

## INFORMATION TO USERS

This reproduction was made from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming. While the most advanced technology has been used to photograph and reproduce this document, the quality of the reproduction is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help clarify markings or notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting through an image and duplicating adjacent pages to assure complete continuity.
2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark, it is an indication of either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, duplicate copy, or copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed. For blurred pages, a good image of the page can be found in the adjacent frame. If copyrighted materials were deleted, a target note will appear listing the pages in the adjacent frame.
3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed, a definite method of "sectioning" the material has been followed. It is customary to begin filming at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. If necessary, sectioning is continued again—beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
4. For illustrations that cannot be satisfactorily reproduced by xerographic means, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and inserted into your xerographic copy. These prints are available upon request from the Dissertations Customer Services Department.
5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases the best available copy has been filmed.

**University  
Microfilms  
International**

300 N. Zeeb Road  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106



8306727

**Sexton, Joseph Franklin**

**NEW MEXICO: INTELLECTUAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS 1885-1925. CONFLICT AMONG IDEAS AND INSTITUTIONS**

*The University of Oklahoma*

**Ph.D. 1982**

**University  
Microfilms  
International** 300 N. Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106

**Copyright 1982**

**by**

**Sexton, Joseph Franklin**

**All Rights Reserved**



NEW MEXICO: INTELLECTUAL AND  
CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS 1885-1925  
CONFLICT AMONG IDEAS AND INSTITUTIONS

by

J. FRANKLIN SEXTON

A

DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE COLLEGE OF  
THE UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA  
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT  
FOR THE DEGREE OF  
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

NEW MEXICO: INTELLECTUAL AND CULTURAL  
DEVELOPMENTS 1885-1925  
CONFLICT AMONG IDEAS AND INSTITUTIONS

APPROVED BY

Angie  
Russell D. B. B. B.  
Harold W. L. L.  
William H. H. H.  
Russell B. G. G.  
DISSERTATION COMMITTEE

NEW MEXICO: INTELLECTUAL AND  
CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTS 1885-1925  
CONFLICT AMONG IDEAS AND INSTITUTIONS

MAJOR PROFESSOR: Arrell Morgan Gibson, Ph.D.

This study focused on intellectual and cultural patterns that shaped the institutions and value systems of the New Mexican heartland, the central valley of the Rio Grande River between 1885 and 1925. By 1885 three relatively matured cultures--Pueblo, Spanish, and Anglo--coexisted and provided fundamental assumptions about the nature of the universe as well as its human inhabitants. Divergent beliefs led to conflicts over what were acceptable social and political structures for the region. Between 1890 and 1912 complex realignments transformed polemics into accommodation that did not reflect the idealistic energy present within the area. People who held non-materialistic assumptions about the universe and human beings then fashioned an aesthetic vision for New Mexico that sought to define and assert a spiritual reality. That insight evoked a world view and image of man different from that in vogue among other American and European intellectuals--writer-artists--who dominated the pre and post World War I era.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>CHAPTERS</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
I INTRODUCTION . . . . .	3
II THE RIO GRANDE PUEBLOS . . . . .	11
III THE SPANISH MINDSET IN NEW MEXICO. . . . .	31
IV ANGLO IDEALISTS AND REALISTS IN NEW MEXICO . .	62
V IDEOLOGICAL CROSSCURRENTS 1889-1890. . . . .	95
VI POLEMICS, REALIGNMENTS, ACCOMMODATION	
NEW MEXICO 1890-1912 . . . . .	112
VII THE AESTHETIC-INTELLECTUAL VISION. . . . .	138
VIII NEW MEXICO 1885-1925: AN INTERPRETATION . . .	179
SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	185



## INTRODUCTION

New Mexico, as a territory of the United States from 1850 to 1912, was in a formative stage longer than most other states of the Union. Any state created from the territorial format experienced a transition when its institutions and patterns were in formation. In such times alternative visions of "best" institutions fought it out in the market-place of ideas.

A dynamic relationship exists between ideas and institutions. One might argue that an institution is a crystallized idea, which in turn is modified by later ideas. An institution may also be seen as an agreed-upon solution to a problem--political, social, theological, economic, aesthetic--or a society's response to what it perceives as a problem. Ideas and institutions must be always in a formative state, being reforged in the light of experience. A group of more or less compatible institutions makes up a culture, which may or may not mature into a civilization.

New Mexico is unique because three cultures had achieved some maturity there by 1912, its year of statehood, and still coexist late into the twentieth century. It is a remarkable cultural palimpsest, Pueblo, Spanish, Anglo, with components still mutually exclusive to a notable degree. Because New Mexico had the longest

territorial period of any American state with its institutions uncrystallized, its development was characterized by numerous pressures from would-be dominant groups whose alternative projections came into conflict.

The earlier cultural foundations provided the framework for the period of conflict. Nomadic groups, probably Asiatic in origin, settled the area in prehistoric times. Later, they took up cultivation of maize (Indian corn) and adopted a sedentary life-style in the river valleys of New Mexico. Most of the pueblo people took residence along the Rio Grande, which bisects the state, flowing from the Colorado Rockies due south to the great bend above El Paso, Texas. Their towns, or pueblos, became the earliest permanent continuously occupied homesites in North America.

Pueblo Indian imagination flourished in intimate association with local environment. Over the millenia the Pueblos framed a rich story of myth, legend, and folklore, a world view that included their basic beliefs about the universe, its origins, functions, and ends. Their image of man comprised the beliefs they held about themselves, one another, morality, and the meaning of life. Their "literature," the unwritten account of their experience that they rendered to themselves, was passed from parent to child in succession to endure into the twentieth century. The Pueblo contribution comprises the deepest layer of culture in New Mexico.

In the sixteenth century, Spanish conquistadors implanted Iberian domination and Roman Catholicism, first in Mexico, then in the Rio Grande Valley. There Spanish rule persevered until 1821, the year of Mexican Independence. Following nearly three decades of Mexican administration, 1821-1846, Anglo-Americans conquered the region, introducing New Mexico's final cultural component. Thus New Mexico was Pueblo from ancient times until 1598; Spanish 1598-1821; Mexican 1821-1846; in limbo 1846-1848; and Anglo-American after 1848.

Uninterrupted occupation from antiquity qualified Indian settlers to be called aboriginal and made the two subsequent waves of settlement imperialistic. American culture, or Anglo, as their predecessors quickly denoted it, was destined to become dominant in the region from New Mexico to the Pacific Ocean. However, residual Indian and Spanish patterns exhibited sufficient vitality to survive into the twentieth century.

In 1846, Stephen Watts Kearny and the Army of the West took possession of New Mexico for the United States.<sup>1</sup> The area now fell heir to Anglo-American institutions. The values and ethical patterns of the territory at the time rested on an incomplete fusion of Indian culture, dating from prehistoric times, and Spanish, dating from the sixteenth century. Both of the earlier cultures had been shaped by the power of the environment into stagnant,

passive reflections of tradition that reflected life in an eternal dull "present." A sort of ancient regime, quasi-feudal in nature, had evolved in this remote and isolated area of the Southwest. Stultified economic, political, and social ideas undergirded and shaped the existing institutions.<sup>2</sup>

Between 1846 and the 1880's Anglos became entrenched in the territory. By the mid-1880's, three relatively matured mindsets were present in the region: Pueblo, Spanish, and Anglo-American. The Anglo-American was in a dynamic phase that appeared ready to force the other two into accommodation.

The Anglo advent brought several groups of would-be "men of destiny" who sought to shape the area to their hearts' desire. Entering during a transitional period between 1866 and 1885, they organized themselves into interest groups and launched a quasi-debate on New Mexico's future development. Between 1885 and 1925, entrepreneurs, politicians, writers, and artists settled in New Mexico and sought to shape its institutions into patterns compatible with their visions of what the area could become. Politico-economic motives were dominant between 1885 and 1912, with clear polarities creating sharp division.

Following several more or less corrupt territorial governors, Edmund G. Ross's reform administration, 1885-1889, contested exploitative factions. The national concern for

land use, particularly in the West, provided the framework for ideological polarization. A second plateau of debate developed between 1900 and 1912 coincident with the national progressive movement. Each of these ideological-institutional struggles culminated in a constitutional convention wherein rivals sought to embody their own particular vision into fundamental law. In 1889, exploitative forces lost; in 1912 they won.<sup>3</sup>

During these same years an alternative vision of possibilities for New Mexico developed within a literary-artistic statement. As the Pueblo-Spanish period began to recede, it became a "past" that could provide raw material for mythologized, idealized views of society and individuals. Critical realism and naturalism, the dominant literary-artistic streams of national thought, were by 1912 in revolt against the certitudes of the genteel tradition. Disillusioned devotees sought meaning in the back-to-Europe movement of the early twentieth century; in it most found only more disillusionment. Some other writers and artists, American as well as European, sought meaning in the American Southwest. They too were in revolt, but with a difference, also conceived within a naturalistic framework but with optimism still a viable component.

Briefly stated, I contend that the United States acquired the region, became preoccupied with the Civil War

during the 1860's, and belatedly turned its attention to determination of what place the newly acquired Southwest would have vis-a-vis the established and recently vindicated Union. New Mexico, until 1862, included modern-day Arizona and had been the fanciful El Dorado of Spanish explorers since the sixteenth century. Thwarted in that search, the Spaniards had for all practical purposes abandoned New Mexico to a medieval way of life that continued through most of the nineteenth century. Inevitably, rapacious economic interests from the new owner thrust into the territory. The old Pueblo notion of common land title, as well as the Spanish view of territories being held by the Crown for the benefit of the state, were replaced by the American view of territories existing for individual exploitation. By the 1880's special interests versus freehold homesteads, corporate views versus Jeffersonian views came into conflict. New Mexico's long tutelage assured ample time for a lively debate to ensue. The territorial press reflected the basic issues. What was essentially politico-social and economic theory was argued in the territory. The debate is all the more interesting because of the territory's long period of formative status. The extended time meant more facets of alternative patterns could be explored and argued.

This inquiry is an exploration and exposition of attitudes, mindsets, and assumptions as they evolved within the historical framework, and how they shaped the institutions and culture of New Mexico. As such, it must focus on

the careers and works of some well-known persons, as well as on some not so well known. The critical focus is not on biographical details or political chronology, but on their ideas. Admittedly, identification of "ideas" is difficult. Evidence lies in writings and papers, most of which are found in an arc extending from Taos in the north, southward through Santa Fe, thence to the archives of the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque. Focal points include debates over landholding; corporate dominion versus freehold farms; formation of state institutions; progressive or traditional constitutions; and alternative visions for New Mexico; in short, the pragmatic plans of politicians, and the aesthetic models of artists, writers, and intellectuals.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Ralph Emerson Twitchell, The Military Occupation of the Territory of New Mexico: From 1846 to 1851 (N.P.N.D. copy is without relevant sheet)

<sup>2</sup>Howard Roberts Lamar, The Far Southwest; 1846-1912: A Territorial History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966) is the first and, to date, the best history of territorial New Mexico.

<sup>3</sup>Marion Dargan and his students at the University of New Mexico examined the political process ad infinitum. Multiple student papers rested on agonized analysis of minutiae. Dargan's series in the New Mexico Historical Review struggled to preserve every item; Robert Larson's New Mexico's Quest for Statehood; 1846-1912: rationalized the mass of research.



## THE RIO GRANDE PUEBLOS

The deepest layer of New Mexico's cultural profile lies in the central valley of the Rio Grande, in the Pueblos. Despite three centuries of intense pressure from the Spanish crown and church, the aborigines adopted only a veneer of the alien culture. The often-recounted sagas of Friar Marcos, Coronado, and Oñate need no detailed analysis here. They did establish contact with the Pueblo people and implant Spanish culture on the Rio Grande. The critical point was that in 1680 the Pueblos rebelled against Spanish rule, then endured reconquest during the 1690's. Sustained Spanish recrimination further alienated the Pueblos. The Indians found solace in their beliefs and pursued their culture underground. The Pueblo world view and self-image survived the Spanish and Mexican periods and emerged into the American period nearly identical with that of the sixteenth century. Thus Americans encountered a publicly performed blend of less important Indian ceremonies and Catholic feasts, while the old forms of worship were continued in secret.<sup>1</sup>

The Pueblo world extends over a rectangle of about one hundred fifty miles, from Taos in the north to Isleta, below Albuquerque, and from Acoma, about fifty miles west, to the slope of the Sangre de Cristos. Indians in North America have usually been classified according to

linguistic groups. The Pueblos comprise four linguistic clusters: Keres, Tewa, Tiwa, and Towa. Of the Keres, there are two groups, the western, that include Acoma and Laguna, about fifty miles west of Albuquerque, and the Rio Grande Keres that include Santa Ana, where the Jemez flows into the Rio Grande, and Zia, a few miles west of Bernalillo, on the Jemez. In addition, about halfway between Albuquerque and Santa Fe lie Santo Domingo, San Felipe, and Cochiti, all three along the Rio Grande. The Tewa tongue is spoken in six pueblos just north of Santa Fe on the Rio Grande: San Juan, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, Tesuque, Nambe, and Hano. The Tiwa group is divided with Taos and Picuris to the north, and two pueblos near Albuquerque, Isleta and Sandia. The sole Towa pueblo is Jemez, located farther up the Jemez from Zia. Population figures are inexact for the Pueblo world of the 1880's. Bancroft estimated the total in 1885 to be somewhat in excess of nine thousand, a figure that included Zuni. One might deduce for the Rio Grande Pueblos alone a population of about eight thousand.<sup>2</sup>

The Pueblos have occupied the American Southwest from antiquity. Their traditions connect them to Mesa Verde as well as to Alaska and the Bering Sea crossing. An Isleta tradition reports crossing a northern sea at a place narrow enough for a young boy to toss a stone from one shore to the other. In turn, a bird is believed to have led the

Pueblos up from the south to their sacred mountain. In general, archaeological and ethnological studies have tended to agree with such traditions.<sup>3</sup>

An archaeological mystery has focused on the cause of abandonment of much of the original area of occupation. Climatic shifts and water shortages are the most convincing. Natural conditions forced the Pueblos into ever-shrinking perimeters, ultimately to the valley of the Rio Grande. Here they formed self-governing communities and over the centuries developed their life patterns, values, and economic base--their world view and image of man--with expressed or visible emblem: religion, government, art, and architecture.<sup>4</sup>

The natural environment produced the Pueblo mindset. A mindset consists of personal and group basic assumptions, beliefs, and attitudes that underlie human actions and impart a semblance of individual integrity as well as social harmony. The mindset produces values and morals that affect action. Although some differences marked life settings in the Pueblo world, similarities were the ruling pattern. Pueblo myths and legends, the embodiment of their mindset, reflected the common experience. The setting evoked from the Pueblo a sense of nakedness in the presence of infinity. To such majesty he attributed spirit, life, and power. Every movement of his ritual was ardent prayer that he might be considered a proper part of the total

setting. Escaped from the primitiveness of his cave-dwelling ancestors, he was natural man in an arrested pastoral phase. Aware of his own life cycle, he resigned himself and attributed eternal power to the inanimate, and clung to hope for a Nirvanalike absorption into a quasi-personal immortality.<sup>5</sup>

According to the common view of the Pueblos, the world was a system, a cosmos. Two basic assumptions underlay this conviction. First, an undying life force permeated all things--breathing as well as insensate--a force that moved within the entire universe, and within themselves. This force stabilized the total environment, energized and moved everything on land and water and imparted to man himself physical strength and creative power. Second, the universe was both eternal and sacred. Because Nature herself was his only revelation, he worshiped her. He deified the heavens and the earth, which in intimate and ecstatic union created all else, animal, vegetable, spiritual, and human. Themselves the fruit of the cosmic union, demigods inhabited the mountains, sacred springs and heaven itself. At only a slightly lower level, animal deities guarded the sacred six directions of the universe: east, north, west, south, zenith, and nadir. Under the protection and surveillance of the divine family of the heavens, mortals sought harmony and brotherhood.<sup>6</sup>

Charles Fletcher Lummis in the 1880's lived for five years with the Tee-Wahms of Isleta, the southernmost of the Rio Grande Pueblos. In 1891, he published The Man Who Married the Moon,<sup>7</sup> a collection of Pueblo folktales that clearly reflected the values, beliefs, and assumptions of the valley world. The Tee-Wahms believed in a square earth, the six sacred directions, sky and earth deities, the spirit world, and a variety of philosophical dualism with heroes and villains. In addition, they embodied a rejection of pretense, recognition of the destructive nature of envy,<sup>\*</sup> confidence in the triumph of good over evil, and veneration of elders. In the Lummis collection, natural forces are personified, animals talk with and share precarious adventures with the Pueblos, birds soar above the Rio Grande to heights from which the "entire world" is visible, animals rear abandoned children. Virture always triumphs, the warm south wind wins over the cold north wind. A Bluebeard story; tales similar to Greek accounts of Diana, the huntress moon-goddess; and Aesoplike fables of crows, foxes, and coyotes all reveal the wit and wisdom of Pueblo myth and folklore. A conviction that a pervasive undying life force united all elements of an eternal world system gave moral force to their existence. There was an order, established before mankind was placed on earth, that provided a reference point and framework for all that existed.<sup>8</sup>

To establish the sacred framework the Pueblos began with what was nearest to them, their physical environment. The realities were the mountains, deserts, rivers, and lakes, as well as animals and plants, all under a mysterious sky. Their sense of order and cosmic unity required six directions rather than the usual four, because the Trues, the most powerful divinities, dwelled in the zenith, from which they oversaw all life. Each direction had its sacred animal and color, so that the Pueblo was constantly reminded of the order of the world, and that he was a part of that order. The rainbow, or "all color" represented the zenith, east was white, north yellow, west blue, south red. Nadir was black or dark. The six directions also had two sets of animals associated with them, that exercised supernatural power, but not divine. The animals could cure human ills or ensure success on the hunt. Animals included the panther, bear, badger, and wolf, all of which sometimes interchanged with other animals chosen for special characteristics. The eagle and shrew always stood for zenith and nadir.<sup>9</sup>

All such animals and colors appeared in Pueblo fetish and ritual. The underlying concept, however, is here the focal point, rather than the ceremony. That is to say, what the total system and its interrelated orientation meant for the Pueblo. In the first instance, the sacred directions were not equivalent to the conventional East,

West, North, and South. Their directional world reflected the "house of the sun" that lay between the soltices. Proper description required that each point of apparent solar contact with the horizon be indicated in correct sequence: sunset at summer solstice; sunset at winter solstice; sunrise at winter solstice; sunrise at summer solstice; then above and below. Obviously, the horizontal orientation of the Pueblo was more nearly northwest, southwest, southeast, and northeast. The Pueblo dweller knew that his life must be properly related to his world. Therefore, he established his town as well as his fields in their proper place vis-a-vis the sun and the universe as he perceived it. Respect for zenith brought favor from the gods who lived above. Nadir, abode of departed clan and family members, as well as source of vegetation and fruit, was never far from mind or experience. Both above and below related the Pueblo to the eternities; to either he might have direct and immediate access. All the directions radiated from the center, the middle of the world where the Pueblo believed he lived, to which the Ancients had come after their long migrations. Each of the directions was the abode of a spirit or god from whom flowed spiritual strength and power to order one's ways, to bless, to cure, and to help the individual and group choose goodness. The goal would lead to completion of one's road or a full life.

The term brotherhood, or harmony with nature, often used in characterizing Pueblo relationships, might better be replaced with proper role or place. Harmony implies interlocking sound, and blending that technically does not apply to either social concept or "music" as Pueblos or Indians perceive them. The concept of place, on the other hand, related to family microcosm as well as the world of the Pueblos. Mountains provided directional points of reference for the Pueblo--the Sandia, Mount Taylor, Taos Peak, the San Francisco Mountains. Rivers and lakes also provided perspective. The gods had led the Ancients there, to the earth's center; it must be the right place.

Such a mindset ultimately established orderly composure and like-mindedness in individual and society. Each person participated in the rhythm of age-old ritual and ceremonial practice. Ritual was not and could not be an individual act. Each knew the role he and his neighbor would perform. Each valued the other. The format would not reflect "harmony" but role, place, and rhythm. Sometimes four independent rhythms perfectly interlocked as in the Santo Domingo tablita, the Green Corn Dance, all reflecting the cosmos.<sup>10</sup> Complex, intricate, extended over several hours, ritual procedures followed precise sequence. Performers achieved feats of memory and physical control. Feet must turn just so, and strike the earth in patterned cadence. The groups must exhibit unity and purpose through



wheeling formation, always in reciprocal action to match the drumbeats.

Such group energy and power would inform the nature spirits of their tasks and responsibilities to the people. Each person was confident that rain would sound on the earth as did the pounding feet, or the Sun in mirrored wheeling formation with the constellations would stop his southward flight and return north to warm plants and people. Or the prize deer must surrender to respectful brother creatures who desperately needed its sustaining body. Nature must commune with and support her children with grain, rain, light, warmth, and order. In the unity and order of the cosmos, Nature could, and with proper sensitivity and respect would, provide for the needs of all creatures that lived within the rhythms of her embrace.

Acceptance of the cosmic order gave the Pueblo serenity and to a remarkable degree freed him from destructive ambition, materialism, and even fear of death. In a different environment the Pueblo created a complete world view and image of man. He framed his religio-philosophical concepts within his sense of basic cosmic order and rhythm. On this base the Pueblos became admirable citizens, parents, children, and neighbors. They might well have become models for values and ethics to their later-arriving neighbors.

In the absolute sense, there was no Pueblo world view when the term is taken to mean total agreement on universally held ideas, beliefs, and assumptions about world origins, characteristics, and ultimate purposes. Neither is there a pan-Pueblo pantheon. Nevertheless, there is a basic core of beliefs related to origins and creation, divine personages and beings, philosophical dualism, masculine-feminine life force, cause and effect, free will and determinism. This basic core comprises the Pueblo world view and undergirds beliefs, values, and moral concepts.

The Pueblos did not themselves write accounts of their cosmogony which is in itself an obstacle to understanding their ideas. Within the past century, however, scholars, archaeologists, ethnologists, historians, and litterateurs have investigated Pueblo myth and legend and interviewed numerous Pueblo people. Their published accounts provide ample sources for interpretation of the Pueblo mindset. No attempt is made here to recount the intricate ritual and ceremonial dances already so well known at least to the extent publicly performed. The ceremonial chambers or kivas still remain almost exclusively Pueblo. Much remains to be revealed; nevertheless, much also is known.<sup>11</sup>

The Keresian account of creation begins with assumed existence of an ultimate god-goddess; gender varies from one Pueblo to another. No attempt is made to account for a

beginning, therefore the Keres's ultimate being must be presumed self-existent and eternal. The parallel with the Judeo-Christian God at this point is remarkable. Creation of the world depended on the divinity's ability to think outward into space.<sup>12</sup> That is to say, the creation is in its essence an expression of the thought concept of God, in effect a logos. The Keres named their deity Tsityostinako, translated Thinking Woman, thought being the logos projection, feminine for fruitfulness. Yet the same concept at Zia was masculine. Other accounts include postulation of watery chaos with fog, steam, or mist rising from the surface, with creation being an act of separation of one element from the other. One creator was perceived as conceiving within himself and thinking outward into space, thereafter transforming himself into the Sun which in sexual union impregnates the great waters, that then produce Mother Earth. In turn the Corn Mother, who resides within the earth, creates or gives birth to people. These accounts embody a self-existing, eternal deity, who creates a world out of nothing and through an intermediary creates a human pair.<sup>13</sup>

In the order of the universe, the sacred direction below, or nadir, related to the underground region from which all human life emerged. Each Pueblo knew that the opening, Shipapu, was very close to his village and that at death he would descend to where human life began. Human

beings were body and spirit, therefore eternal and members of a unified community. According to the rhythm of the cosmic order, each would occupy his proper place during the proper time. People died to make space for others to be born, lest the surface of the earth not be able to sustain them. The same life force of the universe surged through human beings wherever they were in the cycle of nature. Therefore, the Pueblo did not fear death; it was merely a brief transition to a less-fettered existence in which he would maintain knowledge of and interest in helping his people who were left behind. Somehow the departed were able to return and bless their loved ones.<sup>14</sup> Pueblo mothers rejoiced when rain clouds approached and told their children, "Your grandfathers are coming."

The life cycle was governed by traditions that the creation gods imparted to the ancestors who "came up" when men emerged from Shipapu. On the journey from the underworld, the Little War Twins, Masewi and Oyoyewi, led the way from darkness to light. They had been conceived by Yellow Woman of the North when a ray of light from Father Sun fell on her as she slept. At first the Sun denied paternity, but a series of ordeals established their divinity and through them the Pueblos learned the "right way" to conduct their daily lives.<sup>15</sup> There was a true way to regulate seedtime and harvest according to the constellations, to trap animals, and to perform ceremonial dances.

In the journey from the underworld, some of the children wandered off and were lost. They became the Katchinas, spirits who inhabited the mountain peaks that ringed the Pueblo world.<sup>16</sup> In the early years, the spirits joined the ritual dances, though in time men in masks impersonated them. In his chosen village setting, the Pueblo had, he was certain of it, divine authority to guide his steps in the right road. The War Twins, astride the rainbow, dueled Evil with the lightning of their divine father and made the upperworld safe for human habitation.

The Pueblo knew that his body was made of the elements of the earth. The Corn Mother, Iyatiku, whose abode lay underground, sent with the Ancient Ones bits of her heart that they planted and from which corn grew. Cornmeal thereafter sustained life and was a holy balm used to anoint the newborn and the dying. Wisps of pollen invoked the resident deities when properly tossed to the sacred directions.<sup>17</sup>

Dualism pervaded Pueblo concepts to a remarkable degree, extending from the ridiculous to the sublime. Humans, gods, actions--all had their mirror image or opposite.<sup>18</sup> Each of the sacred directions obviously had its opposite with the manichaeistic light-darkness, good-evil possibility between the zenith-nadir perspectives. Individuals could take one of the two "roads," the good of the Katchina-taught traditions or the bad road of the

witches. The seasons of the upperworld had their opposites in the underworld, plants could grow either upward or downward, each in proper rhythm with the world order. Rituals of the dead had to mirror in reverse action and perspective the rituals of the living. Clowns parodied human activity with opposite projections of all normal behavior. In Pueblo mythology the battle of the seasons found expression in numerous accounts of contests between Northwind and Southwind. Keresian myths usually include two characters, whether sisters, brothers, or animals, who are opposite. If one is tall and rich, the other is short and poor. Dualism reflected the frustrating necessity for eternally being forced to make choices. The Pueblo understood human ability and responsibility to make a decision. The Pueblo world was not deterministic. If one had the "good road," it was by choice. In the final essence, dualism reflected the body-spirit reality of the Pueblo. He was neither god nor animal, but by choice could assume characteristics and behavior patterns of either. Spiritual good and evil contended for dominance in the universe and in his society. Proper invocation might set the powers of good in array against those of evil. Victory might come to either. To tip the scales, tribal shamans waged titanic struggles against the witches of disease and death. Proper rituals had been carefully transmitted from archaeological times after they had "come up with" the

Ancients at the time of creation. These might deliver or fail. Inevitabilities in matters of the spirits need not be fatalistically accepted. Dualism there was but the Pueblo could command nature through proper ritual.

The masculine-feminine division of life extended from the human level to the divine, though some divinities were both at once. Sexual intercourse was normal and accepted matter-of-factly, sometimes even in public during fertility rites. Children born of such unions were not despised; rather, each was accepted as his god had made him. The populace laughed with the clown who parodied the most intimate of human relationships. Did not the gods do the same, and were not all living things children of Father Sun and Mother Earth? At puberty, the Pueblo male was given access to the wife of his mother's brother until marriage. Incest was taboo, as was marriage within one's clan.<sup>19</sup>

The social molecule, not the atom, was the basic unit for the Indian. His world view and self-image proclaimed it. Such a world view is a variety of environmentalism according to which nature was seeking to preserve the community, the species, with less concern for the survival of the individual within the community. Only life patterns compatible with nature's rhythms and elementary forces would endure.<sup>20</sup> Though Pueblo man had no written language through which he could achieve formal statement of the philosophical understanding, his very actions verified and

reiterated his grasp of the reality.

The bright infinity above him and the natural forms on every hand dwarfed him as an individual. The gleaming prospect was sublime and awesome, and he sought strength and solace in association through communal life patterns. Thoroughly conservative in temperament, he accepted his role in the tradition-ridden society. Prescribed behavior relieved some of the burdens of individual choice. At the same time, moral choice was a requirement; he could have as a life pattern either the good or bad "road."

Pueblo communal life patterns included republican political forms. Lummis defined their social organization as a "military democracy, guided by a democratic theocracy." The most important political officer, the governor, as well as the military leader, the War-Captain, reached office through election. To a degree, each was subservant to, and dependent on the other in a sort of check and balance arrangement. Within the elective system, no conception of "dynasty" arose in the Pueblos. The Spanish Crown, curiously enough, not only allowed the institution to exist, but mandated annual elections after 1620. The Pueblo congress, the Junta of Principales, legislated their civil code, but was precluded from interference with religious life--the province of the Cacique. The Pueblo was, in fact, the first republic in America, with the military under civilian control, separation of church and state, and an elected "congress" presided over by the chief executive officer.<sup>21</sup>



Although the individual was eternal and spiritual, he was personally limited with truncated possibilities. Until the Spaniards introduced the Judeo-Christian image of humanity, no conception existed in the Pueblos of man as created in the image of God, a self-determined being with infinite opportunities for personal expression and development or unfolding of personal genius. Therefore, aesthetic life focused on ritual and ceremony. Economic creativity languished. All had to be performed as prescribed; there could be no Pueblo entrepreneur.

For the Pueblo, all of nature was sacred and eternal. The sky and the underworld were homes for gods who traveled between them through sacred springs, the doorways to the nether world. Everything in nature had a life of its own and was therefore worthy of respect, not desecration. All was holy, the mountains were temples that reached to the sky, enclosing the Pueblo world, boxed in by the Sangre de Cristo, the Sandia, and Jemez ranges. As holy, sacred, and personal, nature was to be worshiped, not exploited. The natural environment found expression in objects of art and in turn reflected the utility and worth of living as the nature gods directed. All of Pueblo life expressed nature. Natural forces--wind, water, temperature--shaped the earthly environment into buttes, mesas, and mountains; in turn, the child of nature "grew" his home as a natural form springs from the soil. The Pueblo reflected sunlight in hue and intensity as did the mesa, the creation of nature.<sup>22</sup>

Interaction between Pueblo tradition and the environment over the centuries produced the religious values that underlay daily activities. Religion related people and their morality to the ultimate powers of the universe. The Pueblo folk took it for granted that the life forces surrounding them in nature could be contacted and, with the proper ritual and cult practices, controlled. According to the calendar, special observances followed the cycle of the heavenly bodies with particular emphasis on invocations for rain and soil fertility. The echo of rain beat from the drums and multiplicity of rhythmic pounding feet. Nature would hear and reciprocate. A deep, sensitive spiritual affinity existed between person and nature

which was a grave and reassuring fact, to be thankful for along with all of the other energetic expressions of the landscape, among which the Pueblo Indian prayed passionately to be included as a proper part -- not a dominant part, not a being whose houses and inventions and commerce would subject the physical world until he rose above it as its master [as would the Anglo]; but as a living spirit with material needs whose modest satisfaction could be found and harmonized with those of all other elements, breathing and still, in the dazzling openness all about him, with its ageless, open secrets of solitude, sunlight and impassive land.<sup>23</sup>

Pueblo culture had achieved a stable synthesis and was well preserved just before the arrival of the Spaniards. It was only superficially modified by the encounter. Such a mindset could hardly be more opposed to that of the intruding Anglo-American entrepreneur.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Charles Fletcher Lummis, Mesa, Cañon and Pueblo: Our Wonderland of the Southwest--Its Marvels of Nature--Its Pageant of the Earth Buildings--Its Strange Peoples--Its Centuried Romance (New York: The Century Company, 1925) p. 271. Hereafter cited as Lummis, Mesa, Cañon and Pueblo.

