

# PASS WORD



OF THE

# EL PASO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

# PASSWORD

*Published by:*

THE EL PASO HISTORICAL SOCIETY



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Entered as second-class matter at the post office at El Paso, Texas, under the Act of August 24, 1912.

# PASSWORD

Vol. IV, No. 4

Published Quarterly

October, 1959

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## JOHNNY GRINGO AT THE PASS OF THE NORTH\*

. . . . . by John P. Bloom

Johnny Gringo<sup>1</sup> was the "G. I. Joe" of the war between the United States and Mexico of 1846-1848; the father, brother and ancestor of Johnny Reb and Billy Yank, as well as Johnny Doughboy. He visited the El Paso region in the van of the great influx of Anglo-American settlement that followed United States annexation of the vast empire stretching from the Sabine River to the Pacific Ocean. He observed the region as one era ended, with the eyes of the men of the new era. His observations are therefore of peculiar interest and importance to his successors.

The main outlines of United States military activities in the Mexican War are traced in many places, and it need be mentioned here only that El Paso del Norte, now Ciudad Juárez, experienced two main visitations by Johnny Gringo. The first was commanded by Colonel Alexander W. Doniphan and the second by Brigadier General Sterling Price. Doniphan's regiment of Missouri Mounted Volunteers moved down the Rio Grande into El Paso del Norte without opposition on December 27, 1846, after winning the Battle of Brazito on Christmas Day.<sup>2</sup> Doniphan was reinforced on February 1, 1847, by a battalion under Major Meriwether Lewis Clark, which included both light artillery and infantry. One week later the entire column marched for Chihuahua—less than one thousand soldiers, but accompanied by over three hundred wagons of traders with an undetermined number of drivers and sundry employees who were to be helpful at the Battle of Sacramento, near Chihuahua.

General Price may well have been jealous of the fame won by Doniphan. His men moved from New Mexico to begin a new occupation of El Paso del Norte in early November, 1847, with proper authorization. But Price did not have direct orders for the advance to Chihuahua on which he set out from El

<sup>1</sup>The word *gringo* did not originate during the Mexican War, but this was the period when it became familiar to Anglo-Americans. Its origins are obscure. See Will M. Tipton, "Note on Origin of the Word 'Gringo,'" *Old Santa Fé*, II, 279. "Johnny Gringo," as used here, refers not merely to enlisted men, who have left meager records, but to all who came with the Anglo-American invasion of 1846-1848. Much of the research necessary for this paper was made possible by a grant from The Southern Fellowships Fund.

<sup>2</sup>See George Ruhlen, "Brazito—The Only Battle in the Southwest between American and Foreign Troops," *Pass-word*, II, 4-13, and "The Battle of Brazito—Where Was It Fought?" *ibid.*, 53-60.

\*EDITOR'S NOTE: This paper tied for first place in category III in the Society's 1958 annual writers' contest.

Paso del Norte on March 1, 1848.<sup>3</sup> The victory which he won at Santa Cruz de Rosales, below Chihuahua, was not as notable as Doniphan's nor did Price march farther into Mexico. Instead of a triumphal advance, Price's men staged a very disorderly withdrawal through the Pass of the North to the United States in July. His force was about the same size as Doniphan's military force.<sup>4</sup>

Johnny Gringo liked El Paso del Norte. He had spent some time in New Mexico, suffering severe privations, and was wonderfully pleased in general with what he found here. Private Daniel H. Hastings described his reaction in some detail:

I was much surprised to find so large and pleasant a city. The extreme neatness and regularity of the streets which are daily swept by females, the walks, beautifully ornamented by long rows of shape [*sic*] trees just resuming their green foliage at the foot of which were small streams of pure water, conducted by irrigation, the mildness and serenity of the climate, the sweet and renovating songs of happy birds . . . all so far surpassed my expectations . . . that in spite of our sorrows, I found myself almost happy.<sup>5</sup>

Not only the greenery and climate, but also the people seemed to be superior to those previously encountered. Two lieutenants remarked that there were many similarities between the natives here and in New Mexico; however, as one wrote,

As a general thing the people [here] have more intelligence than exists in Santa Fe, and both men and women present a neater appearance and have more refinement. . . . A *fandango* given soon after we came in the place was generally attended by the officers, and I found it much more respectable than they are in New Mexico. The women were all neatly dressed and some

<sup>3</sup>Ralph P. Bieber, ed., *Marching with the Army of the West, 1846-1848*, by Abraham Robinson Johnston, Marcellus Ball Edwards [and] Philip Cooch Ferguson (Glendale, 1936), 63-64.

<sup>4</sup>Documentation on the Price expedition is scant as compared to material on the Doniphan expedition. No unpublished manuscript sources are known, except copies of official orders, etc., in the Adjutant General's Office papers in the National Archives, Washington, D. C. The published sources are: Elihu H. Shepard, *Autobiography* (St. Louis, 1869) and Ferguson's "Journal" in Bieber, ed., *Marching*. Price's force consisted of four companies of the 3d Missouri Mounted Volunteers, three companies of the Santa Fé Battalion [mounted volunteers], a volunteer light artillery company and two companies of the 1st United States Dragoons.

<sup>5</sup>Pvt. D. H. Hastings, Personal account: "With Doniphan in Mexico," Feb. 2, 1847, Justin Harvey Smith Papers, Vol. 15, Latin American Collection, University of Texas Library. An officer commented, "This is a beautiful and fertile place, well watered and abounding in fruit trees, vineyards and corn fields which render this settlement the richest part of upper Mexico . . ." Maj. M. L. Clark, Feb. 2, 1847, to Gov. John C. Edwards, in "Letterbook of 'Extra Battalion' Missouri Light Artillery," Western American Collection, Yale University Library.

fine, and presented as good an appearance as we usually have in "the States."<sup>6</sup>

The invaders set up housekeeping in various places during their stay in El Paso del Norte. The town's population was indeterminate, with no set boundaries, and settlements extending many miles down the river from the pass to San Elizario and beyond. Population estimates for El Paso del Norte ran from four to eight thousand at this time.<sup>7</sup> Johnny Gringo sometimes camped out: Doniphan's "Chihuahua Rangers" located at first at a large corral one mile from town, where wind and dust were very discomforting; Private John T. Hughes indicated that the bulk of Doniphan's men camped "on a bare spot of earth, south of the Plaza," suffering much before being moved into buildings in town; and the part of Price's command that arrived in February, 1848, just prior to marching for Chihuahua, "camped out near town."<sup>8</sup> But most of the men, most of the time, were quartered in various buildings near the plaza. Sergeant Frank S. Edwards' units was quartered in the barracks building, which stood "on small eminence in the rear of the church." Edwards was displeased because this building also contained the jail. It also includes a public school, he wrote, but the children had a long vacation because he stored hay and fodder there. This unit was later located at San Elizario, often called simply "the Presidio," where there was "a large fort" which had a "pretty church" within its walls.<sup>9</sup>

The commissioned officers assumed advantages over their men in lodging as in other matters, taking quarters in private homes. Lieutenant Gibson, for instance, lived awhile with "Pedro Jacques," then with "the Frenchman," who offered the best accommodations in town—perhaps the little Frenchman mentioned by Hughes who operated the saloon on the southeast corner of the plaza.

