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Robert Torrez

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"EL BORNES": LA TIERRA AMARILLA AND T. D. BURNS

ROBERT J. TORREZ

THOUSANDS OF YOUNG MEN came west in the 1860s. Some came to accept government appointments, while others came to escape the consequences of an indiscretion with the law. The West as the land of opportunity, however, attracted most of the newcomers; their dreams of adventure, fame, and fortune held much more promise than endless chores on unproductive farms or the grinding, hopeless poverty of the city.

Few who came west found the wealth and adventure they dreamed of when they began their journey. Most simply became hard-working, solid, productive citizens who blended into frontier life, and history does not record their achievements. There was, however, a group of special individuals who, through good fortune or special ability, acquired great fortunes, and rose above the anonymity of their peers. Some of these men exercised power and influence like that of a medieval lord.

Representative of the latter category is Thomas D. Burns, an important individual who for nearly half a century held sway over the remote section of northern New Mexico known as la Tierra Amarilla.¹ "El Bornes," as he was known locally, is an example of the men who, arriving in the Southwest in the 1860s and 1870s, "each in their [sic] sphere contributed to the making of modern New Mexico."²

During his half century in northern New Mexico, T. D. Burns influenced the development and direction of la Tierra Amarilla more than any other individual. Yet, for all his enterprise and activity, El Bornes remains an obscure figure. He appears to have been a prolific letter writer, but few survive except those he wrote to newspapers of the period. His letters frequently appeared in Santa Fe periodicals, which he served as a northern frontier

correspondent. He held several political offices; but little of his official correspondence remains, and, although he owned business interests, few of these records are extant. In short, Burns left little documentation of his life; his story must be pieced together from three short articles contemporaries wrote about him and a few other references in scattered sources.³

Thomas D. Burns was born 15 October 1844 in County Waterford, Ireland. His parents, William and Mary Burns, moved their family to the United States in 1854 and lived in New York until 1859, when they moved to Whitewater, Wisconsin.⁴ Soon after their move, Thomas began to feel the attraction of the West. In 1860, in spite of parental opposition, he ran away, with the gold fields of Pike's Peak his destination.⁵

He began the journey with five dollars in his pocket. With that he paid his fare to Janesville, Wisconsin, and bought several pamphlets on the treatment of horse diseases. He proceeded on foot to Omaha, Nebraska, confident that by selling the pamphlets he could finance the remainder of his trip. Along the way, he sold them for twenty-five cents a copy or traded one for a meal. On one occasion, he met a man with a very sick horse and sold him a pamphlet for five dollars. By the time he reached Omaha he had increased his stake to fourteen dollars, which enabled him to afford transportation to Denver, Colorado, and then to the gold fields near Boulder, where he arrived determined to "get a mine."⁶

In Boulder, he was befriended by a Mr. Pell, who taught young Burns a valuable lesson. Pell had attempted to persuade his new friend that prospecting for gold was not as easy as he thought. But Thomas persisted, so Mr. Pell handed him a pick and shovel and led him to a spot where he would find what he deserved if he dug ten feet. After several hours of vigorous digging, his hands blistered and bleeding, Burns remembered Pell's smile as he had handed him the tools. Realizing he had been fooled, Thomas gave up his attempt to find quick wealth. Thereafter he realized that "wealth came not for the asking, but as the result of earnest, persistent labor."⁷

He found work in Denver with J. Jackson and Company, a wholesale grocery supply house, and worked there a year before a fire destroyed the business. Then he may have been appointed

United States Marshal and assigned to Fort Lyons, Colorado, in charge of the sutler's store. Because the previous sutler at that post was a suspected Confederate sympathizer, Thomas was ordered to look after the Union Army goods and to examine all passing caravans and freight wagons for contraband materials. Later, he was transferred to Fort Union, New Mexico, where he worked for a year issuing commissary stores. No documentary evidence exists of these assignments,⁸ and they would have been heavy assignments for a teenager; but eventually Burns developed close ties to military authorities, ties that may have been cultivated from contacts established in Burns's early years.