<sup>2</sup>Adolph F. Bandelier, The Southwestern Journals of Adolph F. Bandelier: 1880-1882 (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1966). My description rests on Bandelier's acute observation and literate record. See pp. 196-198; Charles Fletcher Lummis, The Land of Poco Tiempo (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1893, 1921), p. 33. Hereafter cited as Bandelier, Journals, and Lummis, Poco Tiempo.

<sup>3</sup>Adolph F. Bandelier, Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos. Part Two of Indians of the Rio Grande Valley (New York: Cooper Square Publishers Inc., 1937)

<sup>4</sup>Adolph F. Bandelier and Edgar Lee Hewitt, Indians of the Rio Grande Valley. A volume of Handbooks of Archaeological History (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1937, 1973), pp. 20-24. Hereafter cited as Rio Grande Valley.

<sup>5</sup>Erna Fergusson, New Mexico: A Pageant of Three Peoples (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), pp. 34-37; Bandelier and Hewitt, Rio Grande Valley, p. 14.

<sup>6</sup>Bandelier and Hewitt, Rio Grande Valley, pp. 16-17, 44-46; cf. Charles Fletcher Lummis, Pueblo Indian Folk Stories (New York: The Century Co., 1910); Hamilton A. Tyler, Pueblo Gods and Myths (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964), pp. 171-172. Hereafter cited as Lummis, Folk Stories and Tyler, Gods and Myths.

<sup>7</sup>The work is identical with Lummis, Folk Stories.

<sup>8</sup>Bandelier and Hewitt, Rio Grande Valley, pp. 44-46.

<sup>9</sup>Tyler, Gods and Myths, pp. 171-2. It is impossible to specifically cite each item of information. This section rests on an assimilation of Bandelier, Lummis, and Tyler.

<sup>10</sup>Bandelier and Hewitt, Rio Grande Valley, pp. 49-53. Bandelier, Journal. Following p. 254, Green Corn Dance at Santo Domingo in the 1880's. Performance here is universally cited as the most authentic and important version of any Pueblo. Dorothy Brett, personal interview with the author. Bandelier's description, Journal, pp. 196-200, of a dance at Jemez reflects a grossly degraded version.

<sup>11</sup>Tyler and Lummis best reflect the variety.

<sup>12</sup>Tyler, Gods and Myths, pp. 82, 271.

<sup>13</sup>Tyler, Gods and Myths, p. 92.

<sup>14</sup>Bandelier, Journal, p. 201.

<sup>15</sup>Erna Fergusson, New Mexico: A Pagaent of Three Peoples, pp. 30-31; Tyler Gods and Myths, p. 215.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>Tyler, Gods and Myths, pp. 18-21; Paul Horgan, Great River (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston), pp. 26-27.

<sup>18</sup>Dualism pervades Lummis' Folk Stories; Tyler's account of The Earth Goddess, in Gods and Myths, and Bandelier's Journal. My account rests on assimilation of their works.

<sup>19</sup>Bandelier and Hewitt, Rio Grande Valley, p. 44; Bandelier, Journal, pp. 187, 199-200.

<sup>20</sup>Bandelier, Journal, pp. 185-86. Bandelier charted activities for an entire year according to natural rhythms, that is, by calendar.

<sup>21</sup>Charles Fletcher Lummis, The Land of Poco Tiempo (Albuquerque, New Mexico: The University of New Mexico Press, 1952 [1893, 1921]), pp. 31-32.

<sup>22</sup>Horgan, Great River, vol. I, p. 34.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

## THE SPANISH MINDSET IN NEW MEXICO

Spanish civilization left a clear imprint in the central valley of the Rio Grande, as a cultural overlay of the Pueblo world. Coronado had come to plunder, and left empty-handed. Juan de Oñate came to colonize, to live, and occupy. New Mexico was born when he forded the Rio Bravo del Norte at El Paso in 1598. With his company came the Spanish embodiment of medieval European ideas and institutions. The colonist-friar settlers, with their realist-idealist orientations, set in motion activities that ultimately found institutional expression in the hacienda and mission. Oñate first led them north of modern Santa Fe, where he established his capital at a Tewa Pueblo he renamed San Juan de los Caballeros. Franciscan friars molded the first adobes made in New Mexico and built San Gabriel. The Spanish era had begun.<sup>1</sup>

Late sixteenth-century Spain--intellectual matrix for the new colony: austere, brooding, hierarchical, monotheistic--was the heir of Rome, Jerusalem, and Mecca.<sup>2</sup> Cervantes, at the close of the century of gold, gathered up the intellectual threads and wove Don Quixote de la Mancha, idealist, with his foil Sancho Panza, realist. This idealist-realist duo rode onto the Castilian plateau at the same time that Oñate moved into the valley of the Rio Grande. They could have been transposed and neither would

have felt displaced. To enter either Iberia or the upper valley of the Rio Grande is to enter a special world. Earth tones, browns, coppers, and variegated golds intersperse with rich greens intermittently where water flows. Valleys, plateaus, buttes, gorges, and craggy peaks complete a landscape created for shepherds, mystics, and devotees of Almighty God.<sup>3</sup> Such a landscape drew, and draws, the spirit, heart, and soul of its inhabitants upward into infinity, like the lift and flow of a cathedral.

But not all of Oñate's company were mystics. The Spaniards entered the new land with the Apostle's Creed on their lips, Our Lady of Remedies enshrined in their hearts. But on some faces one could detect the light of mammon. They lifted up their eyes to the hills, not in contemplation of the Infinite, but in search of gold. Oñate had recruited would-be hidalgos for the mission. He knew, as did Cervantes, that successful missions required a proper ratio of idealists and realists.

From the start the Spanish mindset was schizoid: conquistador-moral philosopher.<sup>4</sup> For almost a century one had discomfited the other. The conquistador, proud, fierce, vain, heir to several centuries of struggle for his God against the infidel, merely extended the struggle to the New World. His faith was a virtual contract with the Supreme Being. He dealt with God's and therefore with his

own mutual enemies and/or dispossessed and converted them to the true faith, by force and against their wills if need be. For His part, God was obliged to reward his servant with glory, gold, estates, or even slaves. That was just. Along the way he superimposed his heritage of classical and medieval myths, of a fountain of youth, seven enchanted cities, and Eldorado, on the Indian legends and superstitions filtered to him through barely understood dialects.<sup>5</sup>

On the other hand the moral philosopher confronted severe ideological and institutional flux that threatened his inherited assumptions.<sup>6</sup> Empire and Papacy faced emerging nation states and religious dissent. Monarchs and reformers disputed the notions of universal authoritarian institutions that had undergirded life and nourished stability. New ideological vistas forced moral philosophers to seek in Nature herself universal principles on which mutual human obligations and the rights of all men could be securely based. The canons of scholasticism no longer sufficed. The intellectual response to these problems created a fresh Spanish mindset which was articulated on four levels, and which ultimately arrived in New Mexico. First, university professors and theologians researched, wrote, disputed, and in the heat of polemics rethought and crystallized new principles. The Crown then, on the second level, transcribed the principles into fundamental law. Third, the would-be colonists and

settlers assented to the legal requirements and subscribed to them in petitions, after which they acted on the principles. Fourth, the ideas were actually taught in New Mexico, with printed statements communicated, accepted by the inhabitants of the colony, and transformed into institutions.

The ideological wellsprings were Renaissance Spain's thirty-four universities. In these intellectual centers, medieval preoccupations were under assault from the new insights of Italian, French, Dutch, and English humanists. The Spanish mindset, reactionary though it was, yielded to the fresh crosscurrents and assumed rethought positions for Nominalism, Scotism, and Thomism. No exhaustive survey of the intricacies of Spanish scholasticism is here needed or intended. Certain fundamental issues, relevant to the New World, did surface particularly at Salamanca and Valladolid Universities. There the applicable mindset crystallized in the crania of Vitoria, Sepulveda, and Las Casas.<sup>7</sup>

Francisco de Vitoria was the most distinguished intellectual to address the New World issues. He was born in Castile the very year Columbus discovered America, and the year the Catholic sovereigns finally expelled the Moors from the Peninsula. Vitoria took holy orders with the Dominicans, and studied humanities, philosophy, and theology in Paris, beginning in 1509, two years after the French Hellenist Tisard brought a decided humanist



perspective to French intellectual life.<sup>8</sup> In Paris Vitoria met Lefevre, Bude, and Erasmus. Withstanding the extreme secular thrust of Averroestic and Platonistic humanism, Vitoria emerged as a Thomist albeit under the influence of the Christian humanist Saint Antoine of Florence. Antoine had sought to synthesize Christian revelation with classicism. His efforts deeply influenced Vitoria, who in 1521 oversaw publication of Antoine's Summa Aurea, from which Vitoria took his guiding principle, maintenance of a Christian conscience vis-a-vis all new temptations, alternatives, and problems.

Vitoria took his professional chair at Salamanca in 1526 and there explored and developed a world view and image of man that was cast in an Augustinian-Thomist mold, but with a difference. The difference lay in how his mind worked. That difference made possible if not inevitable his contributions to the thought framework for the New World. He rejected the sterile scholastic speculations on a priori evidences for the existence of God or the immutability of the human soul, exercises so dear to the hearts of the true Scholastics. Instead, Vitoria abandoned Thomist content and applied its method, statement of propositions with fair representation of pros and cons, to relevant moral and judicial problems of the day.<sup>9</sup> He focused on justice and war, exploitation and colonialism, State and Papal rights, unjust laws and the higher law.

The unique societies discovered in America taxed traditional Spanish ideas and institutions and stretched them beyond their elasticity. To the new societies, exotic rituals, and diverse world views Vitoria responded by partial abandonment of the received mindset and sought principles common to all mankind as a viable base for the natural rights of the aborigines.<sup>10</sup>

In De Indis,<sup>11</sup> Vitoria contended that political autarchy, independence, and self-sufficiency rest on requirements that are part of the natural order. Therefore, they exist among the American Indian societies. It then follows that they are legitimate states and not subject to unlawful seizure and exploitation by conquistadors. The Fall of Adam or Christian redemption had nothing to do with their independent status, which rested on such natural conditions as sufficient population, possession of definable territory, obvious common language and traditions, and self-sufficient economic base. So-called divine right of king or emperor was irrelevant. The natural right of a majority in a society to erect an executive administrative apparatus to serve its needs was absolute, not contingent, whether it chose democracy, aristocracy, or monarchy. Ultimately the right rested on human creation in the image of God, whether recognized or not. This image is in man's rational nature where even mortal sin does not destroy it, therefore mortal sin could

not abrogate ownership of property or the right to form a government. Then Indians have both title to their land and legitimate government. Further, it is indefensible to take property from Saracens, Jews, or any other non-Christian merely because they are unbelievers. At this point Vitoria touched the seats of ultimate power in Spain and declared that the Pope lacked the right to take the property of the Indians and give it to the Spanish Crown: the Papal Bulls of Alexander VI he declared to be invalid.<sup>12</sup>

Vis-a-vis the Conquista, already in progress, Vitoria examined the theoretical bases of war, just and unjust. In a thorough and equitable lecture, Vitoria questioned whether Christianity and war were compatible at all. If it be granted that some war was just, who held authority to so determine and launch it, what were the sole reasons for such a war, and how must a just war be conducted? To avoid anarchy and the possible destruction of civilization, war, Vitoria deduced, is legitimate; both private persons, in defense of themselves as well as their property, and legally constituted states could engage enemies who threatened their existence. De Indis took up the issue most related to the New World: legitimate causes for war.

Vitoria immediately rejected the motivations of classic imperialism--God, glory, and gold--when he stated as invalid causes religious heterodoxy, territorial expansion, and princely glory.<sup>13</sup> On the other hand the sole

justification must be based on "defense of self and property; recovery of goods taken away; redress of wrongs suffered; and the protection of future peace and security."<sup>14</sup> Vitoria died before the issues he raised could be settled. The intellectual climate of his lifetime evoked spirited polemics.

Vitoria had in fact broken with the Augustinian-Thomist De Civitate Dei concept of universal dominion and laid foundations for a pluralistic theory of the modern world. Neither Papacy nor Empire, under natural law, had the right to administer the entire world, contrary to the Church-Charles V-Cortes-Coronado mindset. Frustrated and introspective, the Emperor in 1549 declared a moratorium on all Spanish expansion while polemicists sought consensus at the University of Valladolid.<sup>15</sup>

Before a distinguished panel, convened on royal initiative, disputants argued the issues of the true nature of the North American Indian, and whether war to subjugate and convert him was just. The issue devolved into an inquiry on the image of man in the New World. In the classic construction, was he a noble human being, created in the image of God, with an eternal destiny, or was he a natural slave doomed by circumstances, whether or not beyond his control, to inferior status, and therefore legitimate prey for exploitation by his superiors? Months of eloquence and heated disputation made it seem that the

very survival of the civilization, or even the world, depended on just settlement of the issue. Sadly the sharpest intellect of the day took no part owing to the death of Francisco de Vitoria; however, he had in personal conference let his position become known, and his lectures spoke for themselves.

In two famous passages the contrasting positions achieved incisive clarity. Bartolome de las Casas, champion of Indian rights in the New World, Bishop of a New World See, staunch enemy of exploitation or degradation of any human soul, argued that

mankind is one, and all men are alike in that which concerns their creation and all natural things, and no one is born enlightened. From this it follows that all of us must be guided and aided at first by those who were born before us. And the savage peoples of the earth may be compared to uncultivated soil that readily brings forth weeds and useless thorns, but has within itself such natural virtue that by labor and cultivation it may be made to yield sound and beneficial fruits.<sup>16</sup>

Juan Gines de Sepulveda, spokesman for traditional Spanish intellectual patterns, argued on Aristotelian premises that denoted persons of inborn rudeness and barbarous customs to be by their natures inferior and rightfully subjected to their superiors. Such inferior people

require, by their own nature and in their own interests, to be placed under the authority of civilized and virtuous princes or nations, so that they may learn, from the might, wisdom, and law of their conquerors, to practice better morals, worthier customs and a more civilized

way of life . . . [they are as inferior] as children are to adults, and women are to men. Indians are as different from Spaniards as cruel people are from mild people.<sup>17</sup>

The Council of Fourteen included the famous theologians Domingo de Soto and Melchor Cano, with the Council of Indies and the jurist Gregorio Lopez. The schizoid, idealist-realist Spanish mind agonized in two sessions August-September 1550, and April-May 1551, and could not harmonize the utopian-practical tensions inherent in the inquiry. Despite persistent requests the panel refused to render a definitive decision.<sup>18</sup> By a sort of intellectual osmosis the ideas of Las Casas, tempered somewhat by some of the Sepulveda argument, found their way into the Basic Law of 1573, promulgated by Phillip II as the "ordinances of new settlements and discoveries."

Phillip's synthesis embodied Las Casas's ideas on how a "just conquest would proceed." "When no danger threatened," wrote Las Casas, "preachers alone should be sent." In particularly dangerous parts of the Indies, fortresses should be built on the borders and little by little the people would be won over to Christianity by peace, love, and good example. This, as will be seen in the Oñate petition,<sup>19</sup> approximated the procedure laid down. Sepulveda envisioned a more direct and threatening approach. First the Indians should be approached and given an opportunity to accept the rule and benefits of the Emperor. If they refused, the Spaniards might justly

assault them and conquer them, taking property and the Indians themselves for slaves. The prior offer made the war just, then the conversion might follow. Later Sepulveda wrote to the Franciscan Alfonso de Castro that in his judgment warning need not be given to idolators such as American Indians. Sepulveda's Democrates Alter, however, was rejected for publication.

The basic law of 1573 became the accepted view of the Crown and in theory the conscience of the colonizers of New Mexico. The law deleted the term "conquest" from the royal instructions and required use of the term "pacification."<sup>20</sup> Indian vices were to be dealt with at first gently "so as not to scandalize them or prejudice them against Christianity." Only then might the Spaniards use force, but in such a way as to "do as little damage as possible." Slavery was outlawed. The general ordinance of 1573 was fundamental law until Spain withdrew from America.

Juan de Oñate drafted his 1595 petition for the journey of exploration into New Mexico on the basis of Phillip's law on "new settlements and discoveries" through which he also subscribed to the principles of Vitoria and Las Casas. To Don Luis de Velasco, Viceroy of Mexico, Oñate offered his "person to serve his Majesty . . . in the pacification of New Mexico . . . [to achieve] the principal purpose that should be held and which His Majesty exhibits [in the ordinances], and no less your lordship in his royal

name."<sup>21</sup>

The capitulation of the viceroy placed Oñate's petition in juxtaposition with the royal ordinances of new settlement and discovery to measure the degree of conformation. With explicit reference to Article twenty-six of the ordinances, Oñate requested "six friars, with all the supplies necessary for them and their servants for the entire journey" with the necessary means for "the conversion and pacification of the natives." He also requested "books" that "may seem necessary."<sup>22</sup> Oñate also took personal responsibility to transfer the beliefs of Vitoria and Las Casas to New Mexico in the following passage:

First I oblige myself that in every way possible to me the said exploration and settlement shall be made in all peace, friendship, and Christianity, and that I will conduct the government of the people in my charge with the greatest Christianity and kindness that I can, so that in all our Lord and his Majesty may be served. And your lordship must order that I be given instruction as to what seems to you to be best and most in the service of God, our Lord, and of his Majesty, the good and pacification of that land, the conversion of the natives of it, the preaching of the Holy Gospel and Christian doctrine, and the method which it will be best to use in the pacification, and, for the sake of peace, in case they do not wish for the true knowledge of the Christian faith, or to hear the evangelical word and give obedience to the king, our lord, what must be done with them, so that all may be done in accordance with the evangelical law and what the Catholic Church and the ordinances teach and order in these cases. And (your lordship should order also) what arrangement must be made so that the tributes that will be imposed upon them for the royal crown and for those who may take part in



the said conquest may be collected in a Christian manner.<sup>23</sup>

This passage so specifically reflects the views that developed in Spain in the previous half century that it would be difficult to paraphrase and preserve the image. Other provisions, for powder, lead, field pieces, personal titles, and family honors reflect the realist lobe of the Spanish mind. The Crown, however, fully expected the idealist commitment also to be fulfilled. When Oñate failed, and punished Acomans with amputation because they had the temerity to defend their homeland, he was not acting as Las Casas, Vitoria, or Phillip had intended. Not even Villagra's apologia could save the erstwhile "Achilles" of the royal choice, though he had done penance equal to a saint before crossing the Rio Bravo del Norte.<sup>24</sup> The number of occasions for legal action against colonists and their leaders was a measure of the serious intent of the Crown that their actions harmonize with the principles to which they had subscribed.

Oñate alienated himself from his newborn New Mexican hidalgos when the same greed that had infected Coronado showed its symptoms in his successor. In turn Oñate sought Quivira, a river of pearls, and the Straits of Anian. In his quests, he diverted men and equipment needed for protection of the "capital," with its surrounding encomiendas, the quasi-feudal landholdings of the new "barons." In 1602, resentment moved Don Pedro de Chavez to

petition the Crown for permission to constitute the colony a republica, quite different from feudal Spain, and independent from the hierarchy Oñate had set up in the colony. Later Phillip III did abandon his "Achilles" and in 1609 replaced him with Don Pedro de Peralta, who established the "Kingdom of New Mexico," with its capital at Santa Fe.<sup>25</sup>

Although Oñate did not keep the idealist-realist Spanish mindset in proper balance, his company did bring the Christian world view and image of man to the valley of the Great River. Of the books for this purpose, brought to the colony, one was almost certainly the catechism of Pedro de Cordoba,<sup>26</sup> not the Relectiones of Vitoria, but with the identical base of medieval assumptions about the world and mankind. "We have a secret to share with you," began the catechism, "that you have not learned or heard until now." The Spaniards brought Ptolemy to New Mexico; the universe is a cosmos created by a deity. "The heavens are round and hollow, and angels move them through the commandment of God. [The sun] circles the whole world. It is not a living thing, nor the moon, nor the stars, but it is a bright thing that God has placed in the sky. Since the sky moves, the sun also moves, and so do the moon and stars." Copernicus had not penetrated the Spanish mind. He would arrive in New Mexico much later. [133-134]

Cordoba taught a rudimentary chain of being. God created "three classes or differences." Some are corporal, others spiritual, and still others "both corporal and spiritual." Man embodied both. [63-65]

In fewer than one hundred pages, Cordoba presented a concise and thorough compendium of the Christian world view and image of man; based on the fourteen articles; the Ten Commandments; all seven sacraments, with directions for making the sign of the cross; doing deeds of mercy; and a brief history of the world. He ended the work with two blessings for the Pueblo's table.

The little work took up the deepest mysteries of the Christian faith with innovative constructions. Positions and problems that had confounded the greatest minds of the western world entered Pueblo crania. Cordoba took up the issues with a temerity unknown at Nicea and Chalcedon, or in the studies of Augustine, Athanasius, or Aquinas. After having denounced the polytheism of the Pueblos, Cordoba averred that the Christian God is "Three persons, the Father, which is God, and the Son, which is God, and the Holy Spirit, which is God ... only one God and not three Gods." In a passage that must have puzzled the Pueblos, the Spaniards went on to assert that "The Father is one God in three persons, not one single person, but one single substance." The problem was compounded in simile. The Trinity, they taught, is like a bolt of cloth that has many

folds. The folds are separate but the nature of the cloth is the same. [62-63] The humanity-deity nature of Christ found expression as a man put on a garment, so, the Son put on humanity. Further, He is like the hands of God, different but at the same time one with the Father and Spirit. [86]

Transubstantiation meant that the Son, who is everywhere, and unseen, is also present in the bread and wine, which at the same time does not change its taste or texture--but still is the true body and blood of the Saviour. [108-109] To be virgin born, the body was formed in the body of Holy Mary as the pit is formed in the cherry. There was no opening--intercourse--yet the "pit" was formed. So "bones were engendered within her flesh, without the corruption of opening of the flesh." [87]

The Spaniards superimposed their image of man on the preexisting Pueblo view. God had created mankind from mud and infused him with an immortal soul. His destiny was to occupy the chairs left empty when the evil angels were thrown down to Hell. To their astonishment and perhaps horror the Pueblos discovered that the center of the earth was not Shipapu, source of all life, but Hell. There their beloved dead suffered in a Dantean torture chamber, embroiled in caldrons of flaming pitch, brimstone, and rosin. Not to choose baptism and Christian discipline was to choose Hell. [54-55] The secret had been shared.

By 1630, New Mexico's first two cultural components were clearly recognizable in its great valley. The Spanish colonists had found their own "Spain," but, detached from European wellsprings of civilization, they dangled on a tenuous twelve-hundred-mile-long thread--the "royal road" to Mexico City. Cultural conflict evoked a rebel spirit that would smolder in the Pueblos for a half century to erupt in 1680 and threaten to expel the Spanish settlers and purge the valley of European influence. In these early years, mission and estancia (later called hacienda) spread upstream, Rio Arriba, and downstream, Rio Abajo. The self-styled hidalgos, lords of the manorlike estancias, established smaller homesteads for their herdsmen and their families, ranchos. Life arranged itself into a hierarchy based on land, blood, and privilege. Obedience was expected up the chain in order from the Indian to hidalgo-patron to Captain-general to Governor to King to Pope to God.<sup>27</sup>

The Spanish New Mexicans implanted their representative institutions during the initial three decades of settlement. In the first year Juan de Oñate established encomiendas at San Juan.<sup>28</sup> A medieval institution, conceived to provide economic underpinning in return for military service, the encomienda in New Mexico bestowed one large or several smaller pueblos on the newly created encomendero, who collected "goods and services in kind" from each Indian

household. The Crown, and its representative Oñate, "commended" land and persons to the new master, for "their own good," which usually meant some military protection and in theory some Christian nurture. The Pueblos tended not to view the arrangement in quite the same light as did the Spaniard. Nevertheless, encomienda continued for another half century. As service levies increased, Pueblos complained that their own agriculture languished. Such dissatisfaction contributed to the 1680 revolt.

The estancia or homestead echoed the manorial base in medieval Spain. The Iberian immediately saw the Indian as a labrador, a farmer, the lowest-level worker. He considered himself to be a ganadero, a stock raiser, who let nature and the labrador do the work from which he himself would "gain" a livelihood. Spaniards assumed the propriety of this relationship and Oñate's settlers established its institutional embodiment, the estancia, during their first year in New Mexico.<sup>29</sup> Later, as land pressure motivated settlement in the great valley, New Mexican conditions forced the self-styled ganadero to take up part of the required manual labor. When Comanches, Apaches, and Utes made slaves available, the ganaderos purchased them (or as they said, "redeemed them to Christianity") for service in homes and fields. The estancia then assumed manorial characteristics with its "lord" and serflike

Indian labor.

Such arrangements reflected the conquistadorial view, that human beings were means to ends, the ends being Spanish convenience and a modicum of comfort. If, however, Pueblo muscle and body served materialist purposes, their minds and spirits belonged to the nonmaterialists, who established missions and schools, also "for the good" of the aborigines.

Fray Alonso de Benavides in 1625 surveyed the valley, estimated its population at about eighty thousand, and pronounced his benediction on the two cultures. According to his Memorial, "We Religious," that is, the Franciscans, had snatched thousands from the "Claws of the demon." He reported them to be industrious, literate, and faithful to attend Mass and the Doctrine [schools], adding to their godliness its natural concomitants, neatness and cleanliness. Of all this "God [was] the author and prime mover." After so short a time the land was filled with churches, fifty said Benavides, and crosses, before which converted Pueblos chanted Ave Marias and Paternosters. Would-be Bishop Benavides's account, written as a basis for requests for more men and supplies, and probably therefore overstated, nevertheless portrayed a dependable general outline of New Mexican life at the time.<sup>30</sup>

The Pueblos had accepted the world view of the new settlers because of certain similarities to their own.

Both cultures held the universe to be a cosmos pervaded by a divine spiritual essence, or as the Pueblos saw it, essences. In each system immortal agencies moved the heavenly bodies. Righteousness was rewarded, evil punished. Wicked people might invoke the divinity if they so chose and escape eternal consequences. The two obvious Spanish institutions, estancia and mission, were accepted, at least ostensibly. Syncretism associated God the Father with the Pueblo's Great Power, the Virgin Mary with the Earth Mother; the santos could be as helpful as Katchinas, who had come up from Shipapu with the Ancient Ones, to teach the Pueblos the "right way." Pueblo mental reservations of that sort showed that their beliefs lay deeper than Benavides could possibly have known.

The Spanish attempt to enforce conformity of belief and practice in the late seventeenth century, which translated to the Indians as abolition of their estufas [Kivas] and shamans, evoked the Pueblo Revolt of 1680. The Spaniards who survived fled their estancias and missions to Santa Fe, where they came under the protection of the Virgin, La Conquistadora, who, so they thought, delivered them for their flight to safety at El Paso. For twelve years New Mexico's overlay of Spanish culture and institutions lay in ruins. The Pueblos reverted to their estufas, their dark nature gods, and as the Spaniards put it, to worship of witches and demons.



Don Diego de Vargas, a Castilian gentleman from Madrid, read Villagra's heroic stanzas and was moved to go to New Mexico in 1692 to reimplant Spanish culture among the Pueblos. With him rode Saint James, and the Virgin, as La Conquistadora, this time to take up permanent residence in her alcove in Santa Fe.<sup>31</sup> On the journey came also a number of Castilian families, the Bacas, Chavezes, and Montoyas, among others to which genealogically oriented modern New Mexicans are pleased to trace their lineage. But glory was short-lived, and De Vargas died in action against the Apaches. The day of the Conquistador was over. New Mexicans came to wonder if even their memory survived in Madrid. Bancroft's often-quoted calumny is not all false. As he put it, "From 1700 New Mexico settled down into that monotonously uneventful career of inert and nonprogressive existence which sooner or later is to be noted in the history of every Hispano-American province."<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless this century completed creation of New Mexico's cultural patterns.

In the eighteenth century, the Spanish mind stultified in New Mexico. Vitoria, Las Casas, and Sepulveda, whose courage enabled them to abandon sterile scholasticism, and to focus on living human values and issues, would have found no echo in the missions and haciendas of the great valley. To some extent, conditions explained the lack. Comanche, Apache, and Ute pressure on Pueblo and Spaniard

alike forced them to contract their perimeters and neglect intellectual pursuits. Mutual experience and suffering created a sense of quasi-brotherhood in the valley.

Yet it is not totally true that intellectual life was extinguished. In 1776, Fray Francisco Dominguez's survey<sup>33</sup> of the Pueblo and mission world included a description of the library of Santo Domingo, which cataloged 256 titles, many of them multivolume. Among the authors is Fray Domingo de Soto, member of the Council of Fourteen who heard the disputation between Las Casas and Sepulveda. His several publications include works on physics and logic. The collection listed a respectable number of histories, lives of Christ and Mary, catechisms, manuals, and sermons. In addition, Duns Scotus and Thomas Aquinas are well represented, perhaps better than other authors, when secondary works on them are included. Works on moral philosophy were numerous. Neither Newton nor Copernicus was represented, as might be expected vis-a-vis the Index. Only total illiteracy, unlikely even in the judgment of the most pointed critic of the century, could prevent use of these materials.

The point is, however, that such works could only support and nourish a medieval mindset--to the extent that one might have existed in eighteenth-century New Mexico. Enlightened Renaissance thought had reverted to hierarchical, authoritarian, superstitious patterns, that

in addition tended to be otherworldly, melancholy, brooding--half in love with death.

Eighteenth-century conditions also provided a context for genetic blends as well as ideological syncretism, key characteristics for Spanish New Mexican culture in its final pre-Anglo configuration. Castilian families never intermarried with the Pueblos, as has commonly been supposed.<sup>34</sup> When, rarely, a Spanish woman married a Pueblo, she entered his world and culture. On the other hand the Pueblo chiefs guarded their women from outward influence to protect their people's generative capability. A Spanish man seldom married a Pueblo woman.

Fray Angelico Chavez, with obvious deep pride of blood, has explained that the genetic blend began among the Comanche, Apache, Kiowa, and other Plains Indians, who captured one another and sold slaves to New Mexican Spaniards. The Spaniards, he averred, bought them merely "as one would redeem an infidel" to give him the blessing of Christian nurture, though he admits that cheap household servants and herdsmen might have been an added attraction. These servants were baptized, trained as Christians, and given the surname of their patrons. Allowed to be "on their own" at puberty, they intermarried, first among themselves, then the lower-class New Mexicans and created a "new people." Fray Dominguez had noted in 1776 that approximately

one-third of the 18,344 population of the missions was of mixed blood. This genetic blend comprised a large percentage of the total population when the area became an American territory.

Ideological syncretism flourished in such a setting. After 1680, the Spaniards never again sought to force conformity upon the Pueblos. In turn, Indians never rejected a religious practice that could be associated with one already existing. The Jemez Pueblo absorbed Saint James, Santiago, in their August rites and had a dancer mimic the Spanish saint by wearing the head of a horse with a tail pinned to his rump. The horse wheeled, neighed, and tossed its mane and tail in time to the drum. Pueblo pollen and prayer meal were used much as the anointing oil of the church. The Pueblo tossed it to the rising sun, the moon, over his prayer sticks and the faces of his dead. The Santo Domingo Tablita, or Corn Dance, coincided with the Christian Easter rites; at Taos, the Deer Dance fell near Christmas. In the Pueblos the Indians often came to celebrate the church ritual with the local priest, then went to their private rites. The padres had learned that one accepted it and was glad that Christian practices also were observed.<sup>35</sup>

The Indian goal of life was achievement of an "all embracing harmony in which natural and supernatural are closely interrelated." For the Spanish New Mexican God was

an ever-absent help in time of need. He therefore carved bultos and created santos<sup>36</sup> that he could have nearer at hand, and which he could hold accountable if they failed to produce. Many a santo faced the wall, and bultos might spend penance time in trunks. In the eighteenth century the Spanish mind became quixotic, reflecting the morbid notion of purification of the flesh by self-torture. Sin dwelt in the flesh, a curious dualism, and the soul needed to be purified and released from its prison. Spanish penitentes took the road to "Calvary" each Holy Week, heralded by the wailing flagolet, all the while inflicting bloody stripes on their own backs with plaited yucca whips studded with metallic gouges and cactus clumps. The body must be taught not to hinder or encumber the spirit during its earthly pilgrimage. Phillip II, who inherited, used, and bequeathed a scourge, in like manner would have understood. His successors, embroiled in religious wars, could spare little energy and fewer resources for his Majesty's most remote outpost.<sup>37</sup>

Isolated since the late sixteenth century, with a sense of being abandoned in the seventeenth and eighteenth, New Mexico in 1810, through its envoy Don Bautista Pino, sent a final appeal to the Spanish government. His famous Exposición<sup>38</sup> included not a word of a world view, but merely surveyed the economic resources and woes of his land, with pleadings for assistance from the Cortes. No response came.

The sixteenth-century sophisticated Spanish mindset was no longer articulated, but smoldered, unthought in the deepest New Mexican recesses. Principles degenerated into folkways expressed through the most rudimentary faith, or superstition. New Mexicans invoked the Holy Trinity to ensure success in baking bread, and marked a cross on their dough. A blessed string around the throat prevented tonsillitis. Parents quickly baptized newborns, lest premature death (and infant mortality rates were high) cast the little angelito into Hell, in a special area to be sure, but Hell nevertheless where he could never see God. They protected their children from el ojo, the evil eye, by the benediction "Dios te garde tan linda," "God keep you, pretty baby." Everyone knew that witches convened at El Llano, north of Ranchos de Taos, but the courageous might through ritualistic traps capture their apparitions and force disclosure of true identities.<sup>39</sup>

Many rejected such incredible beliefs, but most subscribed to pervasive God-consciousness and profound respect for human beings, especially one's superiors, parents, priests, patrons. God had created the world, then man to rule it, therefore man was supreme, whether hidalgo or labrador. Woman, created for man, was his pleasure and possession by divine right. Over children he reigned as absolute lord. In his adobe manor the priest-king led his

family in veneration of the Virgin and Saints in private-chapel alcoves whence their effigies blessed every aspect of life. On feast days the family journeyed to churches and joined solemn processions of La Conquistadora or other reigning divine personages.

As a sacred duty the family transmitted holy traditions, teaching prayers and catechism orally to the young children. Persistent rote drills inculcated conditioned petitions and responses that would last a lifetime to in turn be transmitted to children's children. One learned on entering a neighbor's home to first say "Dio gracias," or "Ave Maria, Purisma," expecting the host to return, "Para siempre bendito sea Dios la siempre Virgin Maria; pasa adelante." People greeted one another on the streets with Ave Marias, and expected in return a complete Hail Mary. Evenings closed with prayers at the parental knee, ending with "Bendito y alabado sea el Santisimo Sacramento del Alter," and the patriarchal blessing before sleep. Almost to a fault the medieval Spanish Catholic world view and image of man exuded from virtually each New Mexican pore.<sup>40</sup>

Principles had become stereotyped patterns, and yet a residual mindset underlay the appearance. The cosmopolitan pluralism of Vitoria and Las Casas had rejected the rigid, exclusive, inquisitorial mind that saw human differences as a dangerous deficiency to be exterminated from the earth's

surface. Rather, universal order ruled the world; all men were created in the divine image and held legitimate rights to a noble and eternal destiny. One did not do God's work by exploiting the presumed inferior as his lawful prey. Human beings, inhabiting His world, created in His image, should seek community. Spanish New Mexicans' consciousness of human brotherhood and the pervasive divine presence was compatible with the spirit of the Pueblos. Vitoria and Las Casas would have recognized the faint echo of their principles.



## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Cleve Hallenbeck, Land of the Conquistadores (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, 1950). Based on primary documents and well written, Hallenbeck sets the stage for examination of the Spanish mindset.

<sup>2</sup>In a sense this sentence presupposes knowledge of Antonio Dominguez Ortiz's The Golden Age of Spain. Translated by James Casey (New York: Basic Books, 1971).

<sup>3</sup>Fray Angelico [Manuel Chavez] Chavez, My Penitente Land: Reflections on Spanish New Mexico (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974), pp. 8-9, 28.

<sup>4</sup>Lewis Hanke, The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1965), p. 2. Hereafter cited as Hanke, Struggle for Justice.

<sup>5</sup>Irving A. Leonard, Books of the Brave: Being An Account of Men in the Spanish Conquest and Settlement of the Sixteenth-Century World (New York: Gordian Press, Inc. 1949, 1964). My text was inspired by, rather than derived from, Leonard. His chapter one, "The Spanish Conquistador," is in fact an analysis of the Conquistadorial mind. Hereafter cited as Leonard, Books of the Brave.

<sup>6</sup>Lewis Hanke, Aristotle and the American Indian (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1959, 1971), pp. 94-95. The inherited assumptions were essentially Hellenist Aristotelian rather than Platonist. Hereafter cited as Hanke, Aristotle.

<sup>7</sup>Carlos G. Noreña, Studies in Spanish Renaissance Thought. vol. 82, International Archives of the History of Ideas (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975), pp. 23-29. Hereafter cited as Noreña, Spanish Renaissance Thought.

<sup>8</sup>Noreña, Spanish Renaissance Thought, pp. 38-39.

<sup>9</sup>Noreña, Spanish Renaissance Thought, p. 41.

<sup>10</sup>Noreña, Spanish Renaissance Thought, p. 75.

<sup>11</sup>Franciscus De Vitoria, De Indis Et De Ivre Belli Relectiones. Translated by John Pawley Bate. Edited by Ernest Nys. (Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1917), pp. 115-128. Hereafter cited as Vitoria, De Indis.

<sup>12</sup>Vitoria, De Indis, p. 128 concludes the matter with a summary.

<sup>13</sup>Vitoria, De Indis, p. 170. Of sixty propositions within one lecture, Vitoria's numbers ten, eleven, and twelve reject imperialism.

<sup>14</sup>Vitoria, De Indis, p. 171.

<sup>15</sup>Lewis Hanke's Spanish Struggle for Justice, pp. 117-128, contains an excellent summary of the debate.

<sup>16</sup>Bartolome de las Casas, Apologética historia, as cited in Hanke, Aristotle, p. 112.

<sup>17</sup>Juan Gines de Sepulveda, Democrates Alter, as cited in Hanke, Aristotle, p. 47.

<sup>18</sup>See Hanke's summary cited above.

<sup>19</sup>Petition to the Viceroy, Don Luís de Velasco, for the Journey of Exploration...and Capitulations of the Viceroy with Don Juan de Oñate, Mexico, September 21, 1595. Printed in Bandelier. The Founding of New Mexico in New Mexico Documents of Spanish Colonial Era Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Neuva Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773. Collected by Adolph Bandelier and Fanny R. Bandelier. (Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1923.) pp. 225 ff. Hereafter cited as Oñate, Petition.

<sup>20</sup>Oñate, Petition, p. 227.

<sup>21</sup>Oñate, Petition, p. 227.

<sup>22</sup>Oñate, Petition, p. 231.

<sup>23</sup>Oñate, Petition, p. 233.

<sup>24</sup>Gaspar Perez de Villagrà, History of New Mexico. Translated by Gilberto Espinosa. (Los Angeles, 1933), p. 41. Written as a heroic poem in the manner of Dante. Warren A. Beck, New Mexico: A History of Four Centuries (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), pp. 56-60.

<sup>25</sup>Chavez, My Penitente Land, pp. 53-54. Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of Arizona and New Mexico (Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace, 1962), pp. 157-158.

<sup>26</sup>Pedro de Cordoba, Christian Doctrine for the Instruction and Information of the Indians. Translated by Sterling A. Stoudmire. (Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1970 [First printed in Mexico City, 1544]). This and following pages embody analysis of the work as related to Pueblos. Specific pages are in brackets within the text.

<sup>27</sup>Harvey Fergusson, Rio Grande (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1933), pp. 99-103.

<sup>28</sup>Spanish colonists appeared to be more interested in this institution than virtually any other, as a "right, for every reason, divine and human...especially in cases so great and services so distinguished." Petition of Procuradores [Lawyers] of New Spain. Undated. In Hachett, Documents vol. I, Bandelier set, pp. 127 ff.

<sup>29</sup>Chavez, Penitente Land, pp. 46, 58.

<sup>30</sup>The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides, 1630. Translated by Mrs. Edward E. Ayer (Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace, 1965).

<sup>31</sup>According to Chavez, Benavides first brought La Conquistadora to New Mexico. The effigy of the Virgin still resides in Santa Fe.

<sup>32</sup>Bancroft, New Mexico, p. 225.

<sup>33</sup>The Missions of New Mexico, 1776. Translated by Eleanor A. Adams and Fray Angelico Chavez (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1956).

<sup>34</sup>Warren Beck took up the error in his New Mexico, pp. 66-67, averring that the Mestizo blend between Spanish women and Indian servants became the basis for a significant segment of New Mexican population. Chavez has strongly denied it. The evidence is with Chavez.

<sup>35</sup>Erna Fergusson, New Mexico: A Pageant of Three People (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), pp. 33-34; 42-43; 64; Paul Horgan, Great River, vol. I, p. 114.

<sup>36</sup>Cleofas M. Jaramillo, Shadows of the Past (Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1972), pp. 60-62. Hereafter cited as Jaramillo, Shadows.

<sup>37</sup>Charles Fletcher Lummis, Mesa, Cañon and Pueblo (New York: The Century Company, 1925), pp. 122-126; Harvey Fergusson, Rio Grande, pp. 120-123.

<sup>38</sup>(Albuquerque: The Quivira Society, 1942).

<sup>39</sup>Jaramillo, Shadows, p. 104.

<sup>40</sup>Jaramillo, Shadows, pp. 24-30.

### ANGLO IDEALISTS AND REALISTS IN NEW MEXICO

The first Americans to enter New Mexico came uninvited and unwelcomed. Permanent legitimate Anglo-American entrance dated from the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, although Stephen Watts Kearney's military occupation preceded the treaty by two years. On the North American continent Spanish culture had proceeded on a south-north axis. Anglo penetration moved along an east-west line. Since New Mexico lay at the point of intersection, cultural contact was inevitable. American fur trappers, a reckless breed of men, made the initial forays. During the Mexican interlude, 1821-1846, William Becknell and his most notable successor, Josiah Gregg, opened and developed the Santa Fe trade. President James K. Polk, inspired by his imperial imagination, led American expansionists toward their "natural" western boundary, the Pacific Ocean. Possession became national policy. During the Mexican-American War, the Army of the West engrossed the present American Southwest, including New Mexico. The Anglo action was "manifest destiny."

By midcentury an undergirding Anglo idealistic configuration had matured. Forged by William Gilpin, who absorbed the ideas of Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Hart Benton, and Andrew Jackson, the expansionist mindset became mystical poetry with Walt Whitman.<sup>1</sup> As a classical-Christian synthesis it became the world view and

image of man that underlay Anglo penetration of the Rio Grande world. Their Christian position was that God the Almighty created the world for His purposes and placed in it variegated species of flora and fauna. In His own image, with nobility and dignity, He fashioned human beings, for whom He created Eden. Virtue and goodness He made to depend on obedience to the divine order that rested on a natural relationship between living beings and the environment. In more recent times John Locke and J. J. Rousseau, with others, secularized the Christian concept into a "state of nature," compatible with the poetic imagination of Graeco-Roman classicism, particularly that of Virgil.<sup>2</sup> The common component of the Christian-classical construct portrayed mankind as virtuous in ratio to his degree of harmony with his natural setting. Adam in Paradise and Cincinnatus at his plow became antecedents for a race of sturdy, independent yeomen, the only fit inhabitants for God's new "Garden of the World." The Jefferson-Benton-Gilpin mindset adapted the synthesis to the American West.

In New Mexico, the years 1866-1889 mark a cultural epoch. Mid-eighteenth-century Pueblo and Spanish ideas and institutions had achieved accommodation through three centuries of mutual occupation of the unique environment. For them, God created and ruled; man obeyed. Each human being knew his role and place, social values took

precedence over individual. After life itself, the most vital divine gift, land, nourished group needs. Fields, forests, and streams, although quasi-personal property, in reality were eternal "real" property, a legacy gratefully received, to be in turn bequeathed to the community's successors. To both Pueblo and Spaniard, life was a mysterious mighty stream that flowed, with flesh-to-flesh contact, out of the past, created the existing community and continued on into the future. The present became eternity. For incoming Anglos, the present was the present, to be grasped and put to use.

With the post-Civil War Anglo surge came antipathetic ideological configurations, realistic and idealistic. Both in their eighteenth-century variety adopted imperialism as a driving force that pressed their devotees into the Great Valley, to complete New Mexico's cultural palimpsest.

George W. Julian and Edmund G. Ross specifically applied the idealist mindset to New Mexican Territory. President Grover Cleveland in 1885 appointed the former to be Surveyor General and the latter to be Governor. By then, the noble plowman had become an endangered species in the territory and Cleveland called for drastic measures to protect him. By reputation Ross and Julian were well suited to the task, which they conceived to be restoration

of proper relationships between settlers--freehold farmers, or yeomen--and their "natural environment," land plots equal to their cultivation potential. To that end, the proper remedy was fair, impartial application of the Homestead Act, institutional embodiment of the agrarian ideal.

The Homestead Act had crystallized the national idealism with its principle of free land for actual settlers. Implicit assumptions contoured the system: that the soil, "real estate" alone, could create real wealth; that tillage conferred title by divine and natural right; that only proprietors of the real estate could possess true nobility and dignity; that nature's rhythms surged only through those who lived within her embrace, imparting happiness and virtue. Inevitably, a touch of unreality underlay the image. To the agrarian idealist the sun never shone, it beamed; not on woods, but on enchanted forests. Farm boys might begin life as "lusty urchins," but through the rule of the rod and reason they held potential for growing to be "hardy swains," who might mature into ideal "husbandmen," "cultivators," or "yeomen"--to Jefferson the most precious part of the state, the only safe respository of republican institutions.<sup>3</sup>

Julian, more than thirty years before his appointment, had espoused agrarian idealism. Said he:

The life of a farmer is peculiarly favorable to virtue; and both individuals and communities are generally happy in proportion as they are virtuous. His manners are simple and his nature unsophisticated. His life does not impose excessive toil, and yet it discourages idleness. The farmer lives in rustic plenty, remote from the contagion of popular vices, and enjoys in their greatest fruition, the blessings of health and contentment.<sup>4</sup>

That speech had contributed to passage of legislation. However, following institutionalization of the concept of an agrarian utopia in the 1862 Homestead Act, something had gone much awry in Eden. The ideal and the reality diverged. In New Mexico, proper relationship between the individual and the land meant something different to the influx of Anglos from what it had meant to the authors of the Land Act as well as to the Pueblos and the Spanish New Mexicans, now adopted into the American system. Anglo landholding patterns required official government surveys. Spanish-Mexican land titles derived from grants --Spanish Crown; Republic of Mexico; Governor of New Mexico, of three sorts: community, individual, and Pueblo.



The treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo had guaranteed existing titles. A Mexican law of 1824 limited any grant to eleven square leagues, about ninety-seven thousand acres. However, as landmarks tended to be vague, so boundaries tended to gain elasticity. "Ingenious" Anglos quickly discovered that one might acquire much more than one hundred and sixty, or three hundred and twenty, or even six hundred and forty acres for their "homesteads." Native ricos and politicos had for years engaged in sharp expansionist practices. According to Victor Westphall, the incoming innocent Anglo settlers needed protection from the example of such nefarious practices, though he did admit that many "brought their own proclivity toward expansion."<sup>5</sup>

Just after the Civil War, a group of the most influential Anglo settlers came to embody a counter mindset--realistic, materialistic, "pragmatic," opportunistic-- that found institutionalization in a quasi-corporate coalition, the Santa Fe Ring. The constituency of the ring orbited its Missouri-born dual center of gravity, Thomas Benton Catron and Stephen Benton Elkins, both of whom were veterans of the Civil War and namesakes of the venerable Missouri expansionist, Thomas Hart Benton. Though Catron listed on his discharge document the occupation "farmer," neither aspired to be a noble plowman.<sup>6</sup> They came to the territory with visions of dominion and power, ends for which they were prepared to employ whatever means might be required. In New Mexico Territory dominion and power rested on

landholding and was wielded in ratio to the acreage held. If existing land institutions, grants, and the newly imported Anglo institution, the Homestead System, restricted ownership, the institutions must be adjusted and reinterpreted.

Ideological realism put to that end created the Santa Fe Ring, as Elkins and Catron participated in extending the famous Maxwell Grant from its legitimate ninety-seven thousand acres to its adjusted some two million acres. No exhaustive exposition of New Mexico's labyrinthian land-grant litigation is here intended or needed.<sup>7</sup> However, certain aspects of the Maxwell case crystallized the realist mindset, its goals and methodology, and identified the group of persons who coalesced into its chief protagonist, the Santa Fe Ring.

In 1841, the last Mexican Governor of New Mexico, Manuel Armijo, issued a grant of some ninety-seven thousand acres to Guadalupe Miranda and Charles Hipolite Trotier de Beaubien. Ten years after Mexico ceded the territory to the United States, Lucien B. Maxwell purchased the original interests. By 1869 a group of Anglos, including Colorado Senator Jerome Chaffee, Colorado Congressman George M. Chilcott, and New Mexican newcomer Stephen B. Elkins took an option to purchase the tract from Maxwell. Maxwell had hired Santa Fe Surveyor William W. Griffin, a man of creative imagination, to survey the tract. In late 1869, United States Secretary of the Interior Jacob D. Cox limited the

grant to ninety-seven thousand acres, 22 square leagues, in harmony with the 1824 Mexican law that had guided Armijo on the original grant. Griffin, however, on request from the Anglo entrepreneurs, completed his own reading of the boundaries and reported a grant of almost two million acres, a remarkable transformation. Chaffee quickly secured approval of that survey from New Mexico Surveyor General T. Rush Spencer, himself a member of the grant company, that Chaffee in turn rushed to the General Land Office in Washington for registration pursuant to patent. Maxwell then accepted an adjusted option, a \$10,000 payment, and bargained with the syndicate for the enlarged tract at a price of \$1,350,000 to be paid later.

Chaffee then negotiated to confer title on an English speculator's syndicate, an illegal act under the United States Code, that circumvented federal law through a front, the Maxwell Land Grant and Railway Company, ostensibly incorporated by New Mexico Governor William Pile, Surveyor General T. Rush Spencer, and New Mexico Territorial Chief Justice John S. Watts. Materialistic ends apparently justified devious means. Doubtless Jefferson was spinning in his grave, his beloved republic was under siege. Removed from the mystical renewal of nature through close contact with the soil, officers of the government dealt in inflated land titles for profit. In the name of expediency they sacrificed Jefferson's beloved small freeholder on the

altar of mammon.

Following the Civil War, Anglo farmers had entered Maxwell's grant as well as the public domain surrounding it. They assumed that occupation and tillage would under law confer title. In reality boundary manipulation engrossed homesteads not even on the original grant. Before the issues could be settled, dispute set off conflicts, the most serious of which was the Elizabethtown "battle" of October 1870. New Mexico Attorney General T. B. Catron initiated expulsion of settlers, or squatters, from "company land." Elkins requested troops to enforce the action.

The real battle, however, was legal and political. In that arena, between 1869 and 1885, the evolving ring translated its ideas and values into novel institutional relationships. Basic Anglo institutions, legislative, executive, and judicial, rested on the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the 1850 Act that created New Mexico Territory. An 1854 Act established the office of Surveyor General for the new territory and superimposed the Anglo land system over the existing Spanish-Pueblo traditions. Between the two systems the Santa Fe Ring found space for its operations. Until 1885 its major goal was wholesale engrossment of the public domain, by legal or illegal means. Nourished by sustained patronage from the Grant Administration and heir of the national temper of corporate

domination, the ring enlisted and rewarded whatever personnel it required to bend local and national institutions to its purpose. From Grant to Cleveland every surveyor general served the ring, and partook of its largess.<sup>8</sup> Santa Fe register of the land office, Max Frost, participated and allegedly "doctored" records for the ring. Later, as editor of the Santa Fe New Mexican, he assailed ring enemies and succored its allies.

No office was too sacred for subversion. Probate Judge Robert H. Longwill was of particular value; his district embraced the Maxwell Grant. Federal judges who supported ring activities included Chief Justice Joseph G. Palen, Samuel B. Axtell, formerly governor of the territory, and L. B. Prince, subsequently governor of the territory. From 1865 to the Ross administration, every governor except Lew Wallace allied himself with the ring. Nonpartisan, it included, among others, Democrats Henry L. Waldo and Antonio Joseph. J. Francisco Chavez and Miguel Otero dissolved ethnic boundaries to cooperate with the coalition. Opportunistic, tenacious, and brazen, the ring consolidated its power in the late 1870's through violence and alleged subversion of the court system.

The issue turned on the rights of homesteaders versus those of the expanded Maxwell claims. Methodist Minister T. J. Tolby was assassinated just after stating his intent to "expose" Probate Judge Joseph G. Palen. The sordid

details are already well known and need not concern us here. Of specific interest, however, is the method of ring response that crystallized and demonstrated the possible final product of such ruthlessness. These activities brought the group to the height of its power and evoked federal countermeasures that would ostensibly lead to more placid operations in the early 1880's.

Contemporaries passed harsh judgments on the group. Caught in their own tangled web, the principals allegedly intentionally misread legal descriptions; evicted homesteaders; murdered some who resisted, whether Anglo, Spanish-American, or English; subverted judges; changed court venues; dissolved local legal bodies; censored and purged official records; and later suppressed official reports of misdeeds filed on ring activities, even in the federal archives.

Federal Investigator Frank Warner Angel proved such activities and issued a series of reports. Though Angel referred to them in other documents, some dropped from sight, and have not surfaced since.<sup>9</sup> In any case methods softened, and Catron resigned as United States Attorney.

Victor Westphall's The Public Domain in New Mexico, published in 1965, judged Catron as guilty of wrongdoing in the late 1870's because he delayed his response to federal inquiries. His "reluctance to report on affairs in Lincoln County [could] be explained by his own involvements there."<sup>10</sup>

Subsequently, in Thomas Benton Catron and His Era, he fashioned an elaborate apologia of at least amnesty, if not quite pardon. Essentially both the works blamed the system. He saw his work as a "severe indictment of the tactics of some American newcomers to the Territory, [however] dilatory and unrealistic procedures by the Federal Government made these tactics possible." What else could they do vis-a-vis such an expanse of unpatented land? "These Americans should be judged by the standards of that era," argued Westphall. "National morality was lax and in New Mexico the law was largely what these men made it. By the standards of that day, their reaction to their environment was commonplace."<sup>11</sup> That might be true to a point, but the late 1870's exposed the deleterious results of such cynical and opportunistic practices.

New Mexico apparently existed for exploitation by whatever means was required to achieve that end. Human beings were not noble creations existing in the divine image, but means to an end. Nonparticipants in the existing order did the menial work, and obeyed orders, not the least important of which was to "vote right." As a matter of course such power secured final patent of the Maxwell Grant for about two million acres, a twentyfold expansion. Chicanery appeared to pay. The group entered the 1880's at zenith and appeared capable of making New

Mexico a congeries of quasi-fiefdoms.

On the other hand national idealism survived, challenged the exploitative attitude toward the environment, and about 1885 opened quasi-debate on the issue. In two crucial positions previously virtual private property of the opportunistic group, surveyor general and governor, President Cleveland placed the idealist George W. Julian and the incorruptible Edmund G. Ross. For almost the first time in territorial history, invitations to cooperation with exploitation fell on deaf ears. Ross and Julian articulated the Jeffersonian mindset on two levels. First, in statements of fundamental values and principles in reports, addresses, and articles; second, as polemicists in day-to-day confrontation over territorial issues. In his initial report to the Secretary of the Interior, Ross espoused agrarian idealism.

Settlement and cultivation of the ground [he averred] while they may not have increased the volume of rainfall, have yet manifestly equalized it throughout the year to such an extent as to convert vast regions that thirty years ago were an apparent desert, so much so as is New Mexico today, into reliable agricultural counties.<sup>12</sup>

The mysticism lies in the verbs "equalized," and "convert." In cooperation with the "cultivator," Nature was an active-voice participant in transformation of the wilderness. For Ross, believing was seeing. New Mexico was only "an apparent desert;" the truth would become



manifest at the touch of the sacred plow. Occupancy and cultivation had "developed permanent surface water in the form of springs and running streams" [1010] where none had been apparent before arrival of the homesteader. The western plains were not permanently arid. In New Mexico one could work comfortably out of doors all year on some of the finest agricultural land in the world, now open to homestead and preemption entry. [1005-1006] In an astonishing statement, Ross appeared to excuse even fraud if it were for proper ends--"actual occupation and cultivation." [1008]

The governor was certain that great landed estates were evil. They could support only an alien philosophy, a system of tenantry, and were by nature a "menace to popular government." There could be no safe depository of republican virtue and "loyalty like that of the man who owns in fee [simple] the roof that shelters his wife and children." Such a man "becomes instinctively a conservator of the public peace and public order." [Ross Report 1886, 932]

By 1887, Ross, even more convinced, noted that "settlement and cultivation [were] changing existing conditions, precisely as they [had done] in other Western Territories." [875] He superimposed his vision over the land and knew in himself that "rains [were] from year to year becoming more frequent, and large areas of the country [formerly] barren deserts [now were] producing abundant food crops." [885] Mystical symbiosis between cloud and

plow was laying the foundation for the coming agrarian civilization with its natural concomitants, "the school, the church, the factory, and the active element of human civilization and progress." [875] To secure the blessing of this higher form of civilization, all public land must be held for actual residence in the "prescribed quantity now provided in the homestead law." [875] Ross not only preached agrarian doctrine, he also took a homestead. Jefferson would have ratified the vision and the action.

In early 1888, Ross projected his New Mexican-Jeffersonian vision in Congressional halls. Before the House Committee on Territories he pleaded for relief from speculators who despoiled Eden and threatened the republic "by cunning penmanship and the convenient manufacture of certificates." One month later before the House Committee on Private Land Claims, he called for federal support of New Mexico's "sturdy pioneers [who] sought title to the frontier homes they so lately captured from the domain of savagery, and made blossom into gardens of abundance and happiness."<sup>13</sup> The New Mexican reported not a word of the speech, but claimed that Ross was on mission to report the Santa Fe Ring as a "horrid set of people." Tongue in cheek, the paper asserted that a "Ross Report" would have been so graphic that it doubtless would have caused Cleveland to have a nightmare in which the ring sat on his chest.<sup>14</sup>

Throughout his long career, Julian had defended and nourished agrarian idealism. "Small homesteads," he argued, supply "the strongest bond of union between the citizen and the State, and [are] absolutely necessary in a well-ordered commonwealth." He held that other patterns developed "artificial life." Land monopoly circumvented the "natural rights of man" and undermined democratic institutions.<sup>15</sup>

With Ross and Julian, a utopian mindset took residence in New Mexico. Polemics ensued. Commissioned by President Cleveland, the duet of Anglo Don Quixotes donned full regalia and assailed their "enemy," who turned out to be virtually every other citizen and institution in New Mexico. Ross rejected overtures from the ruling clique that, hydra-like, controlled or influenced: land office; legislature; executive, except Cleveland appointees; judiciary, save Judge E. V. Long; transportation; most professions, notably lawyers, particularly through the Santa Fe Bar Association; commercial and business clubs; and the Santa Fe Press. In such a setting Ross and Julian launched their effort to transform New Mexico into an agrarian bulwark of the republic. Few shared that goal. Far removed from Washington, they derived little comfort from likeminded reformers Secretary of the Interior L. Q. C. Lamar and William A. J. Sparks, Commissioner of the General Land Office.<sup>16</sup> Closer at hand acrimonious

recrimination reverberated through New Mexico during the entire Ross administration.

The Territory fairly vibrated with sound and fury as idealist-realist polemics assumed some characteristics of warfare. Contention on three key issues suffices to delineate the patterns: land holding, civil liberties, and separation of powers. President Cleveland, soon after taking office, had appointed Ross and Julian specifically to participate in breaking up the territorial "rings," particularly those occupied in engrossing the public domain.<sup>17</sup> Julian made the surveyor general system totally honest for probably the first time in territorial history. After just one year in office, the new administration presented 351 cases of fraud, the all-time high.<sup>18</sup> The host of indictments included such prominent New Mexicans as Charles Ilfeld, Max Frost, and ex-Senator Stephen W. Dorsey. Frost was convicted, but through complicated legal procedures won a new trial. He secured dismissal, without prejudice, August 18, 1888, owing to the mysterious disappearance of official files.<sup>19</sup> As Victor Westphall put it, "Frost was extremely fortunate in having all the charges against him disposed of in one way or another since the records in the case show that it was a real battle all the way."<sup>20</sup> Indeed he was fortunate.

From Ross and Julian's perspective, however, that was the point. People apparently guilty could in "one way or

another" escape the consequences. In addition, large numbers of "defendants" apparently never existed. United States marshals sought to serve subpoenas, and after diligent futile search so annotated the documents and returned them to the courts. They were correct; in many cases such persons did not exist.<sup>21</sup> Customs and institutions appeared to conspire to thwart the would-be creators of a small landowner society.