<sup>6</sup>R. P. Bieber, ed., *Journal of a Soldier under Kearny and Doniphan, 1846-1847*, by George Rutledge Gibson (Glendale, 1935), 314. See also letter by Lt. Christian Kribben, Feb. 2, 1847, in *Daily Missouri Republican*, Apr. 9, 1847, cited in Bieber, ed., *Gibson Journal*, p. 314n. New Mexicans need not be unduly distressed by Johnny Gringo's invidious comparisons. A forty-niner who had crossed Texas to the Pass of the North exclaimed, for example: "almost like a Garden of Eden!" Mabelle Eppard Martin, ed., "From Texas to California in 1849; Diary of C. C. Cox," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXIX, 130. Furthermore, to Johnny Gringo, the people of Chihuahua seemed superior to those of El Paso del Norte, although Josiah Gregg, who traveled extensively in northern Mexico, wrote of the Paseños that, "take them altogether, [they] are more sober and industrious than those of any other part of Mexico I have visited; and are happily less infested by the extremes of wealth and poverty." Max L. Moorhead, ed., *Commerce of the Prairies*, by Josiah Gregg (Norman, Okla., 1954), 314.

<sup>7</sup>Moorhead, ed., *Gregg's Commerce*, p. 273; William H. Richardson, *Journal of Doniphan's Expedition* (Columbia, Mo., reprinted from *The Missouri Historical Review*, 1928), 62; and Martin, ed., "Cox Diary," 130.

<sup>8</sup>Richardson, *Journal*, p. 62; William E. Connelley, *Doniphan's Expedition and the Conquest of New Mexico and California... Includes a Reprint of the Work of Col. John T. Hughes* (Topeka, Kans., 1907), 88, 382; Bieber, ed., *Marching*, 353.

<sup>9</sup>F. S. Edwards, *A Campaign in New Mexico with Colonel Doniphan* (Philadelphia, 1847), 92, 99; Richardson, *Journal*, 67-68; see also Bieber, ed., *Marching*, 339.

Returning to New Mexico through El Paso del Norte in April, 1847, Gibson lodged at "the *casa* of Mrs. [Robert?] McKnight."<sup>10</sup> The winsome young bride, Susan Shelby Magoffin, who accompanied Doniphan's expedition, has left us the best description of a fine home in El Paso del Norte at this period, the home of the Magoffins' *gachupin* host, "Don Agapita, . . . a man ever to be beloved, for his hospitable feelings." Gibson concurred with Susan on the comfortable-ness of the better residences, commenting particularly on the pleasant patios, "or corrals, as we called them, ornamented with flowers and evergreens, and fruit trees and shrubs, making a delightful place to sit at all seasons of the year."<sup>11</sup>

The pleasures of the patio-sitting were mild as compared to other pleasures pursued by Johnny Gringo, which included especially gambling, liquor and sex. Games of chance became so numerous and popular that the player blocked passage through streets around the plaza on sunny days in January, 1847, and Doniphan had to prohibit gambling on the streets. Mexicans and invaders joined at games such as *monté*, chuck-a-luck, twenty-one and *faro*.<sup>12</sup>

Liquor contributed not a little to the disorderliness associated with gambling. "Our boys are making desperate efforts to amuse themselves," wrote Private William H. Richardson in February, 1847, adding that, "among other things, our sutler [*sic*] is here . . . and whiskey is selling at 75 cents per pint. With some honorable exceptions, the scenes among officers and men may be much 'better imagined than described'." The scenes were enlivened not only by the sutler's whiskey but especially by the native wine, brandy [*aguardiente* or "Pass whiskey"], and also *mescal* and *pulque*. Sergeant Edwards reported, "The wine is of a dark-port color, of good quality, and cheap. The brandy has the appearance of gin, but with a pleasing flavor of its own." The latter damaged the health of several men by contamination from copper vessels in which it was manufactured, he alleged, but "the wine was harmless, being the pure juice of the grape."<sup>13</sup> A *Paseño* [native] who had a "wine cellar" may have thought

<sup>10</sup>Bieber, ed., *Gibson Journal*, 311, 315; Connelley, *Doniphan's Expedition*, p. 387n; G. R. Gibson, *Journal*, Apr. 16-17, 1847, typescript copy [of original in Missouri Historical Society Library] lent to the present writer by Prof. Ralph P. Bieber of Washington University, St. Louis.

<sup>11</sup>Stella M. Drumm, ed., *Down the Santa Fé Trail and into Mexico; The Diary of Susan Shelby Magoffin, 1846-1847* (New Haven, 1926), 205-06; Bieber, ed., *Gibson Journal*, 313.

<sup>12</sup>Connelley, *Doniphan's Expedition*, 92, 387.

<sup>13</sup>Richardson, *Journal*, p. 68; Edwards, *Campaign*, p. 91. Hughes alone mentioned that beer was available at El Paso del Norte. Connelley, *Doniphan's Expedition*, p. 385. The wine was "very pleasant" and somewhat resembled Malaga wine, Gregg said, but one later skeptic reported it "like a mixture of Malaga and vinegar" while another called it mediocre, saying it caused severe headaches. Moorhead, ed., *Gregg's Commerce*, 273; Julius Froebel, *Seven Years' Travel in Central America, Northern Mexico, and the Far East of the United States* (London, 1854), 330; John Russell Bartlett, *Personal Narrative of Explorations and Incidents . . .* (2 vols., New York, 1854), I, 186.

the wine harmless, but he found that Johnny Gringo's thirst was not. When a crowd of invaders got boisterous he attempted to shut them out, but they took his door off its hinges and cleaned him out!<sup>14</sup>

Johnny Gringo was very interested in the feminine portion of the population of El Paso del Norte. Private Philip G. Ferguson, for instance, described the turn-out on a religious holiday in a manner that reveals much of himself as well as what he viewed:

many of them were elegantly dressed, some of them in dresses made after the American fashion, with large sleeves, but all wearing the *rebozo*, or scarf, over their heads and shoulders, concealing their faces. I observed a gaily dressed señorita and her cavalier going to church on a pacing mule, the lady being seated sideways in the saddle, her feet and face to the right instead of the left side, while her gallant sat straddled behind her with his arms around her holding the reins. I could not see the face of the lady, but judging from the brilliancy and sweet expression of her dark, melting eye, peeping like a star through the folds of her *rebozo*, it must have been beautiful.

Lieutenant Gibson observed the ladies with a more sophisticated eye, and commented in particular on the sister of a Mexican miller with whom he was familiar:

a pretty girl with dark eyes, black hair, . . . a brunette complexion . . . a fine form and pretty hands and feet. Generally the women have small hands and tapering fingers, and altogether are superior in form to the American [women], probably because lacing and such things are unknown. I, of course, embraced her when she left according to the fashion of the country, and had no objection to repeat the ceremony at another visit. . . .<sup>15</sup>

Two of Doniphan's men are alleged to have deserted before reaching Chihuahua to marry such *señoritas*, and three or four are said to have returned after the war to marry in El Paso del Norte.<sup>16</sup>

On a more earthly level were Lieutenant [Benjamin] Talbot and fellow officers of the 3d Missouri Volunteers. Ferguson stated that seventy-two men of Talbot's company signed a petition against him, feeling themselves "disgraced" by his conduct in keeping a thirteen-year-old girl in his room. Apparently the girl's age was the primary concern of the men in this case, for Ferguson alleged, "It seems to be a general thing among the officers to have mistresses,

<sup>14</sup>Shepard, *Autobiography*, 158.

