

EARLY EXPLORATIONS AND RIVALRY BETWEEN SPAIN AND FRANCE
OF THE
SOUTHWESTERN UNITED STATES TO 1763

by

Sister Mary Ignatius McGee, R.S.M., Ph.B.

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School,
Marquette University, in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

1938



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INTRODUCTION

No separate section of the present United States offers a more interesting and spectacular account than that of the Southwest.

In considering the history of this section, the emphasis sometimes is placed on what is called Westward Expansion of the United States. In truth, however, the early Southwest was a development of the Spanish civilization in Mexico.

One link in the northward expansion of the Spaniards from Mexico, and the southwestward expansion of the Americans from the United States was the desire both peoples had to find mines in the region.

In the sixteenth century for Spain, and the nineteenth century for America, when the catchword was "Expansion," the objective for the Spaniards was "The Seven Cities of Cibola" and for the Americans "Pike's Peak". In reality both waves of exploration overlapped so that those Americans who went over the Santa Fe Trail or others who, after crossing the Mississippi, went on to the plains were not pioneer explorers. The expedition to the Quivira in 1542 had probably penetrated to the neighborhood of present day Kansas. The Spanish names still extant in many western cities signify that the people of that nation once were in possession there. Even the names applied to the Indian tribes were in many instances proposed by the Spaniards.

Throughout this vast area as far as the Platte the Spaniards had designated the more important Indian

tribes: Comanches, Apaches, Cuartelejos, Faraones, Jicarillos, Flechas, Calchufines, Palomas and other Apache bands; the Pananas, (Pawnees) Utas, (Utes), the Kansa. Responsible for this extensive exploratory activity and carrying on the tradition of Coronado were a host of Spanish conquerors, soldiers, traders, padres and adventurers.¹

1. Thomas, Alfred B., After Coronado, pp. 1, 2.

But Spain had an earlier rival than the United States of America in the Southwest. French culture from the settlement near the mouth of the Mississippi overlapped the Spanish culture from Mexico long before the Americans came on the scene.

Even before the New World had been sighted, the struggle for territory was an old story in the Old World, and after the discovery and colonization of lands across the sea the territorial struggles of one European nation with another continued in the New World.

The year 1670 might be chosen to mark the beginning of the active rivalry among the European emigrants to North America which was to open up the central basin of the continent. Spain, in Mexico and its outposts, the Caribbean Islands and Florida; France, in the Valley of the St. Lawrence and the basin of the Great Lakes; and England, along the Atlantic coast and the shores of Hudson bay, began to reach out towards each other in efforts to draw to themselves the peoples and the products of the North American regions which the Europeans were too few as yet to occupy.²

2. Brebner, W. B., The Explorers of North America, P. 284.

The rivalry of France and Spain in the New World which will be emphasized in this paper dated back as far

as the early sixteenth century in Old World history. When Charles V became monarch of the Kingdoms of Spain and Germany in 1519, the enmity of France was aroused.

The purpose of this paper is to call to mind much that has been scattered through many sources and neglected in some. It is hoped the result will be to make clear the part the Old World played in New World history in the Southwestern United States.

CHAPTER I

SPAIN CONQUERS MEXICO AND ADVANCES

TO THE RIO GRANDE

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SPAIN CONQUERS MEXICO AND ADVANCES TO THE RIO GRANDE

CORTES

The year 1519 was an epochal one in the life of Spain, for simultaneously with the accession of Charles V came an event beyond the shores of Spain which would make her an object of envy in the New as well as in the Old World.

It was in 1518 that Cortes began his conquest of Mexico. "Amici, sequamur crucem, et si nos fidem habemus, vere in hoc signo vicemus." With this motto inscribed on his banner Cortes set out from Cuba on his expedition to the mainland of North America, to Mexico. His mission was, as his banner stated, to follow the cross and, having faith, to conquer in its name. It was Velasquez, the governor of Cuba, from whom Cortes received his commission

to make an exploring expedition....and to report on the nature of the country....No conquest was ordered; in reality a conquest was forbidden by the instructions. His duty in this respect consisted in ascertaining the secrets of the country, and taking possession in the name of the king. ¹

1. Blackmar, T. W., Spanish Institutions of the Southwest, p. 65.

How well the expedition succeeded may be gathered from the fact that it was November 18, 1518, that the fleet of Cortes left Cuba and on November 8, 1519, that the capital,

Mexico City, was taken. The entrance into the city is briefly stated by Merriman.

The Aztec emperor, accompanied by two hundred chiefs, appeared at the north end of the great southern causeway to welcome formally the representative of Charles V. Never before had the civilization of the Old and New Worlds been confronted with one another in such dramatic fashion. 2

2. Merriman, The Rise of the Spanish Empire, pp. 483, 484.

The splendor of the reception did not alleviate the suspicion the Spaniards had for the natives. Any act of Montezuma's followers which seemed contrary to Spanish ideas, therefore, would be interpreted as unfriendly. All went well in Mexico; but when Cortes was notified of an attack, supposed to be instigated by Montezuma, on the residents left at Vera Cruz, he accused Montezuma of instigating it. The Indian chief of course declared he knew nothing of it; but Cortes, now glad to have an opportunity of seizing Montezuma, had him brought to the Spanish quarters until matters would clear up.

The natives immediately began to plot to rescue their king, but Cortes discovered this fact and had their leader, a nephew of the Emperor, executed. Cortes' next step was to force Montezuma to declare his vassalage to the king of Spain and to show his good faith by making a cash payment the equivalent of about \$7,000,000. In this manner of Cortes he also discovered where the riches of the Aztec kingdom were stored. 3

3. Wilgus, A. Curtis, A History of Hispanic America, p. 75.

After an exchange of gifts, the conqueror was conducted "to a large and handsome house" where again other gifts of gold, silver, and cotton goods were presented, and now Montezuma in a wordy discourse acknowledged himself a vassal of the king of Spain. ⁴

4. Merriman, R. B., The Rise of the Spanish Empire, p.484.

With the conquest of Mexico by Cortes, "the most statesmanlike of the Conquistadors", a new center was located from which other exploring expeditions would radiate.

Hispaniola and Cuba were not the only points from which Spain pressed her explorations into that indefinite extent of territory comprised under the generic name of Florida. As soon as circumstances admitted of it, the conquerors of the valley of Mexico, octopus-like, spread north and south their all-embracing arms, continually adding to their newly acquired dominion of Nueva Espana, or New Spain.

On his return from Honduras in July, 1526, Cortes, the governor, captain-general, and chief justice of New Spain, was superseded by the investigating commissioner, Luis Ponce de Leon, who had been sent to prefer charges against the too powerful and independent "conquistador". ⁵

5. Lowery, Woodbury, The Spanish Settlements Within the Present Limits of the United States, p. 253.

The great success of Cortes had stirred up enmity in the king's court and Luis Ponce de Leon was sent by Charles V of Spain at the head of "juez de residencia" that he might "supersede the governor and bring him to trial on charges preferred", which charges were that unless the Emperor took care Cortes might establish an independent kingdom in the

new-found land of New Spain. The Conqueror took time by the forelock, however, and early in 1528 Cortes went in person to Spain.

He returned to the New World in July, 1530, to the great joy of the natives, whose friend and protector he had been so far as practicable under the system to which he was subjected, and who now after several years of oppression under royal officers and audiencia, more fully than before realized the good will of the chieftain who had forced upon them Spanish sovereignty. But the return of Cortes was productive of but little good to himself, to the country, or to his friends, whether natives or Spaniards. In view of the services he had rendered he was little disposed to brook interference or opposition from a tribunal with which he soon became involved in quarrels respecting his powers, titles, property, and vassals. He soon left the capital in disgust to live in retirement at Cuernavaca. 6

6. Bancroft, Hubert Howe, History of the Pacific States of North America, X, pp. 9, 10.

After the death of Ponce de Leon and his immediate successor, Estrada Nuno de Guzman became the governor of New Spain. Being desirous of gaining favor with his king, the new governor pondered over the question of forming an expedition and securing more lands for Charles V.

In the year 1530 Nuno de Guzman, who was president of New Spain, had in his possession an Indian, a native of the valley or valleys of Oxitipar, who was called Tejo by the Spaniards. This Indian said he was the son of a trader who was dead, but that when he was a little boy his father had gone into the back country with fine feathers to trade for ornaments, and that when he came back he brought a large amount of gold and silver, of which there is a good deal in that country. He went with him once or twice, and saw some very large towns which had streets of silver workers. It took forty days to go there from his country, through a wilderness in which nothing grew, except some very small plants about a span high. The way they went was up through the country between

the two seas, following the northern direction. Acting on this information Nuno de Guzman got together nearly 400 Spaniards and 20,000 friendly Indians of New Spain, and, as he happened to be in Mexico, he crossed Tarasca, which is in the province of Michoacan, so as to get into the region which the Indian said was to be crossed toward the North Sea, in this way getting to the country which they were looking for, which was already named "The Seven Cities".... Omitting several things that occurred on this journey, as soon as they had reached the province of Culiacan, where his government ended, and where the New Kingdom of Galicia is now, they tried to cross the country, but found the difficulties very great, because the mountain chains which are near the sea are so rough that it was impossible, after great labor, to find a passageway in that region. 7

7. Castaneda de Negra, Pedro, Journey of Coronado, pp. 1, 2. Also Hodge, F.W., Spanish Explorers in Southern U.S., p. 285.

GUZMAN

After journeying this far and finding the mountain barriers here, the members of the exploring party wished to return to Mexico. It had been Guzman's plan when he left Mexico to find "the Amazon Isles and the Seven Cities". Now the isles had not yet been found, but Guzman was determined to seek the cities. Exploring parties were sent out but to no avail. One of these under Lopez penetrated "all the sierras", but

exactly what regions Lopez had explored it is impossible to say, since no points of the compass are given and the distances are evidently much exaggerated. In a general way we may suppose that he ascended the Tamazula, crossed the sources of the Mugerres, or San Lorenzo, reached a branch of the Rio Nazas, and

advanced nearly to the eastern limit of Central Durango. ⁸

8. Bancroft, H.H., History of the Pacific States, X, p. 37.

Very much disappointed, Guzman determined to make a settlement and

Back in Jalisco Guzman gave but the slightest attention to the far north, confining his efforts to the organization of his government, and the distribution to his partisans of lands south of the Rio Grande in the regions of which he pretended to have reconquered, and in the foundation of Spanish towns. By royal order the name of Nueva Galicia was substituted for the more pompous one of Mayor Espana, applied by Guzman; it included all the newly discovered regions from Jalisco northward; and Don Nuno was made its governor, retaining for a time his title also of governor of Panuco, and even pretended to retain that of president of New Spain. ⁹

9. Bancroft, H.H., History of the Pacific States, X, p. 39.

NARVAEZ

While these explorations were going on, other expeditions were being organized. That of Panifilo de Narvaez is of particular interest because of the results it had on the history of the southwestern United States. This expedition was sent out from Spain in 1527. Narvaez himself had been in Cuba and was conversant with the good fortune of Cortes, and like Guzman desired new lands for the Emperor. His force of "six hundred people and eighty horses" arrived near the present site of Tampa Bay. Here they were told stories of "Apalache", which was some place far inland and was "a rich land". This became the objective of the explor-

ers, but, unhappily when they arrived at their destination, they found "no riches and that the city was only a village of some forty mud huts". Nothing daunted these brave hearts, however, and they pushed on until forced by circumstances to turn to the coast. Here makeshift boats were assembled and in these refuge was taken. They were tossed about until they became the prey of the sea and Narvaez was included among the lost. 10

10. Wilgus, A. Curtis, A History of Hispanic America, pp. 82, 83.

The survivors were now on Mal Hado, "the Isle of Misfortune". We know no more of its location than that it was west of the mouth of the Mississippi. Their boats had crossed that mighty current where it plunges out into the Gulf, and theirs were the first European eyes to see even this much of the Father of Waters. The Indians of the island, who had no better larder than roots, berries, and fish, treated their unfortunate guests as generously as was in their power; and Vaca has written gratefully of them. 11

11. Lummis, Charles F., The Spanish Pioneers and the California Mission, p. 106.

CABEZA DE VACA

In the early part of 1529 Cabeza de Vaca was left alone among the Indians to do as best he could. His own narrative tells of his plight.

I was obliged to remain with the people belonging to the island more than a year, and because of the hard work they put upon me and the harsh treatment, I resolved to flee from them and go to those of Charruco, who inhabit the forest and country of the main, the life I led being insupportable. Besides much other

labor, I had to get out roots from below the water, and from among the cane where they grew in the ground. From this employment I had my fingers so worn that did a straw but touch them they would bleed. Many of the canes are broken, so they often tore my flesh, and I had to go in the midst of them with only the clothing on I have mentioned. Accordingly, I put myself to contriving how I might get over to the other Indians, among whom matters turned somewhat more favorable for me. I set to trafficking, and strove to make my employment profitable in the ways I could best contrive, and by that means I got food and good treatment.... The inhabitants were pleased when they saw me and I had brought them what they wanted; and those who did not know me sought and desired the acquaintance for my reputation. The hardships that I undertook in this were long to tell, as well of peril and privation as of storms and cold. 12

12. Jameson, J.F., Original Narratives of Early American History, XVIII, pp. 55, 56, 57.

His stout heart carried him through and in his wanderings during a period of six years he was captured by some Indians who also held three other members of the ill-fated Nervaez expedition. This quartet now planned an escape and in August, 1534, succeeded and pushed westward. They came upon a tribe of Indians and with them passed the winter.

We passed through many territories and found them all vacant: their inhabitants wandered fleeing among the mountains, without daring to have houses or till the earth for fear of Christians. The sight was one of infinite pain to us, a land very fertile and beautiful, abounding in springs and streams, the hamlet deserted and burned, the people thin and weak, all fleeing or in concealment. As they did not plant, they appeased their keen hunger by eating roots, and the bark of trees. We bore a share in the famine along the whole way; for poorly could these unfortunates provide for us, themselves being so reduced that they looked as though they would willingly die. 13

13. Smith, Buckingham, Relation of Cabeza de Vaca, p. 174.

When the journey was resumed in the spring of 1535 conditions of travel had completely changed. An increasing number of Indians accompanied them, furnishing plenty of food and establishing friendly relations with the new tribes they encountered. The Spaniards crossed the Rio Grande about seventy-five miles from its mouth and then turned westward definitely giving up the plan of following the coast of the river to Panuco on account of the better treatment they had received from Indians of the interior; the route passed north of Monterey, capital of Nueve Leon, and then crossing northward the Rio Grande a short distance west of the mouth of the Pecos River. After traveling some distance north of the Rio Grande they returned to the river near the mouth of Conchos and journeyed seventeen days along the north bank of the Rio Grande before crossing it again, probably in the vicinity of El Paso. From here they passed westward into northern Sonora and were conducted by the Indians of that region down the Yaqui Valley. 14

14. Coan, Charles G., A History of New Mexico, p. 151.

While Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions, the survivors of the brilliant array with which Panfil de Narvaez had landed on the coast of Florida seven years before, were walking along the banks of the Rio Grande in southern Texas in the early winter of 1535, their Indian friends told them that if they should ascend this stream far enough they would find some large populous towns. 15

15. Winship, G. Parker, "Why Coronado Went to New Mexico in 1540", American Historical Association Report, p. 83.

De Vaca and his companion, however, were on a journey to the habitat of those other Spaniards who were in "New Spain" or Mexico and they did not like to leave the trail and go in search of the "large and populous towns". To confirm their tales the Indians gave the Spanish party

fine turquoises, which came from the north, and of fine emeralds made into arrowheads which had been brought, the Indians said, from some lofty mountains

toward the north, where there were populous towns and very large houses. ¹⁶

16. Ibid., p. 83.

On his arrival in Mexico, de Vaca told the stories he had heard. These, together with the knowledge some of his hearers had of the fortunes of Cortes in his conquest of the city of Mexico, fired them with zeal for further adventure. Mendoza, the viceroy of Mexico, at this time

purchased the negro Estevan to act as a guide and interpreter on an expedition which he would send to this land of wondrous wealth. The work of organization for an expedition never materialized though 'why', writes Mendoza to his Emperor Charles V, 'I never could find out.' ¹⁷

17. Ibid., p. 84.

FRIAR MARCOS

A happy circumstance of the year 1539 gave Mendoza the long-sought opportunity to go to the land of his dream or send an expedition there. The circumstance referred to was the offer of a certain Friar Marcos "to go and find the Seven Cities".

As yet nothing has been found to verify the report brought by Cabeza de Vaca, which, by themselves, were sufficient to justify the equipment of an expedition on a large scale. But Mendoza was bent on discovering what lay beyond the northern mountains. He still had the negro Estevan, whom he had purchased of Dorantes, besides a number of Indians, who had followed Cabeza de Vaca to Mexico and had been trained there to serve as interpreters. The experience which the

negro had gained during the years he had lived among the savages made him invaluable as a guide. He was used to dealing with the Indians, knew something of their languages, and was practiced in the all-important sign manual.

Friar Marcos de Niza was selected as the leader of the little party which was to find out what the viceroy wanted to know....

Friar Marcos, accompanied by a lay brother, Friar Onorato, according to Mendoza's "premiere lettre," left Culiacan on March 7, 1539. Coronado, now acting as governor of New Galicia, had escorted them as far as this town and had assured a quiet journey for a part of the way beyond by sending in advance six Indians, natives of this region, who had been "kept at Mexico to become proficient in the Spanish language and attached to the ways of the Christians". The friars proceeded to Petatlan, where Friar Onorato fell sick, so that it was necessary to leave him behind. During the rest of the journey, Friar Marcos was the only white man in the party, which consisted of the negro Estevan, the Indian interpreters, and a large body of natives who followed him from the different villages near which he passed. ¹⁸

18. Winship, G. Parker, Bureau of Ethnology, Fourteenth Annual Report, p. 354.

The journey of Friar Marcos was full of adventure. His first plans to stick to the shore lines were abandoned as he seemed "to tend towards the interior"...."At the end of three days he arrived at a place called Vacapa, an Indian settlement which was forty leagues distant from the Gulf of California." ¹⁹

19. Bandelier, Contributions, p. 122.

In order to get some knowledge of the surrounding country Fray Marcos sent out scouts. They returned with stories of islands concerning which the explorers had already heard.

Now, thought Fray Marcos, was the time to find the nature of the country to the north; and so he sent out a party, at the head of which was Estavan, the negro. They were to go to the north, and when they came upon "Something great or some rich country", they were to send word of the same, by certain signs that had been agreed upon. The friar stayed on at Vacapa "among the Eudeves".

Not only did the ferocious Seris come to visit him at Vacapa but three Indians from another tribe called on him also. "On this day three Indians came to see me of the kind called 'Painted Indians', their faces and chests and arms decorated with incisions. These live around by the way of the east and people of their number get up as far as the Seven Cities. They said that they had come to see me because they had heard of me, and, among other things they gave me much information concerning the Seven Cities and Provinces of which the Indian of Estavan had spoken and their reports were almost the same as those sent by Estevan." 20

20. Ibid., p. 129.

While among the Opates of Sonora, Estevan sent to Niza the first information regarding Cibola; and as the Friar hastened onward, being hospitably received by the Piman natives, through whose territory he was now traveling, the news of the populous and wealthy nations of the north received through rumors sent by the negro grew more and more promising. The so-called despoblado, now covered in part by the White Mountain Apache reservation, was soon crossed, but when within two or three days' journey of Cibola the friar was astonished at meeting one of the Indians who had accompanied Estevan and learning from him that the negro and a number of his Indian companions, had been killed by the Cibolans, and that those who had escaped were fleeing for their lives.... Himself threatened with death by his Indian companions, the friar had no hope of entering Cibola, yet he was bent on obeying the orders of the viceroy, if his life should be spared, by at least looking upon the town. At last, accompanied by his own Indians and two chiefs of the tribe whose people had been killed with Estevan, the obedient Niza made his way

to the heights--overlooking one of the towns. Here he erected a small cross, formally took possession of the country, and hastened back to Mexico. Upon his arrival he submitted to the viceroy a narrative of his exploits. 21

21. Hodge, F. W., American Anthropologist, VIII, pp. 143, 144.

In order to get some notion of the peril of Niza's journey, the following is related:

The natural approach to Zuni from the south westward, the direction whence Niza came, is by way of Little Colorado and Zuni River valleys. Any other route from that direction would lead through a region of utter desolation, extremely difficult of travel by reason of its broken and arid character. The valley through which the Zuni River flows on to the Little Colorado, part of the year, is easy to travel, and it may be reasonably assumed that water was abundant at or within easy reach of the sandy river bed when Niza's little force wended its way toward Cibola late in May of the year 1539. To have left the valley would have increased the distance which the bare-foot friar must traverse besides leading him over an indescribably dreary and rugged stretch. It therefore would seem that Niza, as well as Estevan, approached Zuni by the valley route over which Coronado, guided by Niza, went a year later--a route leading directly to Hawikuh, the southwesternmost of the Cibolan towns and one of the two largest of the group. From the southwest, Kiakima, which lies at the southwestern foot of Tasiyalone, or Thunder mountain, in the eastern part of the plain, can be reached only by the tortuous route alluded to. Moreover, Kiakima was the most remote of all the Cibolan pueblos when approached from the southwest, Matsaki alone excepted. 22

22. *Ibid.*, p. 146.