After two years in office, both Julian and Ross composed remarkable statements of conditions in New Mexico. With the record of his investigations at hand, Julian penned a literary shout of moral outrage citing by names, dates, and places, numerous examples of perfidy. In Julian's judgment, Dorsey, Elkins, Catron, and C. H. Gildersleeve were part of a "pestilence" that hovered over the territory, subverting its institutions and officers.<sup>22</sup>

Congress had been derelict in confirmation of the Tierra Amarilla and Mora grants, among others, and so had denied homes for the landless poor. The surveyor general considered this to be a crime second only to murder. The corrupt system had set up a "grinding oligarchy of land sharks [that deserved to be] completely routed and overthrown." Julian's remedy called for replacement of the Surveyor General Congressional confirmation system, making the Secretary of the Interior final arbiter.<sup>23</sup> Existing unpatented claims he would resurvey vis-a-vis the prevalent

boundary expansion. Already patented lands would require suits for recovery where fraud existed. Subsequently Julian learned that juries seldom convicted, because of fear of reprisal or in some cases sympathy for the accused.<sup>24</sup>

Ross's famous document has been widely quoted. Scholars who have read the letter-memo, however, appear rarely to have grasped its full import. Commonly cited as an interesting description of rings and their constituency, the document in fact smolders with determined, dedicated moral idealism. The author, fully aware of grave personal risk, persisted in his stand for his principles. As he put it, one who resisted the tide and refused to be "purchased" could expect to be "intimidated into silence, or killed, unless he escaped by flight." To dare independent action was to evoke ring pressure that was sure to render life a "burden till [one was] forced through exhaustion or removed at the behest of the Ring to abandon the controversy." Ross acted with a sense of being beleaguered on every hand by a host of land robbers on a "crusade for [his] removal." His idealism, articulated year by year, rang true in his closing lines. "This has become a fight to the death. It will go on till I am killed or out of office, or the thieves in prison." Vis-a-vis conditions in New Mexico Territory in the 1880's, this was more than rhetoric and Ross knew it. To see merely a description of ring activities in this manifesto is to miss the point.<sup>25</sup>

At Ross's behest, Antonio Joseph, Delegate to Congress, introduced a bill for settlement of Spanish and Mexican land grants. In January and February 1888 the governor addressed Congress in support of passage.<sup>26</sup> He argued for federal protection of "sturdy pioneers'" rights on the public domain. His views had evolved from support of a Land Commission system to support for a Court of Private Land Claims. The idea had gained general support and in fact would become law in 1891, a workable solution-institution to begin settlement of the onerous land issue. Frost could see no value in any of Ross's work and maintained a steady fire. Lacking reasonable grounds for criticism, he instead relied on sarcastic caricature. The day following the governor's speech, the New Mexican noted that a six-member delegation represented New Mexican interests. Frost portrayed the "delegation" as

his excellency Gov. Ross; his honor, Gov. Ed. Gib. Ross; General Ross, commander-in-chief of the naval and military forces of New Mexico; ex-Senator Ross of Kansas; Edmund G. Ross, a horny-handed farmer and yeoman from Albuquerque railway system . . . when this dignified, powerful, warlike, yeomanlike, statesman appeared . . . some members immediately fainted, while others were in favor of giving New Mexico any and everything she asked . . . the people are to be congratulated.<sup>27</sup>

Frost prostituted considerable talent that he should have put to better use. At this time he was still under sentence for fraud during his tenure as land register of Santa Fe and felt animosity toward Ross and Julian.

Although it was meant to be a distortion, "Edmund G. Ross, a horny-handed yeoman," was not alien to the governor's ideals.

Land-issue polemics had so polarized New Mexicans by 1887 that thought sprang from viscera rather than brain. The controversy drew into its vortex every other issue, whether directly related or not. Under ring influence the Legislature sought to restrict civil rights, those related to protection of the property of those of minority age, and women's rights, as well as freedom of speech, and presumption of innocence. Ross fought and vetoed each. His messages reflect Anglo-Saxon common law and moral idealism. Council Bill 142, "an act to authorize the mortgaging of the property of minors," said Ross, so changed the existing law that a dishonest guardian would be able to "strip the minor of his property [and yet maintain] strict conformity to the forms of law, in a manner so hard to establish as fraudulent, that the courts would be powerless to give relief."<sup>28</sup> The New Mexican printed the veto message in toto with adverse comment. The same issue reported numerous mortgage foreclosures, perhaps some of the sort Ross sought to prevent.<sup>29</sup> The Legislature failed in its override attempt.<sup>30</sup>

Ross also held enlightened views on women's rights. Council Bill 108, propagandistically entitled "an act to prevent women from entering saloons for the purpose of



drinking therein," actually included provisions demeaning to female independence. One suspects it might have been contrived with such a title, knowing that Ross would reject it because of other provisions, then he could be represented as favoring women's drinking in saloons. Ross ignored that possibility, and his veto message averred that the spirit of the bill kept women as a "toy, a slave or a nonentity," subject to man-made laws that demeaned her as a human being.<sup>31</sup>

Ross's views were inimical to those of entrenched interests in New Mexico, by 1888-1889 articulated through the Santa Fe Bar Association. This group dominated the state power structure and constituted itself an informal caucus that allegedly drafted or evaluated every bill brought to the new Mexico Council and House.<sup>32</sup> In 1888-1889 antipodal philosophies struggled to shape legal and political institutions to specific ends, benefit for special group interests, or on the other hand, the good of the community. In late 1888 the caucus wrote a libel bill that would have squelched virtually all public criticism, and as Ross observed, even private, personal correspondence. True to form the governor vetoed it on common law grounds, citing traditional rights of free speech and press.<sup>33</sup> Ironically, the New Mexican supported the bill that might have circumscribed even its own fully exploited freedom.<sup>34</sup> Apparently caucus interest took precedence.

Ultimately the caucus ventured into the realm of politics and sought to redraw traditional relationships between executive-legislative-judicial powers in the territory, attempting to deny the chief executive his constitutional appointive power. The State Senate usurped authority to appoint executive officers--solicitors general and district attorneys. The convoluted details are too complex to recount here, but the implications were obvious. Ideological alignments polarized as one would expect. Before the issue could be settled, Harrison defeated Cleveland, transforming him into a "lame duck," a fate Ross shared. One could sense that change was on the way. Soon after his inauguration the new president removed Ross to make way for L. B. Prince.<sup>35</sup>

Harrison's action quieted the realist-idealist debate for a time, but the issues raised haunted the victors. To be a territory was to experience dynamic, unending idea-institution flux. That in itself tried men's souls, but to have men like Ross and Julian ascendant at that crucial point when institutions crystallize was a prospect too frightening to contemplate. Wary of facing another such administration the ruling clique moved in 1889 to embody its own principles into fundamental law.

On the final day of its session, the 28th Legislature enacted a Constitutional Convention Bill introduced by Col. George W. Prichard of San Miguel County. "Whereas a

territorial organization is most unsatisfactory; and whereas--based on the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, current population, obvious wealth, and burgeoning intelligence--it is New Mexico's right, let a convention convene September next."<sup>36</sup> The crucial issue--who should write it--Prichard and the legislature settled in the same bill by apportioning the state for election of delegates. Subsequently Governor Prince cited the Act, set the election for August 6, 1889, and authorized a September convention not to exceed thirty days. Following their selection, delegates began arriving in the capital city during the first week of that month.

The Santa Fe New Mexican was most gratified with the delegations--who they were as well as even their appearance. "Expecting no pay, fee, or reward, [they came] to labor for the best interests of New Mexico." To the neglect of their business and at great personal expense they came, lawyers, merchants, stock raisers, mining engineers, and farmers, in Max Frost's judgment, "some of the best citizens of the Territory, highly respected for their sterling qualities and manly worth." They were "the most intelligent looking body of men ever assembled in New Mexico."<sup>37</sup>

The official convention roster enrolled seventy-four delegates, from fourteen counties. Of that total, thirty-five were Spanish American. Bernalillo sent the

sole Democrat, Judge L. S. Trimble. From Valencia came the popular and powerful J. Francisco Chavez, accompanied by a member of the even more influential Lunas, Patrocinio Luna. Albert J. Fountain, House speaker from the 28th Legislature, and William Rynerson represented Doña Ana. Thomas B. Catron and Frank Clancy came for Santa Fe. Though there were exceptions, like Bernard S. Rodey, A. J. Fountain, and Judge Trimble, among others, it was clear who would write New Mexico's fundamental document. Power lay with the Republican Party, with a strong Santa Fe Ring contingent at the controls.<sup>38</sup>

Initially, on Catron's motion, the convention established its most powerful committee, that on Rules, with the prime mover in the chair. In addition B. S. Rodey, A. J. Fountain, W. G. Ritch, and G. W. Prichard served with Catron to draw the organizational format for the sessions.<sup>39</sup>

Catron presented their report September 5, 1889. Minor alterations were added from the floor by E. S. Stover, Hazeldine and Clancy, all related to the control of debate, and the convention format was settled. The Bernalillo delegation's alternative that sought to inject some progressive issues, such as woman's suffrage, referendum, and minority rights, died in a special committee created to deal with it.<sup>40</sup> Implementing the structure drawn by its rules committee, the convention

organized itself into eleven standing committees: Bill of Rights, Legislative, Executive, Judiciary, Elective Franchise, Education, Federal Requirements, Public Institutions, Corporations, Apportionment, and Revision, and launched its work.<sup>41</sup>

Between September 3 and September 21, 1889, the convention forged its constitution. Frontier New Mexico, theoretical cradle of democracy and social justice, bulwark of republican virtue, produced a retrograde, reactionary document, and called on her people to ratify it. When Frederick Jackson Turner read his thesis to the American Historical Association in 1893, New Mexico was not the western territory he had in mind. The difference between, say, Wyoming and the Southwestern Territory, was the presence there of New Mexico's powerful, opportunistic, and articulate conservative ruling clique. In 1889 this group embodied its mindset into potential fundamental law.

Since the document followed the typical pattern of state constitutions, with legislative, executive, and judiciary, in what was it at fault? The new constitution, first, ignored national trends toward protection of citizens against special interests. Second, it contoured tax and financial structures to benefit its framers. Third, it was out of harmony with recognition of fundamental human rights.

In the first instance it ignored regulation of corporations when precedents for such regulation existed in even New Mexico's recent history, in the 1872 Constitution, not to mention the Federal Interstate Commerce Act, passed a scant two years previously. The document's vague reference to "unlawful combinations" was a decided attenuation of the principles embodied in the 1872 document.<sup>42</sup> The framers obviously did not desire strong provisions in that area. While the convention itself was in progress, two of its leading figures found time to incorporate a \$5,000,000 operation.<sup>43</sup> Some pressure from the Las Vegas Optic may have contributed to secure even the general statement on monopolies. Frank Springer excoriated Optic reporter Judge J. B. Sloan, and subsequently the convention barred him from the floor for alleged misrepresentation. In the uproar it became impossible to ascertain whether publicity on relevant debate led to inclusion of the principle or the reverse.<sup>44</sup>

In addition, the constitution was so drawn as to confer special financial benefits on some of the framers. "The State shall incur no debt for any purpose whatever, including existing indebtedness, in excess of the amount of five hundred thousand dollars; but this shall not be construed to impair or affect the liability of the State for debts of the territory of New Mexico."<sup>45</sup> That is, New Mexicans' debt ceiling was \$500,000 unless that limit

precluded payment of the debts of the Territory. Catron, Clancy, and others wished to ensure face-value redemption of militia warrants, script originally paid to military forces as far back as the Civil War. The New Mexican in 1888 had counseled holders who were selling them at discount to hold them, "values are on the rise."<sup>46</sup> Catron, Otero, and A. A. Staub, a prominent merchant, were reported to hold large quantities bought at below face value. Chairman of the Convention Taxation Committee, Pedro Perea, himself a member of the ring, insisted on repudiation of warrants in the debt assumption article of his report.<sup>47</sup> The provision he fought for disappeared in the final version.<sup>48</sup> The Journal of the convention reflects the involved parliamentary maneuvers Perea used in his fight for principle against Catron and Frank Clancy. Perea lost both in committee and before the convention.<sup>49</sup> Such internal stress was taking its toll on ring cohesion. People learned, however, where real power lay.

Other financial provisions markedly reduced grant owners' tax liability, constitutionally set at one percent maximum per year. Allegedly a section taxed mine output in such a way that it benefited land owners.<sup>50</sup>

Finally, the document ignored trends toward recognition of political and social equality. The Bernalillo delegation's proposed organizational framework had espoused woman suffrage, the principle of referendum,

and protection of minority rights. The latter two fell at the start when the Rules Committee organized the convention. Bernard Rodey continued his fight for women's rights thereafter through proposed amendments to committee reports as they came to the convention floor. He succeeded in prohibiting primogeniture,<sup>51</sup> but failed to secure female franchise. On presentation of the report to the Franchise Committee, Rodey sought to amend section one. Prichard and Convention President Chavez outmaneuvered and denied him finally even the right to submit the amendment.<sup>52</sup>

The convention adjourned September 21, 1889. As the New Mexican had denoted its beginning "a noble effort," so it pronounced the final product to be "one of the most liberal and progressive which will be presented to Congress for approval."<sup>53</sup> New Mexico's electorate disagreed markedly. Debate continued.



## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Henry Nash Smith, Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth (New York: Vintage Books, 1950), pp. 38-46; Walt Whitman, Leaves of Grass The First (1855) Edition. Edited by Malcolm Cowley (New York: The Viking Press, 1959). Whitman saw the "United States themselves [as the] greatest poem," p. 5. "Eternity exists in [its] men and women," p. 9. Their destiny was to possess the entire world. California would be merely a launching point. c.f. "Facing West from California Shores," in Leaves of Grass (New York: Aventine Press, 1931), p. 115. The mystical dream became infinite. Of course Whitman was not personally Christian. Hereafter cited as Smith, Virgin Land, and Whitman, Leaves of Grass.

<sup>2</sup>Ecologues. Scholars are unanimous in founding the pastoral tradition in Virgil's literary pagan paradise.

<sup>3</sup>Writings of Thomas Jefferson, VII, p. 36. Edited by Paul L. Ford, as cited in Smith, Virgin Land, p. 144.

<sup>4</sup>U.S. Congress, Congressional Globe. Appendix, p. 137. As cited in Smith, Virgin Land, p. 197.

<sup>5</sup>Victor Westphall, The Public Domain in New Mexico: 1854-1891 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1965), p. XIII. Hereafter cited as Westphall, Public Domain.

<sup>6</sup>The document is in the Catron Papers, University of New Mexico. Hereafter cited as Catron Papers.

<sup>7</sup>Basic work includes William A. Keleher's Maxwell Land Grant: A New Mexico Item (Santa Fe, 1949) and Jim B. Pearson's The Maxwell Land Grant (Norman, 1961). My survey sets the case into its ideological perspective.

<sup>8</sup>Westphall, Public Domain, p. 54.

<sup>9</sup>Catron's letters to Stephen B. Elkins requested destruction of Angel's Report. Catron to Elkins, Sept. 26, 1892, Catron Papers. A delicious rumor survives in Santa Fe--some author has discovered a copy, and is on the verge of publication, or a small work was published--ad infinitum. Diligent inquiry by this author led to a series of dead ends. Apparently the report once existed. Catron requested that Elkins purge the Federal archives. No report is extant. Victor Westphall in Thomas Benton Catron and His Era (Tucson: University of Arizona Press), pp. 122-134, probably has written all that can be fairly written on the subject. The work is cited hereafter as Westphall, T. B. Catron.

<sup>10</sup>Westphall, Public Domain, p. 55.

<sup>11</sup>Westphall, T. B. Catron, pp. 38-39; Public Domain, pp. 53-54.

<sup>12</sup>Report of the Secretary of the Interior, U.S. House of Representatives Executive Document No. 1, Part 5, 49 Congress Session 1 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1885). Report of the Governor of New Mexico, p. 1010. Page numbers in the text cite specific quoted passages. Hereafter Governors' Reports will be cited as Ross Report with the year.

<sup>13</sup>Address of Governor Ross, of New Mexico, in Behalf of Legislation for the Settlement of Spanish and Mexican Land Grants in New Mexico. Delivered before the House Committee on Territories, January 11, 1888. Copy in Elisha V. Long Collection. State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico. Curiously the address is not in the Ross Papers.

<sup>14</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, January 7, 1888; January 9, 1888.

<sup>15</sup>George W. Julian, "Our Land Policy," Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 43 (March, 1879), pp. 325-337.

<sup>16</sup>Lamar to Ross, September 23, 1885; Sparks to Ross, November 7, 1887. Ross Papers.

<sup>17</sup>George W. Julian, "Land Stealing in New Mexico," North American Review, Vol. 145, p. 17. Hereafter cited as Julian, "Land Stealing."

<sup>18</sup>Westphall, Public Domain, pp. 102-103.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., pp. 105-110.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 110.

<sup>21</sup>Westphall, Public Domain, p. 105.

<sup>22</sup>Julian, "Land Stealing," pp. 27-28.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., pp. 26-30.

<sup>24</sup>Westphall, Public Domain, p. 105.

<sup>25</sup>Ross to O'Grady, March 26, 1887. The famous memo: "The Gildersleve, Springer and Joseph Combination." Folder: Santa Fe Ring. Ross Papers, State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

<sup>26</sup>Cited above, Note 13, by address title.

<sup>27</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, January 12, 1888.

<sup>28</sup>New Mexico. 28th Legislative Assembly, Governor's Messages, XLVI, XLVII. Ross Papers.

<sup>29</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, February 12, 1889.

<sup>30</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, February 16, 1889.

<sup>31</sup>New Mexico. 28th Legislature Assembly, Governor's Messages XLVII-XLVIII. Ross Papers; Santa Fe New Mexican, February 12, 1889.

<sup>32</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, February 7, 1889.

<sup>33</sup>Governor's Messages, "The Libel Law," XXXII-XXXV; Santa Fe New Mexican, February 11, 1889.

<sup>34</sup>This curious twist was reported April 16, 1889.

<sup>35</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, April 9, 1889.

<sup>36</sup>Essence of the Bill was reported in the New Mexican, February 23, 1889.

<sup>37</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, September 4, 1889.

<sup>38</sup>New Mexico, "Journal of the Constitutional Convention, Territory of New Mexico: September 3-21, 1889, and August 18-19, 1890." Membership roster, State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe. Hereafter cited as Convention Journal (unpublished).

<sup>39</sup>Convention Journal, September 3, 1889, p. 13; Santa Fe New Mexican, September 4, 1889.

<sup>40</sup>Report of the Special Committee on Committees. New Mexico Constitutional Convention. Committees and Committee Reports.

<sup>41</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, "Down to Business," September 4-5, 1889, printed membership of standing committees.

<sup>42</sup>New Mexico: Constitution 1889. Article XIII, Section 8. Hereafter cited as Constitution, Article, Section.

<sup>43</sup>Catron and Clancy with W. T. Thornton, Wilson Waddington, and W. J. Mills. Reported in Santa Fe New Mexican, September 10, 1889.

<sup>44</sup>Journal, September 16, 1889; Santa Fe New Mexican, September 16, 17, 18, 1889.

<sup>45</sup>Constitution, XI, Sec. 13.

<sup>46</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, January 18, 1888.

<sup>47</sup>Committee Report, Taxation.

<sup>48</sup>Constitution, XI, Sec. 13.

<sup>49</sup>Journal, September 5, 1889. The Santa Fe New Mexican, September 6, 1889, clearly supported warrants.

<sup>50</sup>Constitution, XL, Secs. 3, 10.

<sup>51</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, September 11, 1889.

<sup>52</sup>The Journal, September 9, 1899, p. 40 reflects the skillful techniques used in parliamentary procedure.

<sup>53</sup>Supportive throughout, one would expect such a prognosis. The Santa Fe New Mexican, September 3, 17, 20, 1889.

#### IDEOLOGICAL CROSSCURRENTS 1889 - 1890

Analysis of the process of constitution-making reveals sharp ideological conflict at this stage of New Mexico's intellectual history. Would-be founding fathers had set out with a will to mold the future state to their image. Large landholders dominated the convention, along with members of the Santa Fe Bar Association. Of seventy members chosen, fifty-one actually drafted the fundamental law. Fourteen of these held or represented nine and one-half million acres of land grants. Not surprisingly, the entrepreneurial Anglo view of nature and landholding became the will of the convention.<sup>1</sup>

The constitution was of, by, and for Anglos. It should not have been in view of the unique combination of three mature cultures. For all three--Pueblo, Spanish, Anglo--the key economic issue was land, its ownership, distribution, and use. The Pueblo saw land as divinity, to be revered and petitioned, a common heritage to be lovingly tilled, cared for, and bequeathed to their progeny. The Earth gave birth, nourished its children, and finally welcomed them at death. The Spaniard, almost as mystical as the Indian, held land as a divine trust for children and children's children. Earth was more than soil. Anglos saw land as a commodity to be "bought low" and "sold high," the basis for personal and not community prosperity. Legal, social, and political institutions ought to safeguard entrepreneurial rights. As earlier inhabitants,

Pueblos and Spaniards might be excused for believing the same about their own viewpoints.

On the other hand, the three held a remarkably similar world view and image of man. For each the deity had shaped the universe and set its components in proper perspective. Human beings were noble creatures with eternal destinies. Each culture had developed socio-political and economic systems based on these assumptions. A proper constitution should have established a social order built on mutual respect and agreement. The framers were inclined more to bulldoze than to respect.

A constitution is itself an agreement that establishes "relationships . . . that rely greatly on bargaining, negotiation, and persuasion among diverse peoples, groups and polities who regard themselves as partners who are fundamentally equal at the bargaining table despite being unequal in other respects."<sup>2</sup>

In a deeper sense a constitution is based on a covenant among partners that reflects their common perception of their relationships to their world and one another. To the valley of the Rio Grande Spaniards had brought their vision of God the Creator. Oñate's capitulation had expressly subscribed to the world view of Vitoria and the image of man of De Las Casas. The church was the instrument of God on earth. Social economic, and

political life--the culture in toto--bore the Christian imprint. Separation of church and state was not only unnecessary, but unthinkable. Education and all human activity at all levels was not only the responsibility, but the sacred duty and privilege of the church. The social hierarchy descended from God. Each individual was not independent, but a part of the whole who knew, or should know his or her place and role in the accepted order--the community. Spanish delegates came to the constitutional convention bearing this heritage, partners fundamentally equal at the bargaining table. This was true, at least in theory.

Pueblo delegates came not at all. These quasi-polises, with clearly defined religions and political institutions evolved through the millennia, did not participate in this stage of New Mexico's development. Nor were they even considered, as they had been in earlier constitution movements, for example, under K. Benedict in 1886 and Josh Giddings in 1873. The Pueblos were in a passive state and their world view and image of man were just beginning to be widely grasped and appreciated through the works of Charles Fletcher Lummis and Adolph Bandelier. The Rio Grande Indians were becoming quaint objects of aesthetic interest, natural men inhabiting pastoral landscapes, fit for mythologized literature and a new school of art. Their sense of cosmos

and community might have informed or even enlightened both Spaniard and Anglo. Both exploited, pitied, or ignored them.<sup>3</sup>

The Anglo brought to the convention his social contract assumptions as a basis for the constitution. His vision of a proper economic and social order had evolved from the Judeo-Christian sense of social covenant. His forebears had embodied that vision in the Mayflower Covenant, the fundamental national document of the United States, and the organic law of numerous states. In all earlier cases Anglos had specifically invoked creative deity as the moral witness and basis for their socio-political covenants. In the Anglo stream of intellectual history, however, Enlightenment thought had transformed the idea of theo-political "covenant" into a secular "social contract" some years before Americans entered New Mexico. Frontier conditions further altered the Anglo mindset into an opportunistic, pragmatic exploitative cast that would even reject the national temper in its populist and progressive drive for social justice.

An important achievement of cultural synthesis might have distinguished New Mexico as a valuable laboratory for human understanding. Nowhere else in North America did three mature cultures have so promising an opportunity to covenant among themselves, call the Deity to witness and



create a matrix for human well-being, social justice, and political order, to write and implement a worthy constitution. At a minimum one might have expected the most advanced Anglo principles to motivate deliberations and permeate the document. That was not to be.

Among the framers, idealists were scarce. The delegates elected Valencia County's J. Francisco Chaves convention president over San Miguel's George W. Prichard by a relatively close 29 to 22 margin.<sup>4</sup> Ideologically they might have been tweedledee and tweedledum. In his opening remarks Chaves set the tone for the convocation. "I see before me," he said, "depicted in the countenance of every member the desire of enacting a constitution of states broadly in its terms conservative."<sup>5</sup>

Apparently President Chaves's vision was less than perfect, for he failed properly to perceive the ideological concerns of the Bernalillo delegation. Their proposed organizational structure for the convention is extant. It included several progressive ideas. There would be a "committee of fifteen on woman suffrage, which shall consider and report under the question of woman suffrage, as to being made a part of the constitution." An ambitious proposal indeed. The Santa Fe Bar Association dominated the convention and through the late 1880's and 1890's speakers for that august body frequently spiced their addresses with Victorianesque inanities that demeaned

women, with a veneer of deference. Spanish assumptions of female inferiority when added to Anglo inertia would make progress impossible.

In addition, Bernalillo advocated "a committee of fifteen on Temperance and Prohibition" to weigh alternatives for inclusion in the constitution. This remarkable delegation also called for constitutional protection for minority representation. The tripartite culture of the territory made that a particularly sensitive issue. Probably the most enlightened representatives at the convention, the Bernalillo group included Mariano S. Otero, Bernard S. Rodey, E. S. Stover, Pedro Perea, and Judge L. S. Trimble, the sole Democrat at the convention. Theirs were ideas whose time apparently had not come, for New Mexico at least. The convention's refusal to accept such progressive issues in formal committee structure demonstrated the near reactionary nature of the membership.

The New Mexican populace would decisively reject the 1889 constitution Oct. 7, 1890, by a vote of 16,180 against and 7,493 for the document, a margin of more than two to one. Clearly, the reactionary ruling clique did not, at that time, speak for a majority of the citizens of the territory. Within the convention membership, cultural patterns were complex, reflecting the anglo-hispanic power structure of the territory. The most idealistic delegation present--that representing Bernalillo county--included both Anglos and Hispanics. Nevertheless, a majority of territorial citizens

perceived a definite threat to values and traditions they held dear. The entire procedure demonstrated the intensity of the conflict among New Mexican ideas and institutions.<sup>6</sup>

Instead of the thirty-two committee format proposed by Bernalillo, the convention established eleven in which antithetical views would have to contest one another and create a fundamental compact, a constitution. The process itself was a vital matter and ended by asserting Anglo conservatism. That the electorate rejected the document as an unfit base for New Mexico's plural culture demonstrated that defeat was not merely a political matter. Some historians as well as contemporary spokesmen argued that Democrats feared to allow Republicans to get credit for organizing the state. Rather, it was an ideological matter. Conflict of ideas and cultures explains the long tutelage of the territory.

One might hope for crystal-clear ideas embodied in mutually exclusive mindsets organized in three sharply defined groups. This is not the case. Rather, typical or characteristic ideas in individuals and groups of individuals over a period of time contested one another for the right to shape the fundamental law and institutions of New Mexico. Obviously the same idea sometimes found a home in the minds of people of diverse races, or parties, or both. Nevertheless the characteristic mindsets are valid.

One may best deduce fundamental assumptions from and follow ideological conflict through four basic territorial

sources: the proposed constitution itself, the Journal of the convention, majority and minority reports and proposed articles, and through the press and private correspondence of disparate groups.

The "Proposed Constitution of New Mexico, 1889," is a sixty-two-page document with twenty articles, with one unnumbered. The preamble and bill of rights most clearly reflect the Anglo world view and image of man, that is the Judeo-Christian, in its secularized post-enlightenment form. "We the people of New Mexico," they began, assuming the individual dignity, independence, and sovereign right to constitute themselves a group competent to act for their personal self-interest. "Grateful to Divine Providence," certainly not the Mayflower Covenant's invocation, "In the name of God, Amen," nor even their New Mexican predecessors "grateful to Almighty God for the civil, political and religious liberty He has so long permitted us to enjoy." The Anglo was willing to invoke a vague divine providence, as had been the revolutionary generation in the United States, and accepted the altered title for the Mayflower Covenant. Originally the pilgrim "we" did undertake "for the glorie of God," and the "advancemente of the Christian faith" mutually "in the presence of God, and one of another [to] covenant and combine our selves together." The change in delineation to "compact" reflected Rousseau, Locke and Hobbes, a trinity more venerable to revolutionary Americans than the Holy Trinity of the Judeo-Christian tradition. The 1889 generation sought no

such ends. They preferred "natural law" to theo-political covenants. Their intent was merely to form a more perfect union, and promote the general welfare by which they meant make the area's resources available to ourselves on our terms. Their model for New Mexico represented a variety of cultural imperialism. By "Americanization" they would graft an alien mindset and institutions onto other venerable traditions, and in so doing distort them beyond recognition. Constitution-making--as political theory--is more than who shall get what, when, and how? It is also who should get what, when, and how? For the most part, the framers of 1889 ignored the second principle. It is not surprising that voters rejected their model constitution.

But the conflict in ideas is most clearly seen in the actual process of drafting the document's articles. The longest and most detailed article was that on legislative procedures and prerogatives, doubtless as reflections of Ross-Legislative power struggle. As they had led the twenty-eighth Territorial Legislature, so J. Francisco Chaves and A. J. Fountain held prominent positions in the constitutional convention. Indeed, in a telling slip, one committee chairman addressed his printed report and proposed article to "council president" J. F. Chaves, instead of "convention president" Chaves. Of the twenty-eight sections on legislative powers, four specifically detailed financial and business prerogatives. Yet the longest section, XXII, revealed an inherent mutual distrust prohibiting twenty-two

financial, organizational, judicial, social and political acts to the legislature.

The convention severely restricted executive appointment powers. During a senate recess, any gubernatorial appointments would be required to expire "with the termination of the next session of the senate."<sup>7</sup> To a remarkable degree departmental independence suffered under their model document. To their credit, on the other hand, the framers provided an item veto for appropriation bills.<sup>8</sup>

Anglo versus Spanish assumptions most clearly conflicted in the debate over church-state roles in education. Four documents reveal clear-cut Anglo cultural imperialism; the Spaniards became "foreigners in their native land."<sup>9</sup> The convention's committee on education split along cultural lines. For toleration of Spanish views on Spanish language and religion were Committee Chairman W. G. Ritch, J. Raynolds, Aniceta Abeytia, and Cristoval Sanchez. For strong Anglo views were minority-men Frank Springer, A. J. Fountain, and Nicolas Pino. Dual reports, majority and minority, reflect strong disagreement. No committee minutes are extant; however, original annotated drafts of proposed constitutional articles embody their divergent views.

The majority presented its twelve-section proposed article and recommended its "adoption as a part of the constitution of the state."<sup>10</sup> Sections nine and ten forbade "religious tests as a condition of admission into any

public educational institution of the state, either as teacher or student." Further, "no teacher or student shall be required to attend or participate in any religious service whatever." The assumption here, one can deduce, is that religious services would be conducted in the schools. Also forbidden was any "distinction or classification on account of race or color." Teachers of English and Spanish must be citizens "well disposed towards the institutions of the state and the United States," that is, toward the church? They also had to be "persons of good moral character," who shall teach "morality as recognized in the Constitution of the United States and of the state," that is, in the Spanish culture of the state? Section twelve clearly forbade use of a public fund or resources to support a sectarian "tenet, creed or church doctrine." So strong a prohibition might have laid to rest the minority's fears, yet apparently it did not.

The preamble of the Springer-Fountain-Pino minority report is revealing.

The undersigned members of your committee on education [they wrote], present the accompanying report of a minority of said committee, which in our judgment embraces all constitutional provisions which are necessary to ensure to the state of New Mexico all the benefits of non-sectarian public schools, and substantially all that can properly be put in a constitution which is to serve as a basis of legislation.<sup>11</sup>

The phrase "which in our judgment" echoes the ideological debate that polarized the committee. Dedication

to the Anglo separation of church and state moved the minority to ignore the majority concession of that principle and set them against perfectly reasonable majority dedication to broadly stated morality. Majority Anglos Ritch and Reynolds saw no ideological threat and subscribed as did Abeytia and Sanchez to their requirements of teachers' moral character as well as the note, "morality shall be taught." The morality was defined as that "recognized in the constitution of the United States and of the state."

The minority preamble phrase "all that can properly be put in a constitution which is to serve as a basis of legislation" reflected Anglo determination to excise anything out of harmony with their cultural assumptions. The historic experience of three centuries of Catholic Christian philosophy and participation in public life was to be ignored. In New Mexico of all places in the United States one might envisage mutual cooperation and acceptance of pre-existing cultures. That ideal fell to Anglo cultural imperialism.