The move to Fort Union was his first contact with New Mexico. While there, he learned Spanish and saved \$700. When he was replaced at that post, he traveled to Santa Fe, bought a stock of goods, and returned to open a store in Conejos, Colorado. His business prospered when he began receiving contracts to supply beef to the Army. Within a few months, he had cleared profits of \$8500, which he used to finance another venture that resulted in disaster.

Early in 1865, Burns was awarded a contract to provide 700 cattle to the Army. Traveling to Denver, he bought the stock for \$35 a head, but on the return trip, the herd stampeded, and then a severe snowstorm destroyed half of the cattle. These events delayed him so that when he reached his destination, someone else had filled the contract, and he was forced to sell the remaining stock at a great loss. In an attempt to cover the losses of his creditors, he sold the inventory of his store but was still \$6000 in debt. Giving his creditors promissory notes, Burns vowed to pay every penny he owed. Eventually, he kept his word.

With an old mule as his only possession, he traveled to northern New Mexico to see if he could recoup his fortune. Oral tradition maintains that he arrived in Abiquiu in dire financial straits,⁹ a fitting beginning for a "rags to riches" story.

Residents of Abiquiu apparently accepted Burns and treated him well. He accepted the hospitality of Bárbara Montoya and others who provided him food and clothes.¹⁰ Impressed with the Rio Arriba countryside and noting the availability of sheep, Burns realized that here was the opportunity he hoped to find. He re-

turned to Denver, seeking a backer who would provide him credit for goods he could exchange for sheep in New Mexico. Securing his backing, he bought \$6000 in merchandise and returned to Abiquiu. But the person who agreed to buy the sheep did not keep his word, and Burns was left with a stock of merchandise. He decided to open a store in Los Ojos, located about forty miles north of Abiquiu and then the principal settlement in la Tierra Amarilla. He was issued his first commercial license as a *viñatero* (wine merchant) on 13 July 1865.¹¹ But his presence in la Tierra Amarilla was not noted until 22 January 1866, when a Santa Fe newspaper reported the Utes had stolen his mule.¹²

When Burns arrived in la Tierra Amarilla, the villages of the area—Los Ojos, La Puente, Los Brazos, Ensenada, and Las Nutritas—were maintaining a precarious coexistence with the Indians. In 1832, la Tierra Amarilla had been granted to Manuel Martínez and his followers, but Indians of the region, particularly Utes of the Capote and Wymenuche tribes, prevented permanent settlements in the area. But in 1860 Congress confirmed the grant, and settlers from the Abiquiu area entered la Tierra Amarilla in strength, intent on staying. Utes and neighboring Navajos considered the area their summer hunting ground, and their continued presence made stock raising difficult, if not dangerous. The settlers found the lush pastures of la Tierra Amarilla too attractive to pass up and risked life and limb to graze their flocks on the mountains towering over the valleys of the Chama and Brazos Rivers.

Those citizens of la Tierra Amarilla who thought they had the most to lose tried to minimize the risk of livestock losses by agitating for strict government control of the Indians. As a partial response to this pressure, the governor of the territory, Henry Connelly, approved Burns's request that a militia company be organized to protect the area and on 8 February 1866 appointed Burns as a captain in the company and named Jesús María Córdova and Justo Sandoval as his lieutenants.¹³

Although Burns undertook this task with the same enthusiasm that characterized his business ventures, a month after his appointment he wrote a desperate letter to General C. P. Cleaver, commander of the Territorial Militia: "I have ordered some men to do [militia] service and they have refused. . . , so I made them

serve by force but would like to know whether I can do it or not before I go any further. . . .”¹⁴ General Cleaver’s response is not available, nor is it known whether Captain Burns had further trouble convincing his militia company to serve. Spring brought, however, a report of increased Indian depredations, and Burns’s biographers credit him with preventing the slaughter of the settlers by threatening the Indians with annihilation.¹⁵

A government decision to send troops into the area also enhanced the safety of residents. When the troops arrived in la Tierra Amarilla in November 1866, they found no Indians and immediately began to build winter quarters. Located about one and a half miles south of Los Ojos on land that later belonged to the Burns family,¹⁶ the post was named Camp Plummer and later renamed Fort Lowell. While the fort was under construction, Burns applied for the position of post sutler, but lost the appointment to Enrique Mercure, a rival merchant. Burns was later appointed sutler in January 1869, when the commanding officer removed Mercure from the position. Meanwhile, in January of 1868 Burns was appointed Spanish interpreter for the post at a salary of fifty dollars a month. Colonel Edward Moale, the commanding officer, argued that this position was necessary because no one stationed at the fort could “make himself understood to the Mexicans.”¹⁷ Burns also submitted bids to supply beef to the troops, but his bids were so high that he probably did not receive the contract.

Fort Lowell was abandoned in July 1869. Burns and others in the area quickly voiced their objections to the closing of the post. They petitioned the government, expressing their fear that “the vicinity of Fort Lowell [would become] a battleground and the people of that neighborhood [would] be victims of personal outrage and suffer the loss of all their stock.”¹⁸ Fortunately, the Indians remained relatively quiet for the next three years.

But the Capote Utes broke this lull in the spring of 1872. Once again the government was asked to provide military protection. When government response was slow, Burns traveled to Fort Union to discuss the situation with the military authorities. Three days after his visit, troops were ordered to proceed from Fort Wingate to la Tierra Amarilla, where they were to protect citizens from the “encroachments and robberies of the Ute and other Indians.”¹⁹



*Yours truly
T. D. Burns*

T. D. Burns as a young man. Courtesy of the Museum of New Mexico.

On 6 May a "council" was held with Sobita, the Capote chief, in Las Nutritas. The government representatives were First Lieutenant J. D. Stevenson and J. S. Armstrong, the U.S. Indian Agent from the Ute Agency in Abiquiu. Burns continued his involvement by accepting the task of Spanish interpreter. Tomás Chacon, a local man familiar with the Ute language, was enlisted as the Ute interpreter.²⁰

The council, held in a large room near the center of town, quickly deteriorated when the Indians rejected all demands the military made. Sobita, accompanied by about thirty "well armed" warriors, broke off the meeting despite the efforts of Lt. Stevenson and Agent Armstrong. The Utes retreated west and were closely followed by twenty-five mounted troops under the command of Stevenson. After a running exchange of insults and threats, the Utes stopped a few hundred yards south of Los Ojos, formed a "battle line" along the bluff leading down to the Chama River, and engaged the troops in battle. After a twenty-minute exchange of gunfire the Utes escaped west of the Chama River. In a letter to a Santa Fe newspaper, Burns later described the battle as "an immense amount of shooting done to little effect,"²¹ which resulted in only light casualties on both sides.

The skirmish and subsequent public pressure forced the Indian Department to move the Ute Agency from Abiquiu to Las Nutritas, where it remained until 1881. The agency was located across the street from the present-day Rio Arriba County Courthouse in buildings rented from Burns for \$200 a year. One of the buildings had a large window at each end where the Ute and Jicarilla assigned to Las Nutritas in 1876 received their annuity goods at their respective locations with minimal conflict.²² Situated adjacent to the agency buildings, Burns's store did a large volume of business with the Indians. He sold various supplies and up to fifty thousand pounds of beef each year to the agency.²³

Burns's economic circumstances improved markedly in the decade following the abandonment of Fort Lowell. The value of his stock was modestly listed as \$420 in 1869 when he received a license as *comerciante* and *viñatero*. By 1872 his license as a *comerciante* and *tendejonero* enumerated his holdings as \$20,000.²⁴ His store in Los Ojos expanded to include a branch in

Las Nutritas, and by 1881 he opened another in Chama.²⁵ So extensive was its stock that the store at Las Nutritas was once described as a "Mecca" to area traders.²⁶ Stores in Canjilon, Blanco, and Ignacio were still to come, as were extensive land holdings in both the Tierra Amarilla and Cañon de Chama Land Grants. By 1895 his flocks of sheep were estimated at more than 40,000 head. These sheep and several thousand head of cattle kept dozens of peones employed, many of them under the partido system. His land holdings also yielded annually 600 to 1000 tons of hay.

During this period, Burns consolidated his power and became one of the most influential men in Rio Arriba. In 1876, when the budget of the agency at Las Nutritas was announced for the first quarter of the year, the agent argued that the amount allocated was inadequate for the needs of the agency and enlisted Burns's assistance in the matter. Burns wrote to the governor of Colorado expressing his concern and announced that he was going to Santa Fe with the agent to "see what influences could be brought to bear."²⁷ Within two weeks, the Secretary of the Interior ordered a supplemental appropriation of \$10,000.²⁸ These actions gained Burns a reputation as a man of large influence, although he was but thirty-two years old. In later years he was bluntly described as "the ruler of, not only the . . . Tierra Amarilla, but also the boss of the county. What Don Tomás wanted, he got."²⁹

Although Burns was an avid Republican, he never hesitated "to express an opinion different from party opinions if he believed . . . [an issue] to be inimical to the best interests of state or nation." Because Burns gained the confidence of people in his area, he served in several appointive and elective offices. A member of the Republican Central Committee, he served several terms as Rio Arriba County Commissioner and Treasurer, five terms in the Territorial Senate, was a member of the State Constitutional Convention, and served a term in the State Senate.³⁰ Failing health forced him to resign his seat in the Senate in 1915, but Governor William C. McDonald persuaded him to return to serve the balance of that year's session.³¹

Other members of the Burns family moved west to join T. D. in New Mexico, and several of his brothers and cousins, in addition to assisting him in his business affairs, were elected to local offices. One brother, William, managed the store in Los Ojos and worked

as Spanish interpreter at the Indian Agency. J. A. Russell, one of the agents, complained that William was doing both jobs at the same time by subcontracting his duties at the agency, and doing all that was required of him, "tho [sic] not by him in person."³² Later, William was elected sheriff and served in that capacity until his death in 1891, at the age of forty. His successor was another brother, John F., who was chief deputy at the time of William's death.³³

In addition to his mercantile interests, Burns acquired Trimble Springs, a resort located a few miles south of Durango, Colorado. In 1882, he built there a "fine hotel" with bath houses and landscaped the surroundings with shade trees, lawns, and gardens, "making it a lovely quiet retreat for invalids."³⁴ The resort was a popular place during the 1880s and 1890s, and its "medicinal" waters gained a reputation as the finest in southern Colorado. In 1883, the Burns family allegedly refused an offer of \$75,000 for the resort, "so remarkable were its curative properties."³⁵ Burns later established the Burns National Bank in Durango and served as its president and principal stockholder.

Although Burns was an active businessman and politician, he was also much involved in family activities. In 1872, he married Josefa Gallegos, daughter of José Pablo Gallegos, a rich and influential politico from Abiquiu, in a ceremony performed by Bishop Jean B. Lamy.³⁶ This union undoubtedly did much to enhance Burns's political and business interests, but, contrary to popular belief, he did not become rich as a direct result of this union. Before his marriage, he was already a relatively wealthy young man. The couple set up their home in Las Nutritas in a large, sprawling building adjoining his store. It was built "like an up-to-date Pullman train, with cozy rooms leading into a corridor. . . . Blankets, rich in color of the good old Indian days greet[ed] your eye and open fires add[ed] to the cozy, country air. . . ." Burns also owned the nearby dance hall, which was probably the most popular building in town; it was a "fine structure with a polished, hardwood floor, smooth as glass and on which the *bailes* . . . [were] given. . . ."³⁷

The Burns' family home provided the finest "southern hospitality."³⁸ The family delighted "in entertaining, and their home during the summer [was] generally filled with guests," including

General Philip Sheridan among other distinguished visitors. General Sheridan and Burns met while the general was on an inspection tour of the territory, and they became close friends. They exchanged frequent visits at their homes in Chicago and Las Nutritas.³⁹ The general reportedly gave his Irish friend a pair of dueling pistols, which disappeared when T. D. Burns III died in 1958.⁴⁰

The 1880 census shows that the Burns household included five children, Mary, Maggie, Ellen, Tomas, and Kasie Wilkie, listed as an adopted daughter. Also residing in the home were Burns's sister, Margaret Sergeant, and her children, William, John, Tomas, and Edward; T. W. Roberts, John Riley and Juan Gutierrez, servants and teamsters; Alfonse Romere of New Orleans, cook; and Eulalia Montoya, nurse.⁴¹ Doña Josefa presided over her family, guests, and servants "with that gentle dignity which indicates culture and good breeding."⁴²

From the mid-1880s until his death, Burns apparently delegated many of his business responsibilities to members of his family and other trusted employees and devoted more of his time to politics and travel. In the spring of 1890, for example, he traveled and vacationed three months in southern California,⁴³ and he and Doña Josefa spent several of his last winters in Mexico.⁴⁴

Burns demonstrated numerous capabilities that made him one of the wealthiest and most powerful figures in New Mexico. He made significant contributions to the development of railroad and lumber industries, and his impact on commerce, ranching, banking, and politics was considerable. He was by report a generous man highly supportive of his church and numerous charities.⁴⁵ He also believed in the importance of education. But in spite of these qualities and achievements, Burns is seldom remembered with affection in la Tierra Amarilla. The specter of his involvement in the loss of the Tierra Amarilla Land Grant seems to overshadow his positive influence in the region.

Shortly after Burns arrived in Abiquiu in 1865, he wrote to Santa Fe and asked for copies of documents dealing with the Tierra Amarilla Land Grant. As previously noted, land was granted to Manuel Martinez in 1832 and confirmed by the U.S. Congress in 1860. In 1865, Francisco, Manuel's son, was administering the grant. Burns began purchasing portions of the grant

from the various heirs. In one month he purchased up to 42,000 acres.⁴⁶ Local tradition maintains that Burns and Thomas B. Catron, the eventual owner of the entire grant, worked together in making these purchases. Both men were strong Republicans, although not always political allies. For example, in 1896 in the delegate selection for the Republican National Convention, Burns voted for Solomon Luna to replace Catron as national committeeman.⁴⁷ But Catron and Burns did have business dealings. For more than a decade Catron received lumber royalties from the Burns/Briggs Lumber Company. During these years royalties were credited to Burns to pay off loans he made to Catron.⁴⁸ Promissory notes from Catron to Burns, totaling \$22,500 in 1905,⁴⁹ showed that T. D. had cash, a commodity in short supply. However, aside from a document in the Catron Papers listing thirty-eight pieces of land that Burns acquired from heirs of the Tierra Amarilla Grant,⁵⁰ he seems to have worked alone in purchasing land.

Burns acquired land by various methods. Aside from direct purchases, which can be verified in a cursory scan of Rio Arriba County records in the County Clerk's Office in Tierra Amarilla, he also acquired parcels of land in payment for debts. He extended credit to people, and, when they were unable to pay the debt, Burns accepted land in full or partial payment.⁵¹ These transfers were numerous enough to leave a strong memory of them in the oral traditions of the area. Yet these transactions were not illegal and, for the economic circumstances of the time, not even unusual. Individual plots obtained in this manner, while not worthless, may have been too small to be useful in any large-scale land scheme and may have been more trouble than benefit to Burns.

Oral tradition also insists that Burns was involved in large-scale destruction of *ijuelas*, the individual deeds Francisco Martinez gave those who settled the Tierra Amarilla Grant and who stayed the three years required to become land owners. It is alleged that Burns gathered these *ijuelas* from local people ostensibly for safe-keeping. The documents then mysteriously disappeared,⁵² enabling Burns to gain possession of these lands.

Though contemporary residents of la Tierra Amarilla speak of Burns's complicity in land scandals, documentary evidence neither denies nor confirms the role he may have played in the

Tierra Amarilla Land Grant. Defenders of Burns can point out that any wrongdoing on his part would have shown up in the considerable research undertaken on the land grant, but detractors might just as easily point out that the lack of documentation is *too* obvious for someone that close to the circumstances. Although his contemporaries had a high regard for Burns, his memory is now clouded because people do not forget the loss of their land. These disappointments, and circumstantial evidence, have led some to assign "El Bornes" a suspicious, if not wholly negative, role in the history of la Tierra Amarilla.