Great indeed was the joy of Fray Marcos when he returned to Mexico and could report that the Seven Cities

were within reach. He made this report to Mendoza concerning them, and we are told that "the report was certainly encouraging, and it probably afforded reason enough for organizing an expedition to conquer the Seven Cities. 23

23. Winship, G. Parker, Coronado in Mexico, p. 88.

Before proceeding to this organization, however, Mendoza took precautions to keep the knowledge he had of these lands from reaching anyone else, as this excerpt shows.

As soon as Mendoza had heard the report of the friar he issued a decree with all the formality of his vice-regal authority that every vessel sailing from the ports of New Spain should proceed straight home to Spain without touching at any other colony in the New World. The viceroy evidently intended to prevent the knowledge of the friar's discovery from reaching anyone who might endeavor to anticipate him in the conquest of these nations. The adelantado Hernando De Soto was the most probable rival of Mendoza. De Soto was now, in the fall of 1539, in the interior of the gulf region of the mainland, but Mendoza in Mexico, did not know that he had sailed from Havana. 24

24. Winship, G. Parker, Amer. Hist. Report, 1894, p. 89.

CORONADO

Although the Coronado and De Soto expeditions were conducted simultaneously, for the sake of convenience, the Coronado one shall be discussed first. The viceroy now lost no time in organizing an army of exploration. Although there were many men in the province worthy of the captaincy of this army, Mendoza chose Francisco Vasquez Coronado

as the leader and Fray Marcos as guide.

Francisco de Coronado was given the command and so distinguished was the cavalcade that the viceroy would have appointed each of the gentlemen a captain but for fear of making the command top-heavy with officers. It was early in 1540 that the gallant expedition set out, some of the horsemen arrayed in brilliant coats of mail and armed with swords and lances, others wearing helmets of iron or tough bullhide, while the footmen carried crossbows and muskets, and the Indians were armed with bows and clubs. Splendid they were, but woe-befallen they were to be on their return, such of them as came back. An accessory part was sent by sea, along the Pacific coast, under Hernendo de Alarcon, to aid, as far as it could, in the success of the army. But in spite of all Alarcon's efforts, he failed to get in communication with Coronado and his men. 25

25. Morris, Charles, Historical Tales, pp. 102, 103.

The journey of Coronado was most terrifying and tedious. Horses and men died for want of food, and only the courage of their commander kept the men on the march. This march of six weeks took the expedition to within twenty-six miles of Cibola.

They saw for the first time the natives of this singular kingdom, but the latter immediately took to flight, spreading the alarm throughout the country by means of great fires, which they kindled on the high mountains: a custom in use to this day among the tribes in New Mexico.

Next day, Coronado came in sight of Cibola. The inhabitants of the province had all assembled, and awaited the Spaniards with a steady attitude. Far from accepting the proposals of peace which were offered them, they threatened the interpreters with death. The Spaniards then cried out, "San Iago! San Iago!" and attacked the Indians with impetuosity. Coronado entered the town of Cibola as conqueror. In fighting, the Indians had made use of arrows, and of stones which they threw with much skill. During the assault, the Spanish general was thrown down by an enormous stone which was hurled at him, and would have been killed had it not been for the strength of his armor,

and the devotedness of his friends, Garcia Lopez de Cardenas and Hernando D'Alvarado, who shielded him with their bodies, while some others helped him up. Coronado found neither old men, women, nor children under fifteen years of age in the town. The besieged had caused them to be taken to the mountains before the action began. The description which, in his report to the emperor, Charles V, he gives of the country, its climate, its inhabitants, their customs, and their usages, resembles much that we see nowadays among the Zunis, and in their province. ²⁶

26. Shipp, Barnard, Hernando De Soto and Florida, pp. 126, 127.

After the conquest of Cibola, Coronado remained there for a time and sent out scouting parties to bring news of the surrounding country. A certain Captain Alvarado was placed at the head of one of these parties. In less than a week he came upon Acuco. ²⁷

27. Castenada, Journey of Coronado, p. 39.

The village was very strong, because it was upon a rock out of reach, having steep sides in every direction, and so high that it was a very good musket that could throw a ball as high. There was only one entrance by a stairway built by hand which began at the top of a slope which is around the foot of the rock. There was a broad stairway for about two hundred steps, then a stretch of about one hundred narrower steps, and at the top they had to go up about three times as high as a man by means of holes in the rock, in which they put the points of their feet, holding on at the same time by their hands. There was a wall of large and small stones at the top, which they could roll down without showing themselves, so that no army could possibly be strong enough to capture the village. On the top they had room to sow and store a large amount of corn and cisterns to collect snow and water. These people came down to

the plain ready to fight and would not listen to any arguments. 28

28. Bancroft, H. H., History of the Pacific States, X, p. 85.

The natives at first were very hostile and made lines on the ground, over which the Spaniards were not to tread. Upon seeing the boldness of the Spaniards, however, and knowing they would have to fight, the Indians relented and brought out offerings as tokens of peace to the Spanish conquerors.

A little further on Alvarado had another experience of almost the same nature when he came to a place called Tiguex. Conditions proving so favorable, the man Alvarado sent word back to his master, Coronado, to march onward and meet him in this land where the Indians were friendly.

By the close of autumn Coronado's several detachments reassembled in the village of Tiguex near the site of Bernalillo, above Albuquerque. Here they listened to tales of a new El Dorado from an Indian whom Alvarado had picked up and had dubbed El Turco (the Turk) "because he looked like one". The new El Dorado was called Quivira. El Turco said that in Quivira, which was his own country and far to the east, there was a river two leagues wide, where fish as big as horses sported themselves. Great numbers of huge canoes, with twenty rowers on a side and with high carved golden prows thrusting up among their white sails, floated on its surface like water lilies on a pond. The chief of that country took his afternoon nap under a tall spreading tree decorated with an infinitude of little golden bells on which gentle zephyrs played his lullaby. Even the common folk there had their ordinary dishes made of "wrought plate"; and the pitchers and bowls were of solid gold. 29

29. Bolton, H. E., The Spanish Borderlands, pp. 95, 96.

In 1541 he left Pecos probably in the state of the present New Mexico, and followed a course to the southwest. Here he met a group of Indians, probably the Apaches, and after journeying in a kind of isosceles triangle for more than a month through what is now a portion of northwest Texas and Oklahoma he set out for this region of the Quivira. Here they found not the wondrous city which had been pictured by "El Turco", but the populous country and large villages of wigwams. There were no gold and silver, no powerful kingdoms, no advanced civilization. 30

30. Bancroft, History of the Pacific States, p. 85.

Coronado had battled and marched and besieged for a period of two years and finally returned empty-handed to the viceroy. His reputation was gone, and soon after he was deprived of his position, as Governor of New Galicia. 31

31. Windsor, Justin, Narrative and Critical History of America, p. 498.

DE SOTO

The interest in New Spain was not confined to the Spanish in the western world, however, nor to the viceroy in Mexico. The Spanish Emperor, to whose coffers gold was coming from this wondrous land, was now appointing other captains who would aid in this work also. One of these,

Hernando De Soto, was appointed by Charles V as "Governor of Cuba and adelantado of Florida". The emperor had knowledge of "another Mexico" from the explorer Narvaez and it was for this land that the new governor of Cuba would search. After his appointment and while he was still in Castille, De Soto married Dona Isabel de Bovadilla, "a woman both good and great and truly noble in mind and bearing."

In the month of April, of the year 1538 of the Christian era, the Adelantado delivered the vessels to their several captains, took for himself a new ship, fast of sail, and gave another to Andre de Vasconcelos, in which the Portuguese were to go. He passed over the bar of Sanlucar on Sunday, the morning of Saint Lazarus, with great festivity, commanding the trumpets to be sounded and many charges of artillery to be fired. 32

32. Hodge, Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States, p. 139.

After a trip of three weeks and two days the new governor arrived in Cuba. Here he and his beloved wife were well received and given hospitality. De Soto lost no time in carrying out his duties as governor but went immediately to visit several cities on the island.

Upon completing his tour De Soto was now ready to launch out upon his quest of that "other Mexico". He envisioned a career such as he had enjoyed with Pizarro and his heart beat fast with high hopes of the capture of another Atabaliba. It was now a year after his arrival in Cuba when--

On Sunday, May 18, 1539, the Governor Hernando de Soto departed from the city of Havana with a noble fleet of nine vessels, five ships, two caravels and two brigantines; and on May 25, which was Whitsuntide, land was seen on the northern coast of Florida; and the fleet

came to anchor two leagues from shore in four fathoms of water or less; and the Governor went on board a brigantine to view the land and with him a gentleman named Johan de Anasco and the chief pilot of the fleet whose name was Alonso Martin, to discover what land it was, for they were in doubt as to the port and where to find it; and not recognizing it, seeing that night was approaching, they wished to return to the ships, but the wind did not suffer them, for it was contrary; therefore they cast anchor near the land and went on shore, where they came upon traces of many Indians and one of the larger cabins that are seen in the Indies and other small ones. 33

33. Bourne, E. G., Narrative of De Soto, pp. 51, 52.

With this beginning did De Soto enter upon what he envisioned to be "A Promised Land". How futile were his endeavors is told in his silent burial in the dark waters of the Mississippi. Through many vicissitudes in the lands east of the mighty river he passed but--

They came upon neither gold nor jewels, but everywhere they encountered numerous and warlike Indians. At length the indomitable De Soto died of a fever and found a grave in the river which he had discovered. The Spaniards now decided to abandon the search for El Dorado. Building boats, they floated down the Mississippi to its mouth and followed the coast to Mexico. Scarcely half of the band which had set out with such high hopes survived the hardships of the remarkable expedition. 34

34. Webster, Hutton, History of Latin America, p. 80.

While Coronado was seeking the Quivira, De Soto had also been making this march. In comparing the two explorers many likenesses are found. The striking resemblance of the characteristics of the Indians both east and west of the Mississippi is brought out. Both expeditions went out in the interests of the Emperor--both sought riches and new lands to

govern, and both failed in their objectives. At the same time, however, both explorers accomplished more than they ever realized. Like that other Spaniard who launched out from Palos in 1492, they became trail blazers and by their courage and example aided others to begin where they left off.

Despite the failure of two expeditions, it seemed inevitable that the northern frontier of New Spain should bend upward. The reasons for this advance northward are given as the work of the padres and the desire to secure the wealth of the mines located in the vicinity of the Rio Grande.

The Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits labored unceasingly in the newly inhabited lands and often came into conflict with laymen whose sole desire was to exploit the Indians who dwelt there.

CARABAJAL

The whole period of the sixteenth century in New Spain had been one of expansion northward from Mexico City.

Advance was now made again along the Gulf plain. In 1576 Luis de Carabajal pursued Indians into the country north from Panuco, and in 1579 was commissioned to conquer and settle it. The province assigned to him was called Nuevo Leon, and was to extend two hundred leagues north from Panuco, a jurisdiction reaching nearly or quite to the mouth of the Colorado River. For a few years Carabajal's headquarters were at Panuco, but in (or by) 1583 he went inland with a colony, opened there the city of Leon, now Cerralvo.... Temporarily a more northerly outpost than Leon was established. Hearing of the rich mineral deposits towards the northwest, in the district called Coahuila, about 1590, Carabajal took from Saltillo supplies and a colony,

opened mines, and founded the villa of Almden where
Monclova now stands. 35

35. Bolton, H. E., "The Spanish Occupation of Texas, 1519-
1690", XVI. Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XVI, p. 12.

CHAPTER II

SPANISH INTEREST IN TEXAS REKINDLED

IN PERIOD 1600-1650

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ESPEJO'S EXPEDITION REKINDLES INTEREST IN EXPLORATION

For almost forty years after the dream of Coronado had been shattered, nothing was done in the way of exploration beyond the limits which he had reached.

In 1581 a Franciscan friar at the mission San Bartolome was told of new lands to Christianize. These places, his Indian informants said, were to the north and the Spaniards had not yet been there. The zeal of Father Ruiz moved him to petition the Viceroy and his superiors to go the North. Upon securing the desired permission and having gathered an escort of soldiers, three friars set out for the new mission country. This was in June of 1518, and for six months all seemed to go well. In December the soldiers and some of the Indian servants returned to San Bartolome, but two of the friars chose to stay at their new mission where all was going so well. The third Father, Fray Juan, was to go back to the authorities and tell of the great need for missionaries and induce others to come. He set out alone and had gone but a short way when he was captured by the Indians of San Pablo pueblo and put to death. Shortly after this his two brother friars met the same fate at the hands of some other Indians. Upon the arrival of the soldiers at the mission of San Bartolome they were told to go down to Mexico, and in the spring of 1582 they related to the Viceroy what things they had

learned in the north. Shortly after their departure for Mexico an Indian brought word to San Bartolome of the deaths of the other two Fathers. This announcement so stirred the people that it was decided to organize a new expedition to learn the truth of what had been told.

It happened that just at this time a certain Don Antonio Espejo was visiting at Santa Barbara, a mission on the Conchos river, and he volunteered his fortune and services to the Franciscan. When the rescue band was gathered together, they set out on December 10, 1582. As they traveled down the Conchos River they found evidence of silver and met some friendly Indian tribes. After arriving at the place where the Conchos flows into the Rio Grande, they followed that river upward and came into the country of the Jumanos. Upon leaving here they passed through several provinces and in some of them were well received,

...arriving at last at another large and populous province where the inhabitants brought feather cloaks of beautiful workmanship, variously colored, and cotton mantles streaked with blue and white, like those of China, to barter with the Spaniards. Continuing their march up the river the Spaniards came to another province more populous than the last, where they remained several days, the Indians performing dances and other ceremonies expressive of great joy. After leaving this province Espejo traveled up the valley of the Rio Grande for fifteen days, through forests of pinon trees, cottonwood, and mezquit, but met no Indians. After this wearisome march they came to the first cluster of ten pueblos, situated upon the banks of the Rio Grande; their population was estimated by the Spaniards at about 10,000. ...They were filled with amazement at the horses of the Spaniards, which they at first regarded as superior beings. One of their chiefs

gave to Espejo four thousand bolls of cotton.¹

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1. Haines, Helen, History of New Mexico, p. 66.
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Now they were close to the place called Puera where they were told the missionaries had been killed. With this knowledge their mission was actually fulfilled, but Espejo, fired by stories of riches farther to the west, determined to go on. As he proceeded northward, he came to the Cibola of Coronado and found there many remains of the Coronado expedition.

In four days' journey from Acoma they arrived at Zuni, the Cibola visited by Coronado forty years before, where the Spaniards found many crosses standing, and three Christian Indians--Andres, Gaspar, and Anton, natives of Culiacan, Mexico, and Guadalajara--still living, the same who had remained when Coronado and his army returned to New Spain in 1542.²

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2. Haines, Helen, History of New Mexico, pp. 67, 68.
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This statement is corroborated by Luxan, a member of Espejo's party. He tells in his story of the expeditions:

We halted at the first pueblo of the province of Zuni which they called Malaque, in which we had a row of houses (for our use) and they gave us to eat of what they had until we went to other neighboring pueblos. The people of this province, which comprised six pueblos....are poor, because even though they wear the same sort of dress as the others, the blankets are of agave fibre, as the land is cold, for they gather little cotton....

We found very well built crosses in all these pueblos, because Coronado had been in this land.Everywhere they told us he had been there. Here we found Mexican Indians and also some from Guadalajara, of those that Coronado had brought. We could understand

them but they spoke with difficulty. Here we found a book and a small old trunk left by Coronado.³

3. Luxan, Diego Perezde, Expedition Into New Mexico by Antonio De Espejo, pp. 89,90.

Many of Espejo's party determined to return home after reaching Zuni, but Espejo himself was determined to find the wealth in the West. Some Zunians now joined the party and they proceeded on their way. A journey of four days brought them to the province of Mohace where they were welcomed and presented with gifts. After making friends with the Indians, Espejo obtained guides from them and they led him to the "rich mines in the west." The silver ore was imbedded in the mountains from which Espejo took "with his own hands rich specimens of silver ore."

Upon realizing his dream of attaining riches, Espejo was ready to return home in order that he might secure authorization to colonize the rich country. There was in effect an ordinance whereby no expeditionary force could go out without a royal license. Upon his arrival at San Bartolome, Espejo learned that the contingent of his party that had preceded him had gone on to Durango, and now he planned to follow them.

The reports of Espejo so aroused the people that many attempts were made to colonize the new land. The first official notice on the work of colonization was given out in 1583.

In March, 1583, a royal order was issued by which the viceroy was authorized to contract with some suitable individual for the conquest of the provinces, to be undertaken without expense to the royal treasury and in accordance with the governmental regulations; it was also stipulated that any such contract should be submitted to the royal council before anything could be done.⁴

4. Haines, Helen, History of New Mexico, p. 69.

Several petitions were now made to colonize New Mexico. Among them were those of Cristobal Martin, Espejo and Diaz de Vargas. All of their requests were rejected; but when Juan Bautista "the wealthiest Spaniard in New Galicia" made his application for colonization, it was well received by the Viceroy. When this offer was reported to Spain, it was lost in the maze of business and so neglected that Bautista of Lomasy Colmenares heard of it no more. Not wishing to encounter opposition, Gaspar de Soso organized a force of his own to go and take possession of the lands so much sought after. This project was discovered by the government and a force was sent to arrest de Soso. He was apprehended and sent to Mexico on the charge of an "unauthorized expedition."

There was an authorized expedition sent out under the direction of Leyva Bonilla, but due to dissension in the group Bonilla was murdered and the rest of the party excepting two persons lost their lives in a prairie fire. Several factors now made the Spanish government realize that colonization was imperative in the remote lands of the North.

One of these was

That Drake and other foreign sailors were preying on Spanish commerce in the Pacific. Surely these Englishmen were entering and leaving the Pacific through the Strait of Anian. That strait must be discovered and occupied.⁵

5. Richardson and Rister, The Greater Southwest, p. 48.

Another potent factor for colonization was this. In the Old World Spain and England were at war, and in 1588 came the crushing defeat of the Armada and consequently a need for strengthening the New World Empire.

JUAN DE ONATE FOUNDS SAN JUAN

When the Viceroy had not granted to Espejo, or to the others who asked this permission, the right to colonize this "Otro Mexico", he was compelled to seek a commander elsewhere.

Fortune played into his hands, for in 1595 Juan de Onate applied for permission to conquer the province. The Viceroy was pleased with the request, which was readily granted.

It was not till 1595 that the conquest to New Mexico was finally awarded to the man who was destined to fulfill the mission. At that time Don Juan Onate, the descendant of a family distinguished in the annals of New Spain, was given the contract. The condition under which the agreement had been arranged seemed favorable. The Viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, was his intimate friend and had accordingly shown great generosity in placing his sanction on the enterprise. There appeared to be no question of Don Juan's fitness for the task, even if we consider certain stringent qualities which according to an

earlier decision of the Viceroy, a competent adelantado must possess. ⁶

6. Hammond, G. P., Don Juan de Onate, p. 13.

As a matter of fact his home life and ancestry had fitted him for the task.

A resident of Zacatecas, in the richest mineral region of Mexico, and a man of wealth, he sought the honors of nobility which were decreed by the King of Spain to the discoverers or conquerors of new lands. His father had been a lieutenant in Nuno de Guzman's army. His wife's grandfather was one of the four founders of Zacatecas and a principal proprietor in the mines. Onate offered to equip at his own expense and pay the wages of at least two hundred soldiers. The king was to bear no expense. The proposition was accepted by the Viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, on the 15th of September, 1595. Onate was to obtain the title of Adelantado, Governor and Captain-General, and high official titles for his two cousins, and for his young son Cristobal Onate, who should accompany him in the dangerous enterprise. ⁷

7. Ladd, Horatio, The Story of New Mexico, p. 103.

To confirm his statements concerning the favorable conditions under which the agreement of Onate to go on the expedition were made, Mr. George Peter Hammond tells us:

Two articles of Onate's contract were of special significance. In the first place he was made directly subject to the Council of the Indies. Under this arrangement neither the viceroys of New Spain nor neighboring audiencias could interfere in the administration of his government. This condition was considered of prime importance by Onate. It meant that he would to all intent and purposes, be entirely independent. He would not be subject to any petty interferences from officials in Mexico. Only to the Council of the Indies in Spain would he be required to render account of his actions. From New

Mexico to Seville would indeed be far, far away. In the second place Onate might recruit men in any part of the kingdom of Spain. This was in a manner corollary to the above privilege. When in need of reinforcements, which must inevitably be secured in New Spain or Nueva Galicia, it would not be necessary to ask permission from the viceroy or audiencia.

8. Hammond, G. P., Don Juan Onate, p. 21.

The expedition did not get under way immediately because of a delay in approval from the Spanish court.

When all was in readiness and the well-armed troops were impatiently awaiting the orders to set forth, another obstacle presented itself, as often happens when everything is going well. A fleet from Spain sailed into the harbor bearing orders from your father our Lord and King. These orders transferred Don Luis de Velasco to Peru and placed in his stead as viceroy Ulloa Bietma, count of Monterey. Since envy and jealousy are always seeking an opportunity to belch forth their deadly poison, this change presented the opportunity needed. The voice of jealousy and animosity reached the ears of the new official. The instigators of these falsehoods against Onate, hiding their sinister motives under the pretext of the commonweal, urged before the viceroy the unfitness of Onate to lead such an expedition. ⁹

9. Villagra, Gaspar Perez De, History of New Mexico, p. 76.

Monterey immediately sought the advice of the former viceroy, and matters were finally cleared up so that in December of 1597 the necessary permissions were received. In 1598, therefore,

Don Juan de Onate, with eighty-three wagons, seven thousand cattle and about one hundred and thirty soldiers-colonists and their families, led the way for many long weeks. ¹⁰

10. Grant, Blanche, C., When Old Trails Were New, p. 7

There were also eight Franciscan friars in the group and to them we are indebted for "the first church to be built under the direction of the Franciscans in New Mexico." 11 This was erected at San Gabriel, which is located between the Chama and the Rio Grande.

11. Robinson, Wm. Henry, Under Turquoise Skies, p. 91

There seems to have been some confusion as to just where this mission of San Gabriel was located.

In writing of this, Ralph E. Twitchell says that

This map (the original manuscript map) shows the pueblo of San Gabriel marked with a peculiar cross, indicative of the headquarters, and the legend on the map recites the fact that it was the residence of the governor. This map must be erroneous, however, as San Gabriel was on the left bank of the Chama, where the ruins of the old pueblo may yet be indentified. Between August 23rd and September 8th, 1598, the settlers constructed at the pueblo of San Juan the first church erected in New Mexico and upon its completion there was a celebration conducted by the officials, the ecclesiastics and the settlers. Here Onate maintained his headquarters until after his return from a tour of exploration to the Gulf of California, April 25th 1605, and in all probability until the arrival of Don Pedro de Peralta in 1609. 12

12. Twitchell, R. C., Old Santa Fe, pp. 17, 18.

According to the author just quoted Onate's first headquarters were at a place which he called San Juan.

The site chosen by the first Spanish Governor and Captain-General, Don Juan de Onate, for his headquarters was, at first, at the pueblo of San Juan de los Caballeros, so named by him, then known by

the name of Jay-pa, which place he reached on the 11th day of July, 1598. The pueblo of San Juan, Rio Arriba County, New Mexico, then was the first capital of New Mexico. Within a month thereafter, Onate began the construction of an irrigation ditch for the Villa of San Francisco, which was the name given to it, in which labor the Spaniards were assisted by fifteen hundred Indians. ¹³

13. Ibid., p. 17.

This was in the region of the Pueblo Indians. The fact that these first mission settlements were among the Pueblos is responsible for the lack of material concerning them. In 1680 there was a terrible Indian rebellion in which the records of the Padres were lost or destroyed.

STORMING OF ACOMA

One of the things Onate had in mind in his work of exploration was to see the Quiviran Indians and the land beyond. They are said to have made a treaty with him upon his arrival in their province.

When in October of 1598 Onate headed to the land of the Moquis in Arizona, he received the homage of the Pueblo of Acoma, through which place he passed.

In November of that year when Juan Zaldivar passed through the same pueblo carrying reinforcements to Onate, he was attacked by these Indians. They had repented of their subjection and now overthrew the Spanish rule and killed Juan Zaldivar.

In the following month, as soon as the weak Spanish resources could be marshalled, Onate sent a little band to punish treacherous Acoma. Never did soldiers march to a forlorn hope; and never in all history was there a greater feat of arms than the storming of that impregnable rock of Vicente de Zaldivar with seventy men of whom less than three-score were engaged in the assault on the bloody 22nd, 23rd, and the 24th of January, 1599. The forcing of that awful cliff, the three days' death-struggle hand-to-hand, the storming of that fortress-town--time records nothing more desperately brilliant. These smooth, gray rocks, whereon I dream to-day, were slippery--red then with the life-blood of five hundred heroes--for here Greek met Greek--and ghastly rivulets ran down the hollows and trickled over the cliff to the thrifty valley....In the precious epic left by Villagra, the soldier poet, who was pars magna of those better days, we have still a long and graphic description of a heroism which history could ill afford to lose. 14

14. Lummis, Charles F., The Land of Poco Tiempo. pp. 65, 66.

Before proceeding to a description of that story of Villagra's, Bradford Prince tells how and why the flight was begun by Vincente de Zalvidar and his men.

It was plain that this had to be done without delay, no matter at what sacrifice, or their prestige would be lost, and the whole country would rise against them and either destroy or drive them out. Yet the enterprise was a most dangerous and difficult one, on account of the almost impregnable character of the mesa of Acoma, which was a gigantic natural fortress. The mesa is composed of two perpendicular cliffs, connected by a narrow ridge, and to each cliff there is but one steep, almost inaccessible entrance. A dozen resolute men, even if armed only with stones, could hold the main approach against the armies of the world, in the days before artillery changed the whole science of warfare. 15

15. Prince, Bradford, A Concise History of New Mexico, p. 98, 99.

Villagra, one of Zaldivar's own picked men, tells the story most graphically of that fight of the Indians of Acoma who were loath to relinquish their wondrously fortified home to the Spanish conquerors. It was necessary to the Spaniards that Acoma be punished, and Vincent Zaldivar, brother of the slain Spaniard, headed the party which would "uphold the honor of the Spanish arms."

In writing of it, the soldier poet says:

Then like a woodsman in the high mountains attacks a stately spruce and applies blow after blow with his bold axe until the great tree first trembles, then sways, then falls crashing to the ground, so Zaldivar unfolded to us the plan he had determined on. This project involved the scaling of the rock by twelve picked men whom he had already chosen.... All applauded and approved this daring plan. Accordingly, the sargeant mounted his horse and going to the foot of the cliff, announced to the savages that we were going to attack them and warned them to prepare themselves. 16

16. Villagra, G. P., History of New Mexico, p. 229, 232.

Zaldivar's plan of scaling one of the rocks while the rest of the contingent attack the Indians from the other was most successful. Arriving on the summit of the "smaller cliff", Zaldivar's men attacked the Indians, already engaged in fighting the Spaniards coming up the one and only approach of the larger cliff. Now beset from both rocks, the fight was desperate and the advantage was all on the side of the Indians. The rock on which Zaldivar's men were encamped was about "300 paces" from the other rock.

The Spaniards who arrived on the summit of the larger rock engaged in a hand-to-hand fight with the Indians. They were pushed back by the Indians into a natural cave on the summit. Realizing the predicament of his brethren and seeing new Indian forces arriving to assault those entrapped Spaniards, Zaldivar

cried out for someone to bring another log to bridge the span. Thinking he was talking to me (says Villagra), I stepped back nine paces, running toward the edge of the chasm, and like Cirio, with a terrible leap left the edge. The sargeant had sought to stop me, but missed his hold. Had he not, that day most certainly would have been my last upon this earth. My desperation lent me wings, and I landed safely on the other side, where I frantically seized the beam and bridged the crevasse. The trumpets blew a blast and our soldiers dashed across. ¶

17. Villagra, G. P. History of New Mexico, pp. 243, 244.

The Spaniards won the day. They

pressed the Indians back into their long line of terraced houses, and then these became a mass of flame and the inmates had to choose between two rightful kinds of death. In desperation they killed themselves or each other, or rushed out and threw themselves down the cliffs to sure destruction. For hours every Indian that could be seen was slaughtered. In all history there is no more desperate battle, not ever one on such a dizzy height. Of over 3,000 Indians only six hundred were spared, and they were compelled to leave their home on the great rock, and settle on the plain. The moral effect of this great victory was immense. It completed the conquest. There was no longer any danger of opposition. By the Pueblo Indians, Acoma had long been considered impregnable. Now that it had fallen, there was no hope for success in any resistance elsewhere. Every pueblo acknowledged the Spanish authority. The conquest of New Mexico was complete. 18

18. Prince, Bradford, History of New Mexico, p. 99

ONATE VISITS QUIVIRAS

Onate's way was clear. He could proceed unmolested in his career of conquest. The value of his conquests lay not only in the land claimed but in the knowledge attained concerning the people he met.

As he continued his explorations, Onate was able to show many things concerning the Indians of the present Southwest of which we did not hear before.

Onate himself was the next to throw light on the east. "The Apaches of whom we have also seen some," he wrote in March, 1599, "are innumerable, and although I heard that they lived in rancherias, a few days ago I ascertained that they live like these (Indians) in pueblos, one of which, eighteen leagues from here, contains fifteen plazas." Leading a large party through Pecos he found, as did his predecessors, a group of Indians whom he called Apachi. Reaching the Canadian, he followed that stream to the present boundary of Oklahoma and Texas. There he turned northeastward. On this route the party encountered a rancheria of Indians, called Escanjaques. "To them the governor and the religious went with more than thirty armed horsemen to reconnoiter the people and the rancheria, and they, all drawn up in regular order in front of their ranchos, began to raise the palms of their hands towards the sun, which is the sign of peace among them. Assuring them that peace was what we wanted, all the people, women, youth, and small children, came to where we were; and they consented to our visiting their houses; which all consisted of branches an estado and a half long, placed in a circle, some of them being so wide that they were ninety feet in diameter. Most of them were covered with tanned hides, which made them resemble tents. They were not people who sowed or reaped, but lived solely on the cattle. They were ruled and governed by chiefs, and, like communities which are freed from subjection to any lord, they obeyed their chiefs but little." Friendly, the Escanjaques guided the explorers to the Arkansas River. Beyond they refused to go, stating that their enemies lived there. Undaunted,

Onate pushed on and visited the Quiviras, whose grass huts identify them with the later known Wichitas. ¹⁹

19. Thomas, A. B., After Coronado, p. 7, 8.

ONATE RETURNS HOME TO SAN JUAN

When Onate had established San Juan and set out on a series of explorations, his dream of conquest could never have been any greater than what his conquest were in reality. And now that he had gone into the lands of the Quivirans he was ready to return to San Juan.

When Onate returned to New Mexico from his Quivira expedition in 1602, he found that most of the settlers and missionaries had deserted and gone back to Santa Barbara where they gave evidence of their displeasure with Onate by filing fifty-seven different charges. This is explained by the fact that the colonists disapproved of Onate's explorations because they preferred that he should devote all his energies and activities to the internal development and organization of the country. At once Zaldivar was sent by Onate to arrest the deserter colonists and send them to New Mexico, as was done. After this, Zaldivar was sent to Spain to appeal in person to the King for reinforcements for Onate. ²⁰

20. Bandelier, A. F., Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, p. 212, 213.

At the Spanish court he asked for soldiers and shipbuilders who would go with him to New Spain and there search for harbors on the South Sea into which Spanish ships might go. The King graciously gave men and money for the enterprise and asked only that some record of the expedition be made. Not only did Zaldivar get recruits

but also the armor and weapons with which they could be protected.

Zaldivar launched out upon the work of enrolling new recruits. His endeavors were not very successful, and so, in the year 1603, Don Juan Onate sent his brother Don Alonso to seek aid from the Spanish throne. The king of Spain at this time was Philip III. He did give him full permission to carry out his project. On learning of the ill success of Zaldivar's efforts, the King now granted to Don Alonso a ship whereon the men could be transported. The law against transporting merchandise on chartered vessels made many shipmasters unwilling to take the passengers, and now Alonso Onate was given a grant whereby on the chartered ship given to him he was allowed to carry both merchandise and men. While Don Alonso was securing ships and men, Don Juan was not idle. He went on an expedition to the South Sea himself in 1604. This was the time when the theory that California was an island was proposed. Onate thought it was because he had been in the Gulf of California. A glowing report of the discovery was sent to the King by Don Juan. The viceroy of New Spain sent again for permission to establish a presidio in the New Mexico country and asked, too, concerning ships to follow up Don Juan Onate's work.

ONATE RESIGNS GOVERNORSHIP

The year 1607 brought no aid to New Spain, and Don Juan Onate, thinking he might expedite matters, sent in his resignation as governor. It was a sort of bluff; but, when the resignation was accepted, he could do nothing more than bow submissively. A new governor was appointed, supplies were sent, and a suggestion made for permanent settlements. Thus did the country known as New Mexico become not only a missionary field but a newer part of new Spain.

The chiefs of seven provinces and thousands of inhabitants paid homage to Onate, the conqueror who, although he attempted much, secured little in temporal reward. His adventure, however, laid bare a vast missionary field. The history of the missions forms a part of every expedition that went out from Spain from the time of Columbus on. Nowhere was it a more powerful factor than in the present Southwest.

New Mexico had been the scene of various expeditions. It was to this land that "El Turco" had led the expedition of Coronado. His failure to find the "land of milk and honey" had been told, but the fact that Cardenas of this expedition was the first European to discover the Grand Canyon has not been much publicized.

MISSIONARY WORK RESULTS FROM EXPLORATIONS

For almost four decades after the return of the Coronado expedition, as has been shown, not much was done to

penetrate beyond the barriers he had encountered, but the missionary work went on.

When Coronado returned to the South, the padres remained in New Mexico and all merited crowns of martyrdom. Fray Padilla chose to labor among the Quiviran Indians. With him remained Andres Docampo, a soldier, Lucas and Sebastian, called Donados, and a few Mexican Indian boys.

His influences with the savages soon prepared their minds and hearts for the Word of God and these roving children of the prairies loved him as a father. The burning zeal of Fray Juan Padilla led him to attempt the conversion of their neighboring hostile tribes. After about one day's journey, the padre and his companions met a band of Indians on the warpath. And here it was that the holy priest, after beseeching his companions to flee, "Fray Padilla dropped on his knees and offered his soul to God." Here was shed the blood of the proto-martyr of the United States. 21

21. Foik, Paul J., "Early Explorers of the Southwest," Mid-America, XII, pp. 209, 210.

There is a legend told in connection with this same Fray Juan de Padilla which is called "The Rising of the Coffin of Fray Padilla."

When the Isleta mission church was built, the rude coffin containing the Padilla's remains was, according to the belief of the natives, in so a miraculous manner conveyed from its resting place in the desert to Isleta, and there reinterred in the holy ground of the mission cemetery. Once each year, it is said, this coffin works its way through the ground to the surface, where it and the corpse of Padilla are viewed by the people before being again buried. It is believed to be a potent worker of miracles while thus exposed to view, and a number of people in that vicinity have small fragments of Padilla's graveclothes, which they believe to be valuable amulets." 22

22. Hallenbeck, Cleve, "Spanish Missions of the Old Southwest," P. 139.

This place Isletta is the same small isle that Coronado passed. It is thought that at one time it might have been an island in the Rio Grande. It is "twelve miles south of Albuquerque" and is one of New Mexico's most historic spots. Much of the rest of the history of these missions having been destroyed in the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, the report of Benavides as given in Bancroft must be appealed to for information.

Padre Benavides went in person to Spain, and his report to the king, dated Madrid, 1630, although meagre and superficial in comparison with what it might have been, is the most important authority extant of these times. It shows there were about 50 friars, serving over 60,000 christianized natives in over 90 pueblos, grouped in 25 missions, or conventos, as they were called, each pueblo having its own church. The Indians as a rule were easily controlled, and paid tribute in corn and cotton to support the garrison of 250 Spaniards at Santa Fe, where a church had recently been completed. The outlying gentile tribes all known as Apaches and classified as Apaches de Xila, Apaches de Navajo, and Apaches Vaqueros--had as yet caused no serious troubles; in fact, in the Xila province and among the Navajos peace had been made; and in the former, where Benavides had been a missionary, was now working with success. 23

23. Bancroft, H. H., History of the Pacific States, XII, p. 162, 163.

This report is substantiated by Charles T. Lummis who writes as follows concerning those men whose zeal for their Father's home had truly eaten them up:

A century before our nation was born, the Spanish built in one of our Territories half a hundred permanent churches, nearly all of stone, and nearly all for the express benefit of the Indians. That is a missionary record which has never been equalled elsewhere in the United States even to this day; and in all our country we had not built by that time so many churches for ourselves.

A glimpse at the life of the missionary to New Mexico in the days before there was an English-speaking preacher in the whole western hemisphere is strangely fascinating to all who love that lonely heroism which does not need applause or companionship to keep it alive.... One very important feature must not be lost sight of. Not only did these Spanish teachers achieve a missionary work unparalleled elsewhere by others, but they made a wonderful mark on the world's knowledge. Among them were some of the most important historians America has had; and they were among the foremost scholars in every intellectual line, particularly in the study of languages. They were not merely chroniclers but students of native antiquities, arts, and customs--such historians, in fact, as are paralleled only by those great classic writers, Herodotus and Strabo. 24

24. Lummis, Charles F., Spanish Pioneers and the California Missions, pp. 164, 165, 169.

In order that the Spaniards would continue their work among the Indians, Fray Benavides told the authorities even also of the wealth abounding in the land where these Indians dwelt.

I cannot omit telling on this occasion, the particular service which my Order (Religion) does Your Majesty in the pacification and conversion of this Kingdom of Quivira and Aixaos, since it is of known greatness and richness. Being as the Villa of Santa Fe is in 37 degrees (north latitude) and going from there to the East 150 leagues one strikes this kingdom, and so it is in the same latitude. Even so we know by evidence and eyesight that there exists in this kingdom, and in that of the Aixaos, which borders upon it, a very great quantity of gold, and each day we see their Indians, who trade with ours, who testify to the fact. And much better (testify) the Flemings and English, who on the side of Florida are near them and barter with them for the gold dust in the greatest quantity. Then which they carry off thus to benefit their countries, and the heretics enjoy the so great riches which the Catholic Church in the name of God granted to Your Majesty; and with it they make war on us. Even so, well testifies the

Captain and great pilot, Vicente Goncales of the nation of Lusitania who from Havana went to coast the coast of Florida. And entered into that great river where the English are settled and entering to the interior he saw the Indians of Quivira and Aixaos, with earrings and necklaces of gold, very weighty and so soft, that with the fingers, they made of them whatever they wished. The Indians assuring (him) that there existed in their Kingdom of Quivira and Aixaos much of that (metal).

So, in order that your Majesty enjoy all this, it is fitting, in any event, that this Kingdom of Quivira and that of Aixaos be settled, and that those Indians be Christians. And looking from this post (or place) to the East, there is shown on the maritime maps a bay with the title of Espiritu Santo in 29 degrees between the Cape of Apalach and the coast of Tampico, which is the coast of the north of New Spain (Mexico) within the gulf. Following the Chart, then, from this Kingdom of Quivira to this gulf, it is not so much as a hundred leagues. And from there (the gulf shore) to the Havana one goes in five or six days coasting the coast. ²⁵

25. Benavides, Alonso, Memorial on New Mexico in 1626, p. 63.

With the first beginnings of settlement in the southern regions of our present United States went the desire of the Spaniards to penetrate farther and farther inland. Progress was very, very slow because of the ferocious Indian tribes who inhabited the interior of the country. The Apaches lived in an extensive territory along the Rio de Norte, so great that Benavides writing in his Memorial says, "we have not found an end to it." They afforded a barrier to Spanish expansion.

MYTHS BECOME STIMULUS FOR FURTHER EXPLORATION

However a stimulus to further advance of the missions was afforded by tales and myths current among the Indians.

The Indians told the conquerors in language which they could but poorly understand, tales which must have been framed to meet the evident wishes of the hearers and which were doubtless, embellished on repetition to suit the designs of would-be adel-antodos. The atmosphere of New Spain was exceedingly favorable to the production of myths and they grew rapidly. 26

26. Garrison, G. P., Texas, A Contest of Civilizations, p. 15.

One of the so-called myths, that of Mother Marie de Jesus, seems to have some force. This abbess of the convent Conception in Agreda, which is located between Castile and Aragon, had a strange experience. In the period of years between 1620 and 1631 "she claimed to have been transported by angels" to what is now our Southwest or at that time "New Spain". Here to the tribes who knew not God she preached the gospel.

MISSIONARY WORK AMONG JUMANOS

The Jumanos Indians who lived east of the Apaches told of a strange woman preaching to them, and now they desired the friars who were working among some tribes of the Tompiros and Salineros to come to them. The Jumanos pleaded earnestly.

And so we immediately dispatched Father Salas with another companion, Father Diego Lopez, whom the self-same Indians went with as guides. And before they went we asked the Indians to tell us the reason why they went on with so much concern petitioning us for baptism and for religious to go to indoctrinate them. They replied that a woman like that one whom we had there painted, which was the picture of Mother Louisa de Carrion, used to preach to each one of them in their own tongue telling them they should come to summon the father to instruct and baptize them and they should not be slothful about it. And that the

woman who preached to them was dressed precisely, neither more nor less like her who was painted there; but that the face was not like that (hermosa). And always, whenever Indians came newly from those nations looking on the picture and comparing it among themselves, they said that the clothing was the same but the face was not because the face of the woman who preached to them was that of a young and beautiful girl. 27

27. Benavides, Land of Sunshine, IV, p. 46.

When Father Salas and Father Lopez arrived among the Jumanos who lived near the Salt Lakes, they found the story of their conversion to be true. They learned more details of the miracle too, so that when in 1630 Fray Benavides was in Spain, where he had gone to make a report of his missions to the kings, he was able to speak to "the woman in blue." She was Sister Marie de Agreda, and when Fray Benavides had an audience with her in her convent, he "learned that she had in ecstasy visited New Mexico and instructed the Indians there." 28

"The last time she was there was in 1613, as is evident from the declaration she made to the custodian father." 29

28. Schmitt, Edmond J. P., "Ven. Maria Jesus de Agreda: A Correction." Texas Quarterly, I, p. 123.

29. Harley, Mrs. Leo C., Amer. Hist. Assoc. Report, 1891, p. 200.

These Jumanos Indians inhabited what is now the state of New Mexico. They lived in houses of "sod or earth and

grass with flat roofs." They had grouped together in villages along the Rio Grande and were sometimes called Rayados "on account of their striated faces." 30

30. Hodge, F. W., Handbook of American Indians, p. 63.

Thus by missionary labor expansion went on despite the fact that by the Ordinance of 1573 military expeditions among the Indians were forbidden. 31

31. Bolton, H. E., Spanish Borderlands, p. 166.

ORGANIZATION OF A MISSION

"The trail of the Padres" was the highway to be traversed into the lands of the Southwest. It was a well-beaten path and bedewed with the blood of martyrs.

This trail of the Padres is like an octopus with a thousand tentacles. It begins at the City of Mexico, but it has no end. Its many branches penetrate to every corner of the old Southwest, where ancient churches and ruins stand silent and lonely far out on the desert, monuments of an historic past. Those crumbling walls were ruins long years before the California missions were built. Each has its romance, its tale of suffering and martyrdom. The history of this trail is the greatest romance of all time. Before the Spaniards came that way, it was the main route from the north to the south; and it was old when the Aztecs followed it on their great migration from ancient Aztlan in the north down to the valley of Mexico where Cortez found them three centuries later. 32

32. Forrest, Earle R., Missions and Pueblos of the Old Southwest, pp. 25, 26.

The mission was not only a place where church services were held and a knowledge of the Faith taught but

A mission was a beehive of industry, notwithstanding the short working hours and the Indian's inclination to take things easy. There were the ring of the builder's hammer and the tapping of the stone-cutter's mallet; the rhythmic clatter of the looms and the measured beat of the sledge on the anvil; the lowing and bleating of herds and the noisy gabbling of ducks and geese. There were no clocks, and the passage of time was marked by the ringing of the sweet-toned bells, beginning with matins at daybreak and continuing at intervals during the day. With the evening bell, the labour of the day ceased; the Indians trooped in from field and orchard and vineyard, the herdsmen brought their flocks into the corrals for the night; the racket of swinging tools ceased, and the shops were closed and locked, and all hied themselves to their domiciles or gathered around the great tables of steaming food under the arches of the mission kitchen. 33

33. Hallenbeck, Cleve, Spanish Missions of the Old Southwest, P. 19.

In the settlement of a new mission district the Spanish pursued the plan of organization along the lines of religious, military, and civil types. The religious type of settlement was of course the well-known mission, the military was what was called the presidio, and the civil was the pueblo.

There seems to be prevalent a sort of half-defined assumption which makes the presidio or fort the initial step in the occupation, the missions following naturally thereafter; nevertheless, this opinion, sanctioned as it is by some writers, cannot be maintained in the face of facts. The truth lies

undoubtedly on the other side; that is, the mission was located first; then the presidio was established for its protection. ³⁴

34. M'Caleb, Walter F., "Some Obscure Points In the Mission Period of Texas," Texas Historical Association Quarterly, I, pp. 218, 219.

The mission work was carried on by the padres, who sometimes were assisted by lay brothers. The most difficult work the missionary padres encountered was to induce the Indians to become "Indios reducidos" rather than "Indios Bravos", so consequently the pueblo was a necessity. How to induce the Indians to cease their roving was a problem, the solution of which the Padres found to be in the gifts they could offer. Many times, however, it was only a temporary check, and the pueblo was made a "floating population."

The "presidio" was the fortress of the mission and was established where it would be most beneficial. If, for example, a group of missions were located in an area open to attack, a "presidio" would be placed where it would be beneficial to all. Sometimes, too, a presidio was not established, but instead a contingent of soldiers would be stationed at the mission. The "Fathers" of the missions, however, would rather be without them, because the "presidiales" were generally of a low type.

New Mexico, which had been the first of the southwestern states to become a missionary settlement, was also a sort of Spanish fortress, as were Arizona and Texas later on.

New Mexico in the seventeenth century was continued as a Spanish province in order to bring about the conversion of the Indians of the Pueblos.....It was also considered important as a means of protecting the Spanish provinces south of New Mexico from Indian attacks although the garrison at Santa Fe was always small. 35

35. Coan, Chas. F., A History of New Mexico, p. 182.

CHAPTER III

FRENCH AND SPANISH MEET

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In the latter part of the seventeenth century England had scattered trading centers on the Atlantic from Jamaica to the Hudson Bay region, and France had taken a hand in explorations of the St. Lawrence and Great Lake regions.

There are vague stories of Frenchmen on the Mississippi at an early date, but however this may be, it is certain that in the summer of 1673 Louis Joliet, the son of a wagon maker of Quebec, and Jacques Marquette, a Jesuit priest, reached and descended the great river from the mouth of the Wisconsin to a point far past the mouth of the Ohio.¹

1. Wrong, Geo. M., The Conquest of New France, pp. 102-103.

With France thus entering upon the Mississippi from the north a threat to Spain's dominion over the southwest was at hand. Almost simultaneously events developed which weakened Spain's hold on this dominion. This was brought about by what is known as the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 and the attack of Penalosa.

PUEBLO REVOLT

In the terrible calamity of 1680 the Pueblo Indians rose up against their Spanish conquerors and wished to drive them out. The revolt was not planned overnight

but was a seething torrent that had gained force through the period 1640 to 1680. In the first mentioned year an attempted revolt was checked, but in 1680 the desired object of the Indians to expel the Spaniards was attained. How cleverly these red men went about their plan is told by W. W. Davis. The two Indians who actually planned it were Popé and Catite, both of different Pueblos. Popé was from the one at Taos and Catite was a Querves Indian.

They were shrewd and able men, and knew well the means to take to rouse up their countrymen to resistance. Popé seized upon the superstition of his untutored brethren, and turned it to a good account. He shut himself up for a time in the estufa, and would neither see nor hold any intercourse with his companions. When he appeared again in the village, he informed them that he had held communion with the devil, and through him feigned to have received messages from the infernal regions. These revelations directed him as to the course he should pursue to meet with success. He was to unite all the pueblos in a common league against the Spaniards, and the method of giving them information was also pointed out. He was to make a rope of palm-leaf fibres in which were to be tied a number of knots. This was to be forwarded from pueblo to pueblo by the swiftest runners, and each village that joined in the conspiracy was to untie a knot. The number of knots remaining in the rope when it should be returned whence it was sent would signify the number of days before the outbreak was to take place. The rope was sent around as the devil directed, and all the villages to which it was carried showed their approval of the plan by each one untying a knot.²

2. Davies, W. W. H., El Gringo, pp. 135-136.

The calendar date planned for the revolt was August 28. After the signal of Popé had been sent around and the knowledge of the uprising became known to some of the Indians who were friends of the Padres, the story of the proposed revolt was sent to the Spanish governor by the mission priest.

When Popé's allies heard this, they informed him of it, and immediately the date was changed and the outbreak came on August 10.

Aroused to desperation by over a century of stern subjugation, the Indians tortured, slew, and mutilated every Spaniard in the country that they could lay hands upon. A few maidens only were spared, and these were to be given as wives, as rewards to Popé's chief henchmen. Priests, women, and children fell under the murderous blades of the Indian warriors whose work of extermination went on with unrelenting ferocity. Eighteen of the twenty-five priests in the various missions were slain and three hundred and eighty Spaniards immediately fell....

The Governor, however, made a brave defense, and when the Indians completely surrounded him and sent two crosses, a white one which signified peace and the immediate withdrawal of the Spaniards and a red one indicating war and extermination, Otermin chose the red one....

The Indians now understood that the Spaniards chose to continue the fight. Their next move was to cut off the water supply and this they did on August 20. The Spaniards, realizing the futility of further fighting, determined on a policy of evacuation.³

3. James, George Wharton, New Mexico, p. 30.

A council was called by an Indian ally of the Christians.

and it was the unanimous decision of the maestros de Campos, sarjentos mayores, captains, missionaries and soldiers who expressed their opinions, that considering their weak and impoverished condition, the pueblo should be abandoned and the whole body of the people should retreat towards Mexico, in as good military order as possible, until they should meet the wagons of supplies and the escort that went with it, which had been started from Mexico the year previous for the aid and support of the religious of the province.⁴

4. Hackett, Charles Wilson, "The Revolt of the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico in 1680," Texas Quarterly, XV, pp. 146-147.

The retreating Spaniards had started out on August 14, and it was now September 29. They did not feel safe until they had come to the region where Guadalupe is and there only four leagues above the monastery "they held a junta de guerra." In this "council" they decided to locate at a place known as La Toma del Rio del Norte, and from this place they would send word to the Viceroy of all that had happened. They would ask him, too, for assistance so that they might reconquer the lands from which the Pueblo Indians had evicted them. The temporary desertion of New Mexico developed the southern country, for with this new contingent added to the missions already located in the lower Rio del Norte--

There were now in or near the valley six missions, Guadalupe, San Francisco de los Sumas, Senecu, Socorro, Isleta, and Santa Gertrudis; four Spanish villages or pueblos, San Lorenzo, San Pedro de Aleantara, San Jose, and Isleta; and the Presidio of El Paso.⁵

5. Bolton, H.E., "Spanish Occupation of Texas," Texas Quarterly, XVI, p. 19.

While the southern Spanish settlements were being bolstered up, the territory left vacant by the retreat of the Spaniards was now open to the French, who in 1682 were coming down the Mississippi under the guidance of René- Robert Cavalier Sieur de La Salle. Under him and in the name of France,

Possession was taken of all the lands drained directly by the Mississippi, together with all their "nations, people, provinces, cities, towns, villages, mines, minerals, fisheries,

streams, and rivers." Protest was formally entered against "all those who may in future undertake to invade any or all of these countries, people, or lands, to the prejudice of the right of his Majesty, acquired by the consent of the nations" named in the earlier parts of the address.

6. Ogg, T.A., The Opening of the Mississippi, p. 111.

ATTACK OF PENALOSA

The grand plan of France to unite the St. Lawrence with the Gulf seemed to be materializing. Whether or not she could make good her claim to "the lands drained directly by the Mississippi" remained to be seen. La Salle suffered many hardships on the return journey to Quebec, which he reached late in the summer of 1683. In 1684 he set out for Europe to set before the king a plan of settlement in the lower Mississippi Valley. Fortune played into the hands of La Salle. Just at the time he made his request to Louis XIV, King of France, there was also a certain Penalosa who wished to make a settlement in the same region to which La Salle desired to go. In alliance with La Salle he laid a proposition before the French sovereign to conquer Spain's holdings in the valley of the Mississippi.

La Salle had launched out on this project himself for France and was pleased now to have the assistance of Penalosa. In this period tpe, which is about 1684, on account of the War of the League of Augsburg, the countries of Spain and France were not on the most friendly terms and so the proposition to attack New Spain was well received.

The proposition as made is given by John Gilmary Shea in his Penalosa Expedition as follows:

The Spaniards having declared war against his majesty, he seems to be fully justified in employing the great means which Providence affords him of profiting by so rash a declaration....The great facility which is offered for success also seems to invite his majesty, as may be seen in the sequel of this memoir.... Some time ago an offer was made to his majesty, in a memoir presented to the Marquis de Seigeley, to establish a French colony at the mouth of the river called Rio Bravo, which empties into the Gulf of Mexico, sixty leagues from Panuco, the last Spanish settlement on the Florida coast.

W. Shea, J.G., Penalosa Expedition, p. 16.

The purpose of this settlement was to secure a base from which contingents could be sent to conquer Spanish holdings known as New Biscay.

For this purpose it is proposed to collect a thousand or twelve hundred French fribustiers, who live on the coast of Santo Domingo--men well versed in war, accustomed to the climate and mode of life in these countries, and who have habitually defeated the Spaniards everywhere, plundered their towns, and captured their vessels in the Gulf of Mexico, where their fribustiers often cruise. It is proposed to put at their head a chief named Grammont, accustomed to lead them to battle.... It is proposed to associate with him as principal chief and leader of the enterprise, a man of rank named the Count de Penalosa, a creole born--that is, an Indian of Spanish race--who is descended from the earliest conquistadors of the country; who, after having held several important offices both in Peru and Mexico, was governor and captain-general of a great province called New Mexico, for which he shows his commissions and attestations of service; and who has been ruined in these countries by the religious of the

Inquisition, who kept him in prison for thirty-two months and dissipated all his property, without his ever having been able to obtain justice from the Spaniards, which forced him to come to France with a view of offering his services to his majesty and proposing to him the conquest of those countries. This man is perfectly familiar with the interior of the country, and especially of the province of New Biscay, of which he offers to effect the conquest. 8

8. Shea, J.G., Penalosa Expedition, pp. 16, 17.

La Salle himself, meanwhile, was making plans whereby he could meet up with Penalosa's forces and by means of their combined efforts succeed in securing Spain's holdings.

La Salle was despatched with four vessels; he stopped at Santa Domingo, as Penalosa had proposed to do, and, after conferring with de Cussy, was joined by a few buccaneers; but the whole was carried out so feebly as to ensure disaster.

By a monstrous system of hypocrisy and falsehood it has long been pretended that La Salle was the victim of enemies; that he was carried past the mouth of the Mississippi by the treachery of Mr. de Beaujeu, the captain of one of the vessels. It is very clear, however, that La Salle went intentionally to Texas as part of the operations against New Biscay; d'Esmanville (Margry, ii. p. 515) shows this. That he expected to be joined there by a larger force under Penalosa is evident. What became of Penalosa meanwhile and of his plans on Panuco is not known. No trace can be found of any such expedition as he projected against that place. The French government, apparently, finding the Spanish government alert and not only watching the Texas coast with successive cruisers, but actually sending expeditions by land to occupy all the country, may have seen the hopelessness of all the grand projects against the rich mining districts and abandoned, alike, Penalosa in Paris and La Salle in Texas. 9

9. Shea, J.G., Penalosa Expedition, pp. 21, 22.

SPAIN HUNTS OUT THE FRENCH

Word had come to the Spaniards of the French intrusion, but they did not know just where the La Salle expedition would locate a settlement. The knowledge of it, however, was soon acquired, it is thought, from the Comanche Indians. La Salle had come in contact with these Indians in his expeditions into the interior, and they communicated the word to the Spaniards. Philip IV had had knowledge of the work of the French in attempting to explore and colonize the region of the Mississippi. It was in response to his order to exterminate these French intruders from this region that the count of Monclova, who was the viceroy in 1686, held "a council of war" to see what method of extermination would be used. It was decided that a military post would be set up at Monclova, and Alonso de Leon was made captain of the military post and governor of Coahuila. He accordingly gathered a force of one hundred and forty men and set out "to scour the country and hunt out the French."

The expedition left Monclova early in the spring of 1689, and arrived in Fort St. Louis, on the Lavaca, on the 22d of April. Two days after, he went down to the head of the bay, where he saw the wreck of the Belle. Learning from the Indians that some of the colonists were still wandering about over the country, he visited the Ceniz nation. He was received and treated by this people with the hospitality for which they were distinguished. He found here the notorious L'Archeveque and Grollet, and took them prisoners. They were sent to Mexico, thence to Spain, whence they were sent back to Mexico, and condemned to the mines. 10

10. Yoakum, H., History of Texas p. 44, 45.

In order that the French would not enter the territory again, De Leon, with a contingent of one hundred and ten men and several friars, was sent in 1689 to establish a mission at the place which was known as Fort St. Louis. Here the Mission of San Francisco on the Neches was begun and orders given for the pacification of all of Texas, which the Spanish king considered necessary to protect the foundations made in New Mexico. In a second expedition of De Leon's, which had set out in 1690, Father Damian Massanet was one of the friars acting as Chaplain who accompanied it. It was he, too, who in 1691 objected to the establishment of a presidio in the new country.

In 1691 Don Domingo Teran was appointed governor of Coahuila and Texas. He planned settlements on three rivers, and accordingly provided himself with all the necessities for so doing. The three rivers were the Red, Neches, and Guadalupe. The life of these missions was counted to last only two years, for in 1693 complications of hostile Indians, failure of crops, and loss of cattle, caused the death of these infant missions as well as the one that had been established at Fort St. Louis. Since the settlements had been made by virtue of the royal authority, the king was informed of their failure and the suggestion was made that the settlement of this country be postponed until such a time as would seem more propitious.

Thus Texas was once more without European settlers. Its abandonment was approved by the superior government in March, 1694. The post at El Paso, as being on the route to the silver-mines of Santa Fe, was still occupied; so likewise was the mission at the presidio, probably because

of its convenience for trade with the Indians. 11

11. Yoakum, H., History of Texas, p. 46.

FRANCE RENEWS EFFORTS TO ENTER SOUTHWEST

Just why Spain was so negligent in her work of colonization of new lands is a puzzling question. One answer to it may be found in the fact that Spain was still engaged in the War of the League of Augsburg (1689-1697) and another answer was the unfavorable conditions in the district north-east of New Mexico to which the Spaniards lay claim.

The French, on the other hand, did not cease to show interest in the Southwest.

While the French in 1696, to be sure, offered no real threat to Spain's possessions, the actual landing of La Salle on the Texas coast was too recent for authorities to disregard New Mexican reports of these Europeans. On the other hand, the French were roaming over vast areas west of the Mississippi....As early as 1695 Vargas reported to the viceroy the first news of these Europeans. Some Chipaynes Apaches visiting the Picurles pueblo told a story of white and blond men who had destroyed a very large tribe of Conejero Apaches who lived beyond the Chipaynes. In Mexico the fiscal, in January of 1696, in a council of war stated more definitely that Luis Gramillo, an Apache, had information that many French were coming toward the Plains of Cibola. Again, in October, two Apache chiefs visiting in Taos stated that six tribes on the east had reports that "some white men came to the banks of a lake to make war on the Quiviras, had gone away and returned later for the same purposes." None of the white people, however, had been seen by those Apache informants. Nevertheless, Vargas requested of Mexico two pieces of artillery to repel any attack, but was refused. 12

12. Thomas, A. B., After Coronado, pp. 12, 13.

Conditions in Europe prevented the Grand Monarque from perfecting his scheme of colonizing the Mississippi Valley. With the peace of Ryswick in 1697 the hopes of settlement were renewed and a further stimulus for the venture was added because England was a close neighbor on the western Atlantic shore. Knowledge of English traders coming into the lands of the Creeks had been received by France. The French determined, therefore, to settle the eastern shore of the Mississippi.

It was Pierre le Moyne, Sieur D'Iberville, who first made good France's claim to the Mississippi. He reached the river by sea in 1699 and ascended to a point some eighty miles beyond the present city of New Orleans. ¹³

13. Wrong, G.M., The Conquest of New France, p. 103.

Spain meanwhile kept close watch on the moves France and England were making. To forestall the French an expedition was immediately dispatched from Vera Cruz to Pensacola Bay, where in November, 1698, the post of San Carlos was erected and garrisoned.

Iberville's plan of colonization was frustrated.

The Sieur d'Iberville, the leader of the new expedition, proposed Pensacola Bay as the most likely place for his colony....When, however, early in 1699 he reached the vicinity of Pensacola, he found that the Spaniards had preceded him some four months and had already erected a small fort there.

As Iberville was under strict orders not to molest the Spaniards, he continued his explorations farther to the west, sent his brother Bienville to explore the Mississippi as far as the Natchez, and left a garrison of eighty men in a fort at old Biloxi, not far from Mobile Bay. ¹⁴

14. Cox, Isaac Joslin, "The Louisiana-Texas Frontier," Texas Quarterly, X, p. 7.

Fortier, in A History of Louisiana, gives it that Iberville "left at Biloxi seventy men and six sailor boys and provisions for four months." 15

15. Fortier, A. History of Louisiana, Vol. I, p. 42.

This settlement of the lower Mississippi was made in 1700. Iberville had conceived a fine plan of exploration of the valley of the Mississippi, which he proposed to the "Minister of the Marine" and which, if carried out, would have given his native country a good claim to the Mississippi Valley as far west as the Rio Grande. In 1700 both Bienville and St. Denis tried to go up the Red River; they found the task impossible and the Indians a menace, and they returned without making further exploration.

By the year 1700, then, the French sphere of influence, if we may use the term, extended up the Red River as far as modern Matchitoches, while that of the Spaniards barely reached the Rio Grande at the Presidio of San Juan Bautista. 16

16. Cox, Isaac Joslin, "The Louisiana-Texas Frontier," Texas Quarterly, X, p. 8.

Before 1700 Iberville made excursions between France and America, interceding at the court of France continually for men and supplies. His death in 1706 was a severe blow to French advance in the lower Mississippi region.

Bienville, his brother, was a worthy successor of Iberville and carried on the work of exploration.

After the first settlement of the French at Biloxi in 1700, a protest was brought against it by the Spaniards.

Don Francisco Martin entered it. He was the Spanish Governor of Pensacola at the time.

The entire gulf shore, from Mexico to Florida, he said, belonged of right to the Spaniards, and they could not be expected to stand idly by and see their territory wedged apart by French colonial ambition. This was but a threat, yet it furnished another reason for grave concern on the part of those who had the projects of France in Louisiana at heart. ¹⁷

17. Ogg, F. A., The Opening of the Mississippi, p. 188.

Arriola, moreover, who at this time was the Spanish commander at Pensacola, did so fear the return of the French that he went to Vera Cruz on February 2, 1700, to seek aid against them.

Special councils were convoked in the capital and among the naval officers at Vera Cruz to discuss the situation; it was the general opinion that the new crisis threatened more sinister consequences to New Spain than did the more distant peril at Darien. ^{18*}

18. Dunn, W. E., Texas Bulletin, No. 1705, pp. 192, 193.

** The Darien crisis referred to was a report that the Scotch people were going to plant a colony at Isla de Cro on the Isthmus of Darien. Such a settlement would imperil the galleons going to the Philippines.

It is found that on his return from Mexico in November, Arriola brought with him

A small frigate of twenty-six guns and the vessel which had brought the last cargo of patients from the bay. The additional one hundred men, who had been promised many months before, were now recruited from the slums and prisons of New Spain, and constituted Arriola's chief reliance for the campaign which he was to undertake. ¹⁹

19. Dunne, W. E. Spanish and French Rivalry, p. 202

The little fleet stopped a short distance west of Mobile and a contingent was sent ashore to investigate. Here they joined a French fort. Meanwhile, a vessel, flying the English flag was sighted and Arriola pursued it. When they caught up with it, the vessel proved not to be English but a French ship with only ten men manning it. They were on their way to Biloxi. Arriola did not feel equal to the task of making an attack but in company with the French went to Biloxi. Here he was kindly received and his men were given good things to eat.

"Arriola did not permit this hospitality to interfere with his duty. He addressed another note to the French commandant, protesting against the establishment of the French fort, and warning him that refusal to abandon it would be considered as an infraction of the treaties then in force." 20

20. Dunne, W. E. Spanish and French Rivalry, p. 204f.

Now he was ready to set out for Pensacola. After the party had set out, a severe storm sent them back again to the French settlement where they had to await help from Pensacola.

Such was the unfortunate outcome of the only offensive expedition which Spain attempted to send against the French colony of Louisiana. The sole desire of the Spanish garrison at Pensacola henceforth was to be allowed to leave the inferno to which they had been condemned....

The viceregal government decided to make no changes until the pleasure of the King could be learned. Arriola was given a furlough of four months and Martinez placed in command during his absence....

The utter incapacity and helplessness of the viceregal government of New Spain in the presence of the danger which now confronted it, were merely a faithful reflection of the complete demoralization which existed in the mother country, and, indeed in the rest of the Spanish Empire. The prematurely decrepit and imbecile Charles II was fast nearing the end of his inglorious reign, and a series of unparalleled calamities seemed to attend his last days. The suspense was finally ended by his death in November 1700, and the prompt accession of the grandson of Louis XIV to the Spanish throne. One of the first problems which demanded the attention of the young King, Philip V, was the adjustment of the unsettled question of Pensacola and Louisiana. 21

21. Dunne, W. E., University of Texas Bulletin, No. 1705, pp. 205, 206.

A quotation from Bolton's Spanish Borderlands will make clear how European conditions once more affected the colonies in America.

"The fate of the territory was settled in Europe..... The new King Philip V, harkened readily enough to his French grandfather's suggestion that, in order to protect Spain's Gulf possessions from England, France must be allowed to colonize Louisiana. The Spanish War Council objected, and Philip let the matter drop, but the French settlement was quietly moved from Biloxi to Mobile Bay nearer to the Spanish border. 22

22. Bolton, H. E., Spanish Borderlands, p. 219.

It was in 1702 that the French occupied Mobile Bay. Although the reasons France gave for doing so seemed friendly enough in Europe, the Spaniards in America were still somewhat suspicious. However, the Spanish War Council gave silent consent to France's occupation of the lower Mississippi region. One reason probably which prompted the

colonists to adjust their differences was the fact that at this time the War of the Spanish Succession was being waged in Europe from 1702 to 1713. The treaty of Utrecht closed the struggle.

The French colonies in the lower Mississippi region suffered from sickness and disease as well as from famine and Indians. The settlers here had come in response to tales of "easy money" and had not found what they sought.

The colonists began to realize now that if they were to remain they must seek a residence farther inland. The home government, too, saw that some change must be made. A new danger in 1711 made the change imperative at once.

In March, 1711, the settlement of Mobile was inundated, and M. d'Aartagquette proposed to M. de Bienville to remove their quarters eight leagues above, at the entrance of the river, which was accordingly done. ²³

23. French, B. T., Historical Collections of Louisiana, XIII, p. 37.

Ogg, in his Opening of the Mississippi, page 197f, gives the date as late in 1710 when the colony was removed and present day Mobile founded.

FRANCE CHANGES POLICY OF COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION

The first decade of the eighteenth century brought home to France the inability of the home government to carry on the colony of New France unless a change of colonial administration was made.

A new method was therefore proposed by the home government and it was this: to make the commerce of Louisiana a private enterprise. Accordingly, in 1712, a grant was given to Anthony Crozat, a French merchant "by which he received exclusive privileges in all the commerce of the province for a term of fifteen years. 24

24. Fortier, A., A History of Louisiana, p. 57.
 Also French, Historical Collections of Louisiana, XIII, p.38.

The province referred to was Louisiana which at this time in the minds of Frenchmen comprised all the land in the entire region enclosed by the Rockies, the Alleghenies, the Gulf, and Great Lakes.

In general, then, Louisiana was understood to comprise all the Mississippi Valley except that part of it lying east of the river and north of the Illinois. 25

25. Oge, F. A., The Opening of the Mississippi, p.200.

To this province, however, in the twelve years during which the French occupied it, only about twenty-five hundred people have been residents in the settlement. At the time in which Crozat got his grant, if the census had been taken, the tabulation would have listed the names of

twenty-eight families whose occupation, besides fishing and hunting, was the cultivation of small tracts of sterile lands for gardens, in the pine regions around the bays of Biloxi, St. Louis, and Mobile. The soldiers, distributed in the several garrisoned forts, consisted of one hundred seventy-five men in each, and seventy-five Canadian volunteers.

There were also at this time twenty negro slaves, a few Jesuits and Franciscans, and King's officers. The whole number of Europeans in lower Louisiana was three hundred and eighty souls, and about three hundred head of cattle. There were also a few settlements on the Kaskaskia and Wabash Rivers, as well as upon the Illinois. 26

26. Monette, John W., History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Mississippi Valley, I, p. 211.

The desire of the French for profit turned their attention Westward. Crozat still envisioned rich mines in his domain and was confident that the lively trade in metals and African negroes would bring him the returns he expected from the investment.

La Motte Cadillac, at this time, and at the request of Crozat being made the royal governor, was also of the opinion that the rich mines and trade with the Spaniards would bring speedy fortune to each of them.

Because the Spaniards felt that the French occupation of Louisiana was an encroachment they closed every Spanish harbor in the Gulf of Mexico to the vessels of Crozat and Cadillac. When this measure was taken by the Spanish, Crozat decided to change his tactics and instead of confining himself to trade, decided to establish trading posts on the rim of the province and sponsor explorations "into the most distant known tribes."

Accordingly, in 1714, Cadillac sent out Hucheraau St. Denis, a young man of noble family and great enterprise, upon an expedition to Mexico. He was to proceed to Natchitoches, there to form an establishment to oppose the Spaniards, if they should be in

that vicinity; thence he was to proceed in the direction of New Mexico, and ascertain the practicability of opening commercial relations. He proceeded to Natchitoches, and left there a few men to form a settlement. With twelve men and some friendly Indians he continued his journey, and in August, 1714, reached the mission of St. John the Baptist on the Rio Grande. They were received with hospitality by Villeseas, the commandant of the post; and making known the object of their long journey, were requested to wait till their business was communicated to Don Gaspardo Anaya, the governor of Coahuila, and an answer returned. The governor, for reply, sent a guard, who seized St. Denis and Jallot, his friend and surgeon, and conveyed them to the capital of the province. Here they remained in prison till, by the order of the viceroy, they were conducted to Mexico, and there imprisoned. At the end of six months they were released, or, as some say, escaped, and after two years, returned to Mobile, the then capital of Louisiana. 27

27. Yoakum, History of Texas, p. 47, 48.

It seemed as though all of Crozat's plans were doomed to disappointment. When he began his trade with the Indians, the English settlers of the Carolinas sent out expeditions to excite them against the French and when this failed, the English sold the products to the Indians at a lower price than the French could sell at. The only mines which Crozat ever struck were lead, copper, and iron, and not the gold and silver which he sought.

When the year 1717 dawned, Crozat realized his situation.

He had been indefatigable in urging his commercial operations; but loss or misfortune lay in his path, and none of his plans prospered. At length, despairing of the ultimate success of his enterprise in a savage country, and having already expended large sums of money without profit, Crozat determined to abandon

the whole scheme. He accordingly petitioned the king to revoke his charter, or to permit him to surrender it to the crown. The king complied with his request, and accepted the surrender of his charter in August, 1717. The government of the colony then reverted solely into the hands of the King's officers, and Crozat retired to France. 28

28. Monette, John W., Valley of the Mississippi, p.215.

After Crozat had resigned his claim to the commerce of Louisiana there were others eager and anxious to take up the work where he had left off.

A business company known as the "Western Company," now received a charter from the French king and could carry on its work for twenty-five years. Its privileges consisted in this that

it was authorized to monopolize the trade of all the colonies in the provinces and of all the Indian tribes within the limits of that extensive region, even to the remote source of every stream tributary in any wise to the Mississippi and Mobile Rivers; to make treaties with the Indian tribes; to declare and prosecute war against them in defense of the colony; to grant lands, to erect forts, to levy troops, to raise recruits, and to open and work all mines of precious metals or stones which might be discovered in the province. It was permitted and authorized to nominate and present men for the office of governor, and for commanders of the troops, and to commission the latter, subject to the king's approval; to remove inferior judges and civil officers; to build and equip ships for war, and to cast cannon. The king also granted for the use of the company all the forts, magazines, guns, ammunition, and vessels pertaining to the province. 29

29. Ibid., p. 217.

During the time Crozat was working out his scheme, his partner Cadillac died, and in 1718 Bienville was appointed governor of the province. He realized that one of the most needed things for the province was an industrious population, and on receiving the cooperation of the French authorities, land grants were to be given out to "influential and enterprising men for the purpose of establishing new colonies on the Mississippi." At the close of the year a grant was given to Bernard de la Harpe to found a colony on the Red River. In January, therefore, of the year 1719 La Harpe "began to make a permanent settlement and to construct a military post on the present site of Natchitoches." His first work was to explore the country in the vicinity and make friends with the Indian tribes. Reinforcements in the form of new settlers arrived for La Harpe's settlement in the autumn of 1719 and others came, too, who were free to settle on any of the French grants.

SPAIN RENEWS ACTIVITIES AGAINST THE FRENCH

While the new policy of France to settle the region with colonists was prospering, Spain looked on with a jealous eye. The Perdido, as has already been cited, was the boundary line on the east upon which Spain and France had agreed, but on the west as yet no boundary had been fixed.

In the year 1719 another Frenchman, M. DuTisne, was sent out to explore Missouri.

M. DuTisne after ascending the Mississippi, disembarked with his force at the mouth of the Saline river, a stream about 10 miles below the town of St. Genevieve. From there he took his course northwest, through its mineral country, and over a rocky, broken and timber region to reach the Osage river, a distance of about 300 miles. About five miles from this river he came upon a large village occupied by the Osage Indians, containing about one hundred cabins and huts. After visiting this village he proceeded further west about 120 miles to a prairie country, abounding in game, where he found two large Indian villages which seemed occupied by the Poncas, a warlike tribe, provided with a great number of horses. Then this expedition proceeded to the Missouri river, when M. DuTisne took formal possession of the country and erected posts with the king's arms, as a testimony of their claims." 30

30. Rozier, Early Settlement of the Mississippi Valley, p. 48.

France's claim upon Louisiana was becoming more and more secure, and with the founding of New Orleans by Bienville in 1718 a wedge had been placed between the Spanish domains and France's hold was made fast.

Reports had reached New Mexico of how the French were trading with the Pawnees; and, although expeditions had gone out from Santa Fe against the Comanches and Apaches and no French were seen, the fear of their approach still remained.

Among the many Spanish missionaries who had been sent out and who had not only the interests of his Church but also his country at heart was Father Hidalgo. He had been with Father Damian Massanet in 1690 when they established a mission on the Neches. Father Hidalgo,

now realizing that the only way in which his home-land could make good her claim to the Louisiana country was by settlements, asked to be allowed to return to Texas. This privilege was denied him however and he

"resolved to turn the French menace to good account. If he could prove that Spain's territory of Texas was in imminent danger he knew that missions would be founded without delay." 31

31. Bolton, Spanish Borderland, p. 221.

In 1711 he made his first attempt to arouse Spain's interest by sending a letter to the French missionary Fathers among the people of Louisiana "begging them to pacify the tribes hostile to the Asinai nation, who were nearer to their settlements, thereby to give the greatest honor and glory to God."

"Father Hidalgo sent an Indian servant with the letter to the Asinai country, where it was confided to a Louisiana Indian who happened to be there. Getting no reply, a year later he sent out another letter, addressed to the Governor of Louisiana. Neither missive appears to have reached its address; but in May, 1713, the first letter--after having been handed about among Indians for two years--came into Governor Cadillac's possession. It interested Cadillac very much, for he had recently been instructed by Antoine Crozat, to whom Louis XIV had granted a monopoly of all the Louisiana commerce, to attempt to open trade with Mexico despite the rigorous Spanish commercial regulations. Cadillac had already tried by way of Vera Cruz and failed. Better luck might follow an attempt to open an overland route to the Rio Grande border, where Spanish smugglers could be trusted to do the rest, for the stupid commercial systems of European governments at the time made habitual smugglers of all frontier dwellers in America. At any rate, Hidalgo's letter inspired the Governor to make the effort, just as Hidalgo had probably surmised it would." 32

32. Bolton, H. E., The Spanish Borderlands, pp. 222, 223.

The governor of Louisiana at this time was Cadillac, and it was he who chose St. Denis to communicate with Father Hidalgo and to build a post on the Red River. The scheme of the Franciscan missionary seemed to be succeeding, and when the Viceroy of Mexico learned of the "new French menace" it was decided that Spanish missions in Texas would be opened and moreover protected by strong garrisons. In 1714 St. Denis reached the mission of San Juan but learned that Father Hidalgo had gone to Queretare. Captain Ramon received St. Denis cordially and dispatched a letter to Hidalgo.

While Ramon held St. Denis at San Juan, St. Denis fell in love with the commander's granddaughter and ingratiated himself with the Spaniards; and in 1716, when an expedition into Texas was arranged, St. Denis was employed to head it. Meanwhile, Father Hidalgo had explained his manuevers and was permitted to be a member of the expedition also.

The colony crossed the Rio Grande in April, 1716. It consisted of sixty-five persons, including soldiers, nine friars, and six women, a thousand head of cattle, sheep, and goats, and the equipment for missions, farms, and garrison. At the head of the missionaries went two of Spain's most distinguished men in America, Father Espinosa, the well-known historian, and Father Margil, whose great services in the American wilds will probably result in his canonization by the Papal Court. The Asinais welcomed the Spaniards and helped them to erect four missions and a garrison near the Neches and Angelina rivers. Shortly afterward a mission was built at Los Adaes (now Robeline) Louisiana, within fifteen miles of St. Denis's post of Natchitoches. The success of the French traders with the powerful tribes, the coming of John Law's colonists to Louisiana,

and the need of a halfway base, inspired the Spanish authorities to a site at the beautiful San Pedro Springs, on the San Antonio River, which lay on the direct route between the Neches River and the settlement at San Juan, near Eagle Pass. Early in 1718 the new colony, numbering some sixty whites, with friars and Indian neophytes, founded San Antonio a few months before New Orleans was born. And Father Olivares began the San Antonio, or Alamo, Mission, which was later to become famous as the shrine of Texas liberty. 33

33. Bolton, H., Spanish Borderlands, pp. 225, 226.
Richardson and Rister, The Greater Southwest, page 56.

Spain had now actually taken possession of Texas, but no sooner had this been accomplished than a European war involved the colonial powers in a war also. The European outbreak was a resultant of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.

On the receipt of the news of the declaration of war the French immediately proceeded with such force as they could raise at Natchitoches, under the command of La Harpe and St. Denis; and, driving before them the Spaniards at Adaes, Orquizaco, Aes, and Nacogdoches, pursued them to the post of Bexar. In the meantime, the marquis de Aguayo, governor-general of New Estremadura and the New Philippines, offered his services and purse to the viceroy to repel the French. He collected a mounted force of five hundred men, and set out on his march; but the French had retreated, and, when he arrived at Adaes, they were safely in their quarters at Natchitoches. De Aguayo brought with him the parties composing three of the missions that had retreated before the French, which he re-established--namely, Orquizaco, Adaes, and Aes--leaving a force at the garrison of Nuestra Senora del Pilar, seven leagues from Natchitoches, for their protection. The marquis then returned to San Antonio, and Captain Don Ramon, his second in command, to the presidio of the Rio Grande. De Aguayo engaged in the improvement of San Antonio, and laid down plans for durable missions. 34

34. Yoakum, History of Texas Page 63-

By 1720 peace had been declared and Spain's hold on Texas made more secure. In 1720 an expedition under the

Marquis of Aguayo had penetrated into Texas and when peace was declared, San Antonio had been strengthened, a garrison had occupied Matagorda Bay, six missions which had been forsaken were retaken, and there was a presidio at Dolores and another at Los Adaes which faced Natchitoches. All of this was the work of the Marquis and thus

Aguayo had fixed the hold of Spain on Texas. It was he who clinched the nails driven by Leon, Massanet, Hidalgo, and Roman. There were now in Texas ten missions, four presidios, and four centers of settlement--Los Adaes, Nacogdochea, San Antonio, and La Bahia(Matagorda Bay). A governor was appointed and the capital of the province fixed at Los Adaes, now Robeline, Louisiana. Originally the name Texas had applied only to the country east of the Trinity River, but now the western boundary was fixed at the Media River. It was to be moved half a century later to the Nueces. After much petty quarreling with the French of Louisiana, the little Arroyo-Hondo was made the eastern boundary, and thus for a century old Texas included a large strip of the present state of Louisiana. ³⁵

35. Bolton, H.E., Spanish Borderlands, pp. 228, 229.

The upper Louisiana region was the object of French expansion as well as the lower. Du Tisne, it has been shown was sent out to explore Missouri. ³⁶

36. Cf. Chapter III, page 21.

In 1719 both La Harpe and Du Tisne were in the region of the Arkansas River; the former

passed from the country of the Illinois up the Missouri and Osage to visit the Indians bearing the latter name and the Pawnees and the Padoucas (Comanches). ³⁷

37. Cox, I.J., "The Louisiana-Texas Frontier," Texas Quarterly, Vol. X, page 15.

He was graciously received.

The old chiefs told M. de la Harpe that a white people (the Spaniards of New Mexico) traded for metals with the Padoucas, fifteen days' journey off in a west-north-west direction, where the mountains furnish rock salt. On the 4th of September more than five thousand Indians assembled to chant the calumet of peace. The old chiefs of the Arkansas and Tayas performed this ceremony and made speeches. They washed his head and feet, and painted his face blue and red, and placed a cap of eagle's feathers upon his head....

M. de la Harpe concluded to leave three of his men in this country until the governor of Louisiana decided whether it was expedient or not to establish a post here. 38

38. French, B.F., Historical Collections of Louisiana, Vol. III, page 74.

This advance of the French in the upper Louisiana territory aroused the Spanish to action just as it had done in Texas.

The Spanish in New Mexico were not unmindful of the fact that their province was the ultimate goal of these explorations. Influenced by their vigorous representations, the viceroy ordered Don Antonio Valverde Cossio, then governor of that province to send an expedition to the Pawnees, where he had heard there were French establishments, and also to examine the "Quartelejo" with a view to locate a military post there. 39

39. Cox, I.J., "Louisiana-Texas Frontier" Texas Quarterly, Vol. X, page 15.

Valverde called a council of war to meet at Santa Fe on August 13, 1719. In this meeting it was decided to war on the Comanches and Utes since these Indians had been guilty of some murders at Taos, a Spanish post. By the twentieth of September all was in readiness for the march.

Great care was taken in the formation of the line of march made in these expeditions. Two main divisions of the group were made, one consisting of the whites, the other of the Indians. Guards were placed on each side and in the rear, while a vanguard consisting of the governor's soldiers led the line.

The line of march proceeded to the Canadian, then onward to the divide which crossed the Rio de las Animas, after which hazardous journey they were joined by sixty-nine Apaches under the command of Chief Carlana. Continuing from Las Animas, the expedition with its new addition headed for the Arkansas. Not far distant they came into the country of the enemy and soon came to the main stream of the Huerfano which Valverde called San Antonio. October fourth found the expedition in the state of Colorado. As they pushed farther north the Indian chief Carlana advised that the winter snows would soon be falling and the best course now would be to return. It was now the fourteenth of October, and while still undecided as to what to do a general council of war was called and they voted to return. The decision had hardly been made when

ten Cuartelejo Apaches reached camp to advise Valverde that their people were coming to visit the expedition. After some indecision, the governor decided to set out to meet them on the Arkansas.... On the twenty-first, the Apache horde of Cuartelejos, Palomas, and Calchufines arrived. They camped on the opposite side of the river, some two hundred tipis, numbering in all, Valverde estimated, more than a thousand souls, warriors, women and children. On Valverde's welcoming them with a visit to their camp, the governor learned that one of their number, a Paloma, had a gunshot wound received in battle with

the French. Alert to fulfill the viceroy's order, he summoned the Indian to his tent. There the latter related that recently he and others of his tribe had been attacked far in from El Cuartelejo by the French, Pawnees, and Jumanos. Only night saved them and, weak in numbers, they had fled, leaving their lands in the possession of the Pawnees. Further questioning elicited the information that the French had "built two pueblos, each of which is as large as that of Taos. In them they lived together with the Pawnee and Jumano Indians whom they have given large guns and have taught to shoot. With one of these they had wounded him. They also carry some small guns suspended from their belts.... (and) have done them much damage in taking away their lands and that each day they are coming closer. This is the reason that moved the Apaches to come establishing themselves on this lower part of the river, to be able to live in safety from their enemies." Valverde later noted that the Apaches knew of French settlements on a very large river, called in New Mexico the Rio Jesus Maria, two towns on its northern bank being recently established. From the older settlements on the Mississippi, the Apaches also stated, the French brought arms and everything necessary to supply the new ones. 40

40. Thomas, A., After Coronado, page 31 f.

Valverde now had all the information he needed and was ready to return. He promised the Apaches he would return with help against the French and gave them farewell gifts with which the Apaches were very much satisfied. The information which Valverde had secured in his expedition was invaluable to Spain.

The following year, 1720, the Viceroy Valero proceeded to take measures against the French.

Following a council of war held on January 2, 1720, he directed Valverde on the tenth to establish a presidio of twenty to twenty-five soldiers and two or three missionaries in El Cuartelejo to hold back a possible French intrusion; secondly, to direct the conversion of the Apaches and induce them to cultivate the land so that they might present a

barrier far to the east. At the same time, to erect a perfectly united front, Valero informed the Marques de San Miguel, heading Texas establishments, of the Apache alliance and directed him to attempt a similar arrangement with the northern Indians of Texas. Finally, affirming the earlier order to Valverde, the viceroy commanded a reconnaissance to locate the French in the northeast. ⁴¹

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41. Ibid, page 34.

VILLASUR EXPEDITION

Valverde replied that an expedition under his lieutenant general Don Pedro de Villasur was being prepared and suggested that instead of a post at Cuartelejo which was so far away it would be better to establish one at La Jicarilla. After much deliberation the Viceroy decided to take Valverde's advice.

The expedition under Villazur left Santa Fe on June 14, 1720 for the Pawnee country. The Apache were visited and agreed to furnish guides and some warriors. The Pawnee villages were first sighted from a distance on August 15, 1720. They were located on the north side of the North Platte River. A Pawnee messenger was sent by Villazur to the Indian village, but he did not return. Several Pawnee came into the Spanish camp, but there was no interpreter who could understand them. ⁴²

42. Coan, Chas. F., History of New Mexico, pp. 231, 232.

The next day a scouting party was sent out but they returned in a short time to say that a little ways off some Pawnee were having a war dance. Villazur now advanced across the North Platte and again sent a messenger to seek the Pawnees. The messenger, an Indian captive and himself

a Pawnee, soon returned very much distressed at having been welcomed with tomahawks. The next move of the expedition was up the river and opposite a Pawnee encampment on an island in the river.

At this place each camp sent out a delegation down to the bank of the river and Villazur even went so far as to send across an interpreter with presents to the Pawnees.

The Pawnees would not allow the messenger to return to the Villazur camp but the next day sent a delegation of their own. Villazur now asked his interpreter to send a note back with these Pawnees.

The messenger did not return but another Indian appeared, with a message written on an old paper which could not be deciphered by the interpreter. All this showed not only the bad intentions and contempt with which they regarded us, but that all was a piece of cunning to take the measure of the command and to attack it when they could not resist them. ⁴³

43. Dunn, William E., "France and the Mexican Border" Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol. II, page 356. Thomas, A.B., After Coronado, page 184.

Villazur, much perturbed at the attitude of the Pawnees, decided to cross over to their camp and secure the information he desired concerning the French. He was dissuaded from his intentions, however, by some of his men who better understood the Pawnees and who interpreted their actions as hostile to the Spaniards. The whole expedition then prudently recrossed the San Lorenzo or North Platte on August 13, and encamped on its southern bank. Here the grass was as tall as a man and the Spaniards felt safe and secure. A guard

was placed about the camp and Indian scouts sent out to see that all was well and no harm near.

Early the next morning, which was St. Hippolytus' day, August 13, the Spaniards were astir. Orders were given to bring up the horses, which had been placed under the guard of a special detachment some distance from the main camp, and preparations were made to continue the homeward journey. In the midst of the confusion incident to breaking camp, the little force was suddenly decimated by a volley of bullets and arrows fired from the tall grass near the camp. Taken totally by surprise, the Spaniards were unable to offer any effective resistance, and in a few moments all except two or three, who succeeded in joining the squad that was in charge of the horses, were slain in the murderous assault. The victims numbered forty-five, including Captain Villagur, the chaplain, Fray Juan Minguéz Archeveque and eleven of the Indian allies. Thirteen men succeeded in making their escape. Most of the Indians, as usual, had evidently scented the danger in time to get away. The first of the survivors reached Santa Fe twenty-four days later. 44

44. Dunne, William E., "France and the New Mexican Border", Mississippi Valley Historical Review, Vol, II, pp. 356, 357.

The failure of the Villazur expedition was a severe blow to Valverde and rendered his plans to march against the Comanches futile.

When the news of the tragedy had reached Mexico the authorities there were stirred to action, for they had heard also of the revolt of the Julimes and thought that they might be aided by the French. These Indians lived at the place where the Conchos and Rio Grande meet.

EXPEDITION UNDER BUSTAMANTE

The auditor of war began to make investigations and

formulate plans for the defense of the Spanish domain.

After consulting a former governor of New Mexico who was a former soldier at Santa Fe, the auditor of war sent the following recommendation to the viceroy:

Recognizing the seriousness of the loss of the forty-five presidials, the possibility of invasion either by hostile tribes or by the Pawnees and French, should they find and make use of the lost diary, he urged that the soldiers be replaced by troops instructed in the art of European warfare and that the presidios already recommended be established in La Jicarilla. Dismissing the possibility of the Pawnee and French aid to the revolting Julimes, he recommended that the king be fully informed of the tragic breach of the truce. Finally, he urged that the Marques de San Miguel commanding in Texas seize all Pawnees in his province and assure the Texas Indians that the King would extend to them the same protection from their northern enemies that he was giving the Cuartelejos, Sierra Blancas, and Jicarilla Apaches on the frontier of New Mexico. ⁴⁵

45. Thomas, A.B., After Coronado, p. 40.

The measures were very good, but they were never carried out because of the lack of soldiers and a delay in deciding on the establishment of the post at Jicarilla. This last question was not begun to be solved until 1723 when Captain Carlana, an Apache, came to Governor Bustamante seeking aid.

"Because they recognized that they were not safe from their enemies any place, they are asking me to protect and shield them with the arms of his majesty. Concerning this, they have conferred and communicated with the rest of the captains and people of the rancherias of their nation, because they have the same fears. In order to get away from them, they are seeking more pleasant living in entire peace and tranquillity under the security of the arms of his majesty, giving him henceforth the required obedience. For this reason, they are praying that I administer

to them the sacrament of holy Baptism, and their entire nation having received it with all their heart, will settle in their pueblos in the same form and economy with which the Christian Indians of this kingdom live; that priests be assigned them to teach and instruct them in the mysteries of our holy faith, and that an alcalde mayor govern them. They will submit themselves to everything with punctual obedience commanded them, since they realize that the ruin they have suffered and which their enemies have inflicted on their rancherias has been because they have been remiss in coming to the fold of our Catholic and true religion. For the success of their good desires they have asked me, the governor, to go to the valley of La Jicarilla to survey the place and situation which offers the most advantages for the foundation and establishments of the said pueblos with their lands so that they may reap their crops. ⁴⁶

46. Thomas, A.B., "Order for Council of War." Taken from files of letters of Revolleco (After Coronado) p. 194.

If these Apaches settled down it was hoped that others of their group would do the same and thus form a buffer between the Spanish and French. With this hope in his heart, Bustamente did as the Apaches had suggested and set out on November 17 for La Jicarilla. He arrived at this place on November 25 and

there, Carlana, six other chiefs, and fifty young warriors welcomed the expedition. Bustamente assured the band of his protection, the acceptance of their allegiance, and asked to be taken to the rest of the rancherias. Proceeding five leagues along the river, they reached the rancharia of Chief Churlique. These Apaches likewise promised to accept Christianity and Spanish rule, and Bustamente assured them aid against the Comanches when they had settled in the pueblos. Passing on next to the rancharia of Captain Coxo, four leagues beyond, the governor received the usual welcome. Many of these Indians here were apostates, but they vociferously promised to return to the fold, and Bustamente on his part promised protection and tools with which to cultivate the land. Satisfied with the spirit of the Jicarillas, Bustamente

here took possession of the land. Then presenting a horse and some flour to each of the various chiefs, he retraced his steps at Sante Fe. ²⁷

47. Thomas, A. After Coronado, page 43.

After his return Bustamente sent his findings to the Viceroy urging the establishment of the post at Jicarilla in order that not only the French but also the Comanches might be held back.

For two years a sort of bickering was in vogue concerning the establishment of this presidio and finally the decision was left to Visitor Rivera. His verdict was that the Jicarillas came seeking Spanish aid just to be saved from the Comanches and now instead of a presidio at Jicarilla it were best for these Indians "to settle within the provicne near Taos." If they did this the population would be doubled and a strong force thus created to hold back the French. It sounded very wise at the time, but later proved a most disastrous course.

CHAPTER IV

FRENCH AND SPANISH ACTIVITY
ITS RESULTS.

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FRENCH AND SPANISH ACTIVITY: ITS RESULTS

Despite the scattered attempts of Spain to create a buffer state between Mexico and Louisiana, nevertheless the French doubled their efforts to explore the Southwest during the period prior to the second half of the eighteenth century. The French objective was twofold: they sought gold and a route to the Pacific Ocean.

MALLET BROTHERS GO TO SANTA FE

Among the efforts made by the French to enter the country an incident occurring in 1739 stands out.

The facts surrounding the beginning of the Santa Fe trade are somewhat enveloped in mystery. The first expedition of which we have any account was that of the Mallet brothers who, in 1739 with six companions set out from the French settlements on the Mississippi for the Spanish settlements of New Mexico. ¹

1. Twitchell, R. E., Leading Facts of New Mexican History pp. 92, 93.

Bancroft probably refers to the same expedition when he tells that

About 1740 a small party of Frenchmen came by way of Jicarillo and Taos, two of them remaining and the rest departing by another route and this occurrence is rather vaguely connected by certain writers with a plan of the French to take possession of the Rio Colorado region. ²

2. Bancroft, H. H., History of Arizona and New Mexico, p. 243.

Mendoza, the governor, on hearing that these Frenchmen were exploring even into the region of the Missouri, ordered a certain Louis Marie, a French explorer who had some difficulty with Spanish authorities, to be put to death.

It is enlightening under these circumstances to study the pertinacity of the French in this expedition, for it throws light on their interest in New Mexico.

The Mallet expedition was an Illinois affair which apparently started from the Mississippi some time during the winter of 1738-39. It was composed of the two Mallets, five or six other Canadians, and one Frenchman from France. Its leaders, following the example of several predecessors, planned to go to New Mexico by ascending the Missouri, but some Pawnees whom they met in the vicinity of the Platte river convinced them that they would actually be turning their backs on their objective. On May 29, 1739, therefore, the little party cut back southward for the Missouri, reached the Platte on June 2 and followed it and its southern branch until they reached the high Colorado plains 'where they could find only enough wood to make fires'. 3

3. Brebner, J. B., The Explorers of North America, p. 341.

Their tedious trip was lightened to some extent when on arriving near the source of the Arkansas they encountered an Indian whom they induced to accompany them as a guide. He was able to show them certain passes, and thus they achieved their objective on July 22, 1739.

They arrived at Santa Fe, July 22, 1739, and on the first day of May, 1740, leaving two of them at Santa Fe, only three went back and these returned by way of the Arkansas river and the Mississippi to New Orleans. 4

4. Twitchell, R. E., The Spanish Archives of New Mexico, pp. 20, 21.

On the return of the Malletts to New Orleans glowing accounts were given not of gold but of trade which led to another attempt of France to contact the Southwest.

The three members of the Mallett party who got to New Orleans told their story to Governor Bienville, just as De Vaca long before had told his to Mendoza. They had no golden cities to describe; still, they convinced Bienville that there was a profitable trade to be done in New Mexico. Bienville therefore delegated Fabry de la Bruyere, with several of the Mallett veterans as guides, to go and investigate. Bruyere accordingly went up the Canadian river, failed to reach Santa Fe but succeeded in making a peace with the Comanches and other Indians along the route. 5

5. Duffus, R. L., The Santa Fe Trail, pp. 22, 23.

ATTEMPT OF FRENCH TO WIN GOOD WILL OF INDIANS

Although Bruyere did not reach Santa Fe, he did a good work in making peace with the Comanche Indian tribes, for they would be encouraged to make war on other tribes and probably rout them from their holdings. Another good result of Bruyere's attempt was that now the way was made safe for those who would venture west along the Arkansas.

That the Comanches actually did what the French expected is told by C. F. Coan.

In 1746 they raided the Pueblos of Pecos and Galisteo and in the following year Governor Codallos* organized a force of 500 soldiers and Indian allies. He overtook the Comanche in the vicinity of Abiquiu, killed 107, captured 206 and took about 1,000 horses. They were again repulsed at the Pueblo of Pecos in 1748 by Governor Codallos. A short time later 600 Comanche appeared at Taos, but claimed that they had taken no part in the war. After a council of the chief officials it decided to allow the Comanche to trade at the Taos fair because of the value of the products that they

brought and because they were thus brought under Christian influences. 6

* Spanish Governor from 1743-1749.

G. Coan, C. F., History of New Mexico, Vol. 1, p. 233.

BOUNDARY OF LOUISIANA UNSETTLED

As a result of these outbreaks and the coming of the French so far into the Spanish domain, the question of the western boundary of Louisiana again came into the fore. The Arroyo-Hondo had once upon a time been fixed as a boundary pro tem. This was the result of a European complication.

Philip V, King of Spain, in the period 1700-1746, was an ambitious man and sought means whereby he could become ruler of France and Spain. His ambitious desires were fostered by the desire for power in the heart of his second wife, Elizabeth Farnes. She turned her head to the Italian peninsula and looked longingly upon that fair land as a dominion for Don Carlos, her son. Another European power was also engrossed in being the chief exponent in Italy; this was Austria. Spain had incurred the wrath of Austria when she occupied Sardinia in 1717 and Sicily in 1718. When, therefore, the triple Alliance between England, France, and Holland had been formed, Austria desired to join it, in order to square her score with Spain. Spain fared ill and brought upon herself and her dominion of new Spain the enmity of France.

This later produced a controversy which was finally brought to a sort of a settlement when the Arroyo-Hondo boundary was fixed as a line of demarcation between the Spanish and French territory in the New World.

In 1735 the French moved their fort at Natchitoches about a gunshot farther to the westward and away from the river in order to escape occasional floods.... The French exercised jurisdiction over some ranches extending to the Arroyo-Hondo, a small stream flowing into the Red River, and to an elevation known as Gran Montana. Saint Denis who commanded the fort, unquestionably obeyed when Bienville instructed him to make this move. Don Jose Gonzalles, then guarding the Spanish frontier in the absence of Governor Sandoval, promptly entered his protest and informed his superior of the occurrence. The governor ordered his subordinate to give notice three times of the formal protest against this infringement upon Spanish territory, and if this action should be in vain, to compel the French to return to their former position. 7

7. Cox, I. J., "Louisiana-Texas Frontier", Texas Historical Quarterly, Vol. XVI, p. 19.

When the Arroyo-Hondo boundary was fixed and the mission Natchitoches moved onto the Mainland from its island home in the Red River, it put the French only fifteen or sixteen miles from Los Adaes, the Spanish frontier post.

The knowledge that the French had sent reinforcements into this region now aroused the Spaniards. The protest referred to above was entered but not pressed.

By and by the old illicit commerce was resumed and went on as actively as ever. It could hardly be called smuggling, for that would suggest a degree of concealment that was doubtless wanting. It seems to have become the prevailing occupation on the border, and to have attracted all settlers, including both officials and padres. 8

8. Garrison, G. P., Texas-A Contest of Civilizations, p. 84.

Up until about 1744, the relations of the two European neighbors in the New World were even friendly. As a proof of

this friendship the Spanish governor and one of the padres from the mission attended the funeral of St. Denis, the French commandant at Natchitoches, who died in 1744. When, however, "a few days later, Boneo reported the event to his viceroy in Mexico," whatever way he made his report it was interpreted to mean, "St. Denis is dead, thank God; now we can breathe more easily."

FRENCH STRENGTHEN HOLD ON LOWER MISSISSIPPI

The French, in order to strengthen their hold on the lower Mississippi region, had induced colonists to come to this vicinity. This aroused the Spanish who interpreted the maneuver as "military strength" in the French quarter. Most of the inhabitants of the region still clung to the Arroyo-Hondo boundary but

In 1754, the King of Spain declared that boundaries between the Spaniards and the French in that region had never been a subject of treaty nor is it best at present that they should be. ⁹

9. Bolton and Marshall, The Colonization of North America, p. 300.

When the Spaniards got word of the French attempt to settle and "establish themselves" on the Trinity River they took measures to oppose it, which measures were approved by the King of Spain. The royal order sanctioning it dated August 20, 1756.

The Spanish were determined now to hold tenaciously what not so long since they had almost lost sight of. In

the period following the first half of the eighteenth century a presidio was built on the Trinity River at San Augustine about 1756.

The bone of contention now between France and Spain was that area between the two rivers--the Trinity and the Mississippi.

An incident occurring at this time will serve to show how eager each party was to secure this land. A report was received by Captain Orobio who was stationed at the presidio of Bahia in Coahuila. In this report to the Captain the Viceroy had stated that a report had come to him of a French settlement on the coast. Captain Orobio was ordered to investigate and "if he should find Frenchmen established or intending to settle, he was to order them to leave forthwith."

SPANISH TAKE MEASURES AGAINST THE FRENCH

Orobio set out on his mission and in 1754 was able to produce tangible evidence of French intrusion on Spanish territory. These French were led by Joseph Blancpain.

According to Blancpain's own statement he had long been an Indian interpreter in the employ of the government of Louisiana...He had in his possession a license from the governor of Louisiana authorizing him to go among the Attacapa to trade for horses, as well as instructions to keep a diary, and, if he encountered any strange Indian villages to make friends of the inhabitants and take the Chiefs to see the governor in New Orleans. 10

10. Bolton, H. E., "Spanish Activities on the Lower Trinity River 1746-1771." Southwestern Quarterly, Vol. XVI, pp. 348, 349.

Orobio followed out his orders and Blancpain was duly imprisoned. He died a year later in his prison home.

Notwithstanding his vigorous action in the case of Blancpain, Barrios* found he had not frightened away all the French intruders...If we may credit later testimony there were also at this time extensive French trading settlements along the course of the Red River....and in the valley of the Sabine.

One result of this unauthorized intrusion appeared during the unfortunate campaign of 1758 against the Apaches. It was found that these savages were supplied with firearms evidently from French traders and what was worse that they were flying a French flag. 11

*Barrios was the Spanish governor from 1751-1756.
11. Cox, I. J., "Louisiana-Texas Frontier". Texas Quarterly, Vol. X, p. 22.

The French about this same time brought a complaint against the Spaniards for establishing a mission on the Eastern bank of the Trinity river.

The site was disputed by Governor Kerlerec, of Louisiana, who proposed a joint boundary commission. The offer was rejected and the viceroy of Mexico, on the contrary, proposed a Spanish post on the Mississippi 'to protect the boundaries'. With his proposal he sent to Spain a map showing Texas as extending to the Mississippi. 12

12. Bolton and Marshall, The Colonization of North America, p. 301.

Thus the controversy stood in the Southwest just before the French and Indian War. The French not only confirmed their efforts to extension westward from the Lower Mississippi but also from their bases on the Great Lakes. The one objective they had in mind in that region was the western sea and

this they were determined to reach.

The project of finding a way overland to the Western Sea dates back to the very beginnings of Canada.... For some years previous to 1727-1728 when La Verendrye was stationed on Lake Nipigon the project had been revived and widely discussed although the discussions had not yet led to any very practical results.¹³

13. La Verendrye, Pierre, Journals and Letters, p. 4.

LA VERENDRYE SEEKS WESTERN SEA

La Verendrye was very anxious to find this way to the Western Sea. He had Indians make maps of the region which they knew and he sent one of these to the French authorities. Writing of it he says

Their map shows all the countries they have traversed from North to South and from the Lake of the Woods to the river of the West. The whole right bank of the great river as you go down from the Lake of the Woods as far as Lake Winnipeg is held by the Cree....The left bank of the same river is inhabited by the Assinibain and the Sioux; the country is rich in metals, and buffalo are abundant.... After these details, Monsieur, it only remains to me to represent to you the importance as it seems to me, of proceeding promptly with this exploration. ¹⁴

14. La Verendrye, Pierre, Journals and Letters, pp. 59, 60.

Having set forth all the advantages of making this western trip, La Verendrye awaited his permission to go. It came to him in 1730. From this time up until about 1750 he pursued the mirage of the "western sea".

There was no Western Sea as the geographers imagined it, and the Pacific was too far away for them to find even when governmental orders forced them to abandon trading for exploration. The Verendryes did through-

ly explore the crossroads of the continent. They demonstrated by inference from the Missouri and the Saskatchewan how very broad the continent must be. And there is a note of true nobility in a man of sixty-four who died on the eve of a new expedition with his sons to 'the heights which can be reached only in the second year after leaving Montreal'. 15

15. Brebner, J. B., The Explorers of North America, p. 374.

French opposition in the northern part of what is now the United States did not affect Spain, however, as much as that in the lower valley of the Mississippi.

During the first decade and a half after the middle of the seventeenth century the French insisted on carrying on trade in the regions of the Pawnee and Comanche country and even into New Mexico.

The Spanish governor of this region at the time was Cachupin and he apprised these traders that they were engaged in illegal traffic and therefore he would have to take measures against it.

Governor Cachupin ordered the goods brought into the country by these men, sold at auction. The merchandise was bought by Tomas Ortiz for 404 pesos, and the money was used to pay the cost of conducting traders to Mexico City, the governor having determined to send them to that place in order that the viceroy might receive first-hand information concerning the plans of the French. This action was based upon an order issued by the viceroy June 26, 1751, which commanded that French traders coming into New Mexico be refused the right of returning to the Louisiana or Illinois country. 16

16. Coan, Chas. P., History of New Mexico, p. 235. Duffus Santa Fe Trail, p. 24.

It was really not until after the war of 1756-1763, however, that the French gave up this trade.

EUROPEAN BACKGROUND OF FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

France had dreamed a beautiful dream concerning her possessions in the western world. She would unite the land of Canada with that of the lands named for the Grand Monarque. It was this project which cost France so much and which it has been told was the cause of the war lasting from 1756-1763.

The occasion of the late war will be found to arise from a double dispute between Great Britain and France, about the limits of Nova Scotia, and the encroachments of France on the Ohio; the forks of which river, by watering a large and fertile country, gave the French an idea of uniting Canada with Louisiana, by a navigation of the intermediate lakes; a project too flattering to be overlooked by that restless and enterprising monarchy, and which it seems probable that they had resolved upon at the conclusion of the treaty of Aix-la-chapelle. 17

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17. Nicoll, W., An Impartial History of the Late Glorious War, p. 1.
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Although this project had been thought of for some time, Mr. Nicoll says that France did not actually make it known until "the French had drawn the Iroquois or five warlike nations of Indians to their interest." France was pursuing the same policy with England as she had with Spain. Indian allies were necessary, France had told herself, very necessary in fact, in this New World against old rivals from the Old World. That she would need them soon was becoming evident.

Old World History at no time affected American history more graphically than in what is known in American History as the French and Indian War. It was a time when the lands of the New World changed hands among European powers as

nonchalantly as gloves are removed or put on.

Spain, it has been shown, was a great power in the New World. So great in fact had she become that she was now an object of envy to France and England. She did not, however, forget her Old World interests. In the defeat of the Armada at the close of the sixteenth century, England had clashed with Spain. Again in the early eighteenth century, the two powers clashed, this time in the quarrel with the Quadruple Alliance which was made up of England, France, Holland, and Austria.

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Spain was downed for a time, but, ambition being made of stern stuff, she soon lifted her head to seek alliances. Austria was blocking her way into Italy and now Austria was pulling out of the Quadruple Alliance and so Spain sought to become friends with her former enemy. She attained this desire in 1725, but brought upon herself by it the disfavor of some of the Spanish people as well as those of the League of Hanover.

A war soon broke out, but Spain and Austria fared ill. A peace pact of a loose nature was effected and now the Spanish authorities sought allies elsewhere. These were found finally in England and Holland, who were pleased with Spain's promise to relinquish Gibraltar and Minorca. This promise Spain made with the understanding that the Italian provinces would be secure for Spain. A portion of Italian territory was secured but

Walpole was not inclined to strengthen Spanish influence in Italy, so the shifty queen abandoned England and brought about an alliance with France. This was made possible by commercial difficulties in the colonies, and by the fact that French and English colonial

interests were approaching a collision. The alliance of France and Spain was not disclosed, however, until 1739. 18

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18. Bolton and Marshall, The Colonization of North America, p. 360.
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These European differences had been adjusted to some extent but in the new world things were not "All quiet".

When the Treaty of Utrecht had been signed, England received certain commercial rights regarding trade with the Spanish colonies. In order to see that the Mistress of the Seas did not over-step her bounds, Spain had guards placed at the ports. An event in world history commemorates this policy. It was the "War of Jenkins' Ear." This strained the relations between England and Spain, and they together with the Spanish allies were drawn into the great European conflagration known as the War of the Austrian Succession. The peace pact closing this war was the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle and it was signed in 1748. Concerning it one historian has written

The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 settled nothing and satisfied nobody. The affair of the Austrian succession though fraught with dangerous importance to Continental dynasties, was a deflecting cross current in the Great Imperial War, and drew England, France, and Spain away from their age-long struggle for over-sea dominion. 19

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19. Wood, William, The Logs of the Conquest of Canada, p. 4.
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All the powers seemed to realize it was only a temporary arrangement and looked to the reinforcement of their colonial

possessions and also to European alliances.

This was the period in Europe when a "diplomatic revolution" was being accomplished. One European power was casting about looking for an alliance with some other power, by which union strength would come to the two powers allied and weaker powers could be crushed. Louis XV at this time was king of France; Marie Theresa was ruler of Austria; Elizabeth was Czarina of Russia; George II was ruler of England; Frederick was ruler of Prussia. Frederick the Great of Prussia, disregarded the Pragmatic Sanction. Marie Theresa was determined to get back her lands and herein lay the foundation of alliances to be sought before the outbreak of hostilities to dismember Frederick's domain.

She knew she could count on Saxony. She easily secured an ally in the Czarina Elizabeth of Russia, who had been deeply offended by the caustic wit of the Prussian King. She was already united by friendly agreements with Great Britain and Holland. She had only France to win to her side and in this policy she had the services of an invaluable agent, Count Kaunitz, the greatest diplomat of the age ... Meanwhile, however, Great Britain had entered into a special agreement with Frederick with the object of guaranteeing the integrity of Hanover and the general peace of Germany.²⁰

20. Hayes, Carlton, A Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe, Vol. I, pp. 341, 342.

With England thus allied with Germany, France's king still clung to the French policy of friendship with the Hapsburgs. Austria needed France, however, and the diplomatic Kaunitz was sent to secure her. This he succeeded in doing by his

appeals to Madame de Pompadour. This lady, like the Czarina of Russia, was incensed at the sarcasm of Frederick the Great of Prussia and therefore induced Louis XV to join Austria against Prussia. Alliances were thus formed and parties which had been together in the War of the Austrian Succession were now in opposite camps. Prussia and England on the one hand were opposed to France and Austria, whereas in the war previous Prussia and France were together against Austria and Britain. The "diplomatic revolution" had been accomplished and the stage was now set for a war which "deserves to rank with the War of the Spanish Succession as the greatest war which the modern world had so far witnessed." 21

21. Hayes, Carlton, Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe, p. 342.

FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

This war was waged between the years 1756 and 1763. It became known in Europe as "The Seven Years War" and in America as the "French and Indian War".

The destiny of North America might, indeed, well have been other than it is. A France, strong on the sea, able to bring across to America great forces, might have held, at any rate, her place on the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi....

France had a great army, Britain, a great fleet; in this contrast lay wrapped the secret of the future of North America.²²

22. Wrong, G.M., The Conquest of New France, p. 157.

France's army could not reach her colonial possessions without ships. France was allied to an inland European power, Austria. Therefore, France was at her wit's end to know how to meet the opponents in the New World. She had sent Montcalm to America to take charge of the French army which would approximate about twenty-one thousand, not including any assistance which might be procured from the Indians.

England, too, was on the alert to seek places to attack the French. These were planned as "offensives" against Fort Duquesne, and the fortification of the Great Lakes.

Montcalm was an alert leader and profited many times by the blunders of his opponents. At Ticonderoga, Montcalm mowed down the British army. In August of 1756, the French had to their credit in America a victory at Oswego, the British coastline colonies tormented by Indian Wars; and in the Old World the island of Minorca, now a French Possession.

A change of ministry in England in 1757 gave to Pitt the fortunes of England's colonial possessions. Immediately the affairs of the American army were taken out of the hands of Landon and given into the care of Amherst. Now a new plan of attack was made. First of all Pitt saw to it that the Mediterranean was properly patrolled so that no French ships could slip out into the Atlantic. Then a plan was made whereby attacks on the French in America would be made from three different sources. One was to be made on Fort Duquesne, another on Lake Champlain, and a third to assault Louisburg. Two out of the three proved successful; both Louisburg and Fort Duquesne were captured by the British.

All of the fighting so far had been carried on in the French zone surrounding the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence valley. This was due to the British policy of attack. They knew well that the French governor Kerlerec, in the provinces of the Southwest, had secured for himself the friendship of the Indians there, the Creeks and the Choctaws.

New Spain was drawn into the war because of the conditions existing in Europe.

The relations existing between France and Spain, since the elevation of Philip of Anjou to the Spanish throne, drew the latter into it. The contest continued until the peace of Paris, in February, 1763; it was most disastrous to France, and to some extent injurious to Spain. At the close of 1761, France was so greatly weakened and exhausted by the war, that she directed her minister to inform the court of Spain of her inability to give protection to the colony of Louisiana, and to solicit aid from Spain in furnishing it with supplies, and in preventing the English from obtaining its possession.²³

23. Yoakum, H., History of Texas, p. 92.

MISSISSIPPI BECOMES DIVIDING LINE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SPAIN IN AMERICA

The rapidity with which England was meeting with success stirred the French ambassador to petition for a cession of all of Louisiana to Spain. Louis XV, who was King of France at the time, rather than see his lifelong rival possess it, acquiesced, and all of France's colonial possessions west of the Mississippi became the property of Spain. The Mississippi was to be the dividing line between England and Spain in America, and Florida was also ceded to England.

The reader of history is not unacquainted with the utter indifference with which the sovereigns of the Old World transferred their colonies in the New. The colonists, however, much they may have loved their sovereign, their country, and their institutions, were bought, sold, or given away, without their consent, and often without their knowledge. So, in this case, the act of cession by which Louisiana was transferred to Spain was kept secret for more than eighteen months after its execution! That portion of the province, however, which had been ceded to England, was delivered to her in the fall of 1763. 24

24. Ibid, p. 93.

Almost immediately Spain began a reorganization of her domain. One of the first things she did was to devise a new Indian policy. Spain not only fought with her enemies but was taught by them. Now she would deal with the Indians as France had dealt with them.

After the cession of Louisiana to Spain in 1762, the Spaniards changed their Indian policy in Texas and lower Louisiana, borrowing from the French the idea of controlling the wild Indians not so much by missionaries as by traders. The brave and versatile Athanase de Mexieres, who was taken over from the French service and assigned the task of pacifying the Indians of Texas, was not altogether successful, but he accomplished a great deal in that direction. 25

25. Richardson and Rister, The Greater Southwest, p. 58.

When the Spanish flag was hoisted on one side of the Mississippi and the English on the other it did not necessarily mean that the whole nature of the sections was changed. Even into our own times we hear the French language spoken in Canada; neither did it mean that Spanish difficulties were to end.

New France had been for Spain more of a help than hindrance against her rival, England. How she would now protect her domain against this formidable opponent was the question over which Spain pondered. But therein lies matter for another chapter in American History.

Bibliography

Bancroft, Hubert Howe, History of the Pacific States of North America, Vol. X. A. L. Bancroft & Co., San Francisco, 1883.

This is volume ten and covers the history of some of the present southwestern states of the United States between the years 1531-1800. It was a valuable reference book because the material obtained for it was taken from original manuscripts. In it, however, some important episodes were only hinted at.

Bandelier, A. F., "Contributions to the History of the Southwestern Portion of the United States", Papers of the Archaeological Institute of America. John Wilson & Son, Cambridge Univ. Press, 1890.

The papers of Volume 5 were written by Mr. Bandelier "while in charge of the documentary researches connected with the Hemenway Expedition." It was valuable in writing this paper because of the details and impartial attitude displayed.

Bandelier, Adolph F. and Fanny, (Compilers); Hackett, Charles Wilson, (Editor), Historical Documents Relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya and Approaches Thereto to 1773. Carnegie Institution of Washington, Washington, D. C., 1923.

These papers while not a connected series, are valuable for the information they contain concerning the Southwest. They are translations from original copies and thus their value was increased for the writing of this thesis.

Bandelier, A. F., The Gilded Man. D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1893.

The most dramatic and fascinating story of American history, the story of the Southwest, is told here by one whose work under the auspices of the Archaeological Institute of America and on the Hemenway Survey has entitled him to stand first as the documentary historian of this region.

Benavides, Alonso de, Memorial of New Mexico in 1626. (From a manuscript in the New York Public Library.)

The memorial of Benavides was addressed to King Philip IV, by Juan de Santander, and was printed in Spanish at Madrid in 1630. Translations were published in French at Brussels in 1631, in Latin at Salzburg in 1634, and in German at Salzburg about the same time. The following English version was made from the Spanish by the late Dr. John G. Shea, but it was left unfinished in

many places. Wherever these gaps occur, suggested English words or the original Spanish words are inserted in brackets. The manuscript was brought from the "enox library at the sale of Dr. George H. Morres' books in February, 1894, No. 1909 of the catalogue. It was one of the most valuable documents attainable in writing this thesis.

Blackmar, Frank W., Spanish Institutions of the Southwest. John Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Md., 1891.

This book shows how the early European culture influenced Spain and how, later on, American colonization was affected by it. The institutions which a country fosters portray its spirit, and it was this phase of Spanish colonial life that the writer has chosen for his subject. It was most useful in the writing of this thesis.

Bolton, H. E., The Spanish Borderlands. Yale University Press, 1919.

Herbert E. Bolton explains why the outposts of Spain's first colonies in the New World still retain their Spanish character. Since Mr. Bolton is one of the finest authorities on the history of the Southwest, any work of his on this subject is invaluable.

Bolton, Herbert E., "The Spanish Occupation of Texas 1519-1690," Texas Historical Association Quarterly, Vol. XVI.

This is a story of the earliest history of Texas. It follows in detail the various avenues of approach into Texas until 1690, when the La Salle expedition was being sought out by the Spaniards. It was useful in the thesis, therefore, in the section telling of the Spaniards' fear of the approach of the French.

Bolton, H. E., Athanasse De Mezieres and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier 1768-1780, Vol. I, II. The Arthur H. Clark Co., Cleveland, 1914.

In two volumes the author has compiled documents which have been translated into English by him. These documents were obtained from the archives of Mexico and Spain. De Mezieres was an Indian agent, and through these papers of his makes known the history of the Indian country section of the United States. The period this work covers was a little later than 1763. The first part of it, therefore, was the only portion useful in the thesis.

Bolton and Marshall, The Colonization of North America 1492-1783. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1932.

This book has been written with the thought in mind that other countries than England had taken a hand in the exploration and colonization of North America. It views America as a whole. Keeping this always vividly present, the contents of the volume tell the whole story of the whole continent.

Bourne, Ed. Gaylor, Narratives of the Career of Hernando De Soto. A.S. Barnes & Company, New York, 1904.

The edition of these Narratives was made by Mr. Bourne from a translation by Buckingham Smith. They are based on the story as told by Rodrigo Fanjel, and hence come from an original source. It is complete in every detail, and is used by many historians in writing of the work of De Soto. It was also valuable in the work of this thesis, particularly in Chapter I.

Brebner, J.B., The Explorers of North America. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1933.

This book, which covers the period from the first years of Spanish settlement through the eighteenth century, was most valuable in writing this thesis. Quotations from it were used to substantiate statements.

Castaneda, Pedro, Journey of Coronado. A.S. Barnes & Company, New York, 1904.

It is a compilation of the stories told by members of Coronado's expedition, "translated and edited with an introduction by George Parker Winship." It was an aid in writing Chapter I.

Chapman, C.D., Colonial Hispanic America. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1933.

In this volume Dr. Chapman tells the story of those countries south of the United States when they were the Spanish and Portugese colonies. In seventeen chapters beginning with 1492 and closing with the Independence of Brazil and interspersed with many maps, the volume is complete. It was useful only in aiding to set the background necessary to this thesis.

Coan, Charles E., A History of New Mexico. The American Historical Society, Chicago and New York, 1925.

This is an interesting study of the history of New Mexico. It "grew out of specialization in Western American History" and is very complete in every detail. Maps, charts, and illustrations add to the value of this volume. It was very useful, as the quotations used from it will show.

Corbett, Julian S., England in the Seven Years War. Longmans, Green and Company, London, 1918.

Two volumes go to complete this work. In these two volumes the author views the war through the glasses of an English seaman. He tries to show how important the maritime power of a nation is, and at the expense of securing the interest of the laity, he uses technical terms, hoping as he puts it "that those who have ears for the real music of a great historical theme will not resent the sober cadences, without which it cannot be developed." It helps one to understand the struggle of the European nations better in the light of the necessity of a good navy.

Cox, Isaac Joslin, "The Louisiana-Texas Frontier," Texas Historical Association Quarterly, 1906. Published by the Association, Austin, Texas, 1906.

In a very lengthy article the author begins with "The Genesis of the Texas Frontier" and in six divisions treats the different phases of that frontier until the time of the "Louisiana Cession." It was very valuable in the compilation of facts for this thesis.

Davis, W.W.H., El Gringo or New Mexico and Her People. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1857.

Being the record of a diary, it is filled with many details. The portions which contain historical material "may be relied upon as correct", says the editor, since he procured his matter "almost wholly" "from official records in the office of the Secretary of the Territory at Santa Fe."

It is very facinating because the story is written simply and those details are included which picture the life in New Mexico very well. It was very useful as some quotations from it show.

Dellenbaugh, Fredrick, S., The Romance of the Colorado River. G.P. Putmans Soms, New York, 1902.

The interest of the author in the Grand Canyon was aroused when in 1871 a certain John Wesley Powell was organizing an exploration party to the Canyon. The author became a member of the touring party and has included the story as part of his Romance. The first chapters set the stage for later explorers. They were the chapters of most value for this thesis.

Duffus, R.L., The Santa Fe Trail. Longmans, Green and Company, London, New York. Toronto, 1930.

This book is written in a not too rigid style. The period covered is that of the time when the red men lived on the plains to the time when the railroad penetrated that area. It contained memoranda which were most useful.

Dunn, Wm. E., "Spanish Reaction Against the French Advance Towards New Mexico, 1717-1727", Mississippi Valley Historical Review, II, pages 348-362.

In gathering material for this article, Mr. Dunn says, "It is based almost entirely upon manuscript sources in the archives of Spain and Mexico." It is a valuable addition, therefore, to the work in research that is being done by those interested in South-western history. This article was useful particularly in the work of the third chapter of the thesis.

Folk, Paul J., "Early Explorers of the Southwest", Mid-America, XII, January, 1903.

This lengthy article was of particular use in Chapter II of the thesis, since it developed the story of the Padres of the missions who went with every exploration party that set out.

Fortier, Alcee, A History of Louisiana. New York, 1904.

This history is written in four volumes and was valuable because of its sources and copious notes.

French, B.F., Historical Memoirs of Louisiana. Lamport, Blakeman and Law, New York, 1853.

This work compiled by Mr. French is a series of reports, investigations, and excursions covering the period from the discovery of the Mississippi to 1722. It is compiled in separate volumes and was very useful in the writing of this thesis.

Garrison, G.P., "Southwestern History in the Southwest",
American Historical Association, 1901.

In this paper Mr. Garrison is presenting to a group of "specialists in history" the knowledge that he has acquired, through long periods spent in research, of the fact that there is a wealth of material concerning the Southwest stored up and ready to be partaken of by persons eager to do research work.

Garrison, G.P., Texas, A Contest of Civilization. Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston or New York, 1903.

The author states in his preface: "the purpose of this book is not to be an historical sketch but "a study based on (that) history" and begins with the coming of Europeans to the Texan country and closes with Texas of the twentieth century. Chapters 5 and 8 are particularly pertinent to the topic of this paper.

Gayarre, Charles, History of Louisiana. West Middleton, New York, 1866.

Though this book is old, it was valuable as a reference. It is made up of a series of lectures and has facts concisely told.

Goodwin, Cardinal, The Trans-Mississippi West. Appleton & Co., New York, 1922.

The story told is that of the local history of the land which was acquired by the United States in the Louisiana purchase of 1803. "Frequently he (the author) has gone to the sources and occasionally work in these primary materials has rewarded him with new information." (Preface, p. vii)

Grant, Blanche C., When Old Trails Were New. The Press of the Pioneers, Inc., New York, 1934.

In this book is included the story of the building up of Taos, New Mexico. From the first chapter "Early Records" to the last "Taos Today" the march has been told and told in story form. The many illustrations aid in visualizing the scenes of the places mentioned.

Hackett, Charles Wilson, Pichardo: Limits of Louisiana and Texas. University of Texas Press, Austin, Texas, 1931.

Due to the untiring efforts of Mr. Hackett this treatise has been translated from the original. The treatise itself was written between 1808-1812. Only a few copies have been made. One was for the Newberry

Library, Chicago. It is the purpose of Pichardo to show that the lands France was claiming were by no rights hers. The work of Mr. Hackett consists of two volumes.

Hackett, Charles Wilson, "The Revolt of the Pueblo Indians", Texas Historical Association Quarterly, Vol. XV.

This is a very valuable contribution to the history of the Southwest. It is a very long and detailed article on the beginnings and conduct of the Pueblo Indians' revolt against the Spaniards. The article was valuable because the material for it was obtained from the "autos" or "documents drawn up in official and authentic form during the progress of the revolt." These documents are in the archives of Mexico. Through the efforts of Dr. H.E. Bolton they were translated by W.E. Dunn.

Haines, Helen, History of New Mexico. New York Historical Publishing Company, New York, 1891.

The history of the present state of New Mexico is told in a very fascinating manner. A table of contents, which is very detailed, is valuable since there is no index. A sort of supplement to the book is a series of biographical sketches which give a great deal of local color to the volume.

Hallenbeck, Cleve, Spanish Mission of the Old Southwest. Doubleday Page & Company, 1926.

It is the story of the missions and mission life in the present southwestern United States. The numerous illustrations and pictures of the missions make the book interesting and the several appendices make clear some of the legends and Spanish expressions. It aided the work of Chapter II in the thesis.

Hamilton, P.J., History of North America, Vol III. George Farrie & Sons, Philadelphia, 1904.

This volume tells the story of the first colonies of the South and is filled with history of the contest among the nations claiming this region up to the time when the period is ripe for separation from the European nations and the coming of the American Revolution. The facts concerning the French and Spanish rivalry in the United States were mentioned but not developed in any detailed manner.

Hammond, George Peter, Don Juan de Onate and the Founding of New Mexico. El Palacio Press, Sante Fe, New Mexico, 1927.

Within the limits of this book is recorded the story of New Mexico from 1595-1620. Much of the material was obtained by Mr. Hammond when enjoying a traveling fellowship to Europe to obtain first-hand information on the history of the Southwest. Since Mr. Hammond is an authority, any work of his is valuable in securing data for a thesis.

Harley, M. Lee., "The Earliest Texas" Annual Report, 1891, American Historical Association. Government Printing Office, 1892.

This paper is a mere scratching of the surface of the history of Texas, but it is one filled with the faith and fidelity of the earliest settlers in Texas. In one sentence the writer takes issue with the historian, Bancroft, for not going back far enough--"as far as there are positive data for proof."--a very reasonable criticism..

Hayes, Carlton, Political and Cultural History of Modern Europe. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1932.

Two volumes, the second of which consists of 1,215 pages, was written for college students, who, Mr. Hayes says, "should be induced to read more history, rather than less,...since the wise need not be told that man without man's past is meaningless." The European background given here was very much worth-while in writing the thesis.

Hockett, Homer Carey, Political and Social Growth of the United States, 1492-1852. (Revised Edition) The Macmillan Company, New York, 1935.

Professor Hockett from Ohio State University has designed this book as a text. He intends it to be an "accurate, impartial, and clearly stated summary." That he succeeded is evident from the fact that a second edition was published in 1933 and has had several printings since that time.

Hodge, Frederick W., Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico, Part 1. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1907.

This is a kind of encyclopaedia of the Indians North of Mexico. The names of the tribes, food, horses, and so on are recorded, and numerous illustrations are included in the work.

Hodge, Frederick W., "The First Discovered City of Cibola", American Anthropologist, Vol. VIII, Judd & Detiveiler, Washington, 1895.

Is the story of Fray Marco's journey and his findings of the Seven Cities. In this article the author is bringing out facts concerning the locations of some of the Zuni habitations and was therefore valuable in the writing of this thesis.

Hodge, Frederick W., Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1907.

This volume comprises three original narratives of early American history. The ones chosen, we are told, have been taken from among others written concerning the work of Spain in the New World. The work was useful in writing Chapter I.

Hodge, Frederick W., "The Jumano Indian", Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society, Vol. XX. Published by the Society, 1911, Worcester, Mass.

Mr. Hodge has delved deeply in his study of the Jumano Indians. In his article he has cleared up the confusion regarding their location.

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

The book was written from facts obtained by the author himself when as a young man he went West. He saw many of the remains of which he has written and it was with a desire to impress others with the beauties of the "land of sunshine, saints, solitude, silence, serenity," and so on that he undertook the writing of this volume. It was worth while since it contained first-hand information. There are 31 chapters, the last ones of which are devoted to modern day New Mexico.

Jameson, J. Franklin, Original Narratives of Early American History. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1925.

In volume eighteen of this series of Original Narratives Mr. Jameson has included three stories. They are narratives of De Vaca, De Soto, and Coronado. They were written from "relations" and are important because they include items which only a participant in an expedition would know about.

Laut, Agnes, Pilgrims of the Santa Fe. Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York, 1931.

Unlike the Pilgrims of 1620 their predecessors in 1540 and thereafter sought not to flee from persecution but to flee into it. This volume tells in a most interesting fashion the story of the Spanish and French settlers in the Southwestern United States and how the religious and seculars in the period of exploration sought to find new places in which to plant the "Holy Faith".

La Verendrye, Pierre, Journals And Letters. The Champlain Society, Toronto, 1927.

In this volume La Verendrye tells how he procured permission to make a journey from the Great Lakes region westward in search of a passage to the western sea. One half of the page was in the original and the other half in the English translation. A book of this type was most valuable in writing this thesis.

Lummis--Editor "Memorial of Benavides" Land of Sunshine, Volumes I-IV, Los Angeles, 1894-1900.

The article was translated by Mrs. Ed. E. Ayer, annotated by F. W. Hodge, and edited with notes by Charles F. Lummis. It is difficult to read because of the words omitted, which had to be supplied by Mrs. Ayer. The annotations and notes add greatly to the value of the "Memorial." Since it is source material, it was most valuable to the work of this thesis.

Lockwood, Frank C., Pioneer Days in Arizona. The Macmillan Company, New York, N. Y., 1932.

The book grew out of a desire to tell to others what the author found out for himself from many sources. It tells the story of the development from the first days of the state to the growth to fullfledged citizenship and sister state of the nation.

Lummis, Charles F., The Land of Poco Tiempo. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1893.

Eleven sections go to make up this book. They are like eleven short stories, each one more interesting than the other. The one of particular interest is "The Cities That Were Forgotten." This traced through the cities Zuni, Toas, Acoma, Abo, and many others which today are known only from their remnants left after the scourge of the Apaches.

Lowery, Woodbury, The Spanish Settlements Within the Present Limits of the United States. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York & London, 1901.

It is the story of the Southwest from 1513 to 1561. The introductions and appendices were very valuable to a better understanding of the material contained in the other pages.

Luxan, Diego Perez de, Expedition into New Mexico Made by Antonio De Espejo 1582-1583. The Inivera Society, Los Angeles, 1929.

This journal is the record of the Espejo Expedition as made by a member of the party. It was very valuable, since many are clarified which had before been mere conjecture or rather loose statements. See, for example, page 36 of the Introduction. This work was translated by G. P. Hammond and Agapito Rey.

Narcy, F. B., Border Reminiscences. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1872.

Is a "compilation of random sketches." The author was a soldier for many years and during this time met persons in the West whose pictures are here portrayed and which convey to us the life of the people of the borderlands.

Marshall, Thomas M., History of the Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase. California Press, Berkeley, 1914.

The story of the western boundary line to be determined by the United States concerning the Louisiana purchase. The first three chapters give the introduction to the main topic, but the French and Spanish border contest is not developed herein, and therefore the book was not of particular value in this study.

McCaleb, Walter Flavius, "Some Obscure Points in the Missing Period of Texas History", Texas Historical Association Quarterly, Vol. I.

Here the author has gathered together the facts which are to fill in, as he puts it, "the gaps which exist in our knowledge of the century". The story of the century includes the period 1685-1793. Its story helped only in a meager way.

Means, Philip Ainsworth, The Spanish Main Focus of Early. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1935

Is the story of the coming of Spanish to the New World and here useless subsequent struggles to withhold the land from her strong opponents, England and France. While it is a recent edition, it was not as useful in the work in hand as some older editions of other books were.

Merriman, Roger B., The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1925.

This volume is designed to cover the region of Charles V and falls into two parts, Spain in the Old World and Spain in the New World. It follows through until Charles V after his life's work could view in his declining years "the supremacy of Spain in the New World". It was useful for the thesis in giving the Old World background.

Monette, John W., History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Mississippi Valley. Harper and Brothers, New York, 1846.

In this book the whole story of France in America is traced. The book is detailed and complete and was most useful in writing this thesis, as quotations used from it show.

Morris, Charles, Historical Tales, The Romance of Reality. J. B. Lippincott, Philadelphia & London, 1904.

Just as the title indicates, there is much romance even in the most work-a-day world. "Truth is sometimes stranger than fiction" and proof of this is attested in these "Tales." The work was of particular value in writing this paper.

Munro, Wm. Bennett, "Adventure of New France", The Chronicles of America, Vol. 3. Yale University Press, 1918.

Part 1- "The Crusades of New France." This section of the history of New France begins with the story of Bourbon France and traces life in New France from the first voyages of Cartier until the French were settled in their colonial homes. It gives a picture of French colonial life in its many phases. It was useful for Chapter 3 of the thesis.

Nicoll, W., An Impartial History of the Late Glorious War. London, 1764.

This account of the War of 1756-1763 is written in old English style. It is somewhat difficult to interpret, but the interest aroused is incentive enough to tempt one to continue the reading. It was not, however, of particular value in this study.

Ogg, Frederic Austin, The Opening of the Mississippi. A Struggle for Supremacy in the American Frontier. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1904.

In the preface the author states his purpose. "This book is intended primarily to be a history of the discovery, exploration, and contested rights of

navigation of the Mississippi River prior to the final securing of the American supremacy, by the closing events of the War of 1812." The book is made up of fourteen chapters and closes with the story of the building up of the states of the Union. It was most useful in writing this thesis, since the third chapter is devoted to the "struggle for supremacy".

Prince, L. Bradford, A Concise History of New Mexico. Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1912.

As the title indicates, the book is concise. This was the aim the author had in writing it, to make it short and yet complete. He has attained his objective and has put into two hundred and seventy-two pages the story of one of the oldest known areas of the United States. It was of great service in this study.

Richardson, Rubert N. and Carl Rister, The Greater Southwest. The Arthur H. Clark Company, California, 1934.

This work was designed as a college text. It begins with the story of the native races of this region and continues through the era of Spain's hold, the clash of nations, the last stand of the Red Man, to the "Conquests of the Plow". The references offered at the close of each chapter enhanced the value of the book in writing this thesis.

Rippy, J.F., Historical Evolution of Hispanic America. T.S. Crofts & Company, New York, 1932.

The story of Hispanic America is told in three epochs, the Colonial Period, the National Period, and the International Relations. The growth of the South-American States is developed, as well as the story of Pan-Americanism, which is so prominent in this first third of the twentieth century. The work was not of any great value in writing this thesis, however.

Rister, Carl Coke, The Southwestern Frontier 1865-1881. The Arthur H. Clark Company, Cleveland, 1928.

This frontier comprised Southwest Kansas, Texas, and New Mexico east of the Rio Grande. The author depicts Indian life and frontier life of the white man and the story down to the time of the "Iron Horse" advance on the last frontier. This work did not relate directly to the topic of the thesis, since it covered the period 1865-1881.

Robinson, William Henry, Under Turquoise Skies. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1928.

This very interesting book is the story of the Southwest as defined by Mr. Robinson. The touches of personal experience add to the interest of the book.

Rozier's, History of the Early Settlement of the Mississippi Valley. G. A. Perrot and Son, St. Louis, 1890..

It traces the story of the French dominion in the Mississippi Valley, from the time in 1504 when the first fisherman of Brittany and Normandy came to the shores of North America, through many vicissitudes to the time when the same territory became a part of the United States.

The book is divided into ten parts. In this way the author was able to cover many topics, since the different parts treat of separate and individual topics not always consecutive. It was useful in writing this thesis, particularly Chapter III.

Shipp, Barnard, Hernando De Soto and Florida. Robert W. Lindsay, Philadelphia, 1881.

It covers the work of discoverers and explorers for the years between 1512 and 1568. There are three volumes included in this book and it begins with the Spanish explorer Cordova and concludes with the French occupation of Florida by Fontanedo in 1568. It was an aid in writing the thesis, as quotations from it show.

Shea, John Gilmary, The Expedition of Don Diego Dionisio De Penalosa. New York, 1882.

Mr. Shea, being an authority, has written of this Penalosa expedition as one who knows. This book was valuable in the section concerning an expedition which was so much discussed, namely the De Soto Penalosa tour seeking a location near the mouth of the Mississippi.

Smith...Shee, Relations of Alver Nunez Cabeca De Vaca. New York, 1871.

Translated from Spanish. This translation was made by Mr. Smith, whose untimely death came before it was finished. J. G. Shea finished the translation. It was easy and interesting to read and no item seems to be left untold. A better understanding of the Gulf Shore Indians is attained through reading this "Relation", and thus it was useful in writing this paper.

Thomas, Alfred B., After Coronado. Norman, Oklahoma, 1935.

This book is made up of Documents from the Archives of Spain, Mexico, and New Mexico. It was invaluable in the work of this thesis, since the statements made in the first forty-nine pages were corroborated by documents in the last two hundred and ten pages. These were followed by copious notes and a lengthy bibliography.

Turner, Frederick Jackson, The Significance of Sections in American History. Henry Holt and Company, 1932.

The book is made up of a series of papers written by F.J. Turner and gathered together in book form. It therefore lends itself to study without a reading of the whole, since each paper is a unit in itself. It was useful only in a very meager way.

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

In compiling this volume the author has substantiated his statements from many authors. The footnotes are copious.

The story told is that of the first foundation made in New Mexico and the consequent growth of the territory now included in the state of that name. It was a very valuable volume in the writing of this thesis.

Twitchell, Ralph Emerson, The Spanish Archives of New Mexico. The Torch Press, 1914.

Mr. Twitchell has compiled into two volumes the "records and events" of New Mexico for the purpose of "furnishing information promptly and accurately to those most interested--the people of New Mexico".

Villagra, Gaspar Perez de, History of New Mexico. Los Angeles, California, 1933.

This lengthy poem which tells the story of New Mexican history, was written by Villagra and may claim the distinction of being the first published history of any American commonwealth. Villagra in his prologue says he put down in writing the deeds of the men in the expedition of Onate so that they might be on record to add to the records of the deeds of other explorers whose great deeds had already been put down in writing. It was useful in that part of the thesis referring to the storming of Acoma.

Webster, Hutton, History of Latin America, D.C. Heath and Company, Boston, New York, Chicago, London, 1924.

In an endeavor to acquaint the people of the United States with a better knowledge of their southern neighbors this book was compiled. It is very complete although concise. A lengthy bibliography made it very much worth while for the work of this thesis.

Wilgus, A. Curtis, A History of Hispanic America. Mime-Ol. Form Service. Washington, D.C., 1931.

This work was designed as a college text and it is organized along those lines. Each chapter carries with it a bibliography which greatly adds to the value of the book and was useful in gathering material for this thesis.

Willard, James and Grody Koontz, C.B., The Trans-Mississippi West. University of Colorado, Boulder, 1930.

It is a compilation of papers read at a conference at the University of Colorado in June 1929. The range of subjects is wide and gives varied interest to the work. It had no great value, however, in this study.

Williams, H.R., With the Border Ruffians: Memories of the Far West, 1852-1868. The Musson Book Co., Toronto, 1919.

This text contains the memories of a man who, destined for the Church, chose otherwise and spent his life in many activities and met many people. All of that is told in Live Books in this volume.

Winchester, Charles, Memoirs of the Chevalier de Johnstone. D. Wyllie & Sons, Aberdeen, 1870.

"Sweet are the uses of adversity and great are the uses of history," might be the quotation prominent in French minds after the fall of Quebec. This Memoir comprising three volumes is a translation of the original. It was hoped by the translator that many copies of it would be perused to get an appreciation of the sorrows and joys experienced by the parties concerned in the War. While it treated of the French and Indian War, it had no particular value for the writing of the thesis.

Winship, George Parker, "The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542", Bureau of Ethnology--14th Annual Report. Powell, J.W., Government Printing Office, Washington, 1896.

In a lengthy article the author tells in detail the story of Coronado. In some instances the story of some of the adventurers is given in the original. It was very valuable in the work of the first chapter of the thesis.

Winship, George Parker, "Why Coronado Went to New Mexico in 1540", American Historical Association Report, 1894. Washington, 1895.

This is an interesting article on the explorers beginning with de Vaca and others down to the time of Coronado's journey in 1540. It aided in the work of Chapter I.

Windsor, Justin, The Mississippi Basin: The Struggle in America Between England and France. Houghton Mifflin & Company, Boston, 1895.

This book begins with the French claims made by Verrazano, Cartier, Nicollet, Joliet, and others. It treats also of the basis of the claims made by Spain, England, and France to maintain their claims, and the closing chapters contain the results of the Treaty of 1763. The book is replete with charts of the voyages and claims of the nations involved. It is reliable and was therefore useful in writing this thesis.

Wood, William, The Logs of the Conquest of Canada. The Champlain Society, Toronto, 1909.

In writing this book Lieutenant Colonel Wood has taken his material "from the ten folio volumes of MS. copies in the Dominion archives in Ottawa". An introduction of one hundred sixty-four pages is followed by the logs; a series of folding maps enclosed in a pocket on the back cover add to the value of the book.

Wrong, George M., The Conquest of New France. Yale University Press, New Haven, Connecticut, 1918.

This story, which forms a part of the Chronicles of America, is that of the loss of colonial France. France was not able to compete with her time-old rival England. How their difficulties arose and how they were settled is the story of this Chronicle. It contained material which was useful particularly for Chapter III of this paper.

Yoakum, H., History of Texas. Vol I and II. Redfield, 34 Beekman Street, New York, 1856.

Story from Provisional Government to the approval of annexation. It is a complete history of Texas beginning with the coming of the first emigrants to the time when Texas revolted from Mexico. The appendix, consisting of a map of early Texas and Indian inhabitants together with papers such as "Notes", "Letters", etc., enhances the value of the book.