Convention Secretary I. M. Bond annotated both reports when they were examined on the floor in mid-September. The original printed minority report became more adamant with amendments handwritten during debate among the committee of the whole. During these proceedings Cristoval Sanchez for "personal reasons known to [himself] tendered [his] resignation as [a] member of the committee on Education."<sup>12</sup>



Soon thereafter he also resigned as a member of the convention.

The text of the proposed constitution is virtually identical with the minority report, including the penciled amendments on the original committee draft document. Minority committee ideology became the mind of the convention--a facet of its model New Mexico.

Thereafter the debate transcended the constitutional hall and echoed in the territorial press as well as from Catholic pulpits. Archbishop J. B. Salpointe circulated pastoral epistles that analyzed what to the mother institution of New Mexico was an alien mindset and philosophy.

In his article to the editor of the Las Vegas Optic,<sup>13</sup> Archbishop Salpointe responded to the Anglo assault on Spanish culture and institutions. Under his title, "What Catholics Expect From the Constitutional Convention in the Matter of our Organic School Law," Salpointe invoked Leibnitz, Horace, and the Catholic-Judeo-Christian tradition against what Anglos joyfully contemplated--a "non-sectarian education." He called for a "just, equitable and liberal fundamental school law." The archbishop was certain that no more important constitutional article would be written. Secular education sought to mold people "to make money, reputation, honor, or to gain some other benefit for self." For the prelate the "whole work of education is a failure if it neglects to lead man to his Creator." Further,

"Republican government cannot long exist without public virtue, and public virtue can have its rise only in religion." Neither "a good Christian," nor a "good Jew" ever yet made a bad citizen. Salpointe ended his article with assurance that such a provision would secure the "suffrages" of the people.

The article opened spirited debate between the champion of Spanish tradition, Salpointe, and Judge S. B. Axtell of Santa Fe, Anglo jurist. Axtell argued that Salpointe desired to unite church and state and dictate school curriculum; on the other hand secular education had made American citizens humane, virtuous, intelligent, and Christian. Intelligence, the judge averred, made them so. Their progress came not from the church, but from common schools. Debate soon became polemics. The Spanish response is easier to understand when one specifically perceives their long-standing, and, it must be emphasized, legitimate world view and image of man. Their society had covenanted among themselves in the presence of God the Father Almighty, the Son and the Holy Ghost as well as the Mother of God and a host of saints who oversaw every aspect of life. Now the unthinkable had to be thought. The Anglos quasi-Protestant world view in its secularized attenuated form sought to recast and institutionalize fundamental relationships. Culture shock was to be expected. The Anglo document was to be defeated.

Most contemporary thought focused on political and economic issues as the cause of failure. Governor Prince said the Democrats refused to cooperate for political reasons and so the constitution fell. The historian, Robert Larson gave some credence to that argument, citing the Democratic "effort at Silver City where they formally attacked the new Republican instrument in convention," on four grounds: appointment and not election of appellate judges; suspension of executive powers of the governor during any impeachment; the one percent tax limitation, and gerrymandered election districts.<sup>14</sup> Both Larson and H. R. Lamar made references to cultural considerations, but each seemed unaware of the ideological connection that flowed from Vitoria and Las Casas. Intellectual history does not exclusively explain the ideological conflict in New Mexico, but it is the most important factor. Basic assumptions explain exploitative behavior, toward both natural resources, as well as human beings. Expediency led Anglo leaders along some curious and nonethical paths. Such economics and politics are the stuff of most histories of New Mexico, and need not be explored here. At least for this one attempt New Mexico's ruling clique failed to have its way.

The irony is that a major wellspring of philosophical-theological-political thought is common to both Anglo and Spaniard. Vitoria studied in Paris where Peter Ramus was well known. His thoughts flowed south through Valladolid,

and Vitoria through Mexico to New Mexico. Also Alexander Richardson took Ramus to English Puritans who brought him to Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay on the Mayflower and Arbella.<sup>15</sup> Before the ideological streams met along the Rio Grande at Santa Fe, Anglo assumptions filtered through Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau, as well as Darwin and Spencer. The divergent world views came to be decidedly different and antipathetic. And so Spaniards and Anglos sought different ends through different means. For another twenty years the issues would be unsettled.

Viewed in retrospect the failure of the 1889 constitution movement opened the way for another two decades of conflict among various factions in New Mexico Territory. Each group diligently sought to embody its ideas into fundamental law and expected to achieve that goal momentarily. They introduced more than twenty statehood bills into Congress between 1891 and 1903. All failed. The notable constitution effort of 1902 was aborted, owing to the formidable opposition of U.S. Senator Albert Beveridge.<sup>16</sup> Failures, however, were not because of lack of effort. The confrontation of 1888-1890 polarized antagonists--individuals and groups--and moved the realists-pragmatists as well as the idealists into "debate" that often fell short of gentlemanly discussion or even disagreement. Between 1890 and 1910 polemics could and did

degenerate into violence.

In these years the local issues frequently became enmeshed with national in New Mexico. The Pueblo-Spanish-Anglo mindsets continued to provide assumptions for attitudes toward land and nature, toward one another, and toward fundamental educational and religious institutions. After 1890, railroads penetrated New Mexico Territory, and national concerns vibrated through the region. Populist and Progressive concerns about the role of government, social justice, economic equalitarianism, and imperialism agitated and complicated local issues.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Jacob Crist and others specifically launched the Santa Fe Sun to drive home this point. He and they later endured libel suits for their pains, but none were convicted.

<sup>2</sup>Daniel J. Elazar and John Kincaid, Prospectus: Workshop on Covenant and Politics (Philadelphia: Center for the Study of Federalism, November, 1979), p. 53.

<sup>3</sup>I observed a revealing incident on Taos Plaza in 1978. On the east side of the square a young man fell from a small truck and required ambulance service. As I watched, an exquisite girl of obvious Spanish heritage came from a shop and having seen the casualty, turned to her companion and remarked, "Oh, it's nothing, just an Indian." By coincidence she and her family later invited my family and me to stay in Taos and attend a festival complete with authentic food and costume. We voiced our fondness for "Mexican" food and culture and were immediately, gently corrected "Spanish." Cultural isolation and pride still exist, yet they were sure we ought to see the famous Taos Pueblo.

<sup>4</sup>Journal, 1889, p. 87.

<sup>5</sup>Journal, September 3, 1889.

<sup>6</sup>Robert W. Larson, New Mexico's Quest for Statehood, 1846-1912 (Albuquerque; The University of New Mexico Press, 1968) pp. 167-168; Howard Roberts Lamar, The Far Southwest 1846-1912, A Territorial History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), pp. 189-191.

<sup>7</sup>Constitution, Article V, Section 5.

<sup>8</sup>Constitution, Article V, Section 7.

<sup>9</sup>David Weber's phrase; his title for a document collection.

<sup>10</sup>Report of the Committee on Education, Preamble.

<sup>11</sup>New Mexico. Constitutional Convention 1889. Minority Report of the Committee on Education. Original copy in State Records Center and Archives Santa Fe, New Mexico. [p. 1]

<sup>12</sup>Journal, pp. 63, 66.

<sup>13</sup>Dated Santa Fe, August 29, 1889. Column pasted into a scrapbook in the Frank W. Clancy Collection. State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

<sup>14</sup>Robert W. Larson, New Mexico's Quest for Statehood: 1846-1912 ([Albuquerque:] University of New Mexico Press, 1968), p. 168.

<sup>15</sup>That Massachusetts Bay and New Mexico share a common intellectual stream is not well known. Perry Miller's The New England Mind: The Seventeenth Century (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1963), contains no reference to Vitoria. Yet, his exposition of Puritan Technologia, their Ramus-based intellectual system, shares with Vitoria the Ramist essence. Each attenuates scholasticism--the Aristotelian-Christian blend of intellect and piety--to the detriment of the piety. cf. Miller, p. 330 for a summarizing statement. New Mexico, however, until Anglo entrada had escaped the radical secularization contributed to the stream by Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Spencer, and Darwin. Much of the Anglo-Spanish cultural conflict derives from the latter fact.

<sup>16</sup>Beatrice Cattrell, "How the Statehood Movement of 1902 was Defeated," (Unpublished paper. University of New Mexico.), p.13.

## POLEMICS, REALIGNMENTS, ACCOMMODATION

### NEW MEXICO 1890-1912

The events of 1889-1890 set the stage for intense conflict. New Mexico's entrepreneurial conservative ruling clique had failed to translate its fundamental assumptions and values into basic law. Institutional and ideological flux continued for two decades. The title of this chapter, Polemics, Realignments, Accommodation: New Mexico 1890-1912, both defines and describes that flux. Still without a definitive fundamental state constitutional document, Spanish-Anglo confrontation early in the decade of the 90's erupted into conflict. At the individual level, Thomas Benton Catron best embodied the Anglo entrepreneurial realism that drew inspiration from such Christian sentiment as subdue the earth and possess it, as well as the Darwinian-Spencerian idea of survival of the fittest. Conservative republicanism appeared to Catron to be the most compatible social and political philosophy for his own outlook on life and he ardently espoused it. Even in times when the Democratic party dominated, Catron was sure that "Without doubt this Territory is Republican," with the proviso, "if properly managed."

Catron dominated New Mexico Territory between 1885 and 1912.<sup>1</sup> His economic and political power has been fully researched, but his intellectual venturesomeness has been all but ignored. The man acquired and voraciously assimilated probably the most complete private library in the



Territory. His law library was without peer in the Southwest, as one would expect, but the private library was truly remarkable. This is all the more notable when one considers the general intellectual environment of late 19th-century Santa Fe. Classic works in Western civilization and examples of the most recent and distinguished thought gravitated to Catron.<sup>2</sup>

The acquisition was not without effort. Most works had to be ordered from the East. Such procedure demonstrated keen personal interest rather than random browsing as the motive and method of purchase. Locales for browsing simply did not then exist in Santa Fe. In addition, he was a collector of some note. His edition of Sir Walter Raleigh's History of the World was earlier than that boasted by Thomas Jefferson.<sup>3</sup>

Catron's cosmopolitan interest led him along some remarkable paths, for the most part historical, literary, and philosophical. He read Francis Parkman, Jared Sparks, Michelet, and Thiers, as well as Tocqueville and Bryce. Literary excursions began in classical Greece and included Dante, Milton, and Byron, along with James Fenimore Cooper and Nathaniel Hawthorne. His taste could include exotica. In an order for The Thousand and One Nights, he seemed unduly concerned that the edition be the "unexpurgated" one. Yet the work is not listed in the library inventory. He knew the Discourses and Teachings of Epictetus, Kant's Critique of

Pure Reason, Victor Cousin's lectures on philosophy and esthetics as well as Hobbes's Leviathan.

As is every man, Catron was the product of his times, with the guiding experience and ideas of those times. Yet, he is a puzzle, a paradox. He was the archetypical frontier entrepreneur fiercely individualistic and competitive, disdaining anyone he could overpower. At the same time, he was impulsively generous. Often gruff, spiteful, and devious, he also could be sensitive to those who needed him. His view of land was at once entrepreneurial--the goal was to acquire all one could by whatever means; and mystical, the soil became a part of him. He could not abide the thought of giving up any of it. He was the medieval land baron, master of all he surveyed.<sup>4</sup> When opportunities arose for sale, he always changed the conditions somehow so that every proposed transaction failed. Apparently, his mental well-being rested on the satisfaction of viewing land and knowing that he owned all of it. Perhaps the land owned him. He held his land until financial reverses took it from him, but virtually none was sold for profit.

His political and social ideas and practices were pure Herbert Spencer, and through him, Darwinian. Apparently he read no work of Darwin but he did own Spencer's four key works, First Principles, Principles of Biology, Principles of Psychology, and Principles of Sociology. Not Darwin, however, but Spencer coined the terms, "struggle for survival," and "survival of the fittest." Spencerian evolutionary

doctrines were in vogue during Catron's lifetime. Those doctrines undergirded the social, economic, and political thought of the day. In printed form they came even to the remote frontier in New Mexico and influenced Catron's intellectual environment. They made him, above all, a pragmatist-realist.<sup>5</sup>

The pragmatist-realist mind-set explains his political action in the 1890's. In his 1892 race for Territorial delegate he could bribe, advise his backers to lie, and request overseers to transfer voters away from the polls--"they're Democrats who cannot be induced to vote otherwise." Some alleged that he could even plot murder. They pointed for proof to his almost fanatical defense of the Barrego brothers, who were ultimately hanged for the murder of J. Francisco Chavez, Democratic sheriff of Santa Fe County.<sup>6</sup>

How may one explain the dichotomy--mystic of land in the natural order on the one hand and Spencerian survival of the fittest on the other? Catron was a complex man clearly capable of simultaneous mental assimilation of contrary thought patterns. His copies of works on natural philosophy included John Fiske's The Destiny of Man and Through Nature to God, both works that revise Darwin along lines of moral responsibility. In addition to Spencer's works on extreme evolutionary social theory, Catron owned Henry Drummond's Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man and Addresses.

Drummond's ideas appear to provide a basis for understanding Catron's mystical view of land. Said Drummond:

A great part of learning to live is to live naturally. As closely as possible, we must follow the broad, clear lines of the natural life. There are three things especially which it is necessary for us to keep continuously in view. The first is that the organism contains within itself only one half of what is essential to life; the second is that the other half is contained in the Environment; the third that the condition of receptivity is simple union between the organism and the Environment.<sup>7</sup>

The crucial clause is the last, "receptivity is simple union between the organism and the Environment." Holding this idea, one would refuse to dispose of any part of the environment that was his. The land and the person were united in mystical union; disposal of any part was actually a little death.

In the matter of political and social theory, had he been heeded, Drummond might have influenced Catron for the better. In The Ascent of Man the author argued for a revision of the Darwinian-Spencerian struggle for survival. Extreme exploitative individualism should give way to a broader base for human action. Having rejected such jungle tactics

as a social being he cannot, in spite of nature, act on his first initiatives. He must subordinate himself to the larger interest present and future, of those around him.<sup>8</sup>

Here Catron abandoned Drummond and reverted to Spencer and Darwin. Controlled by this lobe of the mindset, he could persistently engage all contestants in polemics and/or violence. Reason and unreason could reside at once in a single

cranium. That curious blend of pragmatism and quasi-mysticism explains such erratic responses. His letters and actions, 1890-1912, detail the evidences of his ideological and philo-sophical schizophrenia.

In a model of clear, precise, logical prose, Catron analyzed a complex 1890 electoral issue for his business partner, Stephen B. Elkins, earlier a New Mexico compatriot, later Senator from West Virginia.<sup>9</sup> Catron had lost an election for the Santa Fe County council, and charged Democrats with subterfuge. Piqued particularly because a new judge had cooperated with Democratic resistance to Republican attempts to overthrow the election, he detailed what had to be done. The prose is powerful and compelling, that of a well-trained lawyer tempered by extensive acquaintance with classic literature. The irony is that further correspondence from the same period reflects subterfuge of his own. To one Harry Kinnell of Cerrillos he wrote, "I send you two hundred and fifty dollars. Should you need more, please get it from Mr. Kennedy and I will pay the same. Please do not lose a vote which you can obtain for a dollar or so."<sup>10</sup> He also tried to subvert the judiciary with a plea to Judge John R. McFie of Las Cruces to "come at once and help us" to talk to Mr. [Judge] Seeds.<sup>11</sup> In a letter Catron considered so confidential that he wrote it by hand rather than reveal its contents to his typist, he further sought to influence Judge W. D. Lee for his own purposes.<sup>12</sup>

Reflecting his land mystic side, Catron wrote Adolph Bandelier concerning a quasi-utopian colony to be settled on his Tierra Amarilla Grant. In almost rhapsodic terms he wrote:

This tract of land is the best watered, timbered, and grassed land in the whole Rocky Mountain region . . . the soil is exceedingly rich and produces the best wheat, oats, barley, rye, and potatoes I have seen anywhere in the West. The yield is very large . . . I am thoroughly satisfied that there are large deposits of gold in placers as well as both gold and silver mines in great abundance on the property . . . it is the best piece of property in the entire West for the purpose of a colony of people coming from a coal [sic] country such as Norway or Sweden there is no other such property to be found.<sup>13</sup>

Not even Governor Ross's idyl on the sacred plow or Homer's paean to Odysseus's Ithaca surpassed such phrases. One wonders how Catron could bear to part with such an Eden. He could not; the transaction never materialized. At the same time Catron's intellect enabled him to write fifteen or twenty other well-turned letters of one to ten pages on eight different subjects. This energetic titan bestrode New Mexico Territory, entrenched at the fulcrum of political and economic power whence he placed his imprint on New Mexican institutions more deeply than any other man. Sure of his power, supremely self-confident as only a man at the nerve center of an area can be, Catron wielded the influence that property and intellect conferred, for good or ill. Some held for the former, some for the latter. By the late 1890's, the Hispanic, Miguel Otero, stood with the latter.

Otero's rise to independent status was an important event in New Mexico's political and intellectual history. Both native born and Hispanic, he challenged Catron's dominance after 1896 and to that extent symbolized the emergent Hispano assertiveness. Originally a Catron ally, Otero now contested the "old guard" Anglo leader and realigned with himself a significant group of like-minded leaders. To Catron it was the defection of a trusted lieutenant whom he frequently addressed as Little Miguel "Gillie," much to the addressee's disgust. Otero lacked the intellect and the physical size of Catron, but in aggressive leadership and political acumen he proved to be Catron's equal.

The crucial point, however, was that Hispanic views now had embodiment in a champion who could stand on almost equal ground with the Anglo. Hispanic resentment vis-a-vis Anglo encroachment had smoldered under the surface for years; divergent assumptions had many times left an opening into which Anglos quickly stepped, and out of which Hispanos came disinherited, and bewildered over just what had happened to them. Finally, in the late 1880's an Hispano--Juan Padilla--contested Anglo encroachment into the Las Vegas community land grant. The case came before Judge Elisha V. Long, a current resident of Las Vegas, who to the consternation of Anglos found for Padilla and dispossessed the Anglos. Catron sensed the threat and immediately launched his anti-Long polemic. "That opinion," averred Catron, "is not good law,

and is not so recognized, except by the attorneys in whose favor it was rendered, and by Judge Long and his former clerk." The decision was a political payoff to "secure friends for Long when he should retire from the bench and go into practice [of law] in Las Vegas." Catron argued that Long had brazenly assumed jurisdiction "unasked," and refused to dismiss the action even at Padilla's request, so intent was the judge on asserting his opinion.<sup>14</sup> Padilla's supposed acquiescence would have been in harmony with the traditional Hispano attitude que sera sera, but more aggressive respondents were already on the scene to further Spanish interests. Encouraged by the Long decision, other Hispanos defended traditional Spanish land-holding patterns. Again, the key issue was land and the community's relationship to it. In that Hispanos held land to be a sacred trust, they were even more mystical about it than Catron.

According to a recent study some erstwhile terrorists, named Las Gorras Blancas because of their distinctive costumes, were actually patriots. They were defending Spanish values and their common property.<sup>15</sup> The Las Vegas community grant antedated even American occupation. Although some entrepreneurial-minded Anglos had persuaded several heirs to sell their interest in the grant, Anglo and Spanish understanding of "interest" diverged. The grantees held a pueblo-like "interest-right" to use both water and pasture, but not a proprietary right to any specific area. Beginning from a



different mindset, the Anglo saw private property rights. For him the land not only could, but must be fenced. Such ideas were totally incompatible; naturally polemics would degenerate into violence.

It is possible, however, to view the Gorras within another perspective. Patriots they might have been, but Anglos and/or Hispanos who acted like Anglos vis-a-vis land saw them as a menace, law breakers, and terrorists who committed depredations against law-abiding citizens. To Robert Larson they were subversive outlaws who needed a "respectable front [who] had decided to use the Knights of Labor for that purpose." They had infiltrated the assemblies of the Knights, and used the cover to wreak havoc on their "enemies."<sup>16</sup>

Political histories of New Mexico tediously recount the specifics of the violence, therefore they need not concern us here. The notable fact is that virtually no historian has failed to excoriate the Gorras for practices that are clearly understandable on ideological grounds. People who held a quasi-mystical view of land and nature naturally would resist encroachment. They first sought via peaceable means to end the threat to their land. Larson printed a sample of their warnings. Their first "notice" to a prominent Anglo land fencer, Wilson Waddington, noted:

This notice is with the object of requesting you to coil up your wire as soon as possible from the North to the South sides. They are fences which are damaging the unhappy people and we request you further coil up your wire as soon as you can to the agricultural land, and if you do not do it you will suffer the consequences from us. Your Servants.  
The White Caps<sup>17</sup>

This, said Larson, was a "threatening" letter. It was actually more like a plea, and almost a prayer. Only Robert Rosenbaum has written with any sensitivity and understanding of the Gorras. Anglo property-defining institutions slowly but irresistibly had intruded into Spanish land holdings and pressed them toward accommodation. In the early 1890's Gorras for a time did abandon passivism for action essentially to defend a different idea. It may be that the Gorras used illegal techniques to achieve their goals at least as they saw them, yet they deserve better than history has accorded them. They did reduce the Anglo threat to Spanish values. Fences "were coiled" and stored. With these achievements they disbanded in the mid-1890's. The myth that Spaniards quietly acquiesced in the face of Anglo expansion must fall vis-a-vis the activities of Las Gorras Blancas.

Miguel A. Otero's alignment with Catron had begun about the time the Gorras were declining. Otero had observed that same year a procession of the Hispanic white caps that he later described in his autobiography in neither a negative nor a positive manner. He was not yet the spokesman for

Spanish values that he was destined to be. He supported Catron in San Miguel County, 1892, and in turn received a warm political, personal note that promised whatever favor in return the Santa Fe leader could give. By 1896, Catron was in the United States House of Representatives as Territorial delegate and was still supporting Otero for United States Marshal. Polemics that ultimately led to an ideological and political split began when McKinley appointed the young Hispano to be governor of New Mexico Territory.

His ideological shift began or accelerated at that point. Catron's ability to assert virtually unopposed the Anglo entrepreneurial values came to an end, as did his ability to manipulate Hispanic leaders. Otero was the symbol of change. The infamous Otero-Catron ideological feud that developed inspired polemics so heated that related archives are still restricted from researchers more than eighty years later.<sup>18</sup> Otero had that feud fresh in mind on the occasion of his second inaugural address. He demonstrated remarkable self-control although he was strongly tempted to strike back at Catron et al. The first draft of the address included:

I have been and shall strive to be in the future a Governor of the people of New Mexico without regard to race, creed or party. I should also, perhaps, thank the few, mostly of my own party, who by their cruel, malicious and false charges, endeavored to ruin my private character and public standing in the eyes of the President and Secretary of the Interior, for I believe that the animus of the persons making them and the patent falsity of these charges reacted on their authors and proved a potent

help in bringing about my reappointment. For them I have no word of censure or rebuke. Their malicious, dastardly and cowardly attack upon my private life and public character have met with the fate which all such deserve and I leave them to their own reflections and the gall and bitterness which they must experience from such remnants of conscience as they possess, and to the contempt and scorn of all right minded persons.

As he delivered it, Otero omitted every personal reference, and focused on his distinguished record.<sup>19</sup>

Between 1900 and 1912, Otero's socio-political ideas achieved a singular maturity and independence from his earlier entanglement and subservience to the prevailing Anglo power structure of the 1890's. A great many of his speeches reflect the polished generalities of the contemporary conventional wisdom, but a select few explored serious ideas. As chairman of New Mexico's Direct Primary League, he espoused the new direct primary. To the standard arguments that the people must rule, not the political bosses, he added a New Mexico Spanish-American twist. Anglo politicians had argued that the "Mexicans" were unfit to participate, Otero averred that his fifty thousand signatures favoring the direct primary included five thousand from heavily Spanish-American Bernalillo County alone. In addition, even sparsely populated Rio Arriba County boasted one thousand four hundred. This was evidence enough of Spanish-American's sense of responsibility, said Otero.<sup>20</sup>

As New Mexico's first Spanish-American governor he delivered in 1902 as impassioned an Independence Day speech as

any son of the American Revolution. He decried sectionalism, seeking to bring the territory into the American mainstream. Local discriminations should be abandoned for "with slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles," argued Otero. This was far removed from the position of Archbishop Salpointe, stated a decade earlier.<sup>21</sup> Anglo political bosses preferred not cosmopolitanism in New Mexico, but provincialism, so that they might maintain a territorial fief-like atmosphere, exploitable without national interference or distraction.<sup>22</sup> In the same oration, Otero advocated nationalist-imperialistic sentiment, and even took up the "white man's burden" to civilize the world. For this Spanish-American, George Washington was the true father of their jointly beloved country.<sup>23</sup>

In the face of tremendous pressure for inflation of the currency through free and unlimited coinage of silver, Otero stood firm for the gold standard. His social theory espoused law and order. Many speeches echoed the themes of imperialism, nationalism, and manifest destiny with its corollary, civilization of those whom the "fortunes of war" have put under control of the United States.<sup>24</sup>

The irony of the Otero evolving ideas is that movement away from the Catron clique was also movement away from traditional Spanish conservatism. Otero came to espouse such reformist-progressive socio-political ideas as direct democracy and female franchise in diametric opposition to the

Hispanic patron system, and the hierarchical relegation of women as chattels of their husbands in the "divine order." He remained a staunch champion of Spanish-American rights<sup>25</sup> and denied the charge of race prejudice in New Mexico.<sup>26</sup> His ideological progression was mirrored in his move from the Spanish Catholic Church to the Presbyterian.<sup>27</sup> In some respects such a move was not entirely precipitous; one could argue that Calvin was not extremely removed from St. Augustine. On the other hand, Hispanic Calvinist Protestants were relatively rare in New Mexico.

The little governor did set out with determination to achieve as much as possible in this life. The business of his administration was business. His polemic against Catron et al. asserted the economic value of his policies for the state. He most energetically rejected the Catron charge of having driven capital from the state. Otero may not have been attempting to demonstrate election through personal success, but most earlier American Puritans would have understood his outrage.

Despite energetic dedication to achievement of statehood, Otero failed to lead the territory into the Union. The Anglo-Hispanic ideological diversion, for all Otero's realignment, inspired such national political figures as Albert Beveridge to enmity that was almost perverse. Accommodation would be achieved finally by 1910-12, but only at the price of Spanish repudiation of Otero's sort of transformed sociopolitical ideology and assertion of more traditional viewpoints.

The reversion was to the leadership of a stalwart defender of received Spanish-American values, Valencia County's Solomon Luna, successor to the power once wielded by J. Francisco Chaves.<sup>28</sup> By 1910 Anglo-Hispanic accommodation was in the wind, but Otero would have no part in its achievement. Colonel George Prichard and T. B. Catron, now age seventy, would, but only at a price neither expected nor exacted in the aborted earlier attempts to enact fundamental law in New Mexico. That price was a guarantee of equality for Spanish values through an ironclad document, derived from Anglo Spanish-American cooperation. In a reversal of the Catron-Otero realignment of 1896-1902, polemics ensued between hemispheres of an Anglo mindset divided against itself. Again, Bernalillo County sent the defender of progressive ideas. Harvey Fergusson espoused direct democracy, female franchise, bureaucratic and corporate responsibility. Spanish-American conservatism and hierarchical social ideas proved to be compatible with Anglo conservatism. To achieve their goal they accepted Anglo entrepreneurial values. This accommodation, bought at the price of Anglo acquiescence in Spanish-American yearning for cultural security, finally made possible the social, economic, and political organization of New Mexico.

The process of its achievement is of considerable interest. In his New Mexico's Quest for Statehood, 1846-1912, Robert Larson charted the political details.<sup>29</sup> The concern here is for specifically value oriented aspects of

human social and political arrangements, as well as the accommodations made to achieve and protect them. Progressive ideas between 1900 and 1912 drew together the potentially most widely beneficial aspects of Western social thought. The ideas grew naturally out of such assumptions as: Each human being has innate dignity, worth, and eternal significance. Women are human beings equal to men. Differences of race or nationality do not imply inferiority of any. The strong ought not to exploit the weak.

Entrepreneurial ideas held that trade is trade, human beings included. Life is a struggle, and only the fittest survive. Whatever made that end possible was legitimate.

Fergusson led what was essentially a crusade to embody progressive principles into New Mexico's socio-political structure.<sup>30</sup> Ideological conflict focused on direct primary participation in government through the initiative, enfranchisement of women, prohibition of alcoholic beverages, accountability of corporate power, among other principles. With the acquiescence of Hispanics, Anglo conservatives thwarted each principle. The debate over initiative will serve to illustrate the nature of the conflict. Consideration of Article IV of the Constitution, the Legislative Department, set off the conflict. The convention's sixteen-man committee on the Legislative Department presented its majority report on October 27, 1910. In anticipation of disagreement Committee Chairman Albert Bacon Fall had on



October 22, 1910, moved and secured passage of a gag rule, limiting debate to a total of eight hours allowed to discuss all facets of the issue.<sup>31</sup> The ten-member majority wing included Anglos A. B. Fall, T. B. Catron, S. B. Davis, Jr., and Charles Springer with six Hispanos, Solomon Luna, E. A. Miera, Juan Navarro, Perfecto Esquibel, J. Frank Romero, and Eufracio Gallegos.<sup>32</sup>

Bernalillo's H. B. Fergusson and A. H. Hudspeth presented the minority report. Its crux was the simple statement of initiative, requiring twelve percent of legal voters empowered to "initiate" a legislative measure. It prohibited certain classes of legislation, those relating to franchise, territorial organization, water rights, and some other areas particularly susceptible to abuse. No official record of the debate is extant.<sup>33</sup> The local press, however, reported the essential facts, with some attention to the convention-hall atmosphere.

Chairman A. B. Fall moved adoption of the majority report and addressed the delegation in support of the motion. According to the Santa Fe New Mexican, Fall argued that Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry knew the initiative idea from the French Revolution, and wisely rejected such insanity. The initiative, Fall averred, was subversive of the peace and prosperity created by the United States Government,

and so would be of the proposed state of New Mexico.<sup>34</sup> The New Mexican brazenly printed the majority report before a convention vote was even taken and prophetically boasted, "This is the way the first section of the Article . . . will read after the convention gets through with it tonight."<sup>35</sup>

Nevertheless, H. B. Fergusson then delivered the convention's most moving call for rights and participation by the common voter in governmental processes. According to Fergusson:

It is the purpose of the initiative to prevent the negative misuse of the power of the legislature, bribed by vulgar wealth and to compel the placing upon the statute books of the laws desired by the intelligent, patriotic people of the state. It merely reserves to the people the power to propose the laws which their servants have refused to enact. The details of the application are immaterial just so they are effective. This movement was struggling early in the Farmer's Alliances, in the Greenback agitation, in the nomination of Bryan for the Presidency, and has now been taken up in the second great rebellion by men like LaFollette. We believe in equal rights to all, workingmen and capitalists, we welcome corporations here, but we do not want them to oppose the common people.<sup>36</sup>

The New Mexican was delighted to report the failure of the initiative.<sup>37</sup> Through August-October 1910, of constitutional issues reported, Walter's Republican organ had maintained a steady drumroll assault on the idea.<sup>38</sup> The convention adopted the majority report after a marathon session Friday, October 28, 1910. Attempts to resurrect it failed.

Fergusson fought a rearguard action on the issue between convention adjournment November 21, 1910, and voter ratification of the document. His famous "statehood letters"

labeled the Republican leadership "those two precious specimens of predatory wealth agents of our Territory, Messrs. A. B. Fall and C. A. Spiess, &c."<sup>39</sup> In consultation with Judges E. V. Long of Las Vegas, and C. R. Worrall of Clovis, Fergusson led a futile assault on the constitution.<sup>40</sup>

In addition, the Republican "Old Guard" defeated woman suffrage, diverted discussion of prohibition, and provided for a corporation commission so favorable to railroad interests that the companies sent a vote of appreciation to the convention members. Like Banquo's ghost, the old militia warrant redemption issue raised its head.<sup>41</sup> The "Nestor" of the convention, aging T. B. Catron, arose once more to evoke the history of the warrants, and argue that a debt is a debt is a debt, and that justice as well as equity required payment of honest debts. Said the New Mexican, "Much beautiful oratory [was] wasted in excoriating them." Said Catron, "The President cannot approve a constitution with such a clause. [That repudiates valid warrants.]"<sup>42</sup> The problem was, miraculously, several hundred thousand dollars existed in warrants for which the Territorial Treasurer had no vouchers.<sup>43</sup> The warrant issue finally did fail.

Meanwhile, conservative Hispanos led by Solomon Luna ensured protection for traditional values. Absolute freedom of religion was assured. The educational provisions, constitutionally guaranteed, irrevocably protected the Spanish language in public schools. By decree the fundamental doc-

ument forever prohibited segregation of Hispanic and Anglo children.

To ensure perpetuity of so hard won agreements, the conservative Anglo-Hispanic coalition made amendment almost impossible. Against the advice of Theodore Roosevelt, they virtually eternally solidified their pact.<sup>44</sup> Accommodation absorbed ideological conflict at last. The Anglo clamped an iron grip on New Mexican resources, and was content. The Hispano protected his cultural heritage and was content, for a time.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Dr. Myra Ellen Jenkins identified Thomas Catron as New Mexico's most influential person in the period. Personal interview with the author, December 1977.

<sup>2</sup>Inventory of the Catron Library. University of New Mexico Special Collections. Xerox is in possession of the author. Catron read voraciously. Julia Catron placed bookplates in many of the works, leading not a few scholars to assume that she collected the works. Both Charles Catron, in an interview during the 1940's, as well as Thomas B. Catron III, in an interview with this author, discounted that theory. Westphall, T. B. Catron, p. 73.

<sup>3</sup>A handwritten note in the margin of the typescript inventory reveals this information. Evidently the four Catron sons inherited their father's collection and in turn donated it to the University of New Mexico. They added some few titles to total the 4713.

<sup>4</sup>Both Myra Ellen Jenkins and Thomas B. Catron III so described Catron. Each used the terms medieval and baron. Interviews with the author. December, 1977.

<sup>5</sup>To describe and understand the intracranial furniture of so complex and active a person as Thomas B. Catron presents a uniquely delicate problem--at once simple and difficult. His matchless intellect and energy assimilated every part of every situation he encountered, and in the majority of cases, turned each one to his own advantage. In that respect, he was clearly a pragmatic realist. That is the simple part of the description.

Understanding him is more difficult. One may argue that actions flow from ideas. Among the sources for ideas are both personal experience and vicarious expositions of ideas, such as those published in influential books. Clearly, Catron owned the most important influential books published in his lifetime. His sons, grandson, and biographer all attest to his prodigious reading of his private library, acquired by him at considerable effort and expense. I must admit that I have not established a direct cause and effect relationship between works I alledge that he read and attitudes and actions that I have described. However, based on my more than cursory acquaintance with the man's thought patterns--revealed in thousands of his personal and business letters--I do assert that there is probable cause to believe there is some connection between formative published ideas and Catron's behavior in New Mexico Territory. He was most certainly a complex man--pragmatic and mystic. The ideas a Spencer and Drummond most assuredly did not weaken Catron's similar convictions. His letters and actions speak for themselves.

<sup>6</sup>Victor Westphall gives a full account in Thomas Benton Catron, "Borrego Murder Case," pp. 208-229.

<sup>7</sup>Henry Drummond, Natural Law in a Spiritual World (New York: James Pott, 1884), p. 268.

<sup>8</sup>Henry Drummond, The Ascent of Man (New York: James Pott and Co., 1894), p. 48.

<sup>9</sup>Catron to Stephen B. Elkins, December 9, 1890. Catron Papers.

<sup>10</sup>Catron to Harry Kinnell, October 30, 1890. Catron Papers.

<sup>11</sup>Catron to McFie, November 26, 1890. Catron Papers.

<sup>12</sup>Catron to Judge W. D. Lee, December 7, 1890. Catron Papers.

<sup>13</sup>Catron to Adolph Bandelier, August 11, 1891. Catron Papers. Catron's letter to Bandelier is a reflection of his own "union between the organism [himself] and the Environment" that made sale of that part of himself to Bandelier's interests impossible. The idea and subsequent action are mirror images. See above notes four and seven.

<sup>14</sup>Catron to Elkins, April 16, 1890. Catron Papers.

<sup>15</sup>Robert Rosenbaum, "Mexicano versus Americano: A study of Hispanic-American resistance to Anglo-American Control in New Mexico Territory, 1870-1900." (Unpublished Dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1972.)

<sup>16</sup>Robert W. Larson, New Mexico Populism: A Study of Radical Protest in a Western Territory (Boulder, Colorado: Colorado Associated University Press, 1974), pp. 40-41.

<sup>17</sup>Larson, New Mexico Populism, p. 37.

<sup>18</sup>Personal experience of author. The relevant segment is totally inaccessible.

<sup>19</sup>Both drafts are in Miguel A. Otero Papers, State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe. One must be intrigued by the intimation of fire and brimstone that pervades the Catron and Otero papers for 1901-1902, together with the iron-bound prohibition on disclosure after so long a time. Maximillian Frost, some time editor of the Santa Fe New Mexican, called the charges "devilish, venomous, and bitter," Frost to Otero, June 1, 1901. Otero Papers. From Santa Fe. Frost wrote Otero in Washington, D.C. June 8, 1901, including a Greek alphabet "code" to be used for telegraphic transmission. Alpha signified "Everything looks favorable for Otero;

Omega meant "Does not look favorable for Otero." I was unable to find any such telegraph messages. (The code apparently never was used.) A. B. Fall, newly born Republican, avowed his fealty for Otero and animadversion for Catron. Fall to Otero, June 10, 1901. Otero Papers. The exact charges remain a mystery, except to privileged descendants.

The Catron Papers exude total animosity toward Otero. "The degree of corruption, rascality, outrage and wrong now prevalent in this Territory under Otero's administration and through his gang is fearful." Further "taxes doubled, property has been depreciated...and everything done to injure, wrong and oppress the people." Catron to Elkins November 16, 1901. Catron Papers. Catron vowed that if Otero were reappointed, he would sell his property "for what I can get and leave town." Otero supporters were "a small gang of office holders and hangers-on and pap-suckers." Ibid. The actual charges must be have been virulent indeed.

<sup>20</sup>Proclamation of the Direct Primary League. Otero Papers. Also, Miscellaneous Political Papers 21 Box 7, Folder 13. Otero Papers.

<sup>21</sup>"What Catholics Expect From the Constitution in the Matter of an Organic School Law." An article by The Archbishop [Salpointe] To the Editor of the Optic, August 29, 1889. Frank W. Clancy Collection. State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, N.M.

<sup>22</sup>Dr. Myra Ellen Jenkins. Interview with the author. December 1977.

<sup>23</sup>Miguel A. Otero. Speech at Raton, New Mexico, July 4, 1902. Otero Papers.

<sup>24</sup>Speech at East Las Vegas, New Mexico, 1902. Otero Papers.

<sup>25</sup>Speech, January 1911. Otero Papers.

<sup>26</sup>Speech, January 1902, Otero Papers.

<sup>27</sup>Dr. Myra Ellen Jenkins. Interview with the author. Dec., 1977.

<sup>28</sup>In a speech of 1911, Otero characterized himself as a Progressive Republican, and Solomon Luna as a self-styled "stand-patter." Speeches 1911. Otero Papers. Another speech of that year, in support of the proposed constitution for New Mexico, revealed Otero naivete on difficulty of amendment. "The constitution...can easily be amended," he said. The governor did recognize the constitutional defense of Spanish-American traditions. Otero Papers. The Santa Fe

New Mexican, Nov. 10, 1910, called Luna "progressive," as one would expect the New Mexican to do. Luna also chaired the powerful Committee on Committees. Proceedings, Committee on Committees. "With iron hand in velvet glove" he wielded immense power.

<sup>29</sup>(Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1968).

<sup>30</sup>The Bernalillo delegation included four Anglos besides H. B. Fergusson, with three of Spanish heritage. Constitutional Convention of 1910, official certification of delegates to [the] Constitutional Convention, Oct. 1, 1910. State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe. The Fergusson "crusade" pervades the Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention. State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe. The Minority Report of the Committee on Legislative Department, submitted by Fergusson and A. H. Hudspeth of Lincoln County, is recorded pp. 66-69. Hereafter cited as Proceedings.

<sup>31</sup>Proceedings, October 22, 1910, pp. 46-47.

<sup>32</sup>Proceedings, pp. 55-66. None of the six Hispanos were from Fergusson's delegation.

<sup>33</sup>Nor is there extant any complete record of any debate. A resolution calling for publication of twenty-five hundred copies of a "complete Journal of the work of this convention" passed Ayes 46, Nays 35. Proceedings, Oct. 24, 1910, pp. 49-50. However, the work was to be subject to review by the chairman of the committee on Revision and Arrangement, the Chairman of the Committee on Printing, and the President and Secretary of the Convention. All these gentlemen were to "assist" the Secretary of the Territory to put the journal into "due and proper form." George Washington Armijo apparently kept an unofficial, full journal of debates. Since it was unofficial, it was not State property and was kept in a trunk in the garage of his heirs, rather than placed in the State Records Center and Archives. This sole complete record was lost in a fire. Dr. Myra Ellen Jenkins. Interview with the author December 1977.

"Due and proper form" apparently turned out to mean edited beyond completeness and accuracy. A significant percentage of the delegation appeared not to desire full disclosure. Their wishes prevailed. Neither the biased reporting of the Santa Fe New Mexican, nor the retrospective memorials of e.g. Edward D. Tittman or Thomas J. Mabry adequately fill the void. Some mystery must cloud just how ideas became institutions; the institutions themselves were crystal clear.

<sup>34</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, October 27, 1910, pp. 1, 8.

<sup>35</sup>New Mexican, pp. 1, 8.



<sup>36</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, October, 22, 1910. For all its bias against progressive ideas (e.g. see editorial "Where Direct Legislation Fails," Santa Fe New Mexican, Nov. 8, 1910, p. 4) the Fergusson speech here recorded exists in no other public record the author could discover. The Proceedings are silent.

<sup>37</sup>"The Initiative is Buried," Santa Fe New Mexican, October 28, 1910, p. 1.

<sup>38</sup>See, e.g. "Tired of it in Oregon," New Mexican, August 22, 1910, p. 4, and "Shall the Minority Boss Us?" August 20, 1910, p. 4.

<sup>39</sup>H. B. Fergusson to the Honorable George E. Chamberlain, June 17, 1911. H. B. Fergusson Statehood Letters. State Records Center and Archives. Hereafter cited as Statehood Letters.

<sup>40</sup>Fergusson to Judge Elisha V. Long, November 29, 1910. Statehood Letters. Curiously one letter, to J. H. McCasland of Tucumcari, New Mexico, Sept. 21, 1911, echoed a discordant note. In reply to a list of questions addressed to him by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers, Fergusson expressed an uncharacteristic position that favored segregated schools for "white and colored" children. One is reminded of the old populist Tom Watson, Georgia's ideologically schizoid personality.

<sup>41</sup>Proceedings, p. 120; New Mexican, Oct. 29, 1910.

<sup>42</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, November 8, 1910.

<sup>43</sup>Larson, New Mexico's Quest for Statehood, p. 180.

<sup>44</sup>Santa Fe New Mexican, August 30, 1910.

## THE AESTHETIC-INTELLECTUAL VISION

Within a forty-year span, 1885-1925, New Mexico attracted and inspired an assembly of writer-intellectuals and artists who sought to discover, describe, and disseminate the remarkable experience of reality and truth the valley world offered. This group, for the most part idealistic observers and social critics as well as creative artists, perceived Pueblo-Spanish culture and values to be more humane, eternal, and generally more admirable than those that underlay the socio-economic rapacity so evident among Anglos. At best Anglo motives were schizoid. Most writer-intellectuals and artists were themselves Anglo, but with a difference. They observed the Catrons, the Elkins, et al, the most representative and influential Anglo group, along with their negative impact on more ancient and perhaps more venerable cultures. Many intellectuals and artists entered the valley world during the period after experiencing late nineteenth-century western trends. The tri-cultural valley world appeared to offer a superior world view and image of man. Their work was less a criticism of the Anglos of 1885-1912--though criticism there was, explicit as well as implicit--than it was a positive assertion that Pueblo-Spanish values were worthy of analysis and emulation. In their aesthetic-intellectual vision, they believed in and saw the valley world as a model civilization with values of eternal consequence.

Of writer-intellectuals--the denotation was not necessarily synonymous--two groups came, one early in the period, the other late. Artists who mattered arrived in the middle years, 1898-1915, and painted the eternal spirit of the place. Their like is not now to be found anywhere else on the American scene. From the Taos Plateau to the Rio Abajo, the New Mexican environment blossomed aesthetically and intellectually. Adolph Bandelier came early. The anthropologist-ethnologist--brilliant devotee of truth, meticulous researcher, careful reporter--was one of the most learned men to take up residence in the area. Fluent in English, French, German, and Spanish, as well as several Indian dialects, he was more the intellectual than the writer. His alleged novel The Delight Makers,<sup>1</sup> numbs the reader's mind, but Pueblo men, women, and children live and breathe in his reports.<sup>2</sup> His friend and contemporary, Charles Fletcher Lummis--irascible, iconoclastic, master of English prose--was fluent also in Latin and Greek. These two were the pole stars, Bandelier, the intellectual, Lummis, the writer-intellectual, who constructed a New Mexico of the mind and heart, then consumed themselves trying to create it in reality. Lesser writers came as well, Mary Austin, whose mind and spirit doubtless held a pastoral rhapsody, but who was never quite able to write it. She later--possibly owing to the persistent gap between intention and implementation--turned imperious and crotchety. Her works were more travelogue and topographical survey than were Bandelier's reports. His reports reflected

more genius and artistry. George Wharton James, a much lesser writer, was more a compiler than an analyst. On the other hand, Willa Cather, poet in prose, drew on the Spanish-Pueblo reality and myth, but she wrote on only one New Mexican subject. Her considerable ability illuminated other regions.

Besides Bandelier and Lummis, the artists best got beneath the apparent and portrayed the New Mexican reality. Their model New Mexico was paradise--where spirit and truth might make men free. Toward the close of the period, other writers were drawn to the valley, the most notable being Mabel Sterne<sup>3</sup> and David Herbert Lawrence.<sup>4</sup> Mabel, an adventurous and daring veteran of a European odyssey where she sought life and found only its imitation, settled permanently east of Taos. A would-be salon mistress, she built a Spanish "big house" and made it the nexus of artists, writers, and intellectuals. In Taos Pueblo she finally found "natural man" or a reasonable facsimile, Tony Luhan, whom she married. Lawrence, in quest of a mystical Rananim,<sup>5</sup> yielded to Mabel's charm and will. He arrived in Taos and for the moment made it Rananim. None of the writers except Bandelier and Lummis measured up to Lawrence.

Through him Mabel sought to make Taos the aesthetic and literary mecca of the western world. Her model could not be actuated, but how near she approached it is the measure of her stubborn energy and will.

The stage was set for artistic interpretative exploration by a scientist and a litterateur, Adolph Bandelier and Charles Fletcher Lummis. These men stripped away stereotyped false images of Pueblo and Spanish culture that had prevented dissemination of accurate knowledge about the valley world.

Bandelier led serious inquiry with the first careful scientific work beginning in the early 1880's. Based on his research and experience, he published The Delight Makers in 1890 and his Final Report of Investigations Among the Indians of the Southwestern United States During 1890-92. The dreary, stilted "novel" suffers by comparison with the brilliant report. Objective and unpretentious, Bandelier revised a mass of misinformation theretofore perpetrated on Pueblos as well as Spanish-Americans.

In his summary of "present conditions" Bandelier presented the most complete and accurate nineteenth-century analysis of the Indian mindset. "Spanish ideas had prevailed," reported Bandelier, and

in the main, the effects of Spanish legislation upon the Indian mind have been to enlarge the scope of its vision, and to foster the thought of individuality, thus shaking primitive socialism without abolishing it in a manner detrimental to the race. It has placed an effective barrier to the unsteadiness of Indian nature, has opened his mind to the conceptions of metes and bounds of time and space, and has even striven, though with small effect, to impress him with a thought of economy of time. Indirectly, and through the medium of language, it has also encroached upon the Indian principle of segregation, by

placing at the command of the native a new medium of utterance that renders intercourse possible between separate stocks, thus paving the way for an idea entirely foreign to all American aborigines--that of fraternity among mankind.<sup>6</sup>

Spanish administration was the most beneficent, the most humane, and the most practical ever framed for the government of the aborigines.<sup>7</sup> The myth of a priest-ridden exploited society subject to interminable plunder and rapine began to collapse.<sup>8</sup>

Bandelier demonstrated that Spanish religious conceptions and ideas did transform the Pueblo world view and image of man. By the 1880's aborigines had adapted into fetishism and polytheism a belief in Dios, the Supreme Being, the Creator; intercession by saints; baptism, the Mass, and burial in consecrated ground.<sup>9</sup>

Charles F. Lummis said this was "The first American work--and the first real work ever done in America in the name of archaeology."<sup>10</sup> Bandelier influenced Lummis's The Spanish Pioneers in which he denied Spanish inhumanity and argued that their legislation was "incomparably more extensive, more comprehensive, more systematic, and more humane" than any British or American system.<sup>11</sup> For that published insight Spanish King Alfonso awarded Lummis the Order of Isabella. At least leyenda negra, the black legend, was partially refuted.<sup>12</sup>

Like Bandelier, Lummis gathered materials and experience on Pueblo and Spanish-American culture during the 1880's.

He sought to dispel errors and write the truth about the Pueblos "in the light of present science, whereby he has not yet been popularly viewed; and even that, with chief reference to the qualities of body and mind, heart and pocket."<sup>13</sup> Lummis acknowledged his debt to Bandelier on every occasion. In his preface to The Spanish Pioneers, he lamented the impossibility of "a Saxon boy" getting the real truth about Spanish pioneers, their heroism and achievements.<sup>14</sup> Bandelier had taught him the truth about early America.

Lummis saw New Mexico as a great social laboratory. Bandelier's "New School of American History," Lummis wrote, is making the truth available and "race prejudice, the most ignorant of all human ignorances, must die out." "This work," said Lummis, "is not a history; it is simply a guide-book to the true point of view, the broad idea--starting from which those who are interested may move safely forward to the study of details."<sup>15</sup>

His The Land of Poco Tiempo was at once a polemic, an apologia, and a textbook proclaiming his call for a true brotherhood of mankind. That theme unifies an apparently disparate collection of eleven essays. Whether from a "literary [or] scientific" standpoint, the work is considered to be his "most important book."<sup>16</sup>

In crystal-clear prose Lummis launched his polemic against "armchair archeologists" who sent students to comb New Mexican fields for artifacts that they catalogued and shipped east to be evaluated by men who never saw the field,

and who therefore "had not the necessary horizon [i.e., perspective]." New Mexican history has been studied, Lummis averred, without the "bias" of actual observation of its people or use of Spanish archives. So-called scholars were "unconscious humorists who study ethnology from a flying Pullman or an Eastern closet." Such dismal ignorance placed Cabeza de Vaca in New Mexico--which he never saw; made the Pueblos miners and slaves of the Spaniards; "forced Pueblos to abandon their old religions and adopt the new,"--none of which actually happened.<sup>17</sup>

His apologia lauded Pueblo separation of church and state, republican government, democratic social organization and virtually crime-free civilization.<sup>18</sup> The work contained other independent essays that detailed history from the current perspective, enlightened the nation on the Penitentes, and described the Indian harvest rites and Spanish-Pueblo syncretism.

Throughout his life Lummis sought to achieve goals first enunciated in 1893, the sum of which was to promote toleration and appreciation of diversity, to discover, assimilate, and disseminate truth and reality. As editor and literary critic he could be ferocious in response to careless research and mediocre pedantry. For him, Mary Austin had

"the most oracular impudence of anyone that ever wrote about the Southwest. Even Geewhilkens [George Wharton] James was modest beside her. [She was] a brilliant lady, but without conscience and without sense of humor; above all, she has the



misfortune of doubling for the Almighty. She never would study anything for it all came to her by divine revelation."<sup>19</sup>

James's Land of Delight Makers apparently piqued Lummis as a spin-off of Bandelier's revered work. The work is indeed a tiresome compendium though on publication it seemed to suit the popular taste. A passage on witches illustrates its special brand of pretentiousness. "In condemning these primitive peoples for their tenacious adherence to this superstition," pontificated James,

let us not forget that it is but a little over two hundred years ago that the most cultured, refined, educated and pious of the people of New England were guilty of the most hideous and monstrous cruelties to poor and helpless people, generally old women, who had been accused of being witches. Let us recall the stocks, the whippings at the cart's tail, the ear-and nose-slitting and then the hanging and burning of the helpless accused of New England. Our own savageness is too recent to justify our too severe condemnation of those who, at the present time, are still groping in the darkness from which we have but just emerged.<sup>20</sup>

One suspects the James attitude to have been--there, but for my own intrinsic worth and superior cultural status, go I. Reference to the poor Pueblo, "groping in the darkness" was just the sort of thing Lummis abhorred.

Lummis was true to his quest to the last. Just three years before his death he published in 1925 Mesa, Cañon and Pueblo,<sup>21</sup> ostensibly a reissue of his 1892 Some Strange Corners of Our Country, but actually a new work. Much was similar, the inimitable vibrant style, the confidence that the Brotherhood of Man dated from God's creation of each

person from the same quality clay.<sup>22</sup> The Lummis model for New Mexico, that it be a land not only of enchantment, but also of brotherhood, that is a successful tricultural laboratory to demonstrate tolerance, understanding, and mutual respect, he left as a literary-ideological legacy.<sup>23</sup>

No other writer held so lofty a vision for New Mexico, or espoused it so eloquently--and accurately. Mary Austin's The Land of Journey's Ending is a tiresome, rambling, inaccurate travelogue when read from the same table as Lummis's Land of Poco Tiempo. Austin had placed an inquisitorial auto-da-fé in Santo Domingo where none ever was, and referred to burning witches in Massachusetts where none ever burned. [p. 192] She reported Catholic repression of Pueblo rites and enforced Christian services where toleration and syncretism were actually the rule. She also wrote of forced Pueblo labor in Spanish mines where none existed. [p. 192] Random chapters recorded the ceremonial dances, Spanish Catholic veneration of saints, with of course a section on "Los Hermanos Penitentes." Her finale, "Hasta Mañana," an unresolved quasi-rhapsody, ends the work on as dull a note as it began on and one is left to wonder whence?, whither?, and why? .

Willa Cather's perceptive classic, Death Comes for the Archbishop<sup>24</sup> is almost a biography of Jean Baptiste Lamy. More important, the work is an excellent example of the literary use of the Spanish-Pueblo culture. She argues no thesis, and constructs no aesthetic model of tricultural

interrelationships. Rather, the work is simply a brilliant frame that supports a romanticized portrayal of cultures. Impossible to analyze, the work is best experienced firsthand. It rings with authenticity and truth, and compares favorably with master stylist Paul Horgan's Lamy of Santa Fe.<sup>25</sup> His massive research and bibliography notwithstanding, Cather wrote more truth than Horgan.<sup>26</sup>

New Mexico's intellectuals were quite aware of international and national cultural trends. Darwinism, the most influential intellectual current of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century America, was articulated in the valley world by the anthropologist Edgar Lee Hewitt and the Honorable Frank Springer. Hewitt's public statement of ideas appeared to go through metamorphosis. In 1893 he appeared to be more interested in stating the contemporary conventional wisdom. In a commencement address he echoed Horatio Alger, counseling

If your destiny does not suit you, make it.  
Misfortune should be the conquerer of no man.  
The day of destitution should be the day of  
supremacy. From the embrace of desolation,  
faith leaps forth; out of faith springs inspir-  
ation; out of inspiration springs determined  
and resistless action and out of action,  
triumph soars and sings over destiny. For  
every teacher, for everyone who is to take the  
young mind in life's morning and send it soaring  
in its upward flight there is one towering  
question: what is your master motive?<sup>27</sup>

High flown passages of that sort finally led to the master motive. One should reject selfishness and espouse self-discipline and service.

By 1903 Hewitt could cite Herbert Spencer's dictum that proper education involved evolution of human nature toward perfection. He paid lip service to the liberal arts, literature, history, art, and music, but held the preeminent place for scientism.

Science must occupy a foremost place...if students are to learn to love the search for truth, to reverence nature, to keep the mind open to reasonable convictions, to enter the path of free inquiry that has led the way for the industrial and economic development of our time.<sup>28</sup>

Hewitt's image of man now was clearly naturalistic and evolutionary. In a later address he espoused determinism.

We are simply encountering phenomena--there is no use in quarreling with these phenomena. They must be met with all the resources we have, physical and mental. Failing, we [will be] overwhelmed and go the way of the unfit...that have perished in past ages...it is natural to fight for life....Man is an evolving creature... I can only see evolution working in the usual way.<sup>29</sup>

Darwin and Spencer would have subscribed fully to each idea.

Frank Springer on separate occasions delivered commencement addresses at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque. Again, schizoid ideological presuppositions are evident. On one occasion Springer examined the true function of a university--to be the "home of culture, study

of nature, art and patriotism, the seat of gentility and good breeding." The conventional wisdom never flowed more freely. The institution was "a reservoir of knowledge" as well as the "dispenser of intelligence." A good historical example was the School of Alexandria. Culture was to be preferred to mere utilitarianism. "Money value [was] not the only thing worth striving for in this world." Courtesy, good breeding, as well as morality [were] virtues diligently to be sought. Springer therein--almost ad infinitum--had articulated elements of the "genteel tradition."<sup>30</sup> On another occasion he evoked theistic Darwinism.

Again, at the University of New Mexico for commencement, Springer considered Darwinism to be

the most powerful and productive intellectual movement in the history of mankind [that] has been the cause of more original research than any other doctrine ever promulgated. The principle of evolution has permeated every field of inquiry...its influence has advanced the intellectual status of the world to an extent without parallel in human affairs.<sup>31</sup>

He obviously knew and espoused theistic evolution, specifically citing John Fiske on "'how the creation and perfecting of man is the goal towards which Nature's work has been tending from the first.'" Further, said Fiske, "'human life [seems] more than ever the chief object of Divine care.'"<sup>32</sup> Clearly the leading intellectual currents of the day flowed into New Mexico despite her territorial status.

Judge Elisha V. Long held that the human race was responsible to build up a "lasting, universal, Christian civilization, embracing the whole earth." Mankind merely holds property and personal service in trust for the real owner. As a custodian only, the trustee must account for that responsibility and aid those less fortunate.<sup>33</sup> Long, a prominent jurist, lawyer, and former Territorial Supreme Court Justice, expounded his views in numerous addresses as well as newspaper articles and editorials.

At this point a fully evolved social methodology--a blend of Darwinian evolution and Christian social conscience--had evolved. Theistic evolution and Christian stewardship denied determinism and opened possibilities for both understanding why some human beings had been exploited in the past--they were the "unfit"--as well as to justify and even to require the "fit" to assume responsibility for lifting them. The intellectual's model New Mexico was not to be realized. The world view and image of man articulated clearly that God owns all the universe, the earth and its resources; that the apparent human owners are merely stewards who must render an accounting; and that human beings of whatever race, gender, and social level are all noble persons created by nature in the Divine image, with an eternal destiny. This mindset underlay the progressive movement in New Mexico. The ideas were fated to fail, at least at that

time. As an alternative to a failed social and political ideological thrust, a more ethereal, aesthetic vision flourished. New Mexican artists turned to the vistas of the mind and spirit, and there created a world of harmony, order, and brotherhood.

Taos, crown jewel of the Rio Grande Valley world, was the mystical heart of New Mexico between 1900 and 1925. East of the river, at the foot of the Sangre de Christo Mountains, the dual Pueblo-Spanish-American settlements intrigued and attracted a group of gifted painters who sought to reinterpret the meaning of human experience in the light of their Taos experience. They sought reality, or truth, or goodness and beauty, or God, or whatever was actual and eternal that lay beneath the apparent.<sup>34</sup> The catalog of participants is impressive. Distinguished artists came: Bert Phillips, E. L. Blumenschein, Oscar Berninghaus, Victor Higgins, Irving Couse, and Walter Ufer. They introduced New Mexico to the nation and many others came.

The artists arrived in force between 1898 and 1916. Joseph Henry Sharp, precursor and propagandist, had stumbled into the valley world quite by accident in 1893, the same year Scribner's Sons issued Lummis's Poco Tiempo. Sharp and the Taos artists who followed him set out to portray in paint what Lummis had evoked in print.

Artists so motivated gravitated naturally to Taos, aesthetic heartland of New Mexico.<sup>35</sup> From the start, however, two sorts of artists came to work in Taos. Ernest Blumenschein categorized them as "those whose pictures were principally picturesque subject matter" whose main concern was the money they could earn. Of this group there came not a few, most of whom did secure a "good income." The second group, "the rest of us," as he put it, "with high ideals of art, had to fight it out, and [we] never could have won but for prizes at shows or purchases by museums."<sup>36</sup>

Blumenschein's "the rest of us" now becomes the focus of this inquiry. In Blumenschein's oft-quoted remark "we all drifted into Taos like skilled hands looking for a job." Taos totally absorbed each artist and fired his imagination and spirit with an irresistible urge and a "joyous inspiration to produce and give to the deepest extent" of himself. They "lived only to paint." Their works had the "extra something that the right artist can put into his work...that exists in the conception of a work of art," it is "probably a little friend of the imagination that was realized from the beginning...that will move the onlooker to a reaction that will indicate that he has grasped the message--sometimes one that is forever lasting in the memory."<sup>37</sup> The crucial quality that set apart the "rest of us," then from painters of merely the "picturesque" was the intangible "conception"



that underlay it, with the power of conveying a message--sometimes of eternal significance.

According to Blumenschein's analysis, one would expect to find an aesthetic, philosophical, intellectual vision embodied in the greater works of men so motivated. That is precisely true. That vision exists at three levels: in the painters' own words, spoken and written; in the literary statement of others; and most important of all, in the paintings themselves.<sup>38</sup> Most published works on Taos artists have focused on description and compilation of representative works. Documentary only in the sense of all "art books," they do disseminate approximations of the great works, helter skelter with the "picturesque." For the most part the textual accompaniment gives no clue to guide one to the great visionary documentary paintings. Rambling, loosely connected prose is the rule, as in the 1972 Alfred A. Knopf compendium, The Art of the West.<sup>39</sup> The Paul A. Rossi and David C. Hunt text sketches from "wilderness" to "cowboy," using the incomparable Gilcrease Institute resources merely as illustrations. No ideological analysis breaks the flow of description. Even the most promising chapter title "Romance and Realism" introduces yet another superficial essay. "The artist in the American West," they wrote, "went there for a number of different reasons, usually to record scenes never before recorded or to document the action associated with

life along the western trails and among the scattered settlements."<sup>40</sup> This was most decidedly nowhere near the entire truth. That statement suits only the picturesque painters, not the aesthetic vision with Blumenschein's "eternal message." The most recent work, Patricia Janis Broder's 1980 Taos: A Painters Dream,<sup>41</sup> is almost as vapid. Reproduction techniques reflect improved technology now used in that sort of book. The text is a hackneyed compilation without very much fresh insight.<sup>42</sup> These people lived in Taos at this time and painted these pictures, says the text. See, the pictures are here.