Whatever one concludes about his involvement in the Tierra Amarilla Land Grant, T. D. Burns remains an important person in the history of the area. He pioneered in the economic development of the region,⁵³ played an important role in relations with local Indians, and took an active part in the state's political affairs. No study of northern New Mexico during its territorial days would be complete without him.

NOTES

1. In a historical sense, and for the purpose of this article, la Tierra Amarilla will refer to the collective villages of Los Ojos, Los Brazos, La Puente, Ensenada, Las Nutritas, and the general area of the Tierra Amarilla Land Grant, not to the present-day village of that name. Tierra Amarilla was Las Nutritas until a legislative act in 1880 changed its name.

2. "Necrology," *Old Santa Fe* 3 (April 1916): 180.

3. The first of these, *An Illustrated History of New Mexico* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1895), p. 645, is the most comprehensive and appears to be the basis for the two that followed. His obituary (see note 2 above), and a subsequent note in Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexico History*, 5 vols. (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press, 1911), 5: 114, are basically reprints and updated versions of the 1895 article. T. D. Burns III may have collected a large number of his grandfather's papers and placed them in storage in the Burns store in Tierra Amarilla. When the younger Burns died in 1958, these documents, some of which were said to date to the 1700s, disappeared. Interview with Mary Louise Quarles, granddaughter of T. D. Burns, 21 September 1971; and Mary Burns Blain, widow of T. D. Burns III, to author, 1 November 1971. Additionally, the Burns store was recently razed and with it were destroyed what may have been the most complete collection of mercantile records accumulated in the history of the area. (See the T. D. Burns Mercantile

Papers Inventory, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives (SRCA), Santa Fe, New Mexico.)

4. General information on Mr. Burns's life is heavily indebted to the sources listed in note 3.

5. Undated newspaper article, "Contemporary New Mexicans: T. D. Burns," L. Bradford Prince Papers, SRCA.

6. *Illustrated History of New Mexico*, p. 646.

7. *Illustrated History of New Mexico*, p. 646.

8. A search of the following sources revealed no evidence of Burns in these capacities: Post Returns, Fort Lyons, Colorado Territory, 1860-69, Returns from United States Military Posts, 1800-1916, Department of War, Other Records, Record Group (RG) 109, National Archives Microfilm Publication (NA) M617, roll 659; Larry D. Ball, "The Office of the U.S. Marshall in Arizona and New Mexico Territories, 1851-1912" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Colorado, 1970); Charles E. Calvert, *U.S. Marshals, Territory and State District of Colorado, 1861-1958*, (n.p., 1958), Chris Emmet, "Fort Union, New Mexico" (Manuscript, New Mexico Highlands University [NMHU], Las Vegas, New Mexico), and *Guide*, Arrott Collection, NMHU. A search of the newspaper indexes at the Denver Public Library under the heading "Fort Lyon Staff" and "U.S. Marshals" revealed nothing about Burns.

9. Interview with Samuel and Bernardo Sánchez, grandchildren of Bernardo Sánchez, one of the first permanent settlers of la Tierra Amarilla, 21 September 1971. This interview, as well as those with other residents of la Tierra Amarilla, was conducted in Spanish. English translations are given here. "This man arrived here very poor." Interview with Lucas Martínez, a lifelong (1891-1975) resident of Los Ojos, N.M., 26 September 1971. "He was supposed to have come here extremely poor."

10. Interview with Samuel and Bernardo Sánchez, 21 September 1971. "Barbara Montoya, our grandmother, said . . . she made his clothes from sack-cloth. She clothed him from head to foot. He stayed at our grandmother's house in Abiquiu."

11. License Tax Records, Rio Arriba County, 1854-1895, SRCA.

12. A. H. Pfeiffer to Cyrus DeForest, 22 January 1866, New Mexico Superintendency 1849-80, Letters Received 1824-80, Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, RG 75, NA M234, roll 562.

13. Governor's Executive Record, 8 February 1866, SRCA.

14. T. D. Burns to C. P. Cleaver, 26 March 1866, Adjunct General Files, SRCA.

15. *Illustrated History of New Mexico*, p. 647.

16. Robert J. Torrez, "El Campo: Forgotten Sentinel of the Tierra Amarilla" (Master's thesis, NMHU, 1973).

17. No prior need existed for an interpreter because the initial garrison, replaced in late 1867 by regular U.S. Army troops, was a company of New Mexico volunteers, a largely native contingent.

18. *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, 6 July 1869.

19. *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, 4 April 1872.
20. Robert J. Torrez, "The Ute and Jicarilla Agency at Tierra Amarilla" (unpublished manuscript, July 1976, in possession of author).
21. *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, 17 May 1872.
22. Interview with Quarles, 21 September 1971.
23. Rent vouchers, 1872-1874, NA M234, roll 562.
24. License Tax Records, Rio Arriba County, 1854-1895, SRCA. In this context *tendejoneiro* (storekeeper) probably would indicate that a large volume of his business was in traditional store goods. A *comerciante* would be more of a trader or merchant.
25. *Illustrated History of New Mexico*, p. 649. *McKenney's Business Directory of 1882-1883* (Oakland, Calif.: Pacific Press, n.d.), lists only the Los Ojos and Co., which was managed by William F. Burns.
26. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 4 December 1911.
27. T. D. Burns to Governor of Colorado, 12 March 1876, NA M234, roll 567.
28. L. Chandler to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 28 March 1876, NA M234, roll 566.
29. Art Daggett, "Tales from the Past," *Chama Nora News*, August 1958.
30. Twitchell, *Leading Facts*, 5: 115-16.
31. "Necrology," p. 179.
32. J. A. Russell to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 13 November 1875, NA M234, roll 564.
33. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 14 December 1891.
34. Frank Hall, *History of the State of Colorado*, 4 vols. (Chicago: The Blakely Printing Company, 1895), 4: 179.
35. "Place Names in Colorado," *Colorado Magazine* 20 (January 1943): 31.
36. *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, 14 November 1872.
37. *Santa Fe New Mexican*, 4 December 1911.
38. Twitchell, *Leading Facts*, 5: 115.
39. *Illustrated History of New Mexico*, p. 647.
40. Interview with Quarles, 21 September 1971.
41. U.S., Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Tenth United States Census, 1880*, New Mexico: Rio Arriba, Mora, and San Miguel Counties.
42. *Illustrated History of New Mexico*, p. 647.
43. *Española Rio Grande Sun*, "Historical Edition," Summer 1962.
44. Twitchell, *Leading Facts*, 5: 116.
45. A different view is presented by José Maestas, a lifelong resident of Monero, N.M., in an interview done by La Clínica Settlement Project, 18 November 1976. "T. D. Burns controlled all the Tierra Amarilla . . . and what he said was it; [he] went against the grain and the rights of the poor. . . . [Burns and others] were men with cold hearts, brutal men. They had no sympathy towards the poor. . . . [Burns] was the most unjust man in the world when it came to salaries, selfish. . . ."
46. *Illustrated History of New Mexico*, p. 646.

47. Mary Elizabeth Sluga, "The Political Life of Thomas Benton Catron" (Master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 1941), pp. 16-17.

48. Thomas B. Catron Papers, archive 29, sect. 305, box 6, folder 4, University of New Mexico Library, Special Collections Department, Albuquerque (UNM-SC).

49. Catron Papers, box 7, folder 1, UNM-SC.

50. Catron Papers, box 6, folder 1, UNM-SC.

51. Interview with Lucas Martínez, 26 September 1971. "Some people owed him money and paid with property. Little by little he took them over or bought them out very cheap."

52. Interview with Sánchez brothers, 26 September 1971. "Truthfully speaking, probably Burns and others stole all this. All the documents are gone. Only a few *ijuelas* remain. These documents were gathered by Burns. . . . I was told he gathered these documents and they were lost."

53. Another school of thought holds that developments in commercial ranching, timber, and the railroad in the area were not necessarily positive influences. Whether or not progress is inevitable, the involvement of Burns and his contemporaries in these activities hastened the change of an agrarian barter economy based on ownership of livestock to a money economy based on wages and ownership of property. The loss of the land grant and subsequent fencing of lands that were commonly used by the native population made these same people heavily dependent on jobs directly provided or indirectly controlled by patrones like Burns.