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LAND GRANTS DURING THE ADMINISTRATION OF SPANISH COLONIAL GOVERNOR PEDRO FERMIN DE MENDINUETA

ELIZABETH NELSON PATRICK

New Mexico's bicentennial observance provides opportunity to focus upon a rich heritage which is widely separated in distance and philosophy from that being celebrated along the eastern seaboard of North America. By the 1770s the province was no longer a lone northward projection of New Spain. Rather, it was the oldest and most stable of a group of northern provinces. Its governor for over a decade of service was the distinguished Colonel Pedro Fermín de Mendinueta, knight of the prestigious Order of Santiago, and a career soldier of solid past achievements. To Mendinueta was entrusted the duty of guiding governmental policy in a frontier province where ideas of development were important, but where thoughts of colonial rebellion were not unknown.

The best-documented aspect of Mendinueta's administration in New Mexico during the period from 1767 to 1778 is his land grant activity. The *Laws of the Indies*, Book IV, Title 12, Law 1 empowered a governor of an unsettled region to apportion the land to give vassals of the king "comfort and ease."[1] Although there was little comfort and even less ease to be had in colonial New Mexico, there were great tracts of land to be had, and their acquisition was a fairly simple process.

A resident of the province petitioned the governor for a parcel of ground, frequently a *sitio*, which was one league, to be granted from the crown lands and described and delineated by the petitioner. In some cases the solicitant had already taken possession and had been living on the land for a number of years. Other in-

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habitants, particularly those with flocks, had used crown lands oc casionally for grazing and having found locations which offered sufficient grass and water, applied formally for title.

Because it was specifically noted in laws relative to land con cessions that services to the king and country could be rewarded with grants of land,[2] many settlers, to enhance their chances in obtaining land, noted their services to the king.[3] Luís Jaramillo in his petition cited thirty-six years of presidial duty. Bartolome Fernández recalled that he had lost a brother, while Carlos Jos Pérez de Mirabal said he had lost a son in defense of the province. Evidently these appeals fell on receptive ears, and Mendinueta in granting them land gratefully acknowledged such services t their king. Bartolomé Fernández's grant was made "because of ser vices rendered and as a stimulus to and an affection for the roya service"—evidence, perhaps, that Mendinueta wished to encourag lagging interest in royal service in his unruly province.[4]

Honor and notoriety frequently were attached to being de scendants of a conqueror of the province, but more importantly the law gave preference to them in the matter of land grants. Bartolomé Fernández and Baltasar Baca, in their petitions fo land, made note of the fact that they were sons of conquerors. Indicative of the important status assigned this relationship is th following preface of a petition by Carlos José Pérez de Mirabal

> Although I am not a descendant of the conquerors of this Kingdom I have served our Catholic King as is customary with all due ze and in said place I had a son killed in the performance of my duty

After receipt of a petition for land, Governor Mendinuet carefully considered the merits of the request. Often he sen an alcalde to investigate agricultural and grazing capabilitie Based on the alcalde's report, he sometimes stipulated that th grant was to be used only for pasture as in the case of Baltasar Baca or only for farming as in the grant of Antonio Armijo.[9] Land i excess of actual need of an individual was not granted, and onl an amount judged necessary to support the family was allocate

In the case of communal grants, surplus land was set aside to accommodate growth, or it remained in common ownership.

Because grant sites were usually far distant from settlements where militia units were stationed, it was necessary for prospective settlers to have proper arms to defend themselves from Indian depredations. To ascertain the ability of the petitioner to defend himself against Indian attack, the governor might send the alcalde to check on his armaments, number of mounts, and equipment. Though most applicants for grants were aware of the dangers away from the protection of towns and were more or less prepared to meet contingencies, some were almost comic in their lack of adequate self-appraisal.

In response to a petition from Antonio Montaño and other inhabitants of Albuquerque to settle Carnuel, Mendinueta dispatched Alcalde Mayor Francisco Trebol Navarro to investigate the resources of the group. Carnuel, in Tijeras Canyon, had been abandoned previously because of Indian attacks. It was necessary, therefore, that any attempt at resettlement be well planned and adequately supplied with armament and mounts. Trebol's inspection revealed that only six of the petitioners had pistols, lances, and shields; six had bows and arrows; the rest had clubs. As for animals, there were only eight teams of oxen among them. But more damaging to their cause than the report of the lack of effective armament and supplies was Trebol's observation that they had an "abundance of indolence and little will to work." They could, he judged, be expected to last only a short while at Carnuel. The petition for this potential grant was rejected.[10] Others properly armed and more promising in outlook and past performance received grants without question. An arms balance only slightly more favorable but with a record of loyal and cooperative effort resulted in grants for Paulín Manoya and five petitioners and for Ignacio Chaves and three petitioners.[11]

If Governor Mendinueta was familiar with the location of the land desired as well as with the settlers asking for it and found no objections to placing them in possession, he made the grant in the name of the king. The formal declaration named the grantee, the

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extent of the grant, and the terms under which it was made. A ceremonial act of possession was uniformly carried out, the alcalde taking the grantees and witnesses by the hand while they walked over the terrain plucking blades of grass and stones from the ground and tossing them in the air, all the while calling out "God save the King." This act of possession was a very important component to granting crown lands.

It was also important to have a record of land transactions; therefore, every grant document ended with orders to return all notations concerning the survey and the act of possession. These were to be filed in the archives along with the original grant document. A second original was given to the grantee as his record of the transaction. Evidence that this order was routinely executed is the fact that the United States rejected only one grant made by Mendinueta because the archival document or second original could not be produced to substantiate the claim.[12]

All grants, of course, had to be in accord with the *Laws of the Indies* by terms of which grantees were to take possession within three months: to build upon their lots and occupy homes, to divide and clear arable lands, to work and plant them, to stock with cattle or sheep those designated for pasture, to determine boundaries and plant them with trees, and to place permanent markers. Occupation for four years gave title, all other obligations having been fulfilled. A royal cedula of October 15, 1754, spelled out the machinery for implementation of the laws.[13] Mendinueta never formally delineated all the requirements for maintaining a grant, merely stating that the grantees must settle their lands "according to royal laws."[14] Perhaps the most frequent qualifying term in any grant made by Mendinueta was his admonition to the grantee that, under the pain of forfeiture, he must not alienate his property in perpetuity to any ecclesiastic.[15]

No grants could be made which were prejudicial to third parties and proprietors of all surrounding lands were called upon to protest if a proposed grant might infringe upon their prior holdings. All interested parties were faithfully notified and any protests carefully investigated. Juan Bautista Montaño of San Fernando del Río Puerco surveyed and petitioned for a piece of land near him. When the alcalde called for objections to the granting of the land to Montaño, Antonio Baca stepped forward to prove he was the rightful owner of the tract; and the petition was withdrawn by Montaño.[16]

In June 1767 Jesús Montaño and other petitioners from Nuestra Señora de la Luz, San Fernando y San Blas grant on the Río Puerco petitioned the governor to resurvey the adjoining Juan de Tafoya grant because they said Tafoya's league had not been measured off, nor had any proper markers been placed. The settlers threatened to abandon their frontier community if they had no redress for the injury. When Alcalde Bartolomé Fernández, sent by the governor to look into the problem, resurveyed the Tafoya property, he reported to the governor that he found it exactly as described in the act of possession. Moreover, he called to the governor's attention the fact that some of those present at the resurvey had been present at the survey and act of possession in 1754 when Governor Marín del Valle had originally given the land to Tafoya. Mendinueta considered the furor created by the Río Puerco residents to constitute maliciousness and perjury and fined the petitioners sixty pesos, warning them if they committed such transgressions in the future they would receive more severe punishment and that their maliciousness would not be forgotten.[17] It was a steep fine considering the shortage of effective currency in the province.[18] Fernández was instructed to use the sixty pesos to pay witnesses to the second survey and thus help to defray costs of the debacle.

Indian rights and interests were also considered.[19] When Alcalde Fernández went to the site selected by Paulín Montoya and five other settlers, he was confronted by a delegation of Jémez Pueblo people who protested that the grant was too close to their pueblo and would jeopardize their title to a small valley containing an orchard. They requested the boundary be removed 2800 varas from their pueblo lands. The boundary was adjusted and the act of possession was performed for Montoya's land.[20]

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Mendinueta acted with foresight and planning when the governors of Santo Domingo and San Felipe pueblos asked for parcels of land which lay between their pueblos for the pasturing of cattle and horses. He enthusiastically granted the land to them because he judged it extremely prejudicial to their pueblos if that area should ever be alienated to a third party. Each pueblo was allotted a league for cultivation, and the remaining land and water was reserved for use by both pueblos.[21]

Not only did Governor Mendinueta scrupulously protect the interests and rights of Christianized Pueblo Indians, but also, in five grants, he specifically warned and entreated prospective grantees to treat nomadic bands of Indians kindly. If these bands were occupying parts of the grant the petitioners were claiming, they were to be allowed to continue occupation.[22] The governor admonished Baltasar Baca and his sons "not to injure the ranches and fields of the Acomas or Lagunas in the vicinity, much less the unchristianized Apaches of the Navajo provinces." Furthermore, he told them, "try to win these Indians to the King and Church by faithful and Christian treatment."[23] Both Bartolomé Fernández and Carlos José Pérez de Mirabal volunteered information in their petitions for land that Indians were occasionally using springs and occupying portions of the land they were seeking. They promised that, if given title, they would not drive off the Indians. Pérez assured the governor he had had no Indian troubles during the eight years he had occupied the tract without title.[24]

The most carefully drawn and detailed grants were three that Mendinueta allotted as communal lands to Andrés Aragón, Paulín Montoya, and Miguel Montoya.[25] These specified exact plans for a town, including the location of buildings. The alcalde was ordered to measure off a public square or plaza and assign small home plots to each head of family, emphasizing that the town site be as compact as possible to facilitate defense. Plot size was left to the judgment of the alcalde and doubtlessly depended on the terrain, quality of arable soil, and the number of families needing sites. Outside the plaza, the settlers were granted additional lots for farming. In the case of the Andrés Aragón grant, land in excess

of the town site and agricultural areas was divided equally among the settlers. For grants to Paulín Montoya and Miguel Montoya, the excess lands were to remain as communal pasture.

Mendinueta experimented with two plans for exits and entrances in these three plaza-centered communities. In the Aragón grant he stipulated "the plaza will be enclosed with only four outlets at each of its corners." At the Montoyas' grants he ordered "a public square be formed which shall not have exceeding two entrances." As a further protection for the latter grant, the planting fields were ordered fenced. There is no evidence as to which was found to be the superior plan relative to defense of these three settlements.

In the Paulín Montoya grant each head of family was given seventy square varas of land for house and corral and 300 square varas for planting.[26] The Miguel Montoya grant allowed eighty square varas around the plaza for a home site and 200 square varas of cultivable land outside it. No mention is made of exact measurements of home plots in the Andrés Aragón grant. Family size did not seem to be a factor in awarding home lots and planting lands in any of these communal grants.

Mendinueta usually accepted the proposed boundaries delineated by a petitioner, unless, of course, they clearly infringed upon the rights of other proprietors. Within geographical confines petitioned for, he made grants of 400 square varas, one league, one and one-half leagues, two leagues, and four leagues. All of these were qualified by the phrase "more or less." All grants were to be "formed in a square," but if the roughness of the terrain precluded this, Mendinueta specified that the shape could be "a long square."[27] The alcalde in the jurisdiction of the new grant was ordered to survey the area and place "permanent" markers on the boundaries, these usually consisting of mounds of stones and mud.

At best, surveys were only haphazardly implemented. The only surveying instrument ever mentioned was the *cordel*, variously described as a measure of 100 varas (this is cited in four surveys), as eighty varas, and as fifty varas (this is noted in two surveys).[28] The "instrument" itself was probably made of rope though in

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other places true chains were in use. A measuring device made of rope, depending on the care given it, was subject to shrinkage or stretching, and thus contributed much to the inaccuracies of surveying. There was no mention of a transit, compass, theodolite, or other instruments commonly in use by surveyors elsewhere in the eighteenth century. Surveying by the long lines was apparently the only method used. There was no mention of angle measures. Provincial agriculture was not sufficiently developed to demand a corps of trained technicians for subdividing land, nor was there a local educational system which provided a knowledge of fundamental principles of geometry and trigonometry required to interpret data obtained in surveys with more sophisticated instruments.[29]

One can only be amused at the haphazard implementation of some surveys. In the Bernardo Miera y Pacheco and Pedro Padilla grant,[30] Mendinueta directed that the "tract shall consist of one league of 5000 Castilian varas by courses of four leagues in circumference making 20,000 varas." He allowed that "the shape may not be square, but in such shape as the ground will permit." Alcalde Mayor Trebol, commissioned to install Miera on his land, found the terrain difficult,

> it being impossible to execute regular surveys on account of the roughness of the locality, the whole tract being mountainous and broken on account of the numerous ridges, hills and bluffs, which it contains. I deem it prudent that the 20,000 varas . . . be estimated by two credible, practical, intelligent individuals, and that they as Christians estimate with only slight differences the tract.

Those two "credible, practical, and intelligent individuals" must have been carried away by their Christian charity, for they and the alcalde measured off a tract 7,500 varas by 12,500 varas, about three and three-quarters leagues. Governor Mendinueta had clearly stated the grant was to be one league. Nevertheless, the act of possession took place and Miera received title.[31] Many grants were as poorly surveyed as that of Miera, and their boundaries as loosely interpreted. Lax implementation of boundary lines is further evi-

denced by Mendinueta's failure to enforce statutes requiring willows or other trees to be planted to mark boundaries.[32]

Governor Mendinueta originated fifteen grants of which we have record, the first being made on June 20, 1767, and the last on September 10, 1770. Since his administration was a long one (1767 to 1778), one must question why there was no activity after 1770. There were no laws precluding distribution of additional lands in New Mexico. It is probable, and could be ascertained if archival records of post-1770 land grant activity have not been lost, that Indian troubles which increased about this time may have interfered with expansion.[33] Several grants of the period tend to substantiate this theory.

In an apparent attempt to protect settlers and keep them in more defensible towns, Antonio Armijo in May 1768 was granted title to 400 square varas of land for farming across the river from Santa Fe, solely on condition that Armijo and his family continue to occupy their home in town and that construction on the site be limited to storage buildings and corrals.[34] Baltasar Baca was given land in December 1768 provided that he and his sons maintained homes in Belén where they could be protected, but the Bacas did not long comply with that condition.[35] Residents of Albuquerque in 1774 were refused a grant at Carnuel, partly because of Indian troubles there, and largely because of the indolence of the petitioners. That place had been inhabited previously, but had been abandoned in 1772 because of Apache raids.[36]

Other evidence that Indian attacks and the consequent need of defense limited expansion is the August 1773 order by Viceroy Antonio María Bucareli of New Spain that land apportionment be made to "settlers according to their merit and what labor they can do by living in the town and not scattered."[37] Because New Mexicans were such individualists, they would not comply willingly with such conditions; and Mendinueta, of course, could not grant land under other terms. Evidence indicates that the governor may have discontinued allocation of crown lands because he could control neither the settlers nor the warring nomadic tribes.

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In addition to the fifteen grants originating in his administration, Governor Mendinueta distributed land by reviewing, regranting, and augmenting other parcels assigned by previous governors. In February 1768 José and Javier Jaramillo complained that they had not been allotted their rightful 100 square vara lots when land was distributed because on the day they were to receive their lots, the alcalde had not been able to ride and make their *repartición*. Alcalde Mayor Trebol was sent to Tomé to investigate the authenticity of their claim and was instructed to distribute the land in question to the Jaramillos if their story were true. Then Trebol was to investigate their apparent laxity in carrying out the law pertaining to occupation, since the land had been left uncultivated. He was further empowered to give them additional land not in use, providing no third parties were involved, in order that more crops might be planted.

Upon investigation the alcalde found that Javier had no rights at all because his mother, Francisca Salas, had sold the disputed tract which had been acquired by her husband as an original settler. José Jaramillo, on the other hand, was sustained in his claim to the disputed 100 vara lot through the right his wife acquired by virtue of being the daughter of an original settler.[38] Though there was much land to be had, and there was still a great need for crops, there was no provision made to provide Javier with the land he needed. Very probably Mendinueta regarded him as a scoundrel for claiming dishonestly what he knew was not his to claim. Mendinueta's flash of generosity evaporated.

Settlers who had abandoned lands at Ojo Caliente because of Indian depredations were given opportunity to reclaim them; and when the widow of Jerónimo Pacheco failed to do so, José Ignacio Alarid and Gabriel Quintana petitioned for the tract. Mendinueta rescinded the Pacheco grant and redistributed the land to Alarid and Quintana.[39]

In April 1768 the residents of Atrisco applied for additional lands to those they already occupied on the basis of a grant made to Fernando Durán y Chávez after the Reconquest. Mendinueta did not challenge the validity of their claim in Atrisco, even though

land had been given to an individual originally and they were petitioning as a group, but granted their request. He, however, limited acquisition of new lands to those who had no private holdings and specifically excluded those who had "lands for ranches and for pasturage of their stock."[40]

José Pacheco petitioned Governor Mendinueta to reaffirm a grant given his father, Felipe Tafoya, by then Governor Pedro Rodríguez Cubero. The small tract across the river from Santa Fe was revalidated by Mendinueta, and in April 1769 the alcalde put Pacheco in possession.[41]

It is impossible to summarize exactly the number of acres transferred from the public domain by Governor Mendinueta, but claims to the extent of 292,003.556 acres were patented by the United States for Spanish land grants. There were 3,726.848 acres in conflict with other grants as a result of bad surveys and descriptions. Five claims were rejected for lack of proof of legal transfer of rights or as a result of lost documents. It is certain, however, that Governor Mendinueta's land grant policy, geared as it was to contemporary events and requirements, had a lasting impact on regional history.

NOTES

1. *Recopilación de leyes de los reynos de las Indias* (Madrid, 1756).
2. Ibid., Book IV, Title 12, Laws 1 and 10.
3. Land grant documents listed by Ralph Emerson Twitchell in *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico*, 2 vols. (Cedar Rapids, 1914), vol. 1 (SANM 1), as well as the files of the Surveyor General of New Mexico (SG) and the Court of Private Land Claims (PLC) are located in the State Records Center and Archives (SRCA), Santa Fe, New Mexico. Microfilm of these documents and files are in the Special Collections Department, University of New Mexico Library (UNM), Albuquerque, New Mexico. All land grant claims discussed and cited in this article were viewed on microfilm in the Special Collections Department, UNM. See Baltasar Baca, SG 104, Reel 23; Ignacio Chaves et al., SG 96, Reel 22; Bartolomé Fernández, SG 78, Reel 21; Luis Jaramillo or Agua Salada Grant, SG 103,

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Reel 23; Virtientes de Navajo (Carlos José Pérez de Mirabal), PLC 207, Reel 52; Antonio Sedillo, SG 50, Reel 18; Antonio Sedillo or Cañada de los Apaches Grant, PLC 15, Reel 34.

4. Pedro Fermín de Mendinueta, Approval of Grant, Santa Fe, Sept. 2, 1767, SG 78, Reel 21.

There was widespread dereliction of duty both among the soldiers and militia. Elizabeth Nelson Patrick, "Pedro Fermín de Mendinueta, Colonial Governor of New Mexico, 1767-1778" (M.A. thesis, University of New Mexico, 1965), pp. 21-22.

5. *Recopilación de leyes,* Book IV, Title 12, Law 10.

6. Fernández, SG 78, Reel 21; Baca, SG 104, Reel 23.

7. Virtientes de Navajo, PLC 207, Reel 52.

8. Baca, SG 104, Reel 23.

9. Antonio Armijo Grant, PLC 102, Reel 44.

10. Petition of the Inhabitants of Albuquerque to Settle Carnuel, SANM 1, #46, Reel 1.

11. Paulín Montoya et al., SG unnumbered report, File 185, Reel 30; Ignacio Chaves et al., SG 96, Reel 22.

12. Virtientes de Navajo, PLC 207, Reel 52; Sitio de Navajo Grant, PLC 270, Reel 53.

13. Royal Instructions of October 15th, 1754, in *Recopilación de leyes,* as translated in Matthew G. Reynolds, *Spanish and Mexican Land Laws: New Spain and Mexico* (St. Louis, 1895), pp. 50-57.

14. This failure to outline clearly the exact terms of the grants left a heritage of tangled claims for United States courts to adjudicate following acquisition of former Spanish and Mexican territories. Five of the claims to grants made by Mendinueta were rejected on grounds that the grantees or their heirs had failed to comply with land laws. When one considers, for example, that in the village of San Fernando y San Blas, a frontier settlement on the Río Puerco, only two people could write their names, one wonders how such settlers could fulfill occupation requirements unless they were explicitly outlined. In such primitive frontier locations there could hardly have been a heritage of common knowledge concerning the complications of land law.

For a general discussion of claims against the United States see Ralph E. Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History,* 2 vols. (Albuquerque, 1963), 2:451-72. For a catalog of grants see Albert James Díaz, *A Guide to the Microfilm of Papers Relating to New Mexico Land Grants* (Albuquerque, 1960); William Keleher, "Law of the New Mexico Land Grant," *NMHR* 4 (Oct. 1929): 350-75.

15. *Recopilación de leyes,* Book IV, Title 12, Law 10.

16. Petition of Juan Bautista Montaño for Lands on Río Puerco, SANM 1, #573, Reel 3.

17. Bernabé M. Montaño et al., SG 49, Reel 18; Petition of Settlers on Río Puerco, SANM 1, #692, Reel 4.

18. See Max L. Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road* (Norman, 1958), pp. 50-51, for an insight into the economics of the province which made this a rather heavy fine.

19. *Recopilación de leyes,* Book IV, Title 12, Laws 9, 12, 17, 18.

20. Montoya et al., SG unnumbered report, File 185, Reel 30.

21. Santo Domingo and San Felipe, SG 142, Reel 26.

22. Grants to Baltasar Baca, Bartolomé Fernández, Joaquín Mestas, Bernardo Miera y Pacheo and Pedro Padilla, and Carlos José Pérez Mirabal.

23. Baca, SG 104, Reel 23.

24. Fernández, SG 78, Reel 21; Virtientes de Navajo, PLC 207, Reel 52.

25. Andrés Aragón et al. (San Antonio de las Huertas Grant), SG 142, Reel 26; Montoya et al., SG unnumbered report, File 185, Reel 30; Atrisco Grant (José Montoya and Miguel Montoya), PLC 252, Reel 53.

26. According to tables in Reynolds, *Spanish and Mexican Land Laws,* a vara was equal to 32.99 inches or 2.759 feet.

27. Armijo Grant, PLC 102, Reel 44.

28. The court of private land claims in New Mexico accepted the cordel as equalling 137.95 feet. The *cordel* consisted of 50 varas; the league, 5,000 varas.

29. This is another indication of the extremely primitive colonial economy in the 1760s. See Patrick, "Pedro Fermín de Mendinueta," chap. 3. For information concerning eighteenth century surveying and measuring techniques consult Edmond R. Kiley, *Surveying Instruments* (New York, 1949) and Allie Wilson Richeson, *English Land Measuring Instruments and Practices* (Cambridge, 1966).

30. Bernardo Miera y Pacheco and Pedro Padilla, SG 98, Reel 22.

31. Confusion regarding the size of this grant did not stop here. When the United States acquired former Mexican territories and title claims were made, even more confusion arose because of the poor surveys made by the American crews. The first survey in 1874 outlined a grant of 148,862.94 acres. The claim, however, was finally confirmed for 4,106.66 acres in 1897.

32. *Recopilación de leyes,* Book IV, Title 12, Law 9.

33. For information concerning Indian relations see A. B. Thomas,

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Forgotten Frontiers: The Plains Indians and New Mexico (Norman, 1932
A. B. Thomas, ed., "Governor Mendinueta's Proposals for the Defense o
New Mexico, 1772-1778," *NMHR* 6 (Jan. 1931); Charles L. Kenner, *A
History of New Mexican-Plains Indian Relations* (Norman, 1969), chap
1-2; Max L. Moorhead, *The Apache Frontier* (Norman, 1968), chap.
Jack D. Forbes, *Apache, Navaho and Spaniard* (Norman, 1963), presents
different view concerning the roots of the Spanish-Indian conflict than th
above-noted studies.

34. Juan A. Romero et al., PLC 102, Reel 44; Antonio Armijo Gran
SANM 1, #44, Reel 1.

35. Baca, SG 104, Reel 23.

36. Petition of the Inhabitants of Albuquerque to Settle Carnue
SANM 1, #46, Reel 1.

37. Reynolds, *Spanish and Mexican Land Laws*, p. 58.

38. Petition and Grant of José and Javier Jaramillo, SANM 1, #42
Reel 3.

39. Juan Quintana, PLC 227, Reel 52.

40. Town of Atrisco, SG 145, Reel 26; Town of Atrisco, PLC 4
Reel 37.

41. José and Salvador Pacheco, PLC 18, Reel 34.
Pacheco's grant contained about 13.23 acres.

MINERAL FRONTIER IN TRANSITION: COPPER MINING IN ARIZONA, 1880-1885

ROBERT L. SPUDE

On August 20, 1880, among the scrub oak-covered and iron-stained slopes of Mule Pass, Lewis Williams began smelting copper ores at Bisbee, Arizona Territory. A few months earlier, his brother John Williams, and his brother-in-law DeWitt Bisbee, with several other San Franciscans, had purchased the Copper Queen Mine, formed the Copper Queen Mining and Smelting Company, and funded the opening of the mine. Because of Lewis Williams's recent perfection of a smelter capable of reducing the refractory copper ores of the Southwest, the company sent the short, stocky Welshman to erect one of his furnaces at their Arizona property. With John Ballard as assistant, Williams directed the construction of the works, the extraction of copper carbonates, and the pouring of the first drop of copper from the smelter.[1]

By December Lewis Williams had amazed the mining world by producing nearly 1.5 million pounds of copper. Both the *Mining & Scientific Press* of San Francisco and the *Engineering & Mining Journal* of New York commented upon the unprecedented production record. The journals concurred that the Copper Queen operation signified the dawn of a new era. As the *Mining & Scientific Press* editor explained further, previously gold and silver had been the major attraction to the deserts of Arizona; but now with the widespread discovery of copper, the availability of an inexpensive portable furnace, and the completion of the transcontinental Southern Pacific Railroad, Arizona was on the verge of a new, more prosperous, and more permanent boom—a boom caused by the mining of copper.[2]

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