Besides the artists' own writings, Laura M. Bickerstaff's analytical Pioneer Artists of Taos most nearly approaches portrayal of the aesthetic vision, besides, of course, the paintings. The art book--used as a valid experience--is incredibly inferior to the works themselves. Tulsa's Gilcrease Institute contains the primary sources for proper perception of the Taos artists' eternal message.

Blumenschein's perennial eternal message he portrayed through two intellectual-philosophical paintings. Moon, Morning Star, Evening Star and Superstition.<sup>43</sup> The former detailed unity and harmony in the cosmos; mankind and every living creature had a proper role and place, individually as well as through community. Superstition evoked the problem that intruding Anglo civilization created for that world of harmony.

Moon, Morning Star, Evening Star is a masterpiece of harmony and proportion. The background fills about one-fourth of the work, marked off by a central pueblo building extended by lower buildings to the right and left edges of the painting. Mountains fill the small space above; the nearer dark and mysterious, the distant sheathed in eternal ice beneath a narrow, cloudless sky. Blumenschein placed the Pueblo's holy symbols overlapping the nearer range with the farther. Foreground and center contain the Taos Deer Dance, stylized as an oval rank of human beings interrelated with all the living creatures known to the Pueblos. All have assumed a stance of deference to the intangible spiritual presence that radiates through and from the work. All space outside the symbolic oval is filled with Pueblo folk, and apparently one Anglo.<sup>44</sup> Atop the dividing buildings Blumenschein placed a body of mysterious watchers of the proceedings, shrouded figures who are in direct contact with the mystic symbols, and who blend into the eternal mountains.

Analysis of the work reveals the eternal message.<sup>45</sup> Participants perform all actions in the presence of eternity. It is winter; harvest time has ended, and all living things rejoice and give thanks for nature's bounty. Vegetables and fruits abound to sustain life through the barren season of winter. The moon, emblem of the night,

heralded by the evening star, stood in Pueblo ritual for nonlife. Growth ceased when darkness came, and without growth there was no life. The symbolic evening star, a minute black-faced moon, always preceded the new moon in the western sky. The moon, personified as "Yellow Woman," died according to the cycle of phases--new moon, waxing moon, waning moon--to be resurrected or reassembled by Arrow Youth into Her correct self. Life came when She entered the realm of the divine Father Sun. In due course She returned to the realm of death.

The Pueblos expanded the cycle to include the annual solstices. Nature Herself died in winter and returned to life in the spring-summer turn of the cosmos. Reaffirmation of continuance of life then is probably the deepest eternal message in Pueblo ritual. It is possible that the mysterious watchers atop the Pueblo building, or on the mountainside, are emblems of the Pueblo dead, who are under the moon in the realm of death, but at the same time are touched by the morning star, harbinger of life-giving Father Sun. Time and eternity are a continuum. The morning star-sun-evening star-moon cycle related all Pueblos to the eternal dual realities, life-death, light-darkness, fruitfulness-barrenness. Every aspect of existence was an accepted part of the natural order.

Community action reaffirmed the human brotherhood that bound each Pueblo to his fellow. Individual action became joyful, almost rhapsodical participation in the unity of life. The sacred oval moved as a single being might move. The all-inclusive ceremonial motion had neither beginning nor ending. Including both animals and human life, the dancers invoked the Trues, gods and divine personages who inhabited the zenith. All gave thanks for life and the gifts of that which sustained it.

The perceptive saw thanksgiving for necessities of life, community participation in brotherhood, mutual respect for one's fellows, belief in and acceptance of a divine order, affirmation of immortality, harmony with the natural environment, and unity of all living things. The work embodied an eternal message, one of reality and ultimate truth.

The scene profoundly influenced Blumenschein. His internalization of Pueblo culture is self-evident. He associated himself with the Pueblo spirit through inclusion of the identical religious symbols in his own self-portrait.<sup>46</sup> Art books that reproduce the portrait usually omit them.

Of the four possible avenues to truth--philosophical, theological, scientific, artistic--Blumenschein had chosen the aesthetic vision and embodied therein his philosophical-theological presuppositions. "It is a very moving experience to witness the Deer Dance at Taos. One that

can never be forgotten by any man or woman who really appreciates art." It is natural, he said, "that I should be inspired to produce my best when I painted this marvelous subject."<sup>47</sup> Aesthetic insight to Blumenschein was the most valuable tool to discover and portray truth.

Crucial to the aesthetic vision--the artist's perception, analysis, and realization--as he applied them to the specific work, Blumenschein explained his method and emotions to the purchaser of Moon, Morning Star, Evening Star. He recorded his first perceptions of the event before he slept. In a rapid sketch he sought to capture the "character and sentiment of the scene and of course the emotional"<sup>48</sup> aspects. It was the emotional response that raised the original portrayal from "mere statement of a reporter" to "work of art." He strove for accuracy at first, then idealism, and spiritual perception later led him to alter "facts" to conform the total work to his aesthetic vision of the truth being portrayed. Analysis determined the role of composition, form, and color according to the "artist's taste and most intelligent judgment." Realization required "several months of painstaking execution of details" taking considerable care "to hold the details in place and maintain the rhythm."<sup>49</sup>

The work, with the artist's own insights, reflected the eternal vision of the Taos artists better than any other work. Later, his Enchanted Forest combined similar aesthetic values, with the Taos Deer Dance painted against a background of stylized aspen, below a mountain covered with spruce and pine. A comparison of the two works demonstrates the superior "virility" as Blumenschein put it, of Moon, Morning Star, Evening Star.<sup>50</sup>

The documentary painting Superstition recorded the cultural confusion and displacement that occurred between Spanish-American and Pueblo. "Regarding my painting Superstition," wrote Blumenschein, "I can't say anymore with words than I can with paint. In fact I have tried--and all I do is confuse more than ever."<sup>51</sup>

The painting is markedly symbolic, with a background of stylized steep mountain peaks, in gray, blue, and green tones. The artist painted the opposite mountain in a maze of colors, in mosiaclike patterns--odd mountains indeed. A central peak includes various symbols, including the swastika. The central figure--a morose, obviously deeply troubled Indian, sits between conflicting symbols. On his right a scowling, bearded, masklike face wears a cross in its forehead. To his left is a curious crucifix. Bare from the waist up, the figure is otherwise clothed in Pueblo garb.

The central figure grasps a double-spouted teapot. From so tempestuous a brew, steam seems to form on the one side an Indian in dancer's posture, from the other a sheaf of cereal grain--the Christian bread of life? Perhaps a shaman to counterbalance a Christian symbol. The work is better experienced than described. Nevertheless, the artists portrayed reality as they perceived it.

In contrast to Blumenschein, Bert Geer Phillips abandoned the "facts" of Pueblo life and idealized his Indian subjects into poses within environments that never existed. As an example, he painted a deer-hunting scene, using an already slain deer, posed as he requested by accompanying Indians. The story he wrote Gilcrease about it is interesting, but not crucial.<sup>52</sup> His treatment of New Mexico's Spanish-Americans, on the other hand, contributed important insights. His Penitente Burial Procession reflects deep empathy with his Spanish-American neighbors, even with their outdated dualism and denial of the flesh. The work evokes their sense of eternity and participation in the spirit world. The long winding procession connects the adobe community with the grave. Penitente hermano mayors precede the dead with crosses of mortification. Figuratively, Joseph Henry Sharp's Penitente Flagellants around the bier of a dead brother might have preceded--at least as a documentary painting--the Phillips burial procession. Sharp actually owned a former Penitente chapel



that was the setting for his work. "The Candlesticks," he said, "are those of the original Penitentes." The Spanish and Indian mindsets shared a quasi-medieval tendency toward self-torture. Sharp's The Mourners portrays similar rites that "were practiced long before the Spanish and American Penitentes."<sup>53</sup>

Walter Ufer's version of Superstition, entitled Hunger, focused on Pueblo acculturation of Spanish-American values, that according to the painting had a devastating effect. On a stark gray stucco wall, a quasi-Indian figure is crucified on a black cross.<sup>54</sup> Obviously destitute Pueblos entreat the effigy for necessities of life. On the right, a hollow-eyed madonna looks listlessly at the petitioners, apparently powerless to give real aid. On the left, a mouse appears to join the prayer.

Oscar E. Berninghaus, as well as Phillips, toward the close of the period being considered, tended toward what Blumenschein denoted the picturesque. Their posed Indians and landscapes did contribute superficially to the perceived aesthetic vision of the valley world. Berninghaus actually referred to his Threshing Time--Taos Pueblo as "picturesque and romantic...traditional and primitive."<sup>55</sup> Phillips's scenery and portrayals of noble male and female Pueblos were idealized but popular.

Blumenschein characteristically contributed the summarizing credo for the Taos artists. He counseled

Try to appreciate all schools of art if they have virility. Do not approach a painting with a set formula in your mind as to what it should contain...enjoy the art of all races. Be yourself--and trust your subconscious tastes...Establish your planes with color as well as perspective. Search distinguished tones, make memory sketches. Ask yourself...is your design vigorous? Are your proportions or spaces beautiful in their relations?...have you said something that is your own?<sup>56</sup>

After he attended a "modern art" exhibition, Blumenschein stated further

I concluded that after all we cannot burst the links of the traditional ideas of man, and with a flood of propaganda endeavor to create new ideas that lack the depth of centuries. I can appreciate skillful ingenuity...but I will never again compare these works that build no form, with the grandeur of thought and feeling which have been expressed in our masterpieces of architecture, music and painting.<sup>57</sup>

Artistic perception, analysis, and realization had by 1925 translated the Valley World onto canvas. The credo had been asserted--form, order, structure, spirit, the intangible--all were required to portray the truth and reality the original artists discovered among the Spanish-American and Pueblo inhabitants of a different environment. Blumenschein was certain the work embodied an eternal message.

At the same time the artists were completing the aesthetic vision--the eternal message--between 1915 and 1925, a duo of masculine-feminine pilgrims of eternity came

to the Taos Plateau.<sup>58</sup> She, Mabel Ganson Evans Dodge Sterne, started from Buffalo, New York, and arrived in Taos via Paris, Nice, and Florence where she had associated with Leo and Gertrude Stein as well as other American expatriates in search of themselves--or some meaning in life. Mabel--indefatigable journalist-diarist, quasi-intellectual, social observer, and critic, with a touch of latent lesbianism--came to the Valley World with a driving ambition to experience "real life."<sup>59</sup>

Her fellow pilgrim, David Herbert Lawrence, also a victim of cultural displacement, came at Mabel's invitation, or insistence. Having taken another man's wife, with her he embarked on a "savage pilgrimage"<sup>60</sup> from England, via Baden-Baden--Florence--Sardinia--Ceylon--Australia through Tahiti and San Francisco, thence to New Mexico, and Taos. Lawrence--victim of culture shock, rebel against the genteel tradition of Western Europe and America, tinged with a hint of homosexuality--came in search of something he could believe in.

Both shared with the artists a quest for truth, reality, goodness, and beauty--eternal meaning. Mabel's accompanying intellectual-spiritual baggage included a deep "despair that governed my days [and] made it necessary for me to fabricate a hope of some kind, possibly the contentious arguments I invented were unconscious attempts...

to convert my disbelief, for I needed God. I knew I needed a god and faith in the pattern of life."<sup>61</sup> Isolation intensified a sense of "separation between myself and life." Alpine heights between France and Italy became the physical symbol of that separation.<sup>62</sup>

Mabel had arrived at the point of despairing separation after having believed she had escaped it through masculine-feminine sexual union. In detail she described her first "amazing explosion of the internal fireworks" that was "silent, fiery fountains falling back on black velvet." That "marvel...subtle, stirring...almost painful music" became a point of reference, and thereafter "people, beauty and truth were revealed in exact proportion to their sharing of this fiery heart of life."<sup>63</sup> The interpretation is more important than the description as a significant key to the method Mabel believed to be effective for individual escape from the dreadful solitude each living soul faces in the universe. That she suffered so intense isolation and "separation from life" thereafter demonstrated that however effective the remedy might have been, it was not the sole key.

Intellectual and spiritual isolation was common to the years 1900 to 1920, because of a collapse of philosophical idealism, faith in revealed religion, and the beginnings of family decentralization. These three socioideological institutions--family, church, home--had undergirded what was

collectively denoted "the genteel tradition" that provided a point of reference, and gave meaning to every aspect of life. Mabel became enmeshed in the collapse and became "a pilgrim of eternity" in quest of meaning. Her search embraced psychoanalysis, use of peyote, and exploration of European centers of culture, as well as sex. All failed her and she ultimately sought serenity within the Valley World.<sup>64</sup>

In Taos Mabel found a self-contained civilization, with "natural" men and women. Their sense of brotherhood, rejection of materialism, and unpretentious joy in living captivated her and thereafter her intent was to attract artists, writers, and intellectuals to the area, that they might make known her now-perceived viable answer for a bankrupt civilization.

With the Taos Society of Artists already at work, Mabel sought to attract a worthy author. She selected D. H. Lawrence--an intuitive choice--visionary, artist, radical intellectual. Both Mabel and Lawrence had abandoned the genteel tradition. In a letter to Ada Lawrence, he rejected Christianity, and espoused a sort of universalism. He wrote:

I am sorry more than I can tell to find you  
going through the torment of religious  
unbelief: it is so hard to bear especially now.  
However, it seems to me like this: Jehovah is the  
Jew's idea of God not ours. Christ was infinitely  
good, but mortal as we. There still remains a God,  
but not a personal God: A vast shimmering impulse  
which waves onward toward some end, I don't know what--  
taking no regard of the little individual, but taking  
regard for humanity. When we die, like rain drops

falling back again into the sea, we fall back into the big, shimmering sea of unorganized life which we call God. We are lost as individuals, yet we count in the whole. It requires a lot of pain and courage to come to discover one's own creed, and quite as much to continue in lonely faith...whatever name one gives Him in worship we all strive toward the same God, so we be generous hearted: Christians, Buddhists, Mrs. Dax, me, we all stretch our hands in the same direction. What does it matter the name we cry? It is a fine thing to establish one's own religion in one's heart, not to be dependent on tradition and second hand ideals.<sup>65</sup>

In 1913 he avowed "my great religion is a belief in the blood, the flesh, as being wiser than the intellect. We can go wrong in our minds. But what our blood feels and believes and says, is always true."<sup>66</sup>

Though he rejected Christianity, Lawrence preserved a strain of radical idealism in his quest for Rananim, a mystical utopian community he sought to establish. The notion comprised a part of the ideological presuppositions he brought into Taos. The Hebrew name he got from the Russian-Jewish translator S. S. Koteliansky, whose chants included Rananim.<sup>67</sup> Lawrence transformed the idea into an island where friends could be free from the corruptions of civilization, its wars and selfishness. On January 18, 1915, he wrote W. E. Hopkin

I want to gather together about twenty souls and sail away from this world of war and squalor and found a little colony where there shall be no money but a sort of communism as far as necessities of life go, and some real decency which is in each member of the community...established upon the assumption of goodness in the members, instead of the assumption of badness.<sup>68</sup>

Lawrence moved the location several times including Florida, finally to Del Monte Ranch in New Mexico. From there he would write Kot that he felt Rananim was present.<sup>69</sup>

When Lawrence left England he had expected to look farther west [than Florida]. "I hope in the end people will come and we can be a little community, a monastery, a school--a little Hesperides of the soul and body."<sup>70</sup> Several days later Lawrence wrote to Kot "I shall say goodbye to England, forever, and set off in quest of our Rananim. Thither, later, you must come."<sup>71</sup> The characteristics Lawrence sought for proposed members included mutual trust, dependability, generosity, frankness, and integrity.<sup>72</sup> Mabel had chosen well. Lawrence appeared to be the perfect person to "write up" the country.

According to Mabel, she and Tony Luhan "willed him to come." In her often-quoted words she compressed herself "into the core of [her] being" and "leaped through space, joining [herself] to the central core of Lawrence" in a command to come to Taos.<sup>73</sup> He came. Later Lawrence wrote: "New Mexico...liberated me from the present era of civilization, the great era of material and mechanical development."<sup>74</sup> Yet, within three months of arrival he wrote of Mabel as "very intelligent as a woman, another 'culture-carrier,' [who] likes to play the patroness, hates the white

world, and loves the Indian out of hate...[she] has a terrible will-to-power you know, wants to be a witch and at the same time Mary of Bethany at Jesus's feet."<sup>75</sup> Personal relations would be more stormy than tranquil. Such biographical details are available elsewhere, however. Ideas are of more interest here.

For Lawrence, western civilization had become a materialistic wasteland, the ultimate cause of which was selfishness based in individual isolation and mutual distrust. The society had broken apart--the social molecule was disorganized into its particles. Translated into human terms, men were isolated from women. Victorian bourgeois artificiality had destroyed any possibility for true relationships. The key to restoration, and salvation of civilization, was to begin with the basic units, male and female, and restore that social foundation... Thereafter, he wrote, a total

cure would consist in bringing about a state of honesty and a certain trust among a group of people. [The problem is that] so long as men are inwardly dominated by their own isolation, their own absolute-ness...nothing is possible but insanity more or less pronounced. Men must get back into touch [and] fall again into true relatedness.<sup>76</sup>

Like Mabel, Lawrence considered sex as the starting point--"all life works up to the one supreme moment of coition."<sup>77</sup> Lawrence was no pornographer. The intent here was to further the human creative role.<sup>78</sup> His goal was restoration of a



healthy civilization. The problem with modern man was his insistence on cerebral life only. "Blood" existence, thrusting from the more elementary human nature had been suppressed so that men were unable to properly relate to women. This is the theme Lawrence examined in his three New Mexican stories: St. Mawr, "The Princess," and "The Woman Who Rode Away."

St. Mawr<sup>79</sup> begins in the waste land, England, and ends in New Mexico. In essence Lou Witt, the unplumbed and unfulfilled woman, is trapped in marriage with Rico, the ineffectual male. She purchases St. Mawr, a killer horse--symbol of masculine virility--for her husband, and almost immediately the horse maims him. Rico seeks to destroy or geld the stallion, but Lou vows to preserve this last positively male thing on earth. Lou removes him to America. She arrives in New Mexico, at a ranch recognizable as the Lawrences' Del Monte. Lou resolved to forever thereafter avoid sex as did "the virgins of the holy fire in the old temples" weary of the embrace of incompetent men...turning to unseen gods, the unseen spirits, the hidden fire. She lamented, "I can never mate with any man, since the mystic new man will never come to me."

In "The Woman Who Rode Away" again Lawrence blends his basic theme--disparate sexual relationships--with New Mexican Pueblo symbolism.<sup>80</sup> Her husband has failed her, and the woman "rides away" to "wander into the secret haunts of those tireless, mysterious, marvelous Indians of the mountains."

There the cicique prepares her for sacrifice to recreate the world. She becomes the moon, cosmic symbol of the feminine principle, and at solstice the sun enters the sacrificial cave through an icy slit. Symbolic cosmic intercourse takes place as the sun enters the moon. Lawrence had begun to portray Pueblo insights as perhaps superior to whites.

Sex was again the theme of "The Princess." Lawrence seemed to be able only to state his problem; never to integrate it with the civilization of the Valley World. Based on a trip to Mexico, he published The Plumed Serpent, that Mabel Luhan decried as transplanted Taos culture. He never achieved her goal of "writing up" the country and departed, never to return to New Mexico. His pilgrimage ended with his death in Europe.

Mabel, so she reported, finally found real life in Taos. As she put it:

It seems to me I have to let others know there is a true and possible change of being that can take place, and that I have passed the latter part of my life in this work of change. If I who was nobody for so long, a zombie wandering empty upon the earth, could come to life, who cannot? My empty memories must have shown what life had done to me, my recorded thoughts, reactions, and motivations and how they were, and what they were (underneath the mask of the persona) are not so different, I fancy, from many other typical products of our time. It is for those desperate and frightened people I am trying to write now as it was for them I wrote before. Revelations of the hidden distortions, the cripple under the veils of civilization, the mind breaking under its strain, and the heart atrophying in its insulation--those were the intimate memories of my life until I came to Taos where I was offered and accepted a spiritual therapy that was cleansing, one that provided a difficult and painful method of curing me of my

epoch and that finally rewarded me with a sense of reality.<sup>81</sup>

Her Edge of Taos Desert is in essence the account of Mabel's acculturation into Pueblo civilization. She began to be happy as she visited the home of Tony Luhan.<sup>82</sup> The process--metaphorically a movement from unreality to reality--had been unknowable to whites at first, as it had been to Mabel. The Pueblo belonged to her no more than had Buffalo, or Florence, or New York, or Croton.<sup>83</sup> As she continued visits "more and more" she wrote, "I felt that my real home was in the Pueblo. All through the spring, I hurried out there every morning, and it was like entering into another and a new dimension."<sup>84</sup> Maurice Sterne, her husband, she reported, reacted violently to her continued interest in Tony Luhan. Telepathic powers, Mabel claimed, drew Tony to her, and his chanting cured her suffering endured at the hand of her less and less tolerable artist husband. Her odyssey ended in peace, fulfillment, and serenity through liaison, then marriage into the natural society.<sup>85</sup>

After 1925, Mabel Ganson Evans Dodge Sterne, now Luhan, had finally escaped merely its imitation, and entered "real life."

# NOTES

<sup>1</sup>(New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company, [1890]).

<sup>2</sup>Adolph Francis Alphonse Bandelier. Final Report of Investigations Among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, Carried on Mainly in the Years From 1880 to 1885, 2 vols. (Cambridge [Mass.]: J. Wilson and Son, 1890 - 1892.) Hereafter cited as Bandelier, Report.

<sup>3</sup>Emily Hahn's Mabel: A Biography of Mabel Dodge Luhan (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1977) is the latest and yet another work on the eternally intriguing diarist. Mabel knew all, saw all, and apparently told all either in her famous (or notorious) multi-volume Intimate Memories, published by Harcourt, Brace and Company, or one suspects in her voluminous sealed works, that still lie prescient at Yale University.

<sup>4</sup>Harry T. Moore's D. H. Lawrence: His Life and Works (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1951, 1964) with that author's The Intelligent Heart comprise the most perceptive introduction to Lawrence, a twentieth-century literary giant.

<sup>5</sup>Rananim was a Utopian vision, explained below.

<sup>6</sup>Bandelier, Report, p. 206.

<sup>7</sup>Report, p. 207.

<sup>8</sup>Turbesé Lummis Fiske and Keith Lummis. Charles F. Lummis: The Man and His West (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975), p. 120. Hereafter cited as Lummis and Lummis, C. F. Lummis.

<sup>9</sup>Bandelier, Report, pp. 219-220.

<sup>10</sup>Charles F. Lummis, "An Appreciation of Adolph F. Bandelier," Appendix II in Adolph F. Bandelier and Edgar L. Hewitt. Indians of the Rio Grande Valley (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1973), pp. 255-257.

<sup>11</sup>(Chicago: A.C. McClurg and Co., 1930), p. 24. Hereafter cited as Lummis, Spanish Pioneers.

<sup>12</sup>Lummis and Lummis, C. F. Lummis, p. 121.

<sup>13</sup>Charles F. Lummis, The Land of Poco Tiempo (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1966), p. 54. Hereafter cited as Lummis, Poco Tiempo.

- <sup>14</sup>Lummis, Spanish Pioneers, p. 11.
- <sup>15</sup>Lummis, Spanish Pioneers, p. 18.
- <sup>16</sup>Lummis, Poco Tiempo. Paul A. F. Walter's "Foreward to the 1952 Edition," p. viii.
- <sup>17</sup>Lummis, Poco Tiempo, pp. 31-33.
- <sup>18</sup>Lummis, Poco Tiempo, pp. 40-41.
- <sup>19</sup>As quoted in Lummis and Lummis, C. F. Lummis. p. 106. Mary Austin had placed Cabeza de Vaca in New Mexico in her Land of Journey's Ending (New York: The Century Co., 1924), p. 27.
- <sup>20</sup>George Wharton James, New Mexico: The Land of the Delight Makers (Boston: The Page Company, 1920), p. 97.
- <sup>21</sup>(New York: The Century Co., 1925). Hereafter cited as Lummis, Mesa, Cañon.
- <sup>22</sup>Lummis, Mesa, Cañon, pp. 260-61.
- <sup>23</sup>In this work, Lummis excoriated the infamous Fall-Bursum Bill that sought to legitimize Anglo "titles" to Pueblo grants, even though proven subterfuge and illegal tactics had first secured the titles. The "superior race," it seemed to Lummis, "smell[s] possible oil." Mesa, Cañon, pp. 270-271. The Bill was defeated.
- <sup>24</sup>(New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926).
- <sup>25</sup>Lamy of Santa Fe: His Life and Times (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1975). Yet Paul Horgan's Great River: The Rio Grande in North American History. 2 vols. (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1954) and its distilled essence, The Heroic Triad, are crucial to any grasp of the meaning of the New Mexico experience.
- <sup>26</sup>Horgan, indefatigable in research, overpowers one with documents. His Lamy of Santa Fe may well prove to be definitive. He needs to extract the living person from the mass of items, much as he did for Great River in The Heroic Triad. Cather is superior in character study and cultural allusion--a point crucial to my study. Her Archbishop J. Latour, lives and communicates. Horgan's study, for all his artistry and effort, remains a work "about them." The difference is more than subtle.
- <sup>27</sup>Reported in the Greeley, Colorado Tribune, June 22, 1893, p. 10. Clipping in Hewitt Papers, Box 46. Folder,

Collegiate Period. Museum of New Mexico. Santa Fe, New Mexico.

<sup>28</sup>Edgar L. Hewitt, "Address of the Retiring President of New Mexico Normal University, June 1903" Typescript of address in Hewitt Papers, Box 46. Folder, Executive Period. Museum of New Mexico. Santa Fe, New Mexico.

<sup>29</sup>Hewitt, "Facing the Future in New Mexico" 1917 Typescript. Folder "Facing the Future in New Mexico." Hewitt Papers, Box 46. Museum of New Mexico. Santa Fe, New Mexico. Hewitt apparently recycled his ideas. Similar papers may be found under other dates.

<sup>30</sup>The address required over eleven and one-half feet of two-inch, small-type newspaper column space. The address flowed freely indeed. Hon. Frank Springer. "The Function of the University." Undisclosed newspaper clipping in Frank Springer Collection. State Records Center and Archives. Santa Fe, New Mexico.

<sup>31</sup>Frank Springer, Educational Addresses of Dr. Frank Springer, 1899-1902. (Santa Fe: El Palacio Press, 1929), p. 25. Hereafter cited as Springer. Educational Addresses.

<sup>32</sup>Springer, Educational Addresses, pp. 25-26. Springer cited John Fiske in his "Commencement Address at the University of New Mexico, 1900."

<sup>33</sup>Speech n.d. E. V. Long Collection. State Records Center and Archives. Santa Fe, New Mexico.

<sup>34</sup>Laura M. Bickerstaff, Pioneer Artists of Taos. (Denver: Sage Books, 1955), pp. 75, 41-42. Hereafter cited as Bickerstaff, Pioneer Artists.

<sup>35</sup>Such a denotation appears to, and does in fact discriminate against Santa Fe, itself an important "cultural center" or "American place," as Kay Aiken Reeve so aptly put it in her "The Making of an American Place: The Development of Santa Fe and Taos, New Mexico, As An American Cultural Center, 1898-1942." (Unpublished dissertation. Texas A&M University, 1977.) Santa Fe is a "place" as well as a "center," but Taos is the aesthetic heartland of New Mexico, that uniquely embodied the aesthetic-intellectual vision that is the nexus of my analysis.

<sup>36</sup>Ernest L. Blumenschein, "Introduction," in Bickerstaff, Pioneer Artists, p. 5.

<sup>37</sup>Blumenschein, "Introduction," in Bickerstaff. Pioneer Artists, p. 5.

<sup>38</sup>The aesthetic vision is virtually nonexistent in the artbook reproductions. My study of the actual paintings convinced me that Blumenschein was correct, but when I sought to evoke the insights from Rossi and Broder in my office, no message came. The relevant sections of this dissertation had to be written in the physical presence of the great documentary works. Why? In copies, perspective is nonexistent, color is misrepresented, and often portions of the paintings are cropped from the reproductions. Recently, similar experiences in the Louvre convinced me more than ever that art books and even slides are useful only as guides to the works themselves.

<sup>39</sup>(New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1971).

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., p. 304. The irony is that so blasé a statement faces a "copy" of Blumenschein's Moon, Morning Star, Evening Star. The text makes no reference to Blumenschein's own analysis, on file in the very building that contains the great work.

<sup>41</sup>(Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1980). Hereafter cited as Broder, Taos Dream.

<sup>42</sup>Broder, Taos Dream, "The Taos Heritage," pp. 287-289. Seldom has so imposing a title sheltered such inanity.

<sup>43</sup>The works are on display at Gilcrease Institute of American History, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

<sup>44</sup>The Anglo appears to be Mabel Luhan.

<sup>45</sup>My analysis is based on no specific work, rather it rests on assimilation of all the essential research done for this study.

<sup>46</sup>The Blumenschein self-portrait is in storage at Gilcrease Institute.

<sup>47</sup>Blumenschein to Gilcrease, January 6, 1948. Gilcrease Archives, Tulsa, Okla.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid.

<sup>49</sup>Blumenschein to Gilcrease, January 6, 1948, p. 3.

<sup>50</sup>Blumenschein to Gilcrease, January 6, 1948, p. 7.

<sup>51</sup>Blumenschein to William Teenor, December 18, 1951. Gilcrease Archives, Tulsa, Okla.

<sup>52</sup>Bert Geer Phillips to Thomas Gilcrease, September 12, 1945. Gilcrease Archives, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

<sup>53</sup>Each Sharp work at Gilcrease has on its reverse side a handwritten description/explanation of the work, written in Sharp's own hand.

<sup>54</sup>Artbook misrepresentation of actual work is stark in this instance. One cannot even approximate the impact without actual eye contact with the canvas.

<sup>55</sup>Oscar E. Berninghaus to Thomas Gilcrease, September 2, 1945. Gilcrease Archives, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

<sup>56</sup>From Blumenschein notes cited in Bickerstaff, Pioneer Artists, pp. 38-39.

<sup>57</sup>Cited in Bickerstaff, Pioneer Artists, p. 41.

<sup>58</sup>Catherine Carswell's The Savage Pilgrimage: A Narrative of D. H. Lawrence. (London: Martin Secker, 1932) cites the Lawrence self-revelation of his own perception of his life as a pilgrimage. She adds the figure of Christian fleeing the City of Destruction via London and Vanity Fair to "traverse" the physical and intellectual world." [X-XI] To me, the pilgrimage motif is valid, but more Dante than Bunyan. Carswell expands the theme pp. 192-193. Mabel Dodge Luhan's On the Edge of Taos Desert: An Escape to Reality. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1937), p. 232, reflects her perception of her life as a "lonesome pilgrimage." Again, the intensity is Dantean. According to Mabel, when she first purchased Taos land, she for the first time "ceased hovering over the earth where [she] had only landed from time to time to taste and try a flavor of neighborhood or of race, of person, place, or thing...like a visitor to this planet." [p. 231] Further, "this earth and Tony [Luhan] were identical...and the day the place [land] became mine, it was as though I had been accepted by the universe." [p. 232] Hereafter cited as Carswell, Pilgrimage; Luhan, Taos Desert.

<sup>59</sup>Christopher Lasch, The New Radicalism in America: 1889-1963: The Intellectual As A Social Type. (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1965). Lasch founded his entire work on the notion of an escape by American intellectual radicals from Victorian isolation and "unreality" to "real life." He included Mabel; the figure rings true.



<sup>60</sup>Carswell, Pilgrimage. Title quotation and p. 192.

<sup>61</sup>Mabel Dodge Luhan, European Experiences. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company, 1935), pp. 88 ff. Hereafter cited as Luhan. European Experiences.

<sup>62</sup>Luhan, European Experiences, pp. 90-91.

<sup>63</sup>Luhan, European Experiences, pp. 36-37.

<sup>64</sup>Mabel Dodge Luhan, Movers and Shakers. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company), p. 303. Mabel here noted her rejection of earlier panaceas, and turned to "nature and art" for fulfillment.

<sup>65</sup>D. H. Lawrence to Ada Lawrence, April 9, 1911. Printed in Ada Lawrence and G. Stuart Gelder. Young Lorenzo. (New York: Russell and Russell, [1931] 1966), pp. 85-87, within its proper context of brother-sister relationship. Lawrence letter collections usually also include it. [e.g. the Harry T. Moore Collected Letters of D. H. Lawrence (Vol. I. New York: Viking Press, 1962), p. 76.] Hereafter cited as A. Lawrence, Lorenzo, and Moore, D.H.L. Letters.

<sup>66</sup>D. H. Lawrence to Ernest Collings, January 17, 1913. Printed in Moore, D.H.L. Letters, Vol. I, pp. 179-80.

<sup>67</sup>George J. Zytaruk (ed.), The Quest for Ranim: D. H. Lawrence Letters to S. S. Koteliensky: 1914 to 1930. (London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1970). Zytaruk's Introduction, xi-xxxvi, includes a brief survey of the idea, concluding that it became at last an achievement of the spirit of brotherhood between Lawrence and Koteliensky. Hereafter cited as Zytaruk, Quest.

<sup>68</sup>Lawrence to Hopkin, January 18, 1915. Moore. D.H.L. Letters, Vol. I, p. 307.

<sup>69</sup>Lawrence to Koteliensky, December 4, 1922. Zytaruk, Quest, pp. 249-50.

<sup>70</sup>Lawrence to Lady Cynthia Asquith, January 8, 1917. Moore, D.H.L. Letters, p. 496-497.

<sup>71</sup>Lawrence to Koteliensky, January 12, 1917. Zytaruk, Quest, p. 107.

<sup>72</sup>Zytaruk, Quest, p. XXXV.

<sup>73</sup>Mabel Dodge Luhan, Lorenzo in Taos. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1932), p. 35.

<sup>74</sup>D. H. Lawrence, "New Mexico," in Phoenix: The Posthumous Papers. Edited by Edward D. McDonald. (New York: Viking Press, 1936), p. 142. Hereafter cited as Phoenix.

<sup>75</sup>Lawrence to Baroness von Richthofen, December 5, 1922. In Moore, D.H.L. Letters, Vol. II, p. 730.

<sup>76</sup>Phoenix, p. 382.

<sup>77</sup>D. H. Lawrence, Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious and Fantasia of the Unconscious. (New York: The Viking Press, 1960 [1921, 22 by Thomas Seltzer, Inc.]), p. 60. The two works are printed and bound within a single volume.

<sup>78</sup>Dorothy Brett was adamant on this point. She knew Lawrence had been maligned as a pornographer. He was rather prudish, she said. Interview with the author. December 1977.

<sup>79</sup>(New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925). Brett, enthroned in regal dilapidation near Taos, recalled her role in typing St. Mawr in the little one-room house at Del Monte. Lawrence joked with her over why her typewriter could not spell as accurately as his pen could write. Interview with the author. December 1977.

<sup>80</sup>All of the Lawrence books and stories are freely available.

<sup>81</sup>Luhan, Taos Desert, p. 298.

<sup>82</sup>Luhan, Taos Desert, pp. 102-103.

<sup>83</sup>Luhan, Taos Desert, pp. 76-77.

<sup>84</sup>Luhan, Taos Desert, p. 174.

<sup>85</sup>Luhan, Taos Desert, pp. 202-4; 245-49.

THE NEW MEXICAN EXPERIENCE, 1885-1925:

AN INTERPRETATION

Two New Mexicos existed between 1885 and 1925: One of "what is," that of the pragmatist-realist, concerned with material things, reflecting the economic and political order; the other, that of the mind and spirit, of "what might be," concerned with non-material realities, reflecting human yearning for truth, brotherhood, and eternal meaning in the universe. The two sets of concerns underlay and motivated the actions of various people and groups that subscribed to them, and caused the conflicts described above. Heirs of a unique Pueblo-Spanish-Anglo cultural heritage, New Mexicans between 1885 and 1925 transcended and resolved their inherent conflicts to achieve a degree of political and intellectual maturity, the hallmark of which was its preservation of a role for and belief in realities that were above mere sense perception.

That degree of maturity rested on an ideological diversity that made possible divergence from the intellectual trends so prominent within western civilization during the same years, the most important of which derived from the world view and image of man associated with natural science. Naturalistic environmentalism undergirded the pragmatist-realist mindset, that rested also on functionalist definitions of truth and reality. Those

concerned with the world of "what is" defined reality as matter only. In American thought, the most striking intellectual development of the late nineteenth-century thrust of Darwinism was the blow it "dealt to the historic doctrine of supernaturalism," that is belief in existence of the non-material. Of those who thought about such matters, most Anglos came to the valley world with naturalistic assumptions including for example, Thomas B. Catron, Frank Springer, and Edgar Lee Hewitt. Such ideas were more attuned with the dominant ideological currents within western civilization.

The Pueblo-Spanish-Anglo ideological diversity assured to New Mexico the longest period of territorial status and made possible, her anomolous constitution. Within the national temperament toward progressivism, New Mexico opted for ultraconservative principles, and made the choice almost unamendable. Without the Spanish quasi-medieval hierarchical social and economic assumptions to bolster them, the Anglo minority could never have defied the nation's emerging aversion to Spencerian "survival of the fittest" economic rapacity. The Catron-Luna cooperation, as well as the ideological agreement between Hispanic Miguel A. Otero, and Anglo H. B. Fergusson are evidences of how complex the intellectual issues became.

As early as the sixteenth century, Francisco Vitoria and Bartolemo De Las Casas had launched a Spanish tradition

of natural rights on which to base human dignity and individual rights, rejecting medieval authoritarianism. Their espousal of nature as the source of rights might have permanently freed Spanish society from hierarchical, minority domination and opened the way for a democratic political economy. It was probably too much to expect for hidalgos to preserve such elevated social assumptions.

Even though the church did preserve the vital doctrine of the spiritual origins of the universe, it failed to support and transmit the Vitoria-Las Casas image of man. So lofty a view of human beings was a threat to the sociology of a hierarchical world view. In what must be denoted a deal, Roman Catholic acquiescence yielded political control to protect Spanish Catholic culture.

Both Vitoria's ideological assumptions on natural law and Darwin's naturalism are varieties of environmentalism. Social theory from either or both might flow into dual streams: one, deterministic, that human beings are atoms, subject only to the laws of physics and chemistry. Only the strongest survive. That stream would lead to Herbert Spencer, William Graham Sumner, Thomas B. Catron, Frank Springer, and Edgar Lee Hewitt. Or two, human beings, although totally within the natural environment, have intelligence enough to recognize assumed natural patterns (design). They then can manipulate or direct the pattern toward ends that serve the individual "atom" and make life

better and/or meaningful. That stream led to Lester Frank Ward, Harvey Butler Fergusson, Miguel A. Otero, perhaps through John Fiske and Henry Drummond. Anglo-Spanish Catholic accommodation allowed the former ideological viewpoint to shape New Mexico's fundamental political document.

There was a problem associated with such a world view and image of man. The pragmatist-realist denied the existence of non-matter, since only matter can be perceived by human senses. The practical effect of the position is to deny existence to any spiritual reality--no God, or gods could be "real." European philosophers such as Friedrich Nietzsche, during the 1880's had taken the position to its logical conclusion. There could be no absolute reality, or truth. Mankind was alone in an open universe. There could be no discoverable purpose or meaning in the galaxies. Dostoevsky, the Russian novelist-philosopher, had his Ivan Karamazov say if there is no God, all [anything] is permitted. Mabel Luhan and D. H. Lawrence knew the agony of such a philosophy. Their pilgrimages were typical of those of a host of intellectuals--who also suffered the agony of philosophical purposelessness.

New Mexico achieved institutional maturity and ideological synthesis during the same four decades that marked disintegration within western civilization. It therefore could offer a cultural milieu within which victims of intellectual bankruptcy might rediscover a world view and

image of man that allowed a universe of purpose and meaning as well as a base for human dignity and brotherhood. Pueblo and Spanish culture affirmed the sanctity of human life, and the spiritual origins of the universe, both insights challenged by late nineteenth-century and early 20th-century intellectuals.

The New Mexican environment became the idealized vision of the now-storied masculine-feminine artist intellectuals who there rediscovered meaning and purpose. From Taos they saw eternity, or thought they did. Having sampled the dominant intellectual tendencies of the fin de siecle--scientific naturalism, moribund aestheticism, and superficial mysticism--they settled into their spiritual homeland, there to portray in paint and prose their new-found truth and reality. Fray Angelico Chavez knew that in the New Mexican environment the spiritual realities were clear to even the barely perceptive. Nevertheless American intellectuals--the Steins, the Pounds, the Hemingways, for example, were ignorant of, or ignored the New Mexican experience, and sought purpose and meaning in the back-to-Europe movement, and found there only disillusionment. The tragedy of D. H. Lawrence was that he escaped from Europe into the New Mexican reality, and failed to recognize its significance. Yet, with almost his dying breath he vowed his intention to return to his spiritual Rananim. Mabel Luhan also sought meaning in Europe, but came at last to Taos. Having sought

so long she at least recognized it when she saw it, and grasped it firmly.

The crucial New Mexican contribution to the American intellectual stream was its definition of truth and reality as more than mere matter. Pueblo-Spanish-Anglo dynamic tension, both politico-economic as well as aesthetic, preserved alternative cultural possibilities through the challenging four decades, 1885-1925, until writers, intellectuals and artists could recognize the significance of the New Mexico experience. Their works embodied an alternative spiritual-material reality, a world view and image of man richer and fuller than that in vogue just before and after the Great War.



## A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY MATERIALS

#### Manuscript Collections

- The Holm Olaf Bursum Papers. University of New Mexico, Special Collections, Albuquerque, New Mexico.
- The Thomas Benton Catron Papers. University of New Mexico, Special Collections, Albuquerque, New Mexico.
- The Henry Butler Fergusson Statehood Letters. The New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico.
- The Amado Chaves Papers, "Lummis Folder." The New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico.
- The Frank Clancy Papers. The New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico.
- The Edgar Lee Hewitt Papers. The Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, New Mexico.
- The Napoleon B. Laughlin Papers. The New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico.
- The Elisha V. Long Papers. The New Mexico State Records and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico.
- The Miguel Antonio Otero Papers. The University of New Mexico. Special Collections. Albuquerque, New Mexico.
- The LeBaron Bradford Prince Papers. The University of New Mexico. Special Collections. Albuquerque, New Mexico.
- The Bernard S. Rodey Scrapbook. The University of New Mexico. Special Collections. Albuquerque, New Mexico.
- The Edmund G. Ross Papers. The New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico.
- The Frank Springer Papers. The New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico.
- Letters, Taos Artists to Thomas Gilcrease et al. Gilcrease Institute, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

## Interviews

Autori, Franco; July 1976, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

Brett, Dorothy; December 1977, Taos, New Mexico.

Catron III, Thomas Benton. December 1977, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Jenkins, Myra Ellen; December 1977, Santa Fe, New Mexico.

## Government Documents

U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. Report of the Secretary of the Interior. U.S. House of Representatives. Executive Document No. 1, Part 5, 49 Cong., Session 1. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1885.

U.S. Congress. House of Representatives. Address of Governor Ross, of New Mexico, in Behalf of Legislation for the Settlement of Spanish and Mexican Land Grants in New Mexico. Delivered before the House Committee on Territories, January 11, 1888. Washington: Government Printing Office 1888.

New Mexico Territory. Miscellaneous Papers. Constitutional Conventions, 1850-1910. Roll 38. State of New Mexico Records Center and Archives. Santa Fe, New Mexico. Microfilm Edition. Includes materials cited below.

1866 Constitutional Convention Journal. Prepared Constitution.

1889 Constitutional Convention.

Council Bill No. 35, that  
provided for the Convention.

Committees and their Reports.

Resolutions.

Journal of Proceedings, September 3-21, 1889. The Journal is much more complete than that for 1910. Proposed Constitution of New Mexico, 1889.

1910 Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of 1910.

Committee Reports.

Resolutions.

The Original Constitution of New Mexico, 1910.

New Mexico Territory. Records of the Secretary of the Territory. The Tittman Reminiscence. The Mabry Reminiscence. The New Mexico State Records Center and Archives. Santa Fe, New Mexico.

New Mexico Territory. Governor's Records.

Lew Wallace, 1878-1881

Edmund G. Ross, 1885-1889

L. Bradford Prince, 1889-1893

Miguel A. Otero, 1897-1906

The original papers were used at Santa Fe, as well as the microfilm edition of Dr. Myra Ellen Jenkins and J. Richard Salazar.

New Mexico Bar Association. Miscellaneous Publications and Minutes. The New Mexico State Records and Archives. Santa Fe, New Mexico.

#### Books

Austin, Mary. Earth Horizon. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1932.

Austin, Mary. Land of Journey's Ending. New York: The Century Co., 1924.

Austin, Mary. The Land of Little Rain. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1903, 4.

Bancroft, Hubert Howe. A History of Arizona and New Mexico. Albuquerque, 1962 [facsimile of 1889 edition].

Benavides, Fray Alonso de. The Memorial of Fray Alonso De Benavides, 1630. Trans. Mrs. Edward E. Ayer. Annotated by Frederick Webb Hodge and Charles Fletecher Lummis. Albuquerque: Horn and Wallace, Publishers, 1965.

Bandelier, Adolph. The Delight Makers. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1890.

Bandelier, Adolph Francis Alphonse. Final Report of Investigations Among the Indians of the Southwestern United States, Carried On Mainly in the Years from 1880 to 1885. Cambridge [Mass.]: J. Wilson and Son, 1890-92.

Bandelier, Adolph and Fanny (Collectors and Editors). Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva

Vizcaya, and Approaches Thereto, to 1773. Introductions and annotations by Charles Wilson Hackett. Washington: Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1923.

Bandelier, Adolph and Edgar Lee Hewitt. Indians of the Rio Grande Valley. New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc., 1937.

Bandelier, Adolph. The Southwestern Journals of Adolph F. Bandelier 1880-1882. Edited by Charles H. Lange and Carroll L. Riley. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1966.

Bickerstaff, Laura M. Pioneer Artists of Taos. Denver: Sage Books, 1955.

Brett, Dorothy. Lawrence and Brett. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippencott Co., 1933.

Broder, Patricia Janis. Taos: A Painter's Dream. Boston: New York Graphics Society, 1980.

Campa, Arthur Leon. Spanish Folk Poetry in New Mexico. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1946.

Cather, Willa. Death Comes for the Archbishop. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927.

Chavez, Fray Angelico [Manuel Chavez]. My Penitente Land: Reflections on Spanish New Mexico. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974.

Coan, Charles F. A History of New Mexico. New York: American Historical Society, 1925.

Coke, Van Deren. Taos and Santa Fe: The Artist's Environment, 1882-1942. Albuquerque: New Mexico University Press, 1963.

Cordoba, Pedro de. Christian Doctrine for the Instruction and Information of the Indians. Trans. Sterling A. Stoudmire. Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1970. [First printed Mexico City 1544.]

Dominguez, Fray Francisco Atanasio. The Missions of New Mexico, 1776. Trans. Eleanor B. Adams and Fray Angelico Chavez. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1956.

Drummond, Henry. The Lowell Lectures on the Ascent of Man. New York: J. Pott and Co., 1894.

Drummond, Henry. Natural Law in the Spiritual World. New York: J. Pott and Co. [1884].

Fergusson, Harvey Butler. Addresses on the Making of a Constitution. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press [1910].

Gregg, Josiah. Commerce of the Prairies. Ed. Max Moorhead. Norman. University of Oklahoma Press, 1954.

Hewitt, Edgar Lee. Ancient Life in the American Southwest. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1930.

Hewitt, Edgar Lee. Man and Culture. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1944.

James, George Wharton. New Mexico: The Land of the Delight Makers. Boston: The Page Company, 1920.

Lawrence, Ada and G. Stuart Gelder. Young Lorenzo: Early Life of D. H. Lawrence Containing Hitherto Unpublished Letters, Articles and Reproductions of Pictures. New York: Russell & Russell, 1966. [Published 1931, reissue 1966, illustrated.]

McDonald, Edward D. (ed). Phoenix: The Posthumous Papers. [London: Heinemann, 1936.] New York: Viking Press, 1936.

Lawrence, David Herbert. Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious; Fantasia of the Unconscious. New York: The Viking Press, 1960. [Thomas Seltzer, Inc., 1921, 1922.]

Lawrence, David Herbert. Studies in Classic American Literature. New York: Viking Press, 1964 [1923, 1950, 1961.]

Lawrence, David Herbert. St. Mawr. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925.

Lawrence, David Herbert. The Plumed Serpent. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926.

Luhan, Mabel Dodge. Intimate Memories Vol. 1. Background. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1933.

\_\_\_\_\_. Intimate Memories. Vol. 2. European Experiences. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1935.

\_\_\_\_\_. Intimate Memories. Vol. 3. Movers and Shakers. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1936.

- \_\_\_\_\_. Intimate Memories. Vol. 4. On the Edge of Taos Desert: An Escape to Reality. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1937.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Lorenzo In Taos. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1932.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Taos and Its Artists. New York: Duell, 1947.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Winter in Taos. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1935.
- Lummis, Charles F. The Land of Poco Tiempo. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Printing Plant, 1966. [New York: Scribners Sons, 1928.]
- \_\_\_\_\_. Mesa, Cañon and Pueblo: Our Wonderland of the Southwest-Its Marvels of Nature-Its Pageant of the Earth Building-Its Strange People-Its Centuried Romance. New York: The Century Co., 1925.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Pueblo Indian Folk Stories. New York: The Century Co., 1910. [1891, 92, 94]
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Spanish Pioneers and the California Missions. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1930.
- Moore, Harry Thornton (ed.). The Collected Letters of D. H. Lawrence. 2 Vols. New York: Viking Press, 1962 under copyright of Angelo Ravagli and C. Montague Weekly, executors of the estate of Freida Lawrence Ravagli.
- Nehls, Edward (ed.) D. H. Lawrence: A Composite Biography. 3 Vols. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1958.
- Otero, Miguel Antonio. My Life on the Frontier, 1864-1887. Incidents and Characters of the Period When Kansas, Colorado, and New Mexico Were Passing Through the Last of Their Wild and Romantic Years. New York: The Press of the Pioneers, 1935.
- Otero, Miguel Antonio. My Nine Years as Governor of the Territory of New Mexico, 1897-1906. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940.
- Pino, Don Pedro. The Exposición of Don Pedro Pino; The Ojeada of Antonio Barreiro, 1932; and the Additions by Don José Agustín de Escudero, 1849. Trans. with Introduction and Notes by H. Bailey Carroll and J. Villasana Haggard. Albuquerque: The Quiviera Society, 1942.

Prince, L. Bradford. Historical Sketches of New Mexico. From the Earliest Records to the American Occupation. Kansas City: Ramsey, Millett & Hudson, 1883.

Prince, L. Bradford. New Mexico's Struggle for Statehood. Santa Fe: 1910.

Prince, L. Bradford. Spanish Mission Churches of New Mexico. Glorieta, New Mexico: Rio Grande Press, Inc., 1977. [Reprint of 1915 ed.]

Ritch, William G. Aztlan: The History Resources and Attractions of New Mexico. Embellished with Maps and Seventy-five Characteristic Illustrations. Boston: D. Lorthrop & Company, 1885.

Salpointe, John B. Soldiers of the Cross: Notes on the Ecclesiastical History of New Mexico, Arizona, and Colorado. Banning, California: St. Boniface's Industrial School, 1898.

Shea, John Gilmary. History of the Catholic Missions Among the Indian Tribes of the United States 1529-1854. New York: P. J. Kennedy, Excelsior Catholic Publishing House, 5 Barclay Street, 1881.

Tedlock, E. W. (ed.). Frieda Lawrence, The Memoirs and Correspondence. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974.

Twitchell, Ralph Emerson. The Leading Facts of New Mexico. 5 Vols. Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press. 1911-1917.

Twitchell, Ralph Emerson. The Military Occupation of New Mexico, 1848-1861. [Facts of publication unavailable. Copy is from the University of Oklahoma Library.]

Twitchell, Ralph Emerson. Old Santa Fe. Santa Fe New Mexican, 1925.

Victoria, Francisci. De Indis Et De Ivre Belli Relectiones By Franciscus De Victoria. Trans. John Pawley Bates. Washington: Carnegie Foundation, 1917.

Villagra, Gaspar Perez de. A History of New Mexico. Trans. from Spanish by Gilberto Espinsa. Los Angeles: The Quivira Society, 1933.

Virgil. Ecologues. Widely available in many editions.

Whitman, Walt. Leaves of Grass. The first (1885) Edition. Edited, with an Introduction by Malcolm Cowley. New York: The Viking Press, 1959.

Zytaruk, George J. (ed.) The Quest for Rananim: D. H. Lawrence's Letters to S. S. Koteliensky 1914-1930. London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1970.

### Articles

Blumenschein, Ernest. "The Broken Wagon Wheel: Symbol of Taos Art Colony." Santa Fe New Mexican, 1939.

Julian, George W. "Land Stealing in New Mexico." North American Review CXLV (July 1, 1887), pp. 17-31.

Julian, George W. "Our Land Policy." Atlantic XLIII (March 1979), pp. 325-337.

Sharp, Joseph Henry. "An Artist Among the Indians." Harpers Weekly, 1899.

### SECONDARY MATERIALS

#### Unpublished Papers and Dissertations

Cattrell, Beatrice. "How the Statehood Movement of 1902 was Defeated." Unpublished paper, University of New Mexico, Special Collections. Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Hefferan, Vioalle C. "T. B. Catron." Unpublished master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 1940. University of New Mexico, Special Collections. Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Leonard, Olen E. "The Role of the Land Grant in the Social Organizational and Social Processes of a Spanish American Village in New Mexico." Unpublished dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1943.

McDowell, Archie M. "The Opposition to Statehood Within the Territory of New Mexico, 1888-1903." Unpublished master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 1939. Special Collections. Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Pittman, (Sister) Lucretia. "Soloman Luna." Unpublished paper, University of New Mexico, Special Collections.



Rosenbaum, Robert Johnson. "Mexicano versus Americano: A Study of Hispanic-American Resistance to Anglo-American Control in New Mexico Territory, 1870-1900." Unpublished dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1972.

#### Books

Anderson, Maxwell. Night Over Taos. New York: S. French Ltd.

Arnold, Armin. D. H. Lawrence and America. New York: Philosophical Library, 1959.

Beck, Warren A. New Mexico: A History of Four Centuries. Norman: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1962.

Brown, K. K. Willa Cather: A Critical Biography. New York: Alfred K. Knopf, 1953.

Bumgardner, Edward. The Life of Edmund G. Ross, The Man Whose Vote Saved A President. Kansas City, Missouri: Fielding-Turner Press, 1949.

Carswell, Catherine. The Savage Pilgrimage: A Narrative of D. H. Lawrence. London: Martin Secker, 1932.

Cavitch, David. D. H. Lawrence and the New World. New York: Oxford University Press, 1969.

Chavez, Fray Angelico [Manuel Chavez]. My Penitente Land: Reflections on Spanish New Mexico. Albuquerque, 1974.

Chavez, Fray Angelico. Origins of New Mexico Families. Santa Fe: The Historical Society of New Mexico, 1954.

Clark, Ann Nolan. These were the Valiant: A Collection of New Mexico Profiles. Albuquerque: Calvin Horn, 1969.

Cleaveland, Norman. An Introduction to the Colfax County War, 1875-1878. First ed., second ed. revised and enlarged. Privately printed, 1975.

Coan, Charles Florus. A History of New Mexico 4 Vols. Chicago: American Historical Society, 1925.

Cowan, James C. D. H. Lawrence's American Journey: A Study in Literature and Myth. Cleveland: The Press of Case Western Reserve University, 1970.

- Elazar, Daniel J. and John Kincaid. Prospectus: Workshop on Covenant and Politics. Philadelphia: Center for the Study of Federalism, 1979.
- Espinosa, José Edmundo. Saints in the Valleys, Christian Sacred Images in the History, Life and Folk Art of Spanish New Mexico. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1960.
- Fergusson, Erna. Albuquerque. Albuquerque: M. Armitage, 1947.
- Fergusson, Erna. New Mexico: A Pageant of Three Peoples. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951.
- Fergusson, Erna. Our Southwest. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1940.
- Fergusson, Harvey. Blood of the Conquerors. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926, 1921.
- Fergusson, Harvey. Home in the West: An Inquiry into My Origins. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1944.
- Fergusson, Harvey. Modern Man: His Belief and Behavior. New York: Knopf, 1936.
- Fergusson, Harvey. People and Power: A Study of Political Behavior. New York: W. Morrow, 1942.
- Fergusson, Harvey. Rio Grande. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1933.
- Fiske, Turbesé Lummis and Keith Lummis. Charles F. Lummis: The Man and His West. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975.
- Foster, Joseph. D. H. Lawrence in Taos. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1972.
- Freeman, Mary. D. H. Lawrence: A Basic Study of His Ideas. Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, 1955.
- Galarza, Ernesto, Herman Gallegos, and Julian Samora. Mexican-Americans in the Southwest. Santa Barbara: McNally and Loftin Publishers, 1969.
- Gibson, Arrell Morgan. The Life and Death of Colonel Albert Jennings Fountain. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965.

- Goodheart, Eugene. The Utopian Vision of D. H. Lawrence.  
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963.
- Hahn, Emily. Mabel: A Biography of Mabel Dodge Luhan.  
New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1977.
- Hallenbeck, Cleve. Land of the Conquistadores. Caldwell,  
Idaho: The Caxton Printers, 1950.
- Hanke, Lewis. Aristotle and the American Indian.  
Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1959,  
1971.
- Hanke, Lewis. The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the  
Conquest of America. Boston: Little, Brown and Com-  
pany, 1965.
- Henning, H. B. (ed.) George Curry: 1861-1947, An  
Autobiography. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico  
Press, 1958.
- Herr, Richard. The Eighteenth-Century Revolution in Spain.  
Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958.
- Horgan, Paul. Great River: The Rio Grande in North  
American History. 2 Vols. New York: 1954.
- Horgan, Paul. The Heroic Triad: Essays in the Social  
Energies of Three Southwestern Cultures. New York:  
Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1954, 1955, 1970.
- Horgan, Paul. Lamy of Santa Fe: His Life and Times.  
New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1975.
- Hunt, Aurora. Kirby Benedict: Frontier Federal Judge.  
Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Co., 1961.
- Jaramillo, Cleofas M. Shadows of the Past Sombras del  
Pasado. Santa Fe: Seton Village Press, 1941.
- Keleher, William Aloysius. The Fabulous Frontier:  
Twelve New Mexico Items. Santa Fe: The Rydel Press,  
1945.
- Keleher, William Aloysius. Maxwell Land Grant: A New Mexico  
Item. Santa Fe, 1949.
- Keleher, William Aloysius. Violence in Lincoln County 1869-  
1881. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press,  
1957.

- Lamar, Howard Roberts. The Far Southwest 1846-1912: A Territorial History. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966.
- Larson, Robert. New Mexico Populism, A Study of Radical Protest in a Western Territory. Boulder, Colorado: Colorado Associated University Press, 1974.
- Larson, Robert. New Mexico's Quest for Statehood 1846-1912. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1968.
- Lea, Aurora Lucero White. Literary Folklore of the Hispanic Southwest. San Antonio: Naylor, 1953.
- Leonard, Irving A. Books of the Brave: Being an Account of Books and of Men in the Spanish Conquest and Settlement of the Sixteenth-Century New World. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949.
- McWilliams, Carey. North from Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States. New York: Greenwood Press, Publishers, 1968.
- Moore, Harry T. (ed.) A D. H. Lawrence Miscellany. Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1959.
- Moore, Harry T. D. H. L.: His Life and Works. New York: Twayne, 1951.
- Moore, Harry T. The Intelligent Heart: The Story of D. H. Lawrence. New York: Farrer, Straus, and Young, 1954.
- Moore, Harry T. D. H. Lawrence: The Man and His Works. Toronto: Forum House Publishing Company, 1969.
- Noreña, Carlos G. Studies in Spanish Renaissance Thought. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1975.
- Ortiz, Antonio Domínguez. The Golden Age of Spain, 1516-1659. Trans. James Casey. A vol. of the History of Spain. Edited by John Parry and Hugh Thomas. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1971.
- Parish, William Jackson. The Charles Ilfield Company: A Study in the Rise & Decline of Mercantile Capitalism in New Mexico. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961.
- Parry, J. H. The Spanish Theory of Empire in the Sixteenth Century. Cambridge, 1940.

- Poldevaart, Arie W. Black-Robed Justice: A History of Justice in New Mexico from the American Occupation in 1846 Until Statehood in 1912. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1948.
- Sanchez, George I. Forgotten People: A Study of New Mexicans. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1940.
- Smith, Henry Nash. Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth. New York: Vintage Books, 1950.
- Tedlock, Ernest Warnock, Jr. D. H. Lawrence, Artist and Rebel. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1963.
- Tindale, William York. D. H. Lawrence and Susan His Cow. New York: Columbia University Press, 1939.
- Tyler, Hamilton A. Pueblo Gods and Myths. Civilization of American Indian Series. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1964.
- Van Well, Sister Mary Stanislaus. The Educational Aspects of the Missions in the Southwest. Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1942.
- Vogt, Evon and Ethel M. Albert (eds.) People of Rimrock: A Study of Values in Five Cultures. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966.
- Weber, David J. (ed.) Foreigners in Their Native Land: Historical Roots of the Mexican Americans. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973.
- Westphall, Victor. The Public Domain in New Mexico, 1854-1891. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1965.
- Westphall, Victor. Thomas Benton Catron and His Era. Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, 1973.
- Zavala, Silvio. The Political Philosophy of the Conquest of America. Mexico, 1953.

#### Articles

- Baritz, Loren. "The Idea of the West." American Historical Review, No. 3 (April 1961), pp. 618-640.

Lamar, Howard Roberts. "Edmund G. Ross as Governor of New Mexico Territory: A Reappraisal." New Mexico Historical Review, Vol. 36-3: pp. 179-209, 1961.

Parish, William J. "The German Jew and the Commercial Revolution in Territorial New Mexico, 1850-1900." New Mexico Historical Review, Vol. 35-1: pp. 1-29; Vol. 25-2: pp. 129-150, 1960.

#### Newspapers

Santa Fe New Mexican, 1885-1912. Title varies. May be Weekly, Daily, etc.

Taos Valley News, 1912-1925.