<sup>15</sup>Bieber, ed., *Marching*, p. 348; Bieber, ed., *Gibson Journal*, 316; see also Gibson, *Journal*, Apr. 9, 1847.

<sup>16</sup>Connelley, *Doniphan's Expedition*, 397, 467n.

and some of them carry it so far as to keep two or three at the same time."<sup>17</sup>

Entirely aside from such goings-on were more innocent diversions such as "Animal Magnetism" and "O Hush," plays presented by the "Thespian society" in January, 1848. Doniphan's men had earlier instituted "mock-tryals by jury" with appropriate fines for soldiers guilty of the slightest misdemeanor—a form of fun which could be serious on occasion. And the seriousness of the situation told on the men. One, in fact, became deranged when he was informed that he was expected to march on to Chihuahua. He was buried at El Paso del Norte.<sup>18</sup>

Dysentery, measles and scurvy were more common threats to Johnny Gringo's existence. Private Richardson's captain spoke at the burial of a fourth man of his command, at the Pass of the North, and warned his hearers:

"that it was wisdom for each and all to prepare for the worst,"  
&c. The usual rounds were fired, and we covered poor Tolly over with soap-weed, and filled up the grave. After trampling the dirt and levelling the ground, we marched off. . . .

Private M. B. Edwards spoke of the death of a comrade in arms and added, "Our hospital affairs are conducted scandalously. There is not a surgeon or steward who can much more than determine calomel from quinine. . . ." He stated, considering the combination of psychological and physical factors, that "there was at one time talk of open mutiny."<sup>19</sup>

The respect Johnny Gringo felt for the dead caused him to be very critical of Paseño burial practices and, to some extent, of the religion associated therewith. [This was true everywhere in Mexico and New Mexico.] Private Ferguson described the cemetery at El Paso del Norte "with feelings of horror and disgust": bodies buried "without coffin or shroud" in narrow graves, left level with the surface and unmarked. Private M. B. Edwards saw a Mexican jump down on a rigid body in order to force it into a too-short grave. Sergeant F. S. Edwards indited criticism that was characteristic of Johnny Gringo regarding the fat priest and the church at San Elizario. Entering the church alone, Edwards lifted up the veils which concealed the different figures in the niches around the walls; and, gazing on their gaudily dressed and painted saintships, I felt that any little girl at home would have been ashamed of such a badly dressed set of dolls.<sup>20</sup>

Nevertheless, it is clear that here, as elsewhere in Mexico, native priests minis-

<sup>17</sup>Bieber, ed., *Marching*, 342, 344, 349. No comparable charges were made against officers under Doniphan, but for statements on other forms of improper and unmilitary conduct by his officers, see Edwards, *Campaign*, 98; Connelley, *Doniphan's Expedition*, 97, 383n, 387n, 391.

<sup>18</sup>Bieber, ed., *Marching*, 532; Connelley, *Doniphan's Expedition*, 92, 396n.

<sup>19</sup>Richardson, *Journal*, 70; Bieber, ed., *Marching*, 241-42.

<sup>20</sup>Bieber, ed., *Marching*, 341, 273; Edwards, *Campaign*, 99-101.

tered conscientiously to the spiritual needs of Roman Catholics in the invading forces.<sup>21</sup>

Misconduct on the part of officers, mentioned above, suggests the likelihood of bad behavior by the enlisted men, and it was so. Mexico was hard-used by Johnny Gringos who, as Susan Magoffin remarked, were "not careful at all how much they soil the property of a friend much less an enemy." Private Hastings was more forceful in describing the actions of some men returning from a *fandango* held about three miles from town. They were, he wrote, "so much intoxicated as to create a great deal of confusion, destroying property and committing other outrages which quite terrified the natives. . . . scarcely a stone was left, the overturn of which could in the least discommode or damage the proprietor."<sup>22</sup> Some of the *Paseños* who had fled from town following the Battle of Brazito probably regretted later that they had returned.<sup>23</sup>

They and the invaders would have got on better, no doubt, had the food supply been more ample and more appealing to Johnny Gringo. The quality of the flour and meat was more of a problem than the quantity, apparently. Local mills were crude and inefficient, and were taken over by the military. Johnny Gringo found Mexican beeves small in size, but often producers of excellent meat; the sheep, however, were "so poor that you could read through the sides, or it took two sheep to make a shadow." Other commodities were more or less seasonal, including fresh apples, peaches, pears, quinces, apricots, oranges and grapes, and dried grapes, apples, pears and peaches, and many vegetables including superior onions. The pumpkins were intended by the natives for pigs and servants, but were eagerly seized by Johnny Gringo.<sup>24</sup> The highly-seasoned prepared foods were mostly too hot for Johnny Gringo's pleasure. Private Ferguson, however, was given a concoction here which was not reported anywhere to the north, evidently a *tamale*: "a woman handed us something wrapped up in a wet corn shuck, and on unrolling it we found a kind of edible made of corn meal with pepper and meat in the center, like a dumpling, which had a pleasant taste."<sup>25</sup>

Of such varied experiences and observations as these, then, was Johnny Gringo's early visitation to the Pass of the North composed. Perhaps it was comparable to the *tamale*, with a goodly amount of pepper in it, but pleasant as a whole.

<sup>21</sup>E. g., Fidelity Miller Puckett, "Ramon Ortiz: Priest and Patriot," *New Mexico Historical Review*, XXV, 281.

<sup>22</sup>Drumm, ed., *Magoffin Diary*, 228-29; Hastings, Personal account, Feb. 2-8, 1847, Smith Papers.

<sup>23</sup>*Paseños* were no doubt glad, however, to have Johnny Gringo occasionally engaged in fighting the Apaches who ravaged the whole district. Bieber, ed., *Marching*, 343-47; 350-51; Connelley, *Doniphan's Expedition*, 394.

<sup>24</sup>Bieber, ed., *Gibson Journal*, 323; Bieber, ed., *Marching*, 240; Edwards, *Campaign*, 96-97, 98; Connelley, *Doniphan's Expedition*, 390n, 385; Froebel, *Travel*, 330.

<sup>25</sup>Bieber, ed., *Marching*, 342-43.

# THE PRE-ROAD BUILDING PERIOD IN NEW MEXICO TERRITORY

by Jack L. Cross

Under the Mexican government, road improvements in New Mexico had been ignored. The Mexican colonists along the upper Rio Grande had been too few and too far away to attract much help from a young Republic struggling with social, political, and economic problems that required its full attention. Furthermore, the geography of the New Mexico area was such that it forced settlement in the valleys along the major river systems, and the resulting villages were often cut off from one another by uncompromising mountain ranges. Connections between these isolated communities were essential both for trade and military defense. The latter consideration became particularly important to the inhabitants surrounded by Indians constantly threatening savage depredations. But the roads that existed were "... mere bridle-paths resembling more the trail of the Indian than the high-ways of a civilized people..."<sup>1</sup> Such a transportation network was wholly inadequate to the situation, and a demand for its improvement was to be expected.

The American army discovered these transportation weaknesses soon after its invasion of the territory at the beginning of the Mexican War. The troops, led by General Stephen W. Kearny, had more trouble with the roads than they had with Mexicans. Secretary of War William L. Marcy had instructed his general to occupy Santa Fé, establish a civil government, and move on to California as soon as possible to hold that area under American domination. Marcy suggested that Kearny make use of volunteers from a large group of Mormon emigrants who were encamped at Council Grove. Marcy believed that many of these Mormon men, eager to continue their move to the West, but halted at this frontier outpost because of the outbreak of the war, would welcome the opportunity to go with Kearny. At the very least they would learn the best routes over which they could lead their wagons at war's end. On the basis of this proposal there was organized a group destined to help Lieutenant Colonel P. St. George Cooke blaze a southern emigrant trail to California.<sup>2</sup>

Lieutenant William H. Emory of the Topographical Engineers was detailed to accompany Kearny, collect data for the government on the unexplored regions

<sup>1</sup>Laws of the Territory of New Mexico, 1st & 2nd Sess., 1851-1852 (Santa Fe, 1852), 224.

<sup>2</sup>"Report of the Department of War, Including Military Correspondence Relative to California and New Mexico, 1846-1850," *House Executive Documents*, No. 17, 31st Cong., 1st Sess., 1849-1850, V (n.d.), 237 f. Letter from Marcy to Kearny, June 3, 1846.

that were to be crossed, and map the route traversed. Lieutenant James W. Abert and William G. Peck assisted Emory in his mapping work on the first leg of the trip from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fé, but since Abert fell sick at Bent's Fort on the Arkansas River and Peck became ill at Santa Fé, it was necessary to assign their duties to Lieutenant William H. Warner and Mr. Norman Bestor. These last two men charted the route from Santa Fé to San Diego while Peck and Abert remained in Santa Fé to explore and map the surrounding country.<sup>3</sup>

"The Army of the West," as it was called by members of its marching columns, spent fifty-two days travelling from Fort Leavenworth to Santa Fé. Emory classified the journey in six divisions: (1) the first two weeks journey through a region of rich and rolling prairie, (2) a two-day period along the Arkansas River to the Pawnee Fork where fertile soil practically ceased, (3) eighteen days through the Arkansas Valley, (4) a week of movement in a southerly direction ending in the ascent of the Raton Mountain, (5) six days of plains between the tributaries of the Canadian River, and (6) the last four days of mountains between the headwaters of the Canadian and Rio Grande rivers.<sup>4</sup>

Thus, after almost two months of travel over the Santa Fé trail, the army reached Santa Fé. Once bivouacked, the invading forces' Commander turned to the settlement of local problems. As had been anticipated, there had been little if no military resistance. The ensuing functions of the army in the territory can be broken down into three broad categories: (1) the establishment of civil government,<sup>5</sup> (2) the protection of inhabitants from Indian depredations,<sup>6</sup> and (3) explorations of the newly acquired region.<sup>7</sup> This last activity was to prove very important to the army's later program of road-building because the information and experience gained from these surveys and explorations furnished, in part, the basis of calculations for the location of later routes of travel.

<sup>3</sup>W. H. Emory, "Notes of a Military Reconnoissance, from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego, in California, including part of the Arkansas, Del Norte, and Gila Rivers," *House Executive Documents*, No. 41, 30th Cong., 1st Sess., 1848, IV (Washington, 1848), 7-11, 43. Hereinafter cited as Emory, "Notes of Military Reconnoissance."

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 11-14, 135.

<sup>5</sup>H. H. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico* (San Francisco, 1889), chaps. xxvii, xxviii. These two chapters contain a most detailed and authoritative narrative of military and civil government in New Mexico territory from 1846-1851.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, 423, 435-438, 459, 464. These pages include a discussion of the Indian problem and the efforts of the military to find a solution to it.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, 464-467. One Southwestern historian has listed the purposes of these various surveys and explorations as being to impress the Indians with the power of the United States Army, to determine the best sites for military posts, to ascertain the navigability of certain western rivers, to run boundary surveys, to trace western river sources, and to discover the best and shortest routes for emigration. He has catalogued fifteen such explorations through the territory between the years 1846-1859. He did not include, however, the Whipple and Parke Railroad surveys. See A. B. Bender, "Government Explorations in the Territory of New Mexico, 1846-1859," *New Mexico Historical Review*, IX, No. 1, (January 1934), 1-32.

The establishment of law and order took first precedence in Kearny's program. He promulgated a code of laws which took his name and remained in force in New Mexico law until 1886.<sup>8</sup> Following several abortive attempts to form a civil government,<sup>9</sup> success finally came to the New Mexicans after the passage of the Organic Law for the territory by Congress in September, 1850.<sup>10</sup> The first session of the officially recognized territorial legislative assembly began in the summer of 1851.<sup>11</sup> The new legislature chose Richard H. Weightman as its territorial delegate to Congress.<sup>12</sup>

The building of forts in the territory, the army's answer to the Indian problem, was begun soon after military occupation had quieted civil disorder. This work progressed with such rapidity that the Secretary of War could announce in his annual report in 1853 that twenty-one companies of soldiers were scattered among ten forts: Fort Massachusetts in Utah country eighty-five miles from Taos, Cantonment Burgwin near Taos, Fort Union on the Moro River, Fort Marcy at Santa Fé, the Albuquerque encampment at Albuquerque, the Las Lunas military reservation twenty-five miles below Albuquerque on the Rio Grande River, Fort Conrad at Valverde, Fort Fillmore at Brasito forty miles above El Paso, Fort Webster in the copper mines in the Apache country, and Fort Defiance in Navajo territory one hundred and ninety miles west of Albuquerque.<sup>13</sup>

The authority to erect these forts was derived from certain articles of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Under that treaty the United States asserted its right to fortify any point within its territory, and had at the same time assumed the obligation of preventing depredations against the newly acquired citizens.<sup>14</sup> The numbers of Indians that threatened the New Mexican settlers' security and menaced the safety of westbound emigrants as they passed through the

<sup>8</sup>"The Kearny Code," *Laws of the Territory of New Mexico*, 1st & 2nd Sess., 1851-1852 (Santa Fé, 1852), pp. 33-105. Kearny's Code appears in both English and Spanish. The importance and influence of this code on New Mexico law is briefly analyzed by Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 426.

<sup>9</sup>The New Mexicans held three conventions to draw up a constitution for local government: the first on October 10, 1848, the second in September, 1849, and the third in April, 1950. *Ibid.*, 443-447. For the detailed proposals of the second of these conventions see: *Journal of New Mexico Convention of Delegates to Recommend a Plan of Civil Government, September, 1849*, Historical Society of New Mexico, Pamphlet No. 10 (Santa Fé, 1907).

<sup>10</sup>*Laws of the Territory of New Mexico*, 1st and 2nd Sess., 1851-1852 (Santa Fé, 1852), 16-31.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, 107 f.

<sup>12</sup>Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 631. Bancroft lists on this page the names of all of the early territorial officers.

<sup>13</sup>"Annual Report of the Secretary of War," *Senate Executive Documents*, No. 1, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1853-1854, II (Washington, 1854), 120.

<sup>14</sup>*U. S. Statutes at Large*, IX (1862), 932, 934, 984 f.

territory has been estimated at thirty-odd thousand.<sup>15</sup> One and one-half years after the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo at Queretaro, two treaties were signed with the Navajo and Utah Indians under which forts could be located in their strongholds. Patterned on the many preceding treaties with Indians on older frontiers, these agreements stipulated that "... people of the United States of America shall have free and safe passage through the territory of the [tribes] . . ."<sup>16</sup> The location of these ten forts in the territory between 1846-1853 was the federal government's attempt to fulfill its assumed obligations toward the citizens of the newly conquered province while establishing its power to hold the area against all comers.

The third of the army's activities, that of exploration and survey, received its first impetus from the military situation. The necessity of supplying its troops with rations, equipment, and forage emphasized the need of a good transportation network to eastern supply depots while the requirement of frequent and rapid contact between the widely dispersed military forces likewise pointed to the indispensability of a well developed communication system. Furthermore, the movement of troops to California required the location of a route for their passage.

Thus the army soon found itself surveying and locating routes of travel which were later to become important avenues of emigration. This activity evolved into an extensive road-building program, which after passing through military hands lodged in civilian control when the Interior Department in 1857 took over the building of the transcontinental wagon roads. In order to understand by what authority the army was engaged in such public works, a brief survey of appropriations for internal improvements is necessary.

It is generally held that Andrew Jackson's Maysville road veto in May, 1830, dampened the ardour of supporters of internal improvements within state boundaries at national expense. These factions did not gain ascendancy again until the Illinois Central Railroad grant in 1850. It is important, however, to notice the distinction between Congressional powers within the territories and the limits over them within the states. Although federally financed improvements within the state were, for the most part, abandoned, the right of Congress to appropriate money for territorial improvements was rarely challenged. While it seems to be true that there was a quantitative decrease in amounts of money appropriated and in the number of such projects planned, the principle of nationally financed improvements may have been kept alive, in part, by designating the various works as military necessities. In most instances, the money that was appropriated was to be disbursed under the direction of the Secretary

<sup>15</sup>Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 459; J. D. B. DeBow, *Compendium of the Seventh Census of the United States, 1850* (Washington, 1854), 40 f.

<sup>16</sup>*U. S. Statutes at Large*, IX (1862), 974 f.

of War, who, in turn, was authorized to employ regular troops for construction in some instances, or contract with civilian supervisors and workers in others. An analysis of the many laws passed between the years of 1830-1851, reveals that more than \$7,000,000 was so appropriated and spent on all internal improvements. This figure does not include \$100,000 that was set aside for the repair and construction of roads and bridges for the use of the armies in the field in 1847, a possible source of funds for the earliest and crudest road construction in New Mexico territory.<sup>17</sup> These seem to be paltry sums when compared to the costs of later improvement programs, and they certainly must be so considered when compared to the total need for public works. But these appropriations are important because of the precedent they set for later legislation.

A breakdown of the internal improvement appropriation bills for the years from 1830-1851, shows that the amount spent on military road location and construction ranked third in the over-all internal improvements picture, being surpassed only by the Cumberland road, river and harbor improvements, and lake surveys. In all, over \$1,000,000 was spent on military roads.<sup>18</sup>

A greater participation of the military in programs of public works may be dated from a law of April 30, 1824, when the President was empowered to

... cause the necessary survey, plans, and estimates to be made of the routes of such roads and canals as he may deem of national importance, in a commercial or military point of view, or necessary for the transportation of the public mail.<sup>19</sup>

He was, however, at this time given the choice of using either civil or army engineers to superintend the work.<sup>20</sup> Once established as a principle of government, a comprehensive program evolved from these simple beginnings to include geographical and military defense surveys, and army road buildings. In 1825, Congress designated \$10,000 to be spent in locating a road from the "... western frontier of the state of Missouri, to the boundary line of the United States, in the direction of Santa Fé, of New Mexico."<sup>21</sup> On July 2, 1836, Congress granted \$100,000 for the location of a military road to connect frontier forts which were to stretch from the Des Moines River area on the Mississippi southward to the Mississippi mouth of the Red River. This law stipulated that troops could be used in the building of the road and forts.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>17</sup>*U. S. Statutes at Large*, IX (1862), 151.

<sup>18</sup>The writer has analyzed the internal improvement appropriation laws appearing in the *U. S. Statutes at Large*, IV (1856); *ibid.*, V (1848).

<sup>19</sup>*U. S. Statutes at Large*, IV (1856), 22 f.

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, 23.

<sup>21</sup>*Ibid.*, 100.

<sup>22</sup>*U. S. Statutes at Large*, V (1848), 67.

Thus, as the demand for more and better routes of travel increased, the army began to assume the burden of locating, building, and repairing roads. In May, 1846, Congress provided

. . . that the non-commissioned officers, musicians, and privates of said regiment [a regiment of mounted riflemen], when employed in constructing fortifications, making surveys, cutting roads, or performing other labor, shall be allowed fifteen cents per day each, with a commutation in money for the extra spirit ration.<sup>23</sup>

These services were classified as fatigue duty.<sup>24</sup> In 1849, \$50,000 was given to the Topographical Engineers to survey routes from the Mississippi Valley to the Pacific Ocean.<sup>25</sup> It may safely be assumed that some of this money was spent in marking out roads.

With the early acceptance of the principle of supreme Congressional power in territorial affairs, and especially in matters of internal improvements, the federal government put a great share of these works of public welfare under the direction of the army, either by leaving it up to presidential choice or by specifying their construction under the Secretary of War. It was generally believed that graduate engineers from the West Point Military Academy were among the most skilled engineers in America during this period. Furthermore, conditions of warfare with the Indians on the frontier meant that the military was admirably suited to play the role given it by Congress. In spite of opinions to the contrary, the army was the best equipped, the best protected, and the most qualified agency to accomplish exploration, survey, and the location of wagon roads.

The military situation that followed the beginning of the Mexican War in 1846, as well as the precedents establishing and the Congressional acceptance of this phase of army activity, must also be considered because it was precisely during this time that the exploration and survey services of the army were expanded to lay the basis for a later military and civilian road-building program. The first of these surveys were those of Kearny and Cooke. Not road builders in the same sense of the term as their successors were to be, nevertheless they located important routes of travel through New Mexico. Their routes were to be followed in a general way by roads that were to be built ten years after their surveys.

Having initiated the processes which were to solve the problems of law and order and the many Indian troubles, Kearny organized his forces for their march to California as he had been instructed to do. Leaving Santa Fé on Sep-

<sup>23</sup>*U. S. Statutes at Large*, IX, (1862), 14.

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, 69, 149, 306, 372, 507.

tember 25, 1846, with a detachment of 300 dragoons, he allowed his assistant Emory to direct the expedition over ground the cartographer had surveyed while Kearny had been occupied with local affairs. The thirty-nine days from August 18, the date of the army's arrival in Santa Fé, to September 25, had allowed Emory to go over the route down the Rio Grande Valley as far south as Tomé. Before his departure, Kearny split his forces into three parts, leaving Colonel Doniphan with a regiment in Santa Fé, and ordering Cooke to follow the dragoons with his Mormon Battalion of 500 men.<sup>26</sup> Cooke was instructed to move from his La Joya station to Santa Fé and there to await the arrival of the Mormon Battalion which was en route from Council Grove. Their late arrival prevented Cooke from following Kearny directly.<sup>27</sup> At first, Kearny had intended to carry his supplies across country in wagons, but he was dissuaded after intercepting Lieutenant Kit Carson who had just come from California over the route Kearny planned to use. Carson informed Kearny that it was impossible to take wagons over his recently explored trail. The general was easily convinced of the wisdom of sending his wagons back for Cooke and his battalion to bring forward by a different route.<sup>28</sup>

Thus, Kearny's column of men pushed west on foot, on mule, and horseback, unencumbered by vehicles except for two small mountain howitzers. To the wheel of one of these guns was attached the viameter, an instrument for measuring distances.<sup>29</sup> On October 14, after traveling southward along the river, Kearny turned his group southwest. On breaking camp on the 16th, they headed west until they intercepted the Gila River. Following that river as it coursed a few miles north or south of the thirty-third parallel, only one short-cut was attempted before reaching the Colorado River: the Big Bend in the Gila was avoided by veering west by southwest beyond the Pimas Villages. Kearny's First Dragoons camped on the confluence of the Gila and Colorado rivers on November 22. After a hazardous crossing of the Colorado, they moved westward, gradually edging northward to pass over an area which Emory labelled on his map the "Sandy Desert." Halting at Cariso Creek on the 28th, after an exhausting and dry march, the column spent the next week working through the coastal mountain range. A brief but bloody skirmish with Mexican troops occurred on the morning of October 6. Kearny and his men reached San Diego worn and

<sup>26</sup>Emory, "Notes of a Military Reconnoissance," *op. cit.*, 7-11, 43.

<sup>27</sup>P. St. George Cooke, "Report of Lieut. Col. P. St. George Cooke of His March from Santa Fé, New Mexico, to San Diego, Upper California," *House Executive Documents*, No. 41, 30th Cong., 1st Sess., 1848, IV (Washington, 1848), 551-555. Hereinafter cited as: Cooke, "Report of Lieut. Col. P. St. George Cooke."

<sup>28</sup>Emory, "Notes on a Military Reconnoissance," *op. cit.*, p. 53. Also see: "Journal of Captain A. R. Johnston, First Dragoons," *House Executive Documents*, No. 41, 30th Cong., 1st Sess., 1848, IV (Washington, 1848), 572.

<sup>29</sup>Emory, "Notes on a Military Reconnoissance," *op. cit.*, 56.

bedraggled on December 12, 1846, having averaged about twelve and one-half miles a day on the 1,043 mile trip from Santa Fé to San Diego.<sup>30</sup>

Kearny's march had been in response to a military demand, and was not made with the specific purpose of locating a route of travel. But passing over the country, the possibility of making the path over which his column had moved a practicable one for wagons did not escape the notice of the expedition's official scribe, Emory. On one occasion he recorded in his journal,

A few pounds of powder would blast the projections of rock from the canon, and make it passable for packs, and possibly for wagons also. The route which the wagons are to follow is, however, to the south of this.<sup>31</sup>

The wagon route to which he referred was the one located by Cooke.

While Kearny's mule train had been moving down the Rio Grande River, Cooke impatiently awaited his Mormon Battalion's arrival in Santa Fé. The first section of the battalion marched into town on October 9; the second group, three days later. The battalion's condition was bad. Its mules were broken down and footsore from the long haul from Council Grove, and sixty of its men were so sick that they had been carried most of the way in wagons. To add to Cooke's difficulties twenty-five women and many children had accompanied the Mormon volunteers. The disabled men, the women, and children were sent under escort to Pueblo, a Mormon encampment on the Arkansas River above Bent's Fort, for the winter. But five of the women, wives of members of his expedition who owned their own wagons, were allowed to remain with the column.<sup>32</sup>

Cooke spent only one week in readying the battalion for their journey. He led them out of Santa Fé on October 19. Following Kearny's route southward along the Rio Grande, and learning of Kearny's decision to leave his wagons for him to bring forward, Cooke wrote in his journal,

. . . I am informed that the wagons have been left rather as a matter of convenience. I have brought road tools, and am *determined* to take through my wagons; but the experiment is not a fair one, as the mules are nearly broken down at the outset.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>30</sup>*Ibid.*; these data compiled from the map following p. 416. Also see: Thomas Kearny, *General Philip Kearny, Battle Soldier of Five Wars Including the Conquest of the West by General Stephen Watts Kearny* (New York, 1937), pp. 113-135. John Watts De Peyster, *Personal and Military History of Philip Kearny* (New York, 1869), 123-135.

<sup>31</sup>Emory, "Notes on a Military Reconnoissance," *op. cit.*, 62 f.

<sup>32</sup>Coke. "Report of Lieut. Col. P. St. George Cooke," *op. cit.*, 551 f.

<sup>33</sup>P. St. George Cooke, "Journal of the March of the Mormon Battalion on Infantry Volunteers, under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel P. St. George Cook (*sic*), (also Captain of Dragoons,) from Santa Fe, New Mexico, to San Diego, California, Kept by Himself by Direction of the Commanding General of the Army of the West," *Senate Executive Documents*, No. 2, Special Sess., March 5, 1849 (Washington, 1849), p. 3. Hereinafter cited as: Cooke, "Journal of the March of the Mormon Battalion." The italics in the citation are Cook's.

In retrospect, when writing the report for Kearny after his San Diego arrival, Cooke observed that:

The constant tenor of your letters of instruction made it almost a point of honor to bring wagons through to the Pacific; and so I was retarded in making and finding a road for them.<sup>34</sup>

The trip down the Rio Grande, following his Santa Fé departure, showed Cooke that unless his load was lightened and his rations increased, the possibility of success would be small. Therefore, after sending back another fifty-eight sick men, and reducing his load an estimated 20 per cent, he increased his rations by purchasing 308 sheep and several bees.<sup>35</sup> The battalion kept south along the Rio Grande thirty miles beyond the point at which Kearny had turned west, then swung south in a wide loop, and moved north again to pick up Kearny's trail just beyond the Pimas Villages. Cooke estimated the distance of this detour at 444 miles.<sup>36</sup>

When he left the Rio Grande at a point near present-day El Paso, Cooke's entourage included 339 men, 5 women, over 15 wagons, and a herd of sheep and cattle.<sup>37</sup>

Just what the caravan did in "building" a wagon road to the Pacific coast can best be determined from periodic entries in Cooke's journal. When the going was smooth, it seems that they marched along, jogging from water hole to water hole, convinced that the marks left by their turning wheels had established a road. But along difficult stretches, "the pioneers" were sent ahead to clear the way for the advancing procession of straggling wagons.<sup>38</sup> Cooke had distributed ten or twenty men to a wagon. These men, carrying full knapsack and a musket, pushed and pulled the wagons through the sand.<sup>39</sup> The fact that this wagon road building was, more than anything else, the simple marking of a trail is suggested by Cooke's entry for November 20:

If the continent is thus crossed in this vicinity it, [*sic*] will be through El Paso, from which my road may be available. I have travelled a month with ten or fifteen men to help each wagon; and I am now nearly south, of Santa Fé. If I had been supplied with *good* fat mules it might be safe to keep directly on in this wilderness; but it should be noticed that making a wagon road for thirty or forty miles without water is equal to going fifty or sixty with a road.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>34</sup>Cooke, "Report of Lieut. Col. P. St. George Cooke," *op. cit.*, pp. 560 f.

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 552 f.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 415.

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*, 552 f.; Cooke, "Journal of the March of the Mormon Battalion," *op. cit.*,

33.

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.*, 12.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*, 20.

Another illustration of the broad use of the term, road, may be found in an entry made two days later:

The road, or rather country, was smoother than usual today; the same gravel and clay well covered with grass. It has been mostly a gently descent. After all have passed, we leave a very good road.<sup>41</sup>

Wherever there were wagon tracks, there was a road.<sup>42</sup> On December 8, Cooke wrote:

The road this morning was over very hilly ground, and was, therefore, quite crooked; the ground was barren and hard, and good for a road, except in places covered with loose stones. Near the base of a lofty mountain to our left we struck smooth prairie, and were then troubled with mezquite [*sic*].<sup>43</sup>

Cooke's attitude furnishes an excellent example of what road building was in this early period. After leaving Tucson and approaching the Gila River where he expected to follow Kearny's route the rest of the way, Cooke noted:

Of this road which I have made from Tucson [*sic*], I will say more when the river is reached; but thus far, I will pronounce it the most extensive desert I have seen; clay, sand, gravel, artemisias, mezquites [*sic*], and a few other bushes; far away to the west as the eye could follow it was the same, and I am told for a hundred miles.<sup>44</sup>

Cooke's men did some improving of the route, however. On January 19, just before entering the San Diego coastal plains, the battalion found itself halted in the mountains near San Felipe by a narrow canyon of solid rock, a defile too narrow for the smallest wagon to squeeze through. Grabbing an axe, Cooke inspired his men to widen the opening by hewing away the projecting rocks. Primitive though such repairs were, everybody set to work chipping out the passage, and after dismantling only two wagons, the rest were pulled through without great difficulty.<sup>45</sup> Cooke warned that the road from the Colorado River over the "Sandy Desert" to this improved canyon was the most difficult section of his route.<sup>46</sup>

To celebrate the epic accomplishment of his troops having brought eight wagons through to California,<sup>47</sup> Cooke issued a proclamation:

History may be searched in vain for an equal march of infantry . . . with almost hopeless labor, we have dug deep wells, which

<sup>41</sup>*Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.*, 29.

<sup>43</sup>*Ibid.*, 35.

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*, 76.

<sup>46</sup>*Idem.*

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*, 75.

the future traveller will enjoy. Without a guide . . . we have ventured into trackless prairies and axe in hand, we have worked our way over mountains which seemed to defy ought save the wild goat, and hewed a passage through a chasm of living rock more narrow than our wagons. To bring these first wagons to the Pacific, we have preserved the strength of our mules by herding them over large tracts, which you have laboriously guarded without loss. . . . Thus, marching half-naked and half-fed, and living upon wild animals, we have discovered and made a road of great value to our country.<sup>48</sup>

Thus, in early 1847, the first route located by federal authority and personnel through the soon-to-be acquired southwest was announced to the world.

With the cessation of hostilities with Mexico and the spread of news of the gold discoveries in Sutter's New Helvetia, the numbers of emigrants who wanted to migrate to California swelled to thousands. Because of a demand for their safety, the War Department assumed the duty of protecting as many of these as possible on their trip through hostile Indian country. Thus, to the army's role as road finder was added that of escort for emigrant trains. These emigrants would collect at one of the military outposts building their own strength while awaiting the assignment of troops to accompany them through the most dangerous territory. Lieutenant James H. Simpson was ordered in the spring of 1849, to report to Fort Smith, Arkansas, to accompany such an expedition to Santa Fé. His particular job on the trip was engineer officer in charge of the exploration, survey, and construction of a wagon road along the south side of the Canadian River.<sup>49</sup> Simpson joined Captain Randolph B. Marcy, the commanding officer of the column, twenty-six miles out of Fort Smith on April 7, 1849.<sup>50</sup>

En route some eighty-four days, several of which were spent in resting on account of the emigrants, the train reached Santa Fé on June 28.<sup>51</sup> Simpson protested that even better time could have been made if they had not been delayed because of improving the road over which they passed.<sup>52</sup> To Simpson, like Cooke, road construction had a particular meaning in this early period of transportation development.

<sup>48</sup>*Ibid.*, 84.

<sup>49</sup>James H. Simpson, "Report of Fort Smith to Santa Fé Military Wagon Road Exploration and Construction," *Senate Executive Documents*, No. 12, 31st Cong., 1st Sess., 1849-1850, VI (Washington, 1850), 2. Hereinafter cited as: Simpson, Report of Fort Smith to Santa Fe."

<sup>50</sup>R. B. Marcy, "Report of Captain R. B. Marcy," *Senate Executive Documents*, No. 64, 31st Cong., 1st Sess., 1849-1850, XIV (Washington, 1850), 169. Hereinafter cited as: Marcy, "Report."

<sup>51</sup>Simpson, "Report of Fort Smith to Santa Fe," *op. cit.*, 25.

<sup>52</sup>*Idem.*

Simpson pointed out that the road he mapped from Fort Smith to Santa Fé had been located by Marcy.<sup>53</sup> Building problems, however, were minimum.

The road, though good from the vicinity of Shawnee Village, opposite Edwards, now has become *very fine; and so it continues with some inconsiderable exceptions all the way to New Mexico.*

Indeed so superior was it that I scarcely ever got on it, from my explorations to the right and left, without involuntarily wishing that I had a fleet horse and a light buggy, that I might skim over it to my satisfaction.<sup>54</sup>

Marcy, too, testified that after leaving Cross Timbers "... the ground is then as smooth and firm as the macadamized road almost the entire distance to Santa Fé."<sup>55</sup> On several days the wagons rolled more than seventeen miles.<sup>56</sup> A reader of the Simpson-Marcy journals gets the impression that roads were synonymous with the country traveled over, although like Cooke's expedition some work was done by the troops when local obstructions were encountered.

In describing the four maps he drew of his trip, Simpson included some considerations for wagon road buildings other than the repair of a smooth road bed. Travel advice for the emigrant was necessary and important. Therefore, he included on his map,

... every item of information needful for the emigrant to know—such as where wood, water, and grass can be found; their respective quantities; the several camping places of the troops; their position, distances apart; how unnecessarily long marches can be avoided; how wood and water can be had every night.<sup>57</sup>

When Marcy published his emigrant travel guide it also carried minute observations on the three basic requirements of a good wagon road: the location of grass, wood, and water. One of the things that helps to distinguish this pre-road building period from the construction of the Fifties in the Southwest is the fact that more time was spent in discovering natural sources of water than in trying to develop or improve the supply.

After a slight delay in Santa Fé refitting for his return to Fort Smith, Marcy and his men bade goodbye to the emigrants who continued westward and to Simpson who was detailed to duty with the army in New Mexico. Leaving Santa Fé on August 25, 1849, Marcy's column reached Doña Ana, a town sixty miles north of El Paso on the Rio Grande River. Turning the group east, Marcy led them through the San Augustine Pass in the Organ Mountains onto the

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*, 24.

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid.*, 8. The italics are Simpson's.

<sup>55</sup>Marcy, "Report," *op. cit.*, 172.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*, 193-195.

<sup>57</sup>Simpson, "Report of Fort Smith to Santa Fé," *op. cit.*, 3.

famous "Staked Plains," the Llano Estacado.<sup>58</sup> Doña Ana was only fifteen miles below San Diego, New Mexico, the point at which Cooke's wagon road left the river toward the west. Thus, Marcy's return route was virtually a direct link with it. The 895 miles from Doña Ana to Fort Smith were more rapidly covered by Marcy than had been his outgoing march along the south bank of the Canadian River. The group in returning averaged eleven and one-third miles a day. Their greatest difficulty over the new route was encountered in finding sufficient water across the "Staked Plains."<sup>59</sup> However, emigrants en route to California could follow Marcy's route through San Augustine Pass to its juncture with Cooke's route, thence on to the Pacific. In this fashion the *Jornada del Muerto*, a narrow desert stretch extending seventy-odd miles north from El Paso to Fra Christobal could be avoided.<sup>60</sup>

These three exploratory surveys of Kearny, Cooke, and Marcy with Simpson, were the most important ones in New Mexico prior to 1850 for the establishment of military and emigrant routes. All three became particularly important in the development of transcontinental wagon roads in the late Fifties. Cooke's road, however, lay within Mexican boundaries, and Kearny's route was not yet practicable for wagons. Kit Carson and John C. Fremont failed to discover a more satisfactory route between Los Angeles through the southern portion of present day Nevada and Colorado to Abiquiu and Cañada to Santa Fé, New Mexico. The road was reported good for two-wheeled carriages, but heavy snows made it useless for anything but a summer road.<sup>61</sup> Thus, there seemed to be only one southern year-around wagon route between New Mexico and California, and it ran through foreign territory. When the Gadsden Purchase was completed in 1853 that route was included in the bargain. Whether for a railroad or the existing wagon route is not too important; the wagon road was a reality, the railroad at that time, a remote possibility. Simpson, in writing of railroad building from Fort Smith to Santa Fé, remarked that "... *the time has not yet come when this or any other railroad can be built over this continent . . .*" He could not see a railroad running through the country for at least ten or twenty years.<sup>62</sup> But the immediate benefit of well marked wagon roads was obvious to him as it was to many others of his generation.

The work of exploration and survey which has been dealt with in this chapter was under the direction of the Secretary of War, but more specifically under the immediate charge of the Bureau of Topographical Engineers. This fact might be explained by the predominance of the military in the territories during and immediately following the Mexican War, and further by the earlier

<sup>58</sup>Marcy, "Report," *op. cit.*, 196-198.

<sup>59</sup>*Ibid.*, 196-227.

<sup>60</sup>*Ibid.*, 197-199.

<sup>61</sup>Simpson, "Report of Fort Smith to Santa Fe," *op. cit.*, 2.

<sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*, 22. Italics are Simpson's.

suggestion that internal improvements were made politically possible by specifying all such projects as military necessities. Even though extensive building was not done in this early period to the same extent that it was in the following decade of the Fifties, the contributions of these many projects to the later building program was of almost incalculable value. In his annual report of 1850, Colonel John J. Abert, Chief of Topographical Engineers, emphasized this point:

Too much care cannot be bestowed on these preliminary surveys. The results always involve a saving of both time and money. In my opinion, there is no engineer of intelligence and experience who will not say that such surveys save time, lessen unnecessary and costly labor, and enable him to lay out the work on the ground and direct its construction with more intelligence and with greater economy in cost. These surveys have to be made, and, if not made in the first instance, are usually made out of the appropriations for the construction of the work, at more cost, under such circumstances, than if made by the surveying parties already in the field.<sup>63</sup>

The emphasis, then, in this early period was on exploration and on the increase of knowledge of terrain and emigration facilities, although there were crude beginnings toward road-building procedures. It was the problem-defining period of road construction. Ambitious attempts to build extensively had to wait, however, until legislation authorized the construction of local military roads in New Mexico territory and until Congress yielded to popular pressure in granting funds to locate transcontinental wagon roads to aid emigration.

<sup>63</sup>"Annual Report of the Chief of Topographical Engineers," *House Executive Documents*, No. 1, 31st Cong., 2nd Sess., 1850-1851, Vol. 1. Part II (Washington, 1851), p. 393.

## GENERAL B. H. GRIERSON— INDIAN FIGHTER

. . . . . by *Daniel B. Cullinane*

Among the new United States Cavalry regiments which were organized in 1866, at the close of the Civil War, was the Tenth, a regiment composed of negro troopers and white officers. Recruiting commenced with Company A, later to be designated as Troop A. As soon as this company received its full complement of recruits and was partially trained, it was sent into the field against hostile Indians of Kansas, and organization of Company B commenced, continuing thus through the twelve companies of the regiment. Units of the Tenth Cavalry were fighting Indians of Kansas, Oklahoma and the Southwest from its organization until 1886 when the last of these Indians were finally pacified. During this period the Tenth Cavalry was based successively on Forts Leavenworth and Riley in Kansas, Fort Sill in Oklahoma, Forts Concho and Davis in Texas, and various forts and camps in Arizona. During the twenty years following organization, the entire regiment, or some of its companies or squadrons (four companies) were constantly in contact with hostile Indians, principally Apaches.

The man who organized and commanded the Tenth Cavalry during the first twenty-two years of its existence was Benjamin Henry Grierson, Colonel, 10th U. S. Cavalry, and a Brevet Major General of United States Volunteers. He was brevetted a Major General for his exploits as a Cavalry Commander in the Union Army during the war. This man, who hated horses from his youth, became, by the fortunes of war, one of our greatest Cavalry Leaders.

Benjamin H. Grierson was born on July 8, 1826, in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, but moved with his family when very young to Youngstown, Ohio. He developed very early an aptitude for music, becoming proficient with several instruments. He also became interested in military affairs when very young and applied for admission to the United States Military Academy at West Point. He received an appointment but his mother convinced him that he was destined to be a great musician and persuaded him to decