army in the 1830's and led an exploration party to the Far West. His story was popularized by Washington Irving in *The Adventures of Captain Bonneville*.

9. Loring was born in North Carolina. He was appointed 2nd Lt. in the Florida Volunteers in the summer of 1837. He served in the War with Mexico and was advanced to the rank of Colonel in the Mounted Rifles on December 30, 1856. He was a Major General in the Confederate army. Heitman, *Historical Register* . . .

10. John Garland to AAG, June 30, 1857, in Secretary of War, *Annual Report*, 35 cong., 1 sess., hse. ex. doc. 2, p. 135 (943).

Stanbury Miles,¹¹ moved westward from Fort Thorn, New Mexico. It was formed from companies B, D, G, and K of the 1st Dragoons; B, G, K, Mounted Riflemen; C, F, K, 3rd Infantry; B and I, 8th Infantry; a company of spies and guides of Pueblo Indians; and a body of New Mexicans under Captain Blas Lucero: in all, some 400 men.¹² They eventually struck the Indians on the Gila river, about thirty miles north of Mt. Graham (or Floridian). The battle was fought along both sides of the river in a narrow valley with dense undergrowth of brush. It started in the late afternoon and lasted until sundown. Twenty-four Indians were killed, including five women, and twenty-seven were taken prisoners. A Mexican boy, a captive of the Indians, was also taken but later escaped, apparently preferring his life among the Indians to his former home. "Lt. Lazelle, 8th Infantry, in charging with the dragoons, shot one Indian and cut down another,"¹³ for which he was commended by his superiors.

Lt. Lazelle's *Journal* is brought to a close before this fight took place. It concludes, however, with the statement that it will be continued in rhyme; unfortunately, the second part is not at hand.

In preparing the *Journal* for publication, it has been reproduced exactly as written, in-so-far as possible. The punctuation is sometimes difficult to read and, in a very few instances, has been modified. The spelling of words is not always orthodox. The map that accompanies the text represents part of a map compiled for the War Department in 1859. It has been touched up a bit and some data added. The map indicates incorrectly that Fort Bayard was at one time Fort West, or vice versa, but Fort Bayard was located to the east of Silver City; and San Diego is too far north, it was probably eight or nine miles north of Fort Selden.

The editor has been aided by colleagues and by the library staff in tracing a few of the literary references. However, the source of the reference has not always been found. The original ms. is owned by the University of New Mexico.

11. Miles was born in Maryland. He graduated from the United States Military Academy on July 1, 1824, and was advanced to the rank of Lt. Col. on April 15, 1851. He died on September 16, 1862, from wounds received in the defense of Harpers Ferry.

12. Secretary of War, *op. cit.*, p. 56f.

13. *Ibid.*

The Journal

To one, who during an intimate acquaintance of two years, has never, by word, or act, betrayed a thought worthy of reproach, this journal is most affectionately inscribed.

Part First. Gila Expedition—Personal incidents etc.

At the request of a dearly loved friend,¹ whose simplest wish is, and ever will be with me, a guiding point, these pages are rewritten. Hastily penned at first, during the leisure moments of an arduous and severe campaign, after the fatiguing marches of wearysome and sultry days,—and for the occupation of moments otherwise idle, and ill spent, they are of course *interesting* only to myself, or to those whose interest in me, is equal to my own self love— And nothing less than this conviction, would ever have induced me to reproduce pages so devoid of merit and which were written but for the gratification of my own feelings.

On the 20th day of April 1857, in obedience to orders previously received from Department Head Quarters, I left Fort Bliss Texas, for the Gila river, attached as junior officer to a portion of Company "K" Rgt. of Mounted Rifles. The Troops from that Post consisted of forty men from the company and Rgt. above mentioned under the command of Lieut. Du-Bois,² and eighty Infantry men portions of Companies "I" and "B" 8th Infantry; (and to use from this time the language of my journal), "we marched at 9½ A.M. The men of our command were anchored at "Harts Ranch"³ and

1. I cannot identify this friend. See Notes 44 and 58.

2. John Van Deusen Du Bois. Born in New York, graduated from the United States Military Academy, and commissioned Bvt. 2nd Lt., Mounted Rifles, July 1, 1855. He served in the Civil War and died July 31, 1879. All biographical data on army officers is taken from Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, vol. I (Washington, 1903), unless otherwise indicated.

3. A Thomas Hart, was born in Kentucky, served in the Mexican war as 2nd Lt., 14th Infantry, and was mustered out on July 25, 1848.

El Molino (the Mill) is described as the residence of Judge Hart and was located about three miles up the Rio Grande from El Paso (Juarez), Mexico, on the east bank. Hart was born in Kentucky and served in the War. W. W. H. Davis, *El Gringo*, p. 213 (The Rydal Press, Santa Fe, New Mexico, 1938). He was probably the Judge Simeon Hart mentioned in John Russell Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*. . . , I, 155 (New York, 1854). See also NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, XVII, 138 (April, 1942).

waited in drunken disgust for their officers to feast themselves as his guests.

Singular contrast. The mission of peace, and the errands of war! "Take neither staff or scrip,"⁴ says the one: the other calls for burnished arms, glittering armour, and the fiery stimulents of strong drink, and exciting huzzas, for its success, or power. I remained at the Post of Fort Bliss at the house of a very dear, and most loved of all friends to avoid the disgust which I felt would result from this and to take a last fond leave of her. I stayed one hour and started in sorrow and with regret. Found officers and men, at the above mentioned place, apparently delighted with their *dear friend*.—Stopped from compulsion,—received with marked attention and was, with the company already assembled, treated with great politeness, and with as much affability and courtesy as such natures are permitted to extend toward others, from purely selfish motives as is the case with this person. After being sumptuously entertained,—at the expense no doubt of the U. S. Government, through him, and the Department Chief Commissary, our party took its leave, and proceeded on its way in silence each occupied with his own thoughts and soured at the cheerless prospect before us.

I, as part of the Staff, had the privilege (?) of riding in front as a sort of accompanying orderly to a simple, but kind old fellow named Simonson,⁵ whom superior age, (thanks to the wonderfully wise organization of our Army) had unfortunately placed in command. But I am compelled to say that a more benevolent or honorable heart never beat in sympathetic pulsations to the failings of his fellow man. He is of great physical energy, but deficient in reason, cramped in his understanding, and warped in his judgement. We marched five miles over a beautifully picturesque and rural road,—to a poet, or to one who had all his life dwelt on a plane surface. Halted for a short rest, and the gather-

4. And he said unto them, Take nothing for *your* journey, neither staves, nor scrip, neither bread, neither money; neither have two coats apiece. *Luke 9:3*.

5. John Smith Simonson, born in Pennsylvania, was a volunteer in the War of 1812, and served in the War with Mexico; promoted to Major, September 16, 1853; died December 5, 1881.

ing of drunken straglers, at the fanciful ruins of an old Adobe house which Mexican tradition and Scandal say, was for some years occupied by a hermit surnamed, White, who therein detained a woman for divers, and *son-dry* purposes. Halted for the night four miles further on without extraordinary incidents. After a delightful supper, of fried bacon with coffee, *without* milk, all served up *with* tallow in the Russian style by a Russian cook, I retired. Was jostled to sleep by a highly instructive dissertation on the "customs of the service," by my superior officer and classmate, who happens to be quite egotistical and fond of instructing a simpleton like me: perhaps because I chance to be a good listener. If he persists in it however I shall make him blush for his folly ere long. He is young however, and is proud in being called a horse soldier!, And rather patronizes me, a poor infantry officer. I may gently chide him soon—if he persists.

I as Adjutant had the giving of the countersign for the night, and called it "*Twilight*" in memory of my loved-----

Awakened by sounds of horses feet which I imagined to be outside the door of my quarters in Garrison—Relieved of this fanciful impression, by falling over my camp Stool in my endeavors to gratify an idle curiosity unduly excited. Thus endeth the first chapter—Selah! [Meaning a pause].

Tuesday April 21st—1857 I *suppose*.

Arose covered with dirt—washed as people may be imagined to do, under like circumstances,—but without effecting a marked change in my personal appearance.— Eat a breakfast consisting of the same variety that characterized our supper of the previous evening, except that the order was reversed and, stood—Tallow, coffee, and bacon fried—

Marched at the eighth hour.—Jewish style⁶—face of the country beautifully novel and peculiar. Was agreeably surprised, and highly interested by a strong wind which blew a fine sand into my eyes all day creating, a delicious and refreshing titilating sensation—

Conversation to-day principally about the weather, con-

6. the men shall march every one on his way, and they shall not turn aside from their ranks. *The Prophecy of Joel*, 2:7; no one shall press upon his brother: they shall walk every one in his path. . . . 2:8.

ducted entirely by the chief of staff, the above mentioned commander Simonson, who was heard to make several stupid remarks in a very stupid and delightful manner—accompanied with much dignity. Repeatedly tooting his nasal organ—dispensing entirely with a handkerchief—which is unquestionably a high accomplishment for a polished gentleman, but rather a dangerously unpleasant one for companions in his vicinity—during a strong wind. After this followed some grave observations upon the Indians which lacked originality somewhat, but gave evidence of his possessing a strong memory in having retained them since he last heard them. But conversational talent is, like that other talent, (its logical contradictory) somewhat limited, and we all soon “*sub-sided*” with the conversation and every one so to express it “*dried up*,” perhaps like Wouter van Twiller,⁷ for the want of something to say.

After having arrived in camp, and been comfortably asleep for a few minutes, was awakened by a soldier pleasantly dangling a large rattlesnake with nine rattles before my face, and desiring my opinion with regard to its size. Toward night our wind brought rain and hail it blew down our little tent twice, broke tent poles, and at last despairing of supporting it, I crept under its icy canvass and fell asleep, cold, sick, and in an enviably happy state of mind. Mem. I this morning resolved to discontinue an unfortunate and absurdly senseless habit of profanity and am happy to state that I have cursed but 800 times during the day, the average number being 500, per day.

Wednesday Apr. 22nd

Awakened by a sepulchral voice which said “Lieutnunt” *Du Bose Time!* Which I found upon recovering from my surprise, came from a face which was peering through the tent front and belonging to our Russian cook. This being interpreted meaneth Breakfast is waiting. Was somewhat

7. “It is true he was a man shut up within himself, like an oyster, and rarely spoke, except in monosyllables; but then it was allowed he seldom said a foolish thing.” Thus is described the governor of New Amsterdam by Washington Irving in Diedrich Knickerbocker, *A History of New York*.

startled by hearing the said "Lieutnant Du Bose" (Lieut. Du Bois, my senior officer, to whose company I was attached) —whom "for short" I shall hereafter style "The Dragoon"—remark, that it would be necessary for him to procure from his Company farrier, some horse medicine for his own use, as he had not yet, to use his own words, "come to his feed"! My alarm was in no measure diminished by observing him devour with great "sang froid" a piece of raw bacon. I was however much relieved when informed by him, with the greatest unconcern, that all this was the custom of his regiment! I remarked that I supposed that very soon he might accustom himself to grazing, to which he gravely replied, that he thought likely.

He became from this time greatly exalted in my eyes, and though he was but a year older than myself, yet I afterwards regarded him with the greatest respect, and even veneration: more particularly when I discovered through him, that it was not the custom of his Regiment (The Mounted Rifles) to sleep in tents which he seemed to abominate. It became with me, afterwards, however, a serious question, whether or not this was done for grandeur, and with a desire to impress upon my simple and inexperienced mind, a vast and overwhelming idea of the greater superiority and endurance of the "hoss soldier," and the superior dignity of that branch of the service over the pedestrian patriot— More particularly was I so unfortunate as to cling to this impression, when I afterwards learned that an attack of the rheumatism followed his sleeping outside the tent, and a severe sickness from his eating of the raw bacon—

I observed that to-day I was sent forward far in advance of the column, to select a camp above Fort Fillmore.⁸ I also noticed that I got drenching wet by a cold drizzling rain which fell all day long, and which froze as it fell. It pelted

8. Fort Fillmore was located on the east side of the Rio Grande about forty miles north of El Paso as part of the reorganization of frontier defenses in 1851. A. B. Bender, "Frontier Defense in the Territory of New Mexico, 1846-1853," NMHR, IX, 264. "This place is like all the forts we have seen, nothing but an open post, and totally unfitted to resist an Indian attack." Lewis Burt Lesley, *Uncle Sam's Camels*, p. 69 (Harvard University Press, 1929). See description in Davis, *El Gringo*, p. 211.

me beautifully, benumbed my limbs so that I could not feel the cold—and kept me in excellent humour.

Obtained a good camp one mile above the post—wet and cold—Visited the post on business, saw no ladies, with the exception of Mrs Whipple who happened at her window as I passed. Kept my resolution not to drink, although much pressed so to do. Thank God for kind influences and a high toned friend.

Thursday Apr. 23rd

Sent forward again to day by Maj Simonson to select a camp above Don-Anna.⁹ Cold and rainy weather. Found myself traveling with my Dragoon escort of two men, and as it was impossible to converse with them I was of course highly entertained and diverted, traveling uncomfortably and wet to the skin. I was also accompanied, as I had been for several days by a very severe and painful attack of the Dysentery with vomiting. This completed a disgust which perfectly disguised me, and I would not have been recognized by those who knew me best. In such a mood as when one experiences a sad and dismal pleasure in indulging in gloomy thoughts on the past—present and future. Passed through the miserably wretched villages of "Cruzes"¹⁰ and "Don Anna," which are Mexican collections of hovels, in perfect keeping, with their squalid filth and poverty, and accord well with the indolent worthlessness of their population, and the cursing idleness and superstition, of the whole degraded Mexican, or rather, Spanish,—Mexico—Indian—Negro race—Incapable of further advancement and totally unconscious of their present degraded position.

A succession, of high toned, patriotic, energetic, indomitable and powerfully intellectual rulers, despotic in character, acting, with a singleness of purpose, and unity of object, through a series of generations, is the only form of government which in my judgment can save poor Mexico, develop

9. The Doña Ana Bend Colony was established in 1843 by Don José María Costales on a land grant from the state of Chihuahua. P. M. Baldwin, "A Short History of the Mesilla Valley," NMHR, XIII, 316 (July, 1938).

10. The present day county seat of Doña Ana county. See Davis, *El Gringo*, p. 217f, for an early description.

her resources, elevate the minds and bring forth the energies of her people, so totally unfitted are they for self government, or control, in its most limited form. This might relieve her from the terrible thralldom, which is imposed upon her people by the superstition, ignorance, bigotry and falsehood, which is pressed upon her by the iron rule of the Roman Church—God forbid that those whom I may love, should be Roman-Catholics—

This may save her from the dominion of the superior Anglo-Saxon race, and her amalgamation with, and absorption by those "Northern barbarians," and preserve her a distinct nation and people—After coming to Camp, and designating the Camping ground of the different companies, I threw myself on the wet ground wrapped in a blanket, and for a long time, until sleep relieved me with forgetfulness, gave myself up to a deathly sickness.

I was however soon aroused, by my infernal Russian cook, who placed by me, a tin dish of Rice, swimming in bacon fat. I inwardly cursed him, but outwardly thanked him for his attention, and sickened at the stomach and heart, begged him to remove it—

I contrasted it with Mrs. Brice's delightful dinners and delicacies, (God bless her,) and as best I could, wearied the long cold night away, in pain and misery and without further sleep—

Friday Apr 24th

Sick—eat little or nothing—Incidents none—Still troubled with the "blues" and unpleasant weather—and just at present, viewing as I do—too much I fear—everything through a lens of gloom and disgust all even life itself seems sad and dull—My sickness is getting no better quite fast. I think that I need a new stomach, which has not been so much trifled with, by silly excesses as this—I fear that should one ever read these pages thus far and no further, they would have formed for life the opinion that I was the most misanthropical hypochondriac in the universe and never looked upon our cheerful world in a pleasant light—None can however form a correct estimate of character from the circumstances

resulting from a particular humor— It requires years to judge of it, unless the faults are so conspicuous and absorbing, as to overshadow all else—

Camped to day at the Rio Grande between Forts Fillmore and Thorn,¹¹ and on the main route.

Was sent forward several miles to the ford to arrange with the boat keeper for crossing of the command with its pack mules, on the succeeding day.—

Apr. 25

Awoke as one sometimes does after sleeping. But in this particular instance, I was indebted to my friend the Russian cook, who was bawling at the top of his voice, Lutenu-Lazelle—Time!! Reminding one of "Queen Bess" on her death bed¹²—I felt quite satisfied however, with the pleasant consciousness that I had passed a night in sound refreshing slumber— At about 8 A.M. this morning we were overtaken by Mr. Magoffin's¹³ Train from Fort Bliss, going to Fort Thorn for provisions, and then to the River Gila— I was much delighted (but not surprised) by receiving from my dearest friend in the world, a large bag of delicious pecan-nuts— One who forgets not in absence, is indeed a friend.—

We crossed¹⁴ the river to-day, and camped; it was a windy and very dusty day, and much increased the many unpleasant difficulties to be overcome in crossing with a

11. Fort Thorn was established in the upper end of the Mesilla valley on the west side of the Rio Grande near the settlement of Santa Barbara, 85 miles south of Fort Craig and 51 miles north of Fort Fillmore. Bender gives the date as December, 1853; *op. cit.*, 347f. The garrison from Fort Webster "was first located in this spot," in November, 1853. 36 cong., 1 sess., sen. ex. doc. 52, p. 223ff (1035).

12. This may be a reference to Queen Elizabeth, but descriptions of her death vary. Just where Lazelle read his account I do not know, but John R. Green, *A Short History of the English People*, II, 931 (Macmillan and Co., Ltd., London, 1913. Illustrated edition), reads as follows: "When Robert Cecil asserted that she 'must' go to bed, the word roused her like a trumpet. 'Must!' she exclaimed; 'is *must* a word to be addressed to princes, little man, little man! thy father, if he had been alive, durst not have used that word.' Then, as her anger spent itself, she sank into her old dejection."

13. James W. Magoffin was a Santa Fe trader and long-time resident of the Southwest. He established Magoffinsville, now El Paso, Texas, in 1848; it was located about three miles below Hart's El Molino. Davis, *El Gringo*, p. 213. Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*. . . , I, 193. Stella M. Drumm, ed., *Down the Santa Fe Trail and into Mexico: The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin 1846-1847* (Yale University Press, 1926).

14. The "old fording place, known as the San Diego ferry, was about nine miles above the southern end of the Jornada del Muerto. Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*. . . , I, 215.

single ferry-boat our numerous command with its large number of animals—

I found myself much improved in mind and body— It was very fortunate for us that the wind blew so severely to-day or we should have been literally devoured by gnats, whose bites are very severe and much more unpleasant than those of their agreeable fellow-labourers, the mesquitos. As it was, the moment that the wind lulled as it did, about four in the evening they came about in great clouds, causing every thing living, with a tender skin, either to suffer or run,—if of an active temperament; but for myself, being naturally opposed to active exercises, I took the next safest method and went to bed—

Sunday Apr. 26th

Left the river at an early hour, in advance of the command, accompanied by an escort of two men. I was, I am happy to state to an interested world in excellent condition to-day—physically speaking, but a hard trotting horse, and a very hot sun, rather disturbed the harmony of my sage reflections, and at such intervals as the horse was compelled to walk, upon a little deliberation with myself I invariably discovered that I was in a fine sociably meditative mood, with a slight shade of the grumbling humour, however, at my lot, which made every subject, upon which I thought, agreeable and spicy. However we jogged along thinking of each subject in its turn, until I believe that like Don Juan¹⁵

“I thought of myself and of all the earth,

“Of man wonderful and of the Stars.

“And how the duece they ever could have birth.

15. Don Juan was “A legendary figure who symbolizes a rich man, proud, impious, and a libertine. He has appeared in a poem by Lord Byron, an opera by Mozart, and a drama by José Zorrilla y Moral.” *Diccionario Enciclopédico Ilustrado de la Lengua Española*, ed., Don José Alemany y Bolufer. Nueva Edición (Buenos Aires, 1946).

He thought about himself, and the whole earth,

Of man the wonderful, and of the stars,

And how the duece they ever could have birth;

And then he thought of earthquakes and of wars

How many miles the moon might have in girth,

Of air balloons, and of the many bars

To perfect knowledge of the boundless skies;

And then he thought of Donna Julia's eyes.

Lord Byron's *Don Juan*, canto I, no. 92.

"And then I thought of earthquakes and of wars,
 "Of air balloons, and of the many bars
 "To perfect knowledge of the boundless skies.
 "And then, I thought of Donna Julies eyes"

And etc, etc as every one does I suppose who is devoting his attention to nothing in particular as he travels, whether walking or riding by themselves. For human nature is wonderfully similar in us all, baring of course the peculiar idiosyncrasies of birth, and the circumstances of education. Like plants and animals of a common species, they differing from each other by some distinguishing qualities, which mark, and subdivide them again into classes, so mankind born for the same end, and with same great endowments, are universally found to possess the same frame work, of a flexible mind, more or less distorted, or beautified, as the accidents of influences have varied with the individual— About 12 M. I was met on reaching the summit of a hill by Capt Clairborne, Lieuts Baker, and Edson, of the Rgt of Mounted Rifles, and Lieut Davis¹⁶ of the 3rd Inf. all from Fort Thorn, and coming down to greet our command. I was delighted to see them, and passed a pleasant half hour in their company— I then left them, to proceed down the road to meet our command, with the exception of Lieut Baker, who rode back with me to Fort Thorn, to fulfil my orders from Maj Simonson—

I called upon the commanding officer Lieut. Col. D. S. Miles, after selecting about four miles from the Post, a suit-

16. Thomas Clairborne, born in Tennessee, served in the War with Mexico with the rank of 2nd Lt., Mounted Rifles. Advanced to Captain, August 30, 1853. He later served in the Confederate army.

Laurence Simmons Baker, born in North Carolina, a graduate of the United States Military Academy, July 1, 1851, entered the army as Bvt. 2nd Lt., Mounted Rifles. Advanced to 2nd Lt., March 31, 1853. Served in the Confederate army as Brigadier General. Lt. Baker had a taste of fighting Indians when he pursued a marauding party eastward from Fort Thorn on March 11, 1857, in an effort to recapture stolen stock. The animals were recaptured, but only after a fight at Ojo del Muerto where two soldiers were killed and three wounded. Secretary of War, *Annual Report*, December 5, 1857. 35 cong., 1 sess., hse. ex. doc. 2, p. 55 (943).

John Henry Edson, born in New York, graduate of the United States Military Academy, July 1, 1853, commissioned Bvt. 2nd Lt., Mounted Rifles. Advanced to 2nd Lt., August 16, 1854. He served in the Civil War.

Benjamin Franklin Davis. Bvt. 2nd Lt., 5th Infantry, July 1, 1854. 2nd Lt., 1st Dragoons, March 3, 1855. He was wounded in the Bonneville campaign and killed in the Civil War.

able camp for the troops. I found him to be a person of a very brilliant imagination, accompanied with great facility of composition, which enabled him to converse upon all topics, whether fiction or facts—whether conversant with them or not,—with wonderful freedom and ease—But as he seemed to possess an unfortunate memory, or carelessness of agreement of his thoughts, it was sometimes painfully unpleasant to compare his statements, particularly when he was under the least excitement from liquor, which *his* nose and *my* eyes, told me he partook of freely, even had I had no other demonstration of it. Was invited to drink and dine at the Post, but declined both, and returned alone to our camp where I found time to pass with the usual monotony of camp life until next morning which was that of Monday Apr.

Apr. the 27th

At about 9 A.M. visited the Post, and found most of the officers in the sulter's [sutler] Store, a filthy hole, drinking or preparing so to do. And had I not discovered it before I should now have observed, that the hilarity of a drunken party can but be distasteful, to one whose reason is still his own, and whose animal impulses, have not by excitement overcome the intellectual. And that drunken jokes are as difficult to amuse, as the passions are troublesome to understand, and appreciate, to a Eunuch in an Eastern harem. Dined by invitation, with Capt Clairborne, who is a very sociable, and highly amusing man; in conversation, of quick and ready humour, and sparkling wit; of great command of language, and fluency of speech; and were it not for his continual personalities, and occasional Bombay or Bowery manner, together with the most inordinate egotism, would always be a delightful companion.

His wife is an agreeable, affable, and pleasant person, of excellent sense (of the *acute* order) and entertaining manners, with a polished and ladylike deportment—and (if my praise be not damning,) always adapted to the company present. In their society, one is charmed and delighted for an hour—

X X But the senses weary of continuous delight Longs for

repose, and the softer, gentler change,—as of Day to night
 Returned to my camp at an early hour, And as I rode on, I
 unconsciously made comparisons, perhaps unfavourable to
 my new companion of the day— Passed the evening in read-
 ing and musing, in what might be termed a soft twilight
 course of thought—

Lovely Twilight hour! which gently culls the *Past*
 From memories stores. Not like the Noon which seeks to arrest
 The mighty *present*.—Nor like the morn
 Which calls ambition forth if yet unborn
 But gently chides, and perchance doeth sudden the hour
 Yet still with soothing thought, it softly speaks of power
 To forgive the past, that a future will amend
 And Heavenly hopes, with its cheering promise sends.

Apr. 28th

Removed camp at 8 A. M. to within one mile of the Post

Major Simonson this morning relinquished the com-
 mand to Lieut. Jackson,¹⁷ after giving to Mr DuBois (alias
 the Dragoon) a suitable and richly merited lecture upon his
 inordinate vanity, preceded by an exordium and tintured
 with a little wholesome advice. This was done in the pres-
 ence of one of the officers from Fort Thorn, of his own Regi-
 ment and has created not a little amusement, with perhaps
 unfavourable comments; but all concur in admit[ting] it to
 be well timed.— I am relieved from the duties of Adjutant,
 and have understood that I will be appointed Adjutant of the
 Southern Column. However cannot tell, The “Ides of March”
 or as the “Mexes” have it, “The Mannanna” [*Mañana*, mean-
 ing tomorrow] will decide—Have remained in camp alone all
 day.

At about sunset, saw through my glass an ambulance,
 resembling very much in appearance the carriage of Maj.
 Brice,¹⁸ at Fort Bliss. It was coming up the road toward the
 post. I only hope that it was This I will ascertain to-mor-
 row—the

17. William Hicks Jackson, born in Tennessee, a graduate of the United States Military Academy; Bvt. 2nd Lt., Mounted Rifles, July 1, 1856. Brigadier General in the Confederate Army. He died March 30, 1903.

18. Benjamin William Brice, born in Virginia, graduate of the United States Military Academy; Bvt. 2nd Lt., 3rd Infantry, July 1, 1829. Major Paymaster, February 9, 1852. Died December 5, 1892.

29th

Went to the Post early in the morning and was delighted upon seeing there Maj. Brice and Mr. Granger from Fort Bliss— Received from the Major a package from Mrs Brice. It was a tobacco bag which she had promised to make for me, together with a handkerchief which she *had not* promised. So thoughtful she is, so kind, always giving, always pleasantly surprising. — One of God's own handiworks as a woman, combining with a really brilliant intellect, enlarged understanding and power of thought which would do infinite credit to any *man*:—a high toned delicacy and sensibility in every action, and thought, which become an order of beings higher than ours:—linked with a generous heart, and a ready hand to give, and to assist all, in the right:—and independence of mind, thought, and action, with a proud firm spirit, that knows no deviation from what appears the proper course, and such as would have made nobler, a Catherine of Russia, or Joan of Arc, all makes her morally and intellectually, a really towering spirit, noble in its modest grandeur. May God grant me such a wife, beautiful in mind and person, and such as Heaven first formed her sex—This pleasant remembrance of me I can never forget

The Major is too, a man of sterling qualities, enlarged understanding, and a warm heart— But he is the Josephine, while she is Napoleon!

Dined with Colonels Miles and Bonneville at the house of the former—Mrs Miles seems to be an exceedingly plain and domestic person, but of a kind heart. The entertainments of our Fort Thorn acquaintances, cannot compare favourably with the sumptuous hospitality and easy manners of some of our Fort Bliss friends. The former seems constrained, hurried, uneasy, and without style; the latter possesses all of those qualities which make elegance without ostentation; luxury without pride, and ease with natural refinement, untouched by silly empty forms and shallow attempts at a servile worship of etiquette—Passed quite a pleasant day for one as misanthropical as myself—Was officially informed by Colonel Miles of my appointment, and to-day published my first order as Adjutant of the Southern Column Gila Expedition, — X X — folly — X Straws — X

Apr. 30th

Passed the day in making every preparation to march on the 1st Prox: visited Fort Thorn from my camp twice—Found upon overhauling my panniers that I had much more baggage than one mule (only one allowed to an officer) could conveniently carry. Placed the greater portion in a box, and sent it to the Post to be carried to the Dépôt on the Gila in one of the freight wagons.

Sixty eight mules stolen this morning from a point within one [and] a half miles of the Post, by the Indians. Capt Clairborne of the Rgt. of Mt. Rifles was dispatched with forty men of his company in pursuit. He was followed two hours later by Lieut Edson with the pack mules carrying provisions of both companies, with orders to overtake the thieves if possible.

This is indeed a beautiful burlesque upon the dignity of our much talked of great expedition which has been fitted out at so great an expense and which is to freely bleed the plethoric treasury of government—

Originating in the bombastic folly of a silly old man already in his dotage, and thus far conducted with a degree of stupidity almost assinine—

A pretty caricature of the respect which our crafty foe, who is moving, warily, but constantly, in theiving squads, and flying on wings of the wind, has, of our slow motioned and heavily laden Infantry, toilsomely dragging its lengthy and sluggish columns over the burning plains, its troops choking with dust finer than ashes, and its animals suffocating, and dying under their heavy burdens for want of water;— all much to the delight, of these light footed, strolling, scattered vagabonds, who mockingly watch us from the mountains above.

Such at least must be the view in which the present plan of our campaign must be regarded, for the division, and wide scattering of our forces, so necessary to success, is not at present contemplated— Nous verrons—

Evening— And upon taking a retrospect of my visit to Fort Thorn, from the beginning, I cannot say that I am particularly pleased with it— It is a crowded, contracted, united

sort of a place, in its construction. Its officers with their families, are exceedingly hospitable and entertaining, but entirely too neighbourly, almost to a common brotherhood, to conform to my views of constant happiness, and domestic comfort—

Such an intercourse, forbids the most common etiquette of society, and generates an undue familiarity, in its families, which must eventually prove unpleasant.

May the 1st 1857

Left our camp at 6½ A.M. moving toward the Post and at 7½, after having bade farewell to our friends but few of whom I left with the slightest degree of reluctance the "Southern Column Gila Expedition", under the command of Lieut. Col. Miles, slowly moved away in the direction of the Membres [Mimbre, meaning willow] river, in the following order—Comdg Officer with his staff—Comp. "K" "Mounted Rifles"—Lieut Jackson, Comp. "I" 8th Infantry—Lieut Whipple Comp. "C" 3rd Infantry—Lieut. Steen Comp "F" ditto—Lieut. Cooke¹⁹ Comp "B" 8th Infantry—These together with Comp "B" Mounted Rifles—and Comp. "G" ditto, which had left the day previous in pursuit of the mule thieves; and forty friendly Pueblo Indians under the command of Lieut McCooke,²⁰ composed the "Southern Column"—

After a march of ten miles, we halted in a drenching rain at a place called the "tenahhas"²¹ or springs where we found

19. John Rogers Cooke, born in Missouri. 2nd Lt., 8th Infantry, June 30, 1855. Brigadier General Confederate army. Died April 9, 1891.

William Dennison Whipple, born in New York, graduate of the United States Military Academy; Bvt. 2nd Lt., 3rd Infantry, July 1, 1851. 1st Lt., December 31, 1856. Served in the Civil War. Died April 1, 1902.

Alexander Early Steen, born in Missouri. 2nd Lt., March 6, 1847; served in War with Mexico. 2nd Lt., 3rd Infantry, June 30, 1852. Brigadier General Confederate army; killed at Kane Hill, Arkansas, November 27, 1862. He was wounded in the Bonneville campaign.

20. Alexander McDowell McCook, born in Ohio, graduate of the United States Military Academy; Bvt. 2nd Lt., 3rd Infantry, July 1, 1852. 2nd Lt., June 20, 1854. Served in the Civil War.

Bonneville gave "much credit" to McCook for "The admirable manner in which he managed his Puebla Indians." Secretary of War, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

21. *Tinaja* means a large earthen jar. *Tinajero* is a stand for holding the jar, but is used by Mexicans to mean "water hole." *Tinaja* is apparently used here in the latter sense.

An excellent contemporary account of Apaches and their habitat can be found in John C. Cremony, *Life among the Apaches* (San Francisco, 1868).

the train of the embryo sulter [sutler] of the Gila Depôt, encamped. He had but a short time before dined, and as I rode up, gave me a piece of black corn-bread, soaked with rain, but I never relished anything more in my life, having eaten nothing since the night before— Resumed our march soon. The prairie was strewn with flowers of almost endless variety, which could I have preserved, I should have been delighted to gather, but for want of such means, I selected only a few of the most brilliant specimens.

At 4 P.M. we arrived at "Mule's Springs," distant from Fort Thorn 22 miles, when we halted for the night—

Took supper for the first time, in my new mess with Lieut. Steen whom I have found to be a high toned and honorable man, of simple habits, but excellent disposition, domestic in character, but of great energy and singleness of purpose. He is governed by an ambition somewhat beyond his capacity, but unlike my former messmate—(*"The Dragoon"*) he has too much modesty to often betray it— I have long ago voted both him, and his Russian cook, intolerable bores, and candle eaters— Dreamed that I was "Queen of May" which I, upon awakening, considered quite improbable—

May 2nd—

Took breakfast before sunrise,— somewhat earlier than at Fort Bliss, but perhaps with a better appetite— At 7 A.M. resumed our march. Under the influence of a fine morning and most excellent health I was in better spirits than at any time since leaving Fort Bliss. At about 10 A.M. it "Cleared up and was cloudy, we then had a spell of weather" (in the language of an ancient feminine)—²² of the worst sort for the road, compelling me to take in my colors which happened to be my dear old tobacco bag hanging upon the pommel of the saddle. After a dreary march of 18 miles over a country which has undergone no change since the period of metamorphic and igneous rocks of the primitive formation (Lyles classification, of course) and whose monotony is like what I imagine to be the thoughts of stupid men entombed forever

22. I have been unable to clarify this quotation.

in the infernal abode, but which is perfectly suitable for Mexican inhabitants, and accords well with their character; an imperishable and never changing comparison, as a monument of their own unproductiveness and sterility as a race; (not physically!) and a fitting emblem in its worthlessness of a nation of blanketed thieves and hooded w———: to quote John Randolph.²³ We arrived at Cooke's Springs where we encamped for the night quite late— Went to bed with a clear conscience, having cursed but thirty six times to-day— find that I am rapidly reforming— Thi[n]k that I shall at least have the satisfaction of dreams of pleasant times. So I will bid myself "*Good night and pleasant dreames*," shut up this folly, put the pencil in my pocket, and go—I hope not—to the D---l.

May 3rd.

Was awakened by hearing sung in a loud voice, "Twas *all around the room*, that I *danced*, with *Ellen Taylor*" by a "brass mounted Rifleman". To which another had the bad taste to reply, "What good did *that* do you? I did not wait for the pleasant retort, but in my amusement could not but consider it a very *pert* Query. "The idols of his own den, are apt to haunt the philosopher, even when he leaves it" Lord Bacon tells us—²⁴ and upon a slight retrospect of a few pages of this journal, if such a misnomer may be tolerated in the lie-sense of *poetry*—not rhyme, I am inclined to the belief that to an unprejudiced mind, it might, possibly appear, that I had imbrued these pages with a shade of the misanthropy which envelopes me— Hope not for *my* sake, not for yours (my *sweet* reader—and quite lucky to read this, too) But let me describe to you how we found upon a stick, at the 'Springs' a note from Lieut. Edson to Col. Miles, saying that his trail would be found to the left of the mountain, which was soon discovered. At 7½ A. M. started upon it following in the direction of the "Florida Mountains". We arrived, after an exceedingly fatiguing and dusty march, over a very

23. Probably a reference to John Randolph, the outspoken representative in Congress from Virginia in the administration of Thomas Jefferson.

24. For the description of idols in the den see Francis Bacon's *Novum Organum*, paragraph 38f.

rough country, having the usual products of this vast domain of newly acquired territory, at the foot of the above named mountains, and encamped at 3 P.M. in a spot as utterly barren and rocky that one would have suggested rained boulders at once—

It was almost destitute of grass; and we found but little water; even this was high up in the mountains and quite difficult of access. Distance marched about 20 miles— Slept on the rocks, and dreamed of the inquisition—But was at length gratified by a view of the dawn of the— 4th of May— Made a very early start, and traveled all day, over a country monotonous and dreary, with no feature which could disturb the fancy or excite thought— We were all delighted however by a most beautiful mirage—which suddenly appeared before us, within a few hundred yards. We saw what seemed to be a lovely lake of the most temptingly fresh and clear water, — it looked most delightfully cool and refreshing, calling up a delicious thirst which longed to be gratified. But during our march this phantom led us a weary chase of many a long mile, aggravating us with its mockings, until it finally disappeared under the influence of a blazing sun— Traveled twenty three miles, and arrived quite late, at the mouth of a narrow cañon near the South point of the mountain, where, or in which, we were informed by our guide, we should find water of which, both men and animals stood much in need.— I was, by Col. Mile's direction, here dispatched with the Guide, to ascertain its precise locality, and report—Leaving my horse at the entrance, and accompanied by the Doctor, who volunteered, we made the best of our way over the rocks, ridges and ravines. — The Guide leading for a long distance, —with no more prospect of gaining water than when we started. We had climbed and clambered for nearly two miles, and the cañon [cañon], which was continually ascending, had become a narrow gorge, with high walls of rocks on either side, when we stopped to consider the matter before us. In the first place, we both thought it absolutely necessary, to express our disapprobation in very bad spanish, to our guide, which although it did not much edify, yet it greatly frightened him. — After a final threat to shoot him, he half

dead with fright, begged us to follow him but "a mui poquite distances mass" [just a little farther] and we would certainly obtain water.—

Having no alternative, of course we concluded with very good grace to do so, and after three fourths of a mile, more hard traveling, came upon a miserable pool of greenish colored water, deep in the rocks and containing about twenty gallons strongly impregnated with lime—

After some deliberation, it was decided that the Doctor and guide should return to report progress and that I should cross the arm of the mountain to another cañon, in which the guide declared that there was "muchos agua" [much water]—I had climbed some distance up the rocks, when I was recalled by some soldiers, who stated, that Col Miles, had ordered the column to go into camp, as it was so late, and as a little water had been found nearer the mouth of the cañon. I immediately returned to camp, after an absence of nearly two hours; It was now decided that we should remain where we were, for the night, without water which we managed to do, although the poor animals suffered intensely — for want of it —

May 5th

Saw at a very early hour, through my glass a quiet and lovely Lake, far off upon the extensive and almost level plain overlooked by our camp— That this was water, beyond a doubt, and not mirage, was proven by the reflection of sunlight from its surface—Started at 7 A. M. to march toward it — We soon again intercepted the trail of the Indians, with the stolen mules, and also that of Capt. Clairborne and Lieut. Edson who were in pursuit of them — The sun was to-day intensely hot, and the plain or rather Desert was very dusty, parched, and burning —

At two P. M. we crossed the boundary line,²⁵ which is marked by monuments, between the U. States, and Mexico. The trail now took a direction toward, Hannas [Janos], a town about

25. The American government claimed the right to chase Indians into Mexico in keeping with the terms of the Treaty of April 5, 1831. See J. Fred Rippy, "Some Precedents of the Pershing Expedition into Mexico," *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXIV, 292-316 (1920-1921).

sixty miles within the boundary of Mexico, and where we knew that Indian theives were harboured, and a portion of the very tribe, with whom we were at war, were protected. At about 4. P. M. we arrived at "Lake Betra",²⁶ which is about six miles from the line, in the territory of Mexico.

We had traveled since leaving El Paso upwards of one hundred and seventy miles, and upon reaching this point, it was in a direct line, but sixty miles distant. The animals were crazy for water and in spite of all efforts of the men, many of them rushed into it, with packs and furniture on—

At "*twilight*" several of the officers, myself among the number, went down the lake, half a mile to bathe. It had a steep bluff bank of lime-stone at this point, and the water was dark, but clear, and very deep — As this is an isolated lake, with no apparant outlet, it is supposed that, it is the rising of the river Membres [Mimbre], which sinks at a point about forty miles distant in the mountains. This is quite probable as the water of the lake has a slow current, and the soil is composed principally of limestone rocks which is well known to be cavernous—

I stood upon the bank a moment, to feast my senses upon the delightful plunge, and then went headlong down, down, into its cool fathomless depths. I did my utmost to swim to its bottom, feeling a thrill of pleasure, at finding myself so far in its dark bosom, and being in fancy a part of its element: but this was impossible, as it is so very deep—Its waters are warm, and delicious, and it was with the greatest reluctance, that I left it, not knowing when I should have the pleasure of feeling the surface of my own body again, so unsightly had we become from the accumulations of dusty marches—

At 5 P. M. Col. Miles, dispatched, Lieut. Du Bois with his company of Mounted Riflemen, to over-take if possible Capt. Clairborne, and Lieut. Edson, and halt them at a place called "Carrasales [Carrizal, meaning reed grass], supposed by our guides to be distant about thirty miles.

By 9 P. M. he had also decided to lay in camp to-morrow

26. In keeping with Lazelle's statement of distance, "Lake Betra" should be the Ojos de Los Adjuntas on the map. From that point the expedition marched northward to Carazillo (Carrizal) Spring.

to await the result. Thank fortune I will be lazy *one* day at least,—and that's to-morrow which never comes,—

May 6th

But in this particular instance, May the 6th though not perhaps, *to-morrow*, happened to come—Its dawn aroused me from bygone scenes, only realized again in visions, and enchanting dreams of hoped for pleasures and happiness, once more to sickening realities. I rose from my bed, threw up the fronts of my tent, and as I gazed upon the struggling dawn of a glorious day, felt as though indeed I could see *Nature* blush at having ever permitted man to view in all its nakedness, this ill stared [starred?]-deformed and wretched, featus of creation — This antedeluvial surface, belonging to an era of a thousand ages below the famous "Old red sandstone" deposits, and which seems but a half finished work from the mighty hand of Jehovah, thrown aside in utter disgust at its worthlessness. What a strange wonder, — it almost seems — that the blazing splendors of that glorious orb, even in its magnificent generosity, are ever distributed in this undeserving spot. — Were it under the control of the folly of the wise, it would never be — Is this then a portion of that broad domain of splendid *surface rule*, which has so long been the theme of dangerous and fearful contention that shakes and totters the vastly massive, but unfinished structure of our great Republic? Shame be on Northern fanatics and Southern mad-men, those political fools who stand disputing, and endangering the happiness of millions for the possession of a curse! It is a living Cato, in its mute reproach,—a slur upon our wisdom, — a mark, as of Cain upon our understanding, and cooler judgement, which ever exposes us like Canaans curse to the scorn and ridicule of enlightened Europe, and the *pity* of a civilized world. It militates against those very principles for which we contend, as its terrible results would place in worse than African slavery one portion of our great nation: and when we excuse, by the assertion of an involved principle, we betray as a people a paucity of intellect which would disgrace a beggared lazer-one. I sank back in deep disgust as I thought what part I

was playing in this mighty but fearful drama; — I for once, wished for that period to come, when swords should be beaten into plough shares and spears into pruning hooks, and when men should learn war no more. Passed the day in reading, writing, and reflection.—Made a few sketches.—Col. Miles, our commander this evening, held a sort of “heunta”, [junta, a meeting] greatly prolonged, consisting of four of our would be guides, and “Cal Robinson” the interpreter. The answers to questions propounded relative to our precise position, and their knowledge of the various landmarks in our vicinity, consisted principally of “*quien sabe*,” [who knows] and “*yo no se*,” [I do not know] which placed in most profound mystery every thing relative to latitude and longitude—

We finally retired in a mood quite pleasant as he did in a perplexed one, at a course which is obviously the only one for him to pursue, viz. to go on, and which we suppose the morning light will find him following—

May — 7th

Found us as was predicted, not on the eve, but the morn of departure. The day clear and cloudless; the heat intense and the dust as suffocating and stifling as the ashes of a burning Vesuvius. While marching we moved rapidly but the great fatigue of the men consequent from the heat and sandy soil, required frequent halts.

Quite early in the afternoon I was dispatched with a small escort to proceed on to the camp of Capt. Clairborne, and arrange for the disposition of the troops. I arrived there about 6 o'clock P. M. far in advance of the command which came in so late as to compel them all to take supper at quite a fashionable hour. The estimated distance marched to day was thirty two miles, and the whole of it was dull, stupid, and devoid of incidents, if I might except that of killing a rattle snake with my sabre, the second one which I had seen during the Scout. Yesterday the Colonel sent out a Sergeant with ten mounted men, with orders to search for water, within twenty miles of our camp, and as near the trail of our *intended* direction as possible. To day at about 7 P. M. they

came back without their guide, whom they reported as having left them to ascend a neighbouring mountain to ascertain the direction of the trail, but like Moses he did not return and they left him to find his way back as best he could. He came in a few days after.

I forgot to state that Capt. Clairborne, sent back water to our command in the canteens of his own men to-day when he learned that we we[re] coming; it was greatly needed by our suffering soldiers and had it not been for this well timed relief it would have been impossible for some of them to proceed, so exhausted were they from fatigue thirst and heat: as it was, upon the distribution of the few precious drops, among the men they fought with each other for it, even after its division among them—

At four P. M. we had recrossed the boundary into the United States—

May the 8th

Passed the day in camp to give both men and animals an opportunity to recruit— Many of the soldiers are suffering from dysentery, and, “fever and ague”. The backs of the animals both horses and pack mules, are very sore, and many of them cannot be packed, they are so raw and swollen. Was somewhat amused, but thoroughly disgusted to-day in listening to the ever running tongue of Capt Clairborne whose vulgar personalities, and fulsome conversation render him, unless he is under restraint, of ladies more refined presence, an object to be loathed and shunned. For I believe that he can but be regarded as an accomplished blackguard formed by Nature and perfected by Art. The nights are excessively cold, freezing water, to the depth of half an inch and for want of a sufficiency of blankets I have suffered much. My amiable mess mate Steen, is continually thinking of his wife and child, (poor de--l) appears melancholy and wishes himself at home—

“But sweet is the hour, Oh! passing sweet.”

“When the the girl he loves, again he’ll meet”!

There are so many inconveniencies attending the married life of an officer of the army of low grade, that I cannot but

regard his position an unfortunate one.— But strange to say he pities me! But as the immortal Sam Weller²⁷ has so truly observed, “There is no accounting for tastes”. Perhaps after all, that same profoundly speculative but astutely analytical philosopher, may yet arise, who may be able to demonstrate, that a great equilibrium of happiness exists, in every state of society, and mode of life, throughout all the nations of the earth, which is every where equal, and universal: resulting from the gratification which results, or the ills which man suffers, from following, such a manner of living, and occupation, as shall from the idiosyncrasies of his constitution, both mental and physical, seem to him best suited for his happiness—

May 9th

Remained in camp until four P. M. when we “struck tents”, and followed the three cavalry companies, who had started one hour before us, in the direction of the “Ojo de la vaca”, or, *cow spring*, (!) which we, and the guides, supposed to be distant about forty five miles, on the great Pacific trail. Our guides were, all of them, living exemplifications of that philosophical paradox, advanced by an ancient Metaphys[i]-cian, that “All that is known to man, is, that he knows nothing.”²⁸ They were all in profound ignorance of our position, and we, in regard to it, were all enveloped in one of those delightful mysteries, which gives full play for the imagination, and in which it loves to roam— Yesterday, scouts were sent out in various directions, by detaching por-

27. Sam Weller is a humorous character in Charles Dickens, *Pickwick Papers*, and other writings. The nearest approach to the sentiment credited to Sam that could be located follows:

“What’s your name, Sir,” inquired the judge.

“Sam Weller, my Lord,” replied that gentleman.

“Do you spell it with a ‘V’ or a ‘W,’ ” inquired the judge.

“That depends upon the taste and fancy of the speller, my Lord,” replied Sam.
 . . . The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club (The Heritage Press, New York).

However, it is “A familiar English quotation, probably classical in origin. *De gustibus non est disputandum*, There is no disputing about tastes.” *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* (Oxford, 1935).

28. The ancient metaphysician was no doubt Socrates:

“Socrates said, our only knowledge was,

‘To know that nothing could be known.’ ”

Lord Byron’s *Don Juan*, canto VII, no. 5.

In Plato’s *Phaedrus*, Socrates states, “who am well aware that I know nothing. . . .”

tions of each of the companies present, the object of which was to ascertain the direction of our intended march, and if possible to discover water; but it was a total failure, as none was found and no information gained. So we started blindfolded as it were, and to facilitate an operation of this kind, we intended to perform the greater part of our journey in the night.

We traveled until one o'clock on Sunday morning, following the trail by the light of a faded young moon, which together with the cold night air, rendered the march both novel and pleasant — We then stopped: and "picketing" our animals, and establishing guards, lay down to rest a few hours in a sort of ravine. Here I discovered, much to my vexation, that I had lost my tobacco bag, (which had hung upon the pommel of my saddle) by the foolish frightened antics of my horse during the march. I determined immediately to go back, until it should be found, however far, and accordingly started alone. I had not occasion for quite so much courage and determination however, for after a careful search of only about two miles, I discovered it lying on the trail.

Eagerly clutching it, I jumped onto my horse and rode rapidly back, inwardly cursing the ill luck which Sunday always seems to bring me — But my private opinion, is, that the cause has been invariably, with myself. I was however soon asleep, with a blanket around me, forgetting, and, (if others were like me,) forgotten—unconscious alike, of cold and bad luck.

The morning of ———May the 10th found me benumbed, stiff and lame, in all my limbs, and with the most excruciating pain in the thighs, and back. We started at day break and by dragging my "slow length along" at a walk, at last got up sufficient circulation to enable me to ride with a degree of tolerable comfort—

After traveling about five miles the doctor, and myself, concluded to take one of the guides and go on in advance of the column. After proceeding about five miles we met some of Capt. Clairborne's men returning with a supply of water for our soldiers and were informed by them, that the "spring," was about eight miles distant. We moved on as

rapidly as our jaded animals would permit us, and arrived at 11 A. M. at the water so long wished for, where we found the three companies of Mounted Rifles who had preceeded us. This place named "Cow-spring" is nothing more than what was formerly a "buffalo wallow" in the middle of the prairie, a miserable boggy hole, with a little black dirty water, strongly impregnated with lime—

But we were too hungry to criticize this much, and it was all soon forgotten in an immediate prospect of breakfast which the officers already in camp were having prepared for us. Having satiated myself, to my hearts content, I should have been *very* happy, if I could only have had the blessed privilege of a bath, for we were so completely enveloped with a covering of dust and dirt, that every organ of sense was completely closed, with the solitary exception of my mouth, which I am delighted to state, had opened very readily upon the arrival of food and water— Neither of which had disturbed its repose since the afternoon of the previous day— We found here, a party of emigrants making their way to San Antonio Texas, from California. A harder looking, rougher, or more weather beaten assembly of white people I never saw. One gratifying sight, however, was that of a woman: She was not very fascinating however, and her distinguishing mark from the males of the party was a garment, like a petticoat, and a baby which was from its appearance quite a recent importation. However from all appearances "*both* Mother and child were doing well," for I suppose that the term might apply as well to her, as to those of her sex who consider themselves more fortunate—

Here also we found the mail wagon from Teuson [Tucson] near Sonora, en route to Fort Thorn with its party in camp. This gave to those of our command an opportunity for writing "to the loved ones at home", and many availed themselves of it—

The day continued as it had commenced, cold dusty, and disagreeable. But there was a sort of satisfaction in the thought, that we had completed a march of forty five miles without water, and in nineteen hours from the time of starting.—

May 11th

Morning cold, and clear,—severe frost last night,—and to continue this weather cronology I should say.———windy

———cloudy———with *signs* of Snow———

However I did not propose when I commenced,—an almanack of the weather, or a meteorological chart of the climate, and perhaps that hereafter, I shall only mention it when I think it particularly unpleasant: certain it is, however that in this section of the country, the season is, at the very least, one month later as regards vegetation, than at Fort Bliss; there being hardly a green thing except here and there, a few tufts of grass, which have lifted their cheerful heads near the water's edge, or a few trees, which have had the hardihood to venture forth with an early offering of a poverty of blighted buds, to a surly faced and ungrateful, Spring—which has'nt even the courtesy of a modest beggar (?) And there is *nothing* beautiful, except a large and lovely white flower which *I* have called the "*prarie lilly*" so graceful and modest is it, and so very fragrant

It appears in fertile spots, and near water holes and is here the only pleasant relieving object to the eye

We passed this morning to the west of the "Hannas [Janos] and Coppermine road," which was made many years since, by freighters from the Coppermines,²⁹ in N. Mexico, to Hannas in Chihuahua.

(*To Be Continued*)

29. The Santa Rita Copper mines are located about ten miles east of present day Silver City, New Mexico, in the southern part of the Pinos Altos range. The mine was worked by the Spanish as early as 1804. For an early description see Bartlett, *Personal Narrative*. . . , I, 178f, 227f; Samuel Woodworth Cozzens, *The Marvellous Country*, p. 51 (Boston, 1891).

PINOS ALTOS, NEW MEXICO

By R. S. ALLEN *

Pinos Altos

AMONG the archives of the Mexican government in the city of Chihuahua, it is said that there are records of the discovery of gold in the Pinos Altos mountains, by Gen. Pedro Almendaris,¹ one of the commandants of the then Mexican outpost known as Santa Rita. That which attracted the attention of the Mexican government, to this then isolated spot, was the practically inexhaustible supply of native and red oxides of copper. The labor employed was convict, and the handful of troops, then stationed there performed the double duty of guarding the convicts, and protecting not only themselves but the miners from the daily incursions and attacks of the Apaches. Shortly after the close of the Mexican war and the conclusion of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, Santa Rita was garrisoned by a detachment of the old 8th U. S. Infantry. After the occupancy by federal soldiers, the old Spanish and Mexican fort became a general outfitting post in the great wilderness of plains and mountains bounded on the west by the Colorado River, on the north by Santa Fe, and on the south by Franklin (El Paso), Texas, and Paso del Norte, Old Mexico, an area which equaled that of the New England states, and an empire in the vastness of its diversified, mineral, pastoral, and agricultural resources.

Discovery of Gold

The first tangible discovery of the precious metal was

* The title page of this old article reads as follows: *A Summary of the History of Pinos Altos, Grant County, New Mexico*: The most productive gold and lead-silver bearing regions in the great Southwest. Its mines and mining resources from discovery to date. By R. S. Allen, Pinos Altos, N. M., 1889. *Silver City Enterprise* Print.

A copy of this article was submitted for reprinting by Mrs. Lucile M. Gray, Silver City, New Mexico.

1. Spelled Alamendares. Fayette Alexander Jones, *New Mexico Mines and Minerals* (Santa Fe, The New Mexican Printing Co., 1904) p. 47.

made on the 18th day of May, 1860, by Messrs. Snively, Birch, and Hicks, three adventuresome and daring prospectors, who outfitted at Mesilla, and in their journeyings westward, replenished their supplies at Fort McLain, (Apache Tahoe),² and afterwards at Santa Rita. Pursuing a westerly course from the latter and last outpost of civilization they forged ahead, and on the second day out, Birch, the leader of the party, discovered free gold in Bear creek while in the act of drinking from the stream. The site of the discovery is in the near vicinity of the Mountain Key mill, just above the junction of Little Cherry creek with the Bear. On making known to his companions the nature of the find, the ground was prospected and the value and extent of the placer ascertained, as far as the means at hand would permit. Returning to Santa Rita, ten miles distant for supplies, the news was confided while en route to the Mastin Brothers and Langston, who were then in the employ of Leonardo Siquieros, a lessee of the Santa Rita copper properties. Returning to the discovery it was christened Birchville in honor of the discoverer. The month of September following saw over 700 men in the new field, all more or less engaged in washing gold in the gulches and arroyos tributary to Bear creek. The first year was devoted exclusively to placer mining. This year the Atlantic and Pacific mines were located and in 1861 the surface ores were ground and amalgamated in arastras, Thomas Mastin alone running ten, on ores from the Atlantic. Aside from location nothing in the line of development was accomplished on the Pacific. The early summer, noted the discovery of the Locke lode now the Mountain Key, which was mined principally for the chispas or nuggets obtained in the surface quartz. At eight o'clock on the morning of the 22nd of September, a large force of Apaches numbering at least 400 under the immediate command of Cochise, attacked and made a bold but unsuccessful attempt to drive the settlers out of the country. Capt. Thomas J. Mastin, of the Arizona scouts, C. S. A., consisting of nine men, quickly rallied his troop, and the miners rapidly placing themselves under his command, the fight became general.

2. Usually spelled Tejo. Lucile M. Gray.

The country was heavily timbered with little or no underbrush to impede or retard the movements of friend or foe. The Apache right rested along and near the crest of the ridge of the present townsite and extended in a northerly direction a distance of half a mile to a point near Skillicorn's mill. The main and hottest part of the fight until its close, one p. m., every foot of the ground was stubbornly contested. At twelve o'clock Mastin fell mortally wounded and died a few days after. At one, the Apaches retired with a loss it was afterwards ascertained of fifteen of their warriors. The loss of whites, was three killed including Mastin,³ and seven wounded. During the fight a dog belonging to Carlos Norero, grappled with and succeeded in killing an Indian, and ever after was regarded as the hero of the day. The day following, the whites almost deserted the country, some going north to join Union forces and others casting their fortunes with the confederacy. On the White Water the fleeing miners were again attacked by the Apaches, presumably the same band, and coralled for two days, most of the time being without food or water. Couriers were sent via Santa Rita, thence to the Mimbres, and Lt. Swillings of the Arizona scouts, came to their relief and the party proceeded to the Mesilla valley. Santa Rita, San Jose, and the Hanover copper mines were abandoned shortly afterwards. From the opening of the civil war, up to the present time, Birchville has been known as Pinos Altos, so named by the few remaining Mexicans, and signifying tall pines.

The succeeding months were uneventful, and not until December 25, '61, was there anything unusual to disturb the even tenor of the daily occupation of the prospector and miner. Christmas Eve, occurred the first murder. A man by the name of Wm. Dike in the employ of the Overland Express Company, was the victim. Another by the name of Taylor held a grudge against him (Dike), and with his friends, while Dike was dancing, opened fire. Several shots

3. "Col. Thomas J. Mastin, the commander of the whites, was wounded and died of blood poisoning the seventh day after the fight. A party of twenty-five men went to Mesilla for a doctor, but before their return in five days the trouble had advanced too far to be checked." (Anderson, George B., ed.) *History of New Mexico; Its Resources and People*. N. Y. Pacific States Publishing Co., c1907. v. 2, p. 726.

were exchanged, Dike being killed, and Taylor wounded. Taylor escaped and went to Old Mexico, and is presumably residing, if living, in the near vicinity of Corralitos. During the month of February, 1862, a conflict of opinion arose between the Mexican and American miners, the latter insisting that the Mexicans should not locate their claims along the channels of the main gulches. The Mexicans, believing they were strong enough, made preparations to take the camp, and but for the timely interference of Don Manuel Leguinazabal, who prevailed upon the Mexicans to desist and a bloody conflict was averted. Following in rapid succession another episode in the history of the camp occurred. Quite a large number of mules had been stolen and believing the Indians to be guilty, a party was hastily organized, which proceeded to the Rio Mimbres, and attacked a small rancheria and killed three Indians.

The years of '62, '63, and '64 were noticeable as being years of peace and plenty. The settlers, principally Mexicans, concluded a treaty with the Indians, and trading with them was an every day occurrence. During the latter part of the summer of '64, the Bean treaty of peace was proposed in the hope that it would prove everlasting and final, inasmuch as the Indians were restless and disposed to take the field. A fine dinner of beans with other accessories of a square meal, was set for the Apaches, numbering sixty, in a house since destroyed, near the present residence of John R. Adair. Everything being in readiness, and while the Indians were discussing the merits of the beans, the settlers fired on them, killing several, the rest escaping undoubtedly with the conviction that beans garnished with powder and lead, was a very unpalatable dish. Sixty-five was a quiet year, but woe betide the prospector who ventured half a mile from the centre of population.

The Second Stampede

The second stampede for the now famous gold diggings, occurred in 1866 and adventurers and prospectors from all parts of the world flocked in, and new locations and discoveries of rich gold bearing quartz, were every day events in

the history of Pinos Altos gold region. July of this year Virgil Mastin brought in a 15-stamp mill; also a saw mill. The Atlantic furnished ores for the stamps, and the immense forests of pine and juniper, logs for the saw mill.

Before the summer was half spent, every available animal in the country was made to do duty in furnishing power for the arastras, of which it is said there were over seventy-five in constant operation, no attention being given to nights or Sundays. The yield of gold paid the expensive items of transportation, mining, and milling, besides leaving handsome sums, often averaging ten dollars—and frequently a greater balance was realized—per day to the man employed in extracting the ore. The locations of note following the re-location of the Pacific, were the Aztec, Asiatic, Ohio, Pacific No. 2, Mountain Key, Mina Grande, and others of lesser note. The winter of '66 and '67, was quite mild, and the long evenings were devoted to the discussion of topics of the day, and the early selection of Pinos Altos as a port of entry. Depredations by the Indians were of daily occurrence, and on the night of June 16th, 1867, a band of Navajoes succeeded in driving off thirty-one yoke of cattle belonging to Hartford and Graves. A troop of prospectors and frontiersmen were soon in the saddle, and taking the trail followed it one day and when they returned, that evening, the 17th, a company of fifty men was organized under the leadership of Richard Hudson. On the 20th the trail was again resumed, and on the 24th at San Juan Springs—so named in honor of San Juan's day—a small rancheria, commanded by Jose Largo, a noted chief, and constituting the rear guard of the main band, was discovered, and a running fight ensued in which thirteen Navajoes were killed and seven taken prisoners, among the former was Jose Largo. On assembling his command, Colonel Hudson ascertained that his losses consisted of the cheek of one of his troopers being grazed by a bullet. That night the Indians surrounded the camp and entertained the little troop with the most unearthly howling and wailing that civilized man ever listened to. The prisoners save one escaped, but as yet have not reported to the reservation at

Fort Defiance. In rapid succession another episode occurred common to the history of a frontier town, plainly but surely indicating that although in the absence of a regularly constituted law, that there is one unwritten, which, if utterly and persistently ignored, is terrible in the punishment inflicted upon the violator. Ben Dimond, for a very trivial cause, and in cold blood, shot down and murdered a butcher by the name of Schwartz. The nearest court was Mesilla, and the miners with that spirit of justice which ever actuates them, gave Dimond a fair trial. He was permitted to select his own jury and was ably defended and prosecuted by—now as well as then—prominent attorneys now living in New Mexico. He was found guilty as charged, and Dimond was sentenced to hang, and was hung at sunrise the morning following the trial.

During the years of '68 and '69 the Pacific mine alone furnished surface ores for thirty-one stamps, and the gold product surpassed the expectations of the most sanguine. The surface ores becoming exhausted, the machinery of the mill completely worn out in connection with the generally conceded fact that the base or sulphuret ores of the district could not be successfully treated under the stamps, the distance from the Missouri river, the base of supplies for mining machinery, induced the management of the Pinos Altos Gold Mining Company to suspend operations. The stamp mill suspension for a time disheartened the miners, but with their usual pluck and energy the arastras in disuse were repaired and the two and a half years following, the district was prospected throughout its length, breadth, and depth, until the surface quartz gave place to heavy sulphuret ores. The slow process of grinding had its disadvantages, and that which was injurious to the future prospect of Pinos Altos, proved to be of great advantage to the country at large. It stimulated prospecting though the summer of 1870 was noted for the discovery of immense deposits of silver bearing ores in the mountains adjacent to Silver City. The succeeding years of '71 and a portion of '72, the chief industry of the camp was in a languishing condition, and only revived through the enterprise of Messrs. Skillicorn &

Co. In the fall of '72 these gentlemen had in successful operation what is popularly known as Mud Turtle mill. It was a return to old principles, and the work accomplished by the primitive process of "arastraing" with the aid of steam power revived, for a time at least, the discouraged miners, and the hillsides again resounded with the echo of hammer drill and blast.

Cross Mountain north and east of the town was named, and the credit of placing an immense cross on the summit in honor of Queen Helene, who was supposed to have discovered the true cross, is due to the piety and zeal of Don Santiago Brito and the generous contributions of the citizens.

The mining excitement in the southeast spur of the Bear mountains drew heavily upon the rapidly decimating population of Pinos Altos, and at her very door the natural gateway to the treasure vaults of the Pinos Altos range, there sprang up in the almost incredible period of two years, the only rival the Tall Pine City is ever destined to have. Silver City sprang into existence as if by magic.

The county seat was transferred from Pinos Altos in 1872. The years intervening between 1872 and 1883 were uneventful, and all thoughts of the future development of the mines, centered in new discoveries, old working, in short, every place where a pillar of surface ore was supposed or known to exist, was "gophered" out and ground in arastras, and, as was occasionally the case, pulverized in hand mortars. Through all the years of doubt as to what the future might be, the mines have been self sustaining and have sustained a population noted for industry and good living.

In 1883 for the first time since the discovery of gold the aid of foreign capital was sought for and obtained. A new ten stamp mill was erected and provided with all the modern improvements, but the management was confined to inexperienced men and the result was a decided failure on the part of Messrs. Place & Johnson to make a success of that which was a plain proposition to milling men of experience.

The same year Peter Wagner began the erection of a

five stamp mill, provided with concentrators which was completed in 1884, and to him belongs the honor of first being able to treat the base ores of the Atlantic and other mines with success. The years 1885 and 1886, demonstrated beyond the possibility of a doubt that stamp mills provided with first class concentrators was the one thing necessary. Acting on this belief, Bell & Stevens soon placed the Place & Johnson mill in thorough repair and soon after was running on ores from the Mina Grande and other properties of the district. This success was the direct means of inducing Perkins & Lewis to inspect the mines of Pinos Altos and after a thorough and exhaustive examination, they assured the Atlantic under a lease and bond from Peter Wagner for a period of six months. The mine was placed in working condition and the yield of ore when stamped was a matter of surprise and congratulation to all parties interested. About the same time B. B. Lewis, Fred Banker and C. Miller purchased the "Deep Down," an adjoining property on the same vein which they opened and from development work alone, the mine paid for itself and all operating expenses.

The year of 1887 noted the final consummation of the most important transfer of mining property in the camp.

The Mountain Key, aside from the annual assessment, had remained idle for years, and would have remained unnoticed but for the enterprise of Lunger & Co., who leased and bonded the property. The ground was thoroughly prospected, the main shaft retimbered and sunk a distance of ninety feet before they realized a penny for the investment of their time and labor. Very rich ore was discovered which attracted the attention of capital, and through the efforts of General Boyle, the property was purchased, a stock company organized, and the work of exploration began in earnest. The policy of the management has been quite conservative, yet the development of the mine has been pushed forward without impoverishing the reserve. At a depth of 470 feet the vein is stronger, wider and as well, if not better defined, than at any time since the new management assumed control. The output to date aggregates \$185,000, which leaves a net profit to the stockholders of \$45,000.

Dividends amounting to \$30,000 have been declared, and when it is considered that the total has been largely drawn from development work alone, amounting in round numbers to 3,500 linear feet, it will be readily seen that legitimate mining property is a paying proposition, and in this instance shows a net profit of 24 1/3 per cent on the output of the mine, during the two years the company have owned it. The management has been confined to John Boyle Jr., who has shown during his administration of the affairs of the company, an executive ability of an exceptionally high order. The underground workings are under the immediate supervision of John Pritchard, a miner of extended experience and ability. The Mountain Key mill is a model of neatness, convenience and adaptability, in the treatment of the heavy ores of the mine for which it was constructed. The mill contains ten stamps and is provided with new and improved machinery for the rapid and effective concentration of ores. An abundant water supply has been secured through a system of pipes which have been laid from Mill creek springs to the mill, and the sinking of a shaft to, and in the bed rock with wing drifts running to the banks of the gulch forming an underground reservoir in the shape of an inverted letter T. This and one, or at the most two storage reservoirs at convenient and available places along the gulch, the question of an uninterrupted water supply for a ten or twenty stamp mill has been permanently settled. North of and immediately joining the Mountain Key is the

Western Group of Mines

consisting of four parallel claims, namely the Eastern, which has been opened by shafts, respectively 75 and 32 feet in depth. Less than a hundred feet distant in a westerly direction from the main workings, the croppings of the Mountain Key are easily discernible and traceable in the surface drift. The western vein has been opened by a cross cut tunnel, 152 feet in length, and drifts from the point of intersection of the tunnel with the vein, have been driven 130 and 90 feet respectively. Winzes to the surface, 125 feet, affords perfect ventilation. The El Dorado, No. 2, shows

several fine veins and on these forty feet of sinking has been accomplished, and the result has been a financial success besides the opening up of a strong and well defined vein of surface quartz. The Oro Fino, the westernmost claim of the group, is partially opened by a tunnel 30 feet in length. The property is finely timbered, and expert estimates, place the quantity as available for mining, steam and domestic purposes as amply sufficient for ten years. The water supply in its present stage of development, is inadequate for smelting purposes, but careful prospecting has shown that an abundance for a five-stamp mill may, at a trifling expenditure, be obtained. During these years the proprietors have driven over 800 linear feet, and this has been accomplished without outside aid, and the net returns of the gold values, taken from surface explorations, have averaged \$1,000 per man to each of the three proprietors, the Messrs. Osborne, Spils and Hirshberger, who are rated, and truly so, as three of the most fortunate miners in the territory. They are at no expense for labor, save their own, and the history of three years of toil conclusively demonstrates that there is a competence in gold awaiting them ready to take its place in the commerce of the world. A choice of a dozen veins, all carrying gold-bearing quartz in paying quantities, is at their disposal, but with all these advantages which would induce many a miner to set idly by and "bank" on the prospect of a sale, has no effect upon the owners of the Western. Theirs is a bank in which the prospect of a failure is dependent solely upon mother earth, and as there are no visible evidences of an eruption it will be many years before an assignment or an assignee is thought necessary for the owners of the Western. Adjoining the Eastern on its northern end line is

The Night Bird

the property of Wilkie, Weir & Mason. A shaft 61 feet in depth fully attests its character as a fissure vein of prominence and future value. The pay material ranging from eight to fifteen inches in width, compared with the gold bearing veins of northern states and territories is fully up

to the average, and with milling facilities on the ground it is probable that the returns would not only equal, but surpass in volume those of its neighbors. Water for a time past has materially interfered with the successful prosecution of the work of opening the mine, but now that this difficulty is a thing of the past, due advantage will be taken and the mine developed and opened for all its worth.

The Deep Down

Following the successful operation and capitalization of the Mountain Key Gold and Silver Mining company, Gen. Boyle and associates, notably D. C. Hobart, directed their entire time and attention to the Deep Down property, a noted mine, situated near the head of Atlantic Gulch, and about one and one half miles distant from Pinos Altos. The owners, Lewis & Co., had demonstrated in a thorough and practical manner, that intelligent development, would open up a new source of riches. With no other resources at command save their individual labor, the mine was reopened, re-timbered and made, through their untiring efforts one of the leading properties, not only of the district, but of the county. Negotiations were opened, and during the fall of 1887, the mine was purchased by a syndicate of St. Louis capitalists, who began and completed the following summer a ten-stamp mill, provided with the latest improved gold saving and concentrating machinery known to the science of milling. The management unfortunately have not been as practical in the administration of the affairs of the company, as the value of the property demands. Yet, it is a generally conceded fact, one too, which is born of the extended and practical experience of competent miners, that well directed, efficient and economical management, will make the Deep Down a dividend paying proposition.

The Osceola Group

owned by the Long Bros., for many years well known as among the most intelligent, active and successful miners in the carbonate regions of Leadville. With the energy char-

acteristic of the boys, they cast their lots, in what was then considered an unfavorable locality. This, however, did not in the least discourage the senior member, who with his many accomplishments as a miner, modestly adds to that, that of being a first-class geologist, mineralogist and assayer. In deference, possibly, to the old adage that porphyry is the mother of gold, and the absolute fact that contact veins having one wall of porphyry are uniformly rich in gold bearing minerals, may have been one of the inducements which led to a most careful and thorough examination of this particular locality. The theory indulged in that the veins of the Pinos Altos gold bearing zone not only extended to, but under the malpais overflow has been proven, and the coming years will open a new field of exploration, now that the key to the vein systems underlying the eruptive rocks has been discovered. The Osceola has been opened by a shaft sixty feet in depth and drifting a distance of seventy feet has shown well defined courses of ore which have a milling value of from one to two ounces of gold per ton, the concentrates assaying from \$50. to \$400. per ton. The north shaft of the Osceola has been sunk through the malpais and the results have far exceeded the anticipations of the owners, the ore being of a higher grade and the vein larger. Cross-cutting from the south main shaft has exposed a very fine vein of ore from which excellent results are obtained in arastras. The Lacrosse, Platina and Scientific belonging to the group, have been sufficiently explored to demonstrate their value as mining properties.

The Aztec

group consisting of ten contiguous claims, belonging to the Bailey Bros., was purchased by St. Louis capitalists during the early summer of 1887, and in September of that year the development of this mining estate, embracing within its boundaries of 200 acres of mineral land was begun in earnest. Thus far openings have been confined principally to the Aztec location. The workings have penetrated the mountains to a depth of 400 feet, and at this point—the bottom

of the shaft—the vein not only maintains its surface dimensions, but shows increase in value and quantity of ore produced. The Kleptomania, a spur or stringer, from the main or Pacific vein which runs through the estate, has been sunk to a depth of 175 feet, and the showing and output of the mine is flattering indeed. A tunnel, designed to tap the Aztec and Golden Era, is contemplated by the management, and when completed, will afford 500 feet of stoping ground at the point of intersection, thus avoiding the expense of hoisting and reducing the cost of mining to a minimum. The Gray Eagle, Aztec and Asiatic locations are the north extensions of the Pacific, and the surface indications and exposures in each of these properties warrant the prediction that when properly developed, the output and product will exceed the expectations of the most sanguine stockholder in the organization. The company have just completed a new 20-stamp mill, and are now in a way to realize on their investment of time and money in the development and exploitation of the group. The under-ground workings are under the immediate supervision of J. L. Tonkins, a practical mining man.

The Pacific Mine

was the first location of a lode claim in the Gold Region, embraced within the limits of Pinos Altos mining district, Lieuts. Swillings and Reem, of the Arizona scouts, C. S. A., being the discoverers. The mining laws at this period confined the locator to fifty feet in width, 25 feet on each side of the vein, and gave to the discoverer 100 feet on each side of the "Discovery," or 300 feet in all. As a natural consequence, the Pacific lode was divided up into 100 foot claims, and the method of mining them were not calculated to open up or develop a mine. The lode is well defined, strong, and varies from three to six feet between walls, and carries a vein of surface quartz ranging from 1 to 4 feet in width. A large proportion of this was treated in arastras and hand mortars, and not until 1867 when a majority of the claims were consolidated, was there any combined action on the

part of the proprietors to treat the ores methodically. During the winters of '67 and '68 the Messrs. Mastin, Griggs, Reynolds & Co. had 31 stamps in constant operation. The ore was mined at an expense of \$6.75 per ton; transportation, \$3. per ton, and milling, \$10. per ton; a total of \$19.75 per ton. The net profits derived from a ton after deducting all expenses, amounted to \$20. per ton. The gross product for the winter of the 31 stamps, amounted to \$250,000. During this period no account was taken of the base or sulphuret ores, amounting to several hundred tons, hence, owing to imperfect milling appliances, their values were cast aside as worthless, and during the seventies were sold to E. E. Burlingame now of Denver, Colorado. From the date of Application to issuance of U. S. patent in 1881, from the best evidence obtained the surface workings extending to a depth of 90 feet, the Pacific vein, proper, has yielded nearly or quite a million dollars in gold, and in this estimate no account has been made of the losses sustained in milling. The developments of the mine were desultory in their character, and merit the name of "Gophering," and not until the transfer to the Pacific lode Gold and Silver Mining Co., was anything attempted in the line of legitimate mining. The organization was effected in '87 and the inception and completion of a cross-cut tunnel 290 feet in length, intersected the main Pacific vein at a depth of 165 feet from the surface. From the point of intersection, drifts have been run on the vein in a northerly and southerly direction several hundred feet, and the reserves thus exposed, it is estimated, are sufficient to keep the company's stamp mill (20 stamps)—just completed—in constant operation for a year without impoverishing the immense ore bodies exposed. A cross cut tunnel about 100 feet north has been driven in a westerly direction, and outside of the side lines of the Pacific a very strong vein of gold-bearing quartz was encountered on the territory of the Pacific Fraction, the property of Perkins & Co. The general management of the mine and mill is under the supervision of Benj. Harrison, while the underground workings have been confided to James McQuarris, a miner of practical and somewhat extended experience.

Pacific No. 2

is the southern extension of the Pacific, and was located in 1867 by John Backus, and by him sold to the present proprietor, Wm. Skillicorn, in 1870. The main or working shaft is 270 feet in depth, and a noticeable feature of the mine throughout the workings, is that every drift and stope is in ore, having an average width of 2 feet, and milling at the rate of \$20. per ton. Occasionally free gold is met within appreciable quantities, and on one occasion nine pounds of ore was sold at the rate of \$100. per pound, and the pocket from which this was taken yielded \$5,000 additional. It is needless to add that this was not ground in an arastra or crushed in a stamp mill, but reduced in a common hand mortar. The daily output with the labor of four miners averages from 4 to 6 tons per day, and developments now in progress will increase this amount to 12 tons with a very light increase in the expense account incident to mining. \$500,000 is the estimated output from discovery to date.

The Pacific Extension

adjoins Pacific No. 2 on the west, and end lines with the Pacific on the north. When first discovered in 1867, the location was known as the Texas, and for a number of months was successfully worked by Captain Hulburt, the discoverer. On reaching base or sulphuret ores, which could not be treated under stamps or in arastras, the mine was abandoned. Following the relocation, other places were opened, and in 1881 a U. S. patent was applied for and obtained in due course of time. The owners, the heirs of the Reynold's estate in 1886, disposed of the mine to Bell & Stevens, the consideration being \$20,000. Since the purchase their labors have been confined to legitimate developments, and the results have exceeded their anticipations. The openings consist of two shafts respectively 226 and 111 feet in depth, and 300 feet distant from each other. Connections have been made by means of drifts, and from the north or main shaft a drift has been driven a distance of 220 feet on the vein and from south shaft 60 feet, making a

total of 560 feet of vein exposure. Throughout the entire length of the drifts the vein is continuous and as determined by milling tests, ranging from 20 to 100 tons has a value of \$25 per ton. The property since discovery, has been a producer, and an approximate estimate of the gross output will fall but little short of \$250,000.

The Arizona No. 2

was among the early lode discoveries, and prior to 1872 but little attention was given to legitimate mining. The object of the miners being directed mostly to the acquisition of the rich surface quartz for which the claim is noted. On the passage of the mining law of May 10, 1872, the property being abandoned it was relocated under the provisions of the act by John McDonald and has been owned and worked by him from that period to this. Tunnels and shafts aggregating 450 feet, constitute the developments, and it is a safe proposition to state that when the main tunnel is completed, Arizona No. 2 will become one of the leading producers in what may be justly termed the Pacific Group.

The Gold and Silver Ribbon

and south extension, is the property of A. S. McDonald. The lead is well defined, and in the past has produced an abundance of rich surface ore. This fact is attested by the open "cuts" extending the entire length of the claim. During the summer of 1886 it was relocated and afterwards sold to the present proprietor who has been engaged at intervals in exploiting this valuable property. The main workings consist of a shaft 100 feet in depth, and the crevice as exposed shows a width of three feet between walls, and has paid under stamps at the rate of \$22.50 per ton. The south drift has been driven on the vein a distance of 80 feet through a continuous vein of ore which carries a larger percentage of the royal metals than the ores found nearer the surface. The appointments about the mill are nearer the surface and are substantial in character and betoken the faith of the proprietor in the ultimate value of his property when thoroughly developed.

The Golden Giant Mine

figured conspicuously as a producer and bread winner in the sixties and seventies, and at the close of the latter decade, the ferruginous quartz which was uniformly rich in free gold becoming exhausted the "Old Family" lead which had furnished gold to an entire populace, was abandoned, and because, through its former record a prize worth looking after. Locations were made repeatedly, and through lapse of the requisite time required by the mining laws of 1872 to keep up the assessment, it became a subject of relocation, and frequently on a New Year eve several parties were on the ground waiting for the high hour of 12 to place a location on the place in a monument of stones, usually placed on the northeast end or southwest end line, as convenience suggested. The term "Family lead," as applied to this producing property, has a definitive origin in this, that during the Indian wars (and they were incessant for 15 years) it was customary, in short it was an absolute necessity which impelled a population of 150 souls to use the "Family lead," afterwards the "Gopher," so named by reason of the fact that not a pound of surface quartz escaped the rapacity of the Indian-ridden settlers. Not until 1887 did the mine receive that attention which its record as a producer merited, at which time the final relocation was made, and the present owners then and there determined to open it up and develop to the extent of their ability, and prove beyond the possibility of a doubt that the base or sulphuret ores possessed a value which could be determined by the ordinary stamp milling process. The result, summarized as follows: A main shaft was sunk to a depth of 245 feet and drifting from both sides of the shaft aggregating over 350 feet, together with a limited amount of stoping has yielded with a small force, over \$31,000 inside of thirteen months. The net profits as obtained from the superintendent and co-owner, Joseph Williams, is a trifle over 30 per cent, and in this connection it must be observed that surface improvements including buildings and hoisting machinery, are itemized accounts in the bill of expenses. The owners,

Coomer, Schutz, Newcomb, and Williams, appreciate the intrinsic value of their property and are working it solely with a view of exploring the old "Family lead" that it may become on extended development, one of the most noted producers in the district. If antecedents are taken into consideration in a mining sense, it will be observed that the Golden Giant has no cause for regret in reviewing its past history.

The Continental

bearing a record similar to the Golden Giant, was one of the many abandoned claims, and it too, was a subject in the dark and gloomy days of frequent incursion; the boys, of whom two or three were stationed as videttes and pickets to guard the laborers. The passing years following each other, passed in procession of the equinoxes, and not until the fall of 1887 was the full value, in a speculative sense, determined upon by the present proprietors, Messrs. Fox and Prichard. Both gentlemen being practical miners, careful examinations were made and the result, from limited capital, has resulted in 70 feet of an opening, showing 16 inches of quartz which has a market value as per assay and mill returns, affording a handsome profit over and above the expenses of mining, milling and transporting. A near neighbor is

The Kasson Mine

first located in 1867, by a miner named Wilson, who went under the sobriquet of Quartz Wilson, and was owned by the gentleman until 1870. The surface ores were manipulated under a spring-pole stamp, and the pulp was carried 150 yards distant, washed in a rocker and the yield oftentimes trebled the day pay of \$5 per diem of the employe. The old story base ores, caused the abandonment in 1870, and between that date and 1883, it was a clear case of abandonment and relocation. From 1883 to 1888, the title rested in Alva Mason, one of the time-honored and earlier residents of Pinos Altos. During the fall of 1888 the property was sold to a syndicate of Kansas City, Missouri capi-

talists who under the supervision of James Morehead, have developed the claim to a depth of 100 feet, and at the present writing, after securely timbering the shaft in a thoroughly substantial way at a minimum expense, his associates have the satisfaction of knowing that in the Kasson they have, for the capital invested, a veritable bonanza. The vein is well-defined, and the fissure at the surface, as at the bottom of the shaft shows distinct cleavage, and every indication now points that the vein is distinctively one of those claims which, under the present economical and careful management, will become on judicious development, a leading property.

The Golden Crown

one of the old standbys, was first located in 1861, and the returns from the arastra rapidly placed the property in the front rank as a producer, and in this instance as in others enumerated, when the surface ores were exhausted, the claim was abandoned. During the year 1887, a relocation was made by Peter Wagner and others, and for the first time legitimate developments began. The discovery shaft was sunk to a depth of 50 feet, and this exploitation of the vein demonstrated its strength, value and permanency. Twelve tons of ore from this shaft yielded under stamps \$12 per ton on the battery plates and tables, and the resulting concentrates possessed a mercantile value of \$60 per ton. The main shaft, now 95 feet in depth discloses a well defined vein of pay material varying from 4 to 6 feet in width. At right to the Crown and crossing the location, is the Golden Cross. The junction is 50 feet from the Crown discovery, and the point of intersection and surrounding area has for the last quarter of a century, been a favorite spot for the placer miner who delights in "patch diggings." The junction of the cross leads, with the general strike of the vein system of the country, has been regarded by the aboriginal miner as a sure place to find gold in its native state, and pending it came the expectation of disclosing it in mass and position. Croppings usually indicate what may be expected with depth, and now that the running of a drift has been determined,

we may reasonably expect that the junction of the two veins will afford rich stoping ground and good returns. The owners, Messrs. Baker, Laird & Co., are elated over present prospects, and will open up this flattering proposition.

The Beatrice Mining Company

was organized during 1886, mainly through the efforts of Capt. Davis. The property consists of several contiguous claims, and the 101 by reason of extended development, as compared with the others, is the principal vein of the group, and may be classed as the southern extension of the Golden Giant, one of the many notable properties lying within the Pinos Altos district. The developments consisting of shafts, drifts and cross-cut tunnels have been conducted with a view to a perfect and economical exploitation of the property embraced within the group. A 5-stamp mill with vanners for concentrating purposes has been erected, and the results, while not indicating a dividend success, are of that nature which justifies the expression that a liberal management on the part of the eastern owners, would soon place the property on a paying basis. In the same vicinity is the

Pindus Group

the property of B. Schaunder, who has, with limited and necessarily restricted means, opened up a very promising property. The Pindus, at a depth of 78 feet, is a finely defined vein with regular walls and carries a pay streak averaging from 6 to 10 inches in width, and is 40 inches between walls. The Ida Murphy has been prospected to a depth of 82 feet, and presents the same general characteristics as regards width of vein, value of ore, and permanence as a fissure vein as the Pindus. The San Domingo is opened by assessments only, and the showing for surface workings is very fine. Average assays show a value of \$40 per ton while selected samples have run as high as \$400. per ton. Arrangements are being perfected having in view extended development. This accomplished, the Pindus group will become a regular producer.

The Carlotta

is a mere prospect and adjoins the Golden Giant on the south. Judging from explorations on the northern neighbor, it is fair to assume that work of like character on this property will result in the exposure of mineral riches similar in extent to the Golden Giant. The next neighbor of the Giant on the north is

The Pride of the West

owned by Idus Fielder, a very prominent attorney in Silver City, a gentleman who has taken a great interest in the mineral development of the district. The openings are confined principally to shallow pits and open cuts, although the main working shafts of the claim has attained a depth of 54 feet. This has proved the existence of the same ore bodies found in the Giant and clearly indicates that the ore chute on the "Family Lead," has an extreme length approximating 3,000 feet which is a rare occurrence in the vein systems of this, or in fact, any other gold region in the United States.

The Mountain View Mine

The present year, 1889, witnessed the consummation of one of the most important mining transfers in the history of the camp. The property in question may be properly termed as The Mountain View Mine. It is a rare occurrence indeed to find a mine proposition which has yielded a net profit of \$15,000 over and above every item of expense attendant upon sinking a shaft 50 feet besides surface exploitations, such as open cuts and shallow pits. This is without parallel in mining, and it is extremely doubtful if there is another instance or record in the territories of Arizona and New Mexico, or the state of Colorado, which can make such a showing. The general strike of the vein is a little east of north and dips to the west at an angle of 25 degrees from the horizon. The mine was first located by a Mr. Moore, who took out \$12,000 in gold in a few days. The vein pinching, Mr. Moore concluded that the source

of supply was exhausted and sold the "Commodore," for such it was named, to a man named Mead, for \$10, and he, believing that it was worthless, sold the property to James A. Demorest, an old California miner. Mr. Demorest, in doing his assessment realized \$390 in gold, the only machinery employed to extract it being a hand mortar and a horn spoon. In this connection, it is a noteworthy fact in short it is a characteristic feature of the vein, and one that attracts the attention of mining men, is the continuity of the pay streak and the unfailing indications of a true fissure vein everywhere visible in the workings. From the surface to the bottom of the shaft, the vein is regular and well defined, and varies from 3 to 12 inches in width and has produced of first class ore to date, \$20,000. The south shaft for a distance of 80 feet, has been carried through country rock. At 83 feet in depth the regular Mountain View vein was encountered, and every indication now evidences that the rich ore chute in the old or discovery shaft not only extends to but beyond the main working shaft of the property. Careful estimates based upon actual exposures show that in sight there are over \$30,000 worth of first class telluride ore, and like amount of second and third grades which can be utilized with proper and convenient milling facilities. The promoters of the enterprise are Major James Buckner and Monroe Toby, Esq., who placed the property in New Orleans, and through their efforts the Mountain View Mining Company was organized under the laws of the state of Louisiana. The new company is composed of representatives of the city of New Orleans, and is officered by these men and competent miners.

The Ribbon

The north extension of the Mountain View is owned and operated by H. H. Stanley. The vein here, as elsewhere along the strike, is well defined, and inclusive of the Mountain View. Mill returns from 50 tons of ore show a mercantile value under stamps, ranging from \$17 to \$42 per ton. The mine considered as a prospect is certainly one of promise and merits close examination, and it is not improbable that

the plans for the future as now formulated will result in the opening of a very productive vein of high grade ore.

The Silver Hill

is the extreme southern extension of the Langston, one of the first discoveries noted in the development of the camp. The property belongs to the estate of John A. Morrill and Richard Hudson, and has been opened at various places along the vein, and the indications now point to what is generally conceded a demonstratable fact that the Silver Hill will, with depth become a prominent mining property. Two tunnels, respectively 175 and 40 feet in length, have been driven on the vein which ranges in width between walls from 30 inches to 3½ feet, and yields at the rate of one-half ounce of gold, 25 ounces silver and 20 per cent of lead per ton. The proposed narrow gauge road between Silver City and Pinós Altos will cross the location and will afford easy, rapid, and cheap transportation for the grade of ores which this mine furnishes.

The Bismark

is a near neighbor of the Kasson, and is situated near the western boundary of the granitic formations of the gold bearing area of this mining district. It is rated, and justly, too, as a property requiring only development to make it one of the most desirable mining claims in the neighborhood. Two shafts have been sunk on the vein to the depth of 70 feet. The vein has a uniform width ranging from 12 to 16 inches, which under stamps yields well and will make a paying proposition.

Minnesota

Easterly from the Golden Giant is the Minnesota, the property of Harry Fowler. A cross-cut tunnel has exposed a gold bearing ledge which has been exploited by means of a shaft to a depth of 80 feet. The ores have a milling value of \$40 per ton, and the reserves show a pay material stoping ground sufficient to run a 5-stamp mill. It is the intention of the owner in the near future to erect a mill of this ca-

capacity on the ground, the facilities of wood and water affording ample opportunity for works of this nature.

The Langston

The discoverer of the Langston lead, Lieutenant Swillings derived but little benefit from this valuable [property]. Many changes in ownership have been made, and the title is now vested in Hon. Thos. W. Cobb, who has expended several thousand dollars in opening veins along its strike by means of open cuts, and by shafts and tunnels. The claim is admirably situated for tunneling purposes, and it is purpose of the owner to continue the tunnel, and thereby open ground which will yield handsome returns on the investment of time and labor, when cheap smelting and reduction is the rule, and cheap transportation is afforded by rail.

The Ohio

lead belonging to Bell and Stephens lies well up on the eastern face of Pinos Altos mountain, and is immediately west of the Aztec group. The developments consist of well timbered shafts on the vein proper. The ores run well in gold, and the property is regarded as one of the best prospects on the mountain. The exploitations now in progress, have in view extended developments, and this fact accomplished, it is but a mere question of time when the Ohio will become a regular producer of first-class milling ores.

The Hope and Cross

under the management of Robert Kirk, is making an excellent showing. The owners, Messrs. Morehead & Co., have decided to open their prospect for what it is worth, and thus far the results have exceeded their expectations. The crevice is well defined and the ore vein has a milling value of \$30. per ton. A depth of 60 feet has been attained and the indications are very flattering, and it is now believed that 100 feet will open out into a rich and continuous ore streak.

The Fireside

claim is an inside location and constitutes a portion of the townsite of Pinos Altos. For years past, in fact, ever since the discovery of gold, every little arroya and gulch has been washed time and again, and the location today is a favorite place of the Mexican people to prospect for placer gold. Several veins have been noted, prominent among them is the Fireside. The prospect thus far shows remarkably well, and assays carefully taken indicate an average of \$30 per ton. The proprietors, Messrs. Buckner & Co., contemplate extended developments, and there can be no doubt that the Fireside will prove a bonanza of wealth to its owner.

The Mining Area

The gold mining area of the district is restricted in the main, to the basin of the Continental divide. It is a rare occurrence, indeed, in the mountainous systems of the continents of the two Americas, that a basin so called is a distinctly different drainage, and division area of the Atlantic and Pacific slopes. The northern, and a portion of the eastern contour of the basin is bounded by the Diavola range, and the southern and western by the Pinos Altos range of mountains. About midway of the extreme southern center of the depression, Bear creek has its source in the Mountain View claim, and in its course nearly or quite divides the Summit valley into equal portions. The eastern or Atlantic slope is drained by Whiskey creek, a name not altogether uneuphonious in the nomenclature of the miner and prospector as applied to streams, canons, peaks and mountain ranges. As determined by actual and accurate surveys by the Messrs. Powell & Brown, Deputy U. S. Mineral Surveyors at Silver City, the distinctively gold bearing area, both lode and placer, is from north to south three and one half miles, and from east to west, is two miles and a fraction, a total of seven square miles a plot of ground which in point of productiveness has no successful competitor in the annals of the mining world.

Formation

Considered from a geological standpoint, the rock systems of the gold area belong to the Cambrian, and is identical with the granite of the Adirondac basins, and a portion of the Blue ridge systems of North Carolina and Georgia. From all points of the compass radiating from the town as a common center the granites are overlaid with the eruptive rocks save in the Southwest, which in the vernacular of the country is termed, "Malpais." The southwestern rim, however, is overlaid with quartzites and limestones of undoubted Silurian age. On the western or Pacific slope of the basin, an immense porphyritic dyke is noticeable, and its trend deflects a trifle from the general strike of the leads, and the opinion obtains that this intrusion is the direct cause of the fracture, of the east and west fissures, or the cross veins of the district. Extended and critical examination will undoubtedly prove the correctness of this theory, and in a measure determine the age of the second system of veins which are destined to play quite an important part in the mining economy of the subject under consideration. Cross mountain, a very prominent land mark, is the great fault of this immediate region, and to this is directly traceable the anti-clinal which has given the veins on the Atlantic slope an easterly dip, and to those on the Pacific, an inclination to the west. Erosion which is quite marked, is due in part to glacial action, yet to the casual observer, it is noticeable that the atmospheric action together with those active agents—water and frost—have been, and today are important factors in the denudation of the friable granites of Pinos Altos basin; and these agencies have been the means of contributing largely to the wealth of the world through the medium of placer gold, once so common, and plentiful in every arroya and gulch in the district.

Placers

The decadence of the placer mining interests is not altogether due to the exhaustion of the mines, or any lack of interest in this important branch of mining. The date

of American and European occupation is a matter of history, but aside from this, evidences are not wanting which conclusively prove that anterior to the occupation of the country by representatives of the leading civilized nations of the world, there were a people who lived and existed here, and whom, as adjudged from a nineteenth century standpoint, were far in advance of the Apache whose mission of a conqueror was one of occupation only. It was not within his province when subjugating to prove it. It was not ambition to elevate the people whom the fate of war consigned to the cliffs, and made what today is known as the Cliff Dwellers, but simply to coerce, kill, and destroy every vestige of the semi-barbaric civilization which existed at that remote period, and which has been so aptly termed by Lt. Cushing and others, as the Apache conquest. Evidence of this occupancy by another people, are found daily, and the scriptural adage "That two women shall be grinding in the field, and one shall be taken and the other left," is exemplified in this, that the old metate and the mano indicate that not only the Toltec, but the Aztec as well, had made of Pinos Altos a home and a habitation. This being an absolute and positive fact, which is shown by the ruins of jacals and stone implements found near the claims, and we are confronted with the incontrovertible fact that the Aborigine of the country was a gold miner in the broadest sense of the term. How long they worked the surface placers, no record is obtainable; but that they worked is plain. Suffice that while the placers are in a supposed exhausted condition, it yet remains, that with improved appliances and the construction of reservoirs to preserve the waters from the mines and the rain fall, many hundreds of thousands of dollars lie in the ground awaiting the hands of capital, to become a portion of the world's wealth and treasure.

Lead Silver

If a line were drawn from the northeast to the southwest, with Cross Mountain as the initial point of the northern termini and the Steeple Rock Peaks as the southern, it would pass through a distinctively silver bearing area, confined as

a whole to the silurian limestones and quartzites with porphyretic dykes which crop at intervals for a distance of thirty miles. The geological conditions in several instances are quite favorable for the existence of immense bodies of lead, as those which are common to the lead area at Leadville and vicinity. The mineral zone as roughly outlined, varies in width from one-half to three miles, and the only surface croppings of lead, and its carbonates of note, are found on the western and northwestern slope of Pinos Altos mountain. Aside from the prospecting done in the vicinity of the Alpha and Omega, the principal claims, nothing of note has been determined, and it is an open question whether the pipe veins will open out into a bed or deposits of carbonate ores. The field for prospecting with diamond drills is a promising one and surface indications will undoubtedly lead some lucky company or prospector into an immense fortune.

The Alpha and Omega

mining claims were first located in 1867, afterwards abandoned and relocated in 1872. During that year smelting was tried but the enterprise was abandoned due to great cost of transporting the ore. In 1878 the claim was again located by the present owners Huston & Thomas. The developments consisted of open cuts and shafts and tunnels. The immense body of carbonate of lead and galena ore, ranges in value from \$15 to \$250 per ton. Recently several carloads have been shipped to smelter and the returns have been quite satisfactory.

The Red Lead

has long been known as one of the promising bonanzas of the mountains. Its presence was noted in the early days of 1861, and prospected, but, the results obtained did not warrant the prospector to risk his life or limb in the search for lead save for the purpose of casting into bullets for his rifle. The property is owned by Shute and Robinson who have opened the vein to a depth of 50 feet. The vein occurs between porphyry and limestone.

Elsewhere in this immediate district a number of prom-

ising locations have been made. Among them are the Crank, The Devil, and the Andrew Jackson, which are being opened by J. R. Hall. The Cleveland, owned by G. H. Utter, is said to be a fine prospect and runs well in silver, and carries a high percentage of lead.

Stamp Mills

There are four stamp mills in active operation: The Mountain Key, 10; Bell and Stevens, 10; Wagner, 5; and Skillicorn and Snyder, 5; these running heavy tonnage of ore. The milling facilities are better today than at any time in the history of the camp, and reflect great credit to the owners. Perfect success will not be obtained however, until some way may be found to utilize tailings and slimes.

Character of Ores

The ores of Pinos Altos are what is commonly known as base in other countries, but the percentage of free gold is much greater than that of the stamp mills in Gilpin county, the gold center of Colorado. It will be seen that in saving 80 per cent of the values by stamp milling and concentrating the adoption of the blanket sluice will very materially reduce the loss now sustained in the stamp milling process.

The cost of mining has been reduced, and the price per foot in driving drifts is now rated from \$3.75 to \$10. The cost of sinking per contract, is from \$5 to \$20.; timbering \$4 per foot; cord wood, \$2.75 to \$3.50.

Pinos Altos

as a town, is admirably situated for commercial or milling purposes; and the growth, while rapid during the year past, has been substantial. Upwards of \$90,000 have been expended in the purchase of lumber and the manufacture of adobes (sundried brick), in the construction of houses, tenements, etc. The inception of the building of a mining town, and the discovery of gold, conclusively demonstrates that the location of a spring, a streamlet, a creek or river by the Aboriginal population of a country as a rendezvous, is

indicative that aside from its value as a watering place, it possesses, first, a geographical value which, taken in connection with the topography of the surrounding country makes of the location a common center. The Indian with his limited knowledge of intrinsic values, can form no estimate of the locality beyond that which for the moment caters to his convenience and indolence, and the undeveloped resources of the country, to him are as the merest blank in an existence measured by the wants of the hour. The fact remains, however, that the inherent knowledge or instinct which prompts a savage recognition of value has led to the settlement of and building up of prosperous towns, cities, and villages. This fact is apparent in our midst, and because of this, today the most thoroughly American mining town in the territory has become the cynosure to which the attention of capital, culture, and education is being directed. The Aborigine left but the impress of his moccasined foot, the Spanish-Mexican disturbed the surface with a crooked stick, and the third era saw the great wave of civilization coming from the east, the north, the south, and the west, and wrestled from the hills and mountains, treasures of gold, silver and lead. It was the convenience of one, the rapacity of the other and the ambition of the third which created and builded Pinos Altos, the mining metropolis of southwest New Mexico and Arizona. The natural resources consisting of gold, silver and lead together with excellent grazing and agricultural facilities, as yet are but partially developed, and these industries are in their infancy. The development of these treasures, lying at our very door has given a new impetus within the past, and the new life and energy thus imparted will be followed by others equally as profitable, and the revival of new interest in the investment of capital and a slight addition to the faith which hitherto has sustained and aided us will usher in a new era of prosperity, more generous in its distribution and more permanent in its results, than the most sanguine of our prospectors and miners had ever hoped for.

Everywhere throughout the town there is an air of thrift and prosperity, based upon what has been accom-

plished in the past, and the citizen living within the charmed area of the gold-bearing region of the "Tall Pines" points with pride to the \$3,000,000 of gold which the placers and quartz ledges have contributed to the commerce of the world. The present facilities for treating ores will increase the aggregated product of nearly 30 years, and it is not assuming too much when the writer asserts that the year 1890 will present to the mining world an annual statement showing that \$3,000,000 is the yearly output of a long neglected and much maligned gold mining camp.

Notes and Documents

The letters below have been transcribed from microfilm copies in the library of the University of New Mexico. The originals are housed in the National Archive, Washington, D.C., among the incoming correspondence, superintendency of New Mexico, office of Indian affairs, old records. F. D. R.

Superintendency of Indian Affairs, Terry, New Mex.
Santa Fé, January 26th. 1856

Hon. Geo. W. Manypenny
Commr. of Indian Affs.
Washington D. C.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the reception of your favor of the fifth of December, in reply to mine of the twenty seventh of October, touching the matter of licenses to Indian traders. A few words of explanation appear necessary to justify what may seem an apparent disregard of the regulations for intercourse with the Indians, on my part.

The United States Courts, here, have decided that there is no Indian Country, in New Mexico, such as contemplated by the Act of Congress, and to which the Indian Intercourse act can properly apply. But under this state of things, all my predecessors in office have deemed it good policy, nevertheless, to grant licenses to those who wished to go among the Indian for purposes of trade, as it served to check such intercourse. But these traders, thus licensed, are of a different character from those known to the Indian Bureau, and who go among the Indians for a few days, or weeks at most, with a few dollars worth of grain or other goods. I could not see anything in the regulations that authorized the reception of a fee for the license, but as I found such had been the practice at this Superintendency, I supposed there was authority from the Indian Bureau for such a course. Since I wrote you upon this subject, I have granted another license upon the same terms, but the fees in both cases will be returned at the first opportunity. Almancera has long since returned from the Indians. I presume, and I have no doubt that before this letter reaches you, the person to whom the second license was issued will also have returned.

Enclosed please find the bonds from these two persons, but as the licenses were delivered to them, I have not got them in my hands to forward; neither was there any invoice of goods taken at the time.

In conclusion I have only to say that my action in this particular was in accordance with the practice of this Superintendency.

I remain,
Very Respectfully
Your obdt. Servant,
W. W. H. DAVIS,
Actg. Govr. & Supdt. of Indian
Affs.

War Department

Washington, February 18, 1856

Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st instant, with its accompanying communications from the Commissioner of Indian Affairs and Governor Meriwether of New Mexico, asking that the latter may be furnished with an escort on his return to Santa Fé, and that Captain R. S. Ewell may command it &c.

In reply I have to inform you that the escort will be furnished from recruits for the 1st Dragoons which will be sent to New Mexico in the Spring, and that Captain Ewell will be assigned to duty as requested by Governor Meriwether unless something, unforeseen, should prevent.

Very respectfully,
Your obt. Servt.
JEFFN. DAVIS
Secretary of War

HON. R. M. CLELLAND
Secretary of the Interior

Utah Agency, Taos, N. M.
August 9, 1856

Sir:

Herewith I have the honor to enclose copies of my letter to A. G. Mayers Indian Agent to the Pueblos of this Territory and one to Hon. D. Merriwether Superintendent Ind. Affairs and also copies of two letters received from Agent Mayers and one from Hon. David Merriwether Sup. Ind. Affairs. His Excellency has directed me to discharge my assistant assigning no reason than my letter to Agent Mayers of the 30. ultimo—I consider that it is actually necessary to have some one in employ to take charge of the Agency during any time I may be officially absent. I have applied of his Excellency to allow me to have some one for whose services I will pay.

I respectfully submit my correspondence to Agent Mayers to your honor for your examination. I assure you that it never was my intention to find fault of the manner in which Govr. Merriwether performed

his duty—and in my correspondence I can do nothing that should cause his Excellency to have any such opinion.

I have the honor to be
Very respectfully etc.
C. CARSON
Indian Agent

Hon. David Merriwether
Supt. Ind. Affairs
Santa Fe, N. M.

ERRATA

Lines 22 to 36, on page 3, and the first line on page 4 should follow line 17 on page 4.

Line 14, page 233, should read: Judge E. R. Wright

The Historical Society of New Mexico

Organized December 26, 1859

PAST PRESIDENTS

1859 — COL. JOHN B. GRAYSON, U. S. A.

1861 — MAJ. JAMES L. DONALDSON, U. S. A.

1863 — HON. KIRBY BENEDICT

adjourned sine die, Sept. 23, 1863

re-established Dec. 27, 1880

1881 — HON. WILLIAM G. RITCH

1883 — HON. L. BRADFORD PRINCE

1923 — HON. FRANK W. CLANCY

1925 — COL. RALPH E. TWITCHELL

1926 — PAUL A. F. WALTER

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FRANK D. REEVE

FRANCE V. SCHOLES

ALFRED B. THOMAS

PAUL A. F. WALTER

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

(As amended Nov. 25, 1941)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Article 6. *Dues.* Dues shall be \$3.00 for each calendar year, and shall entitle members to receive bulletins as published and also the *Historical Review*.

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

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

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

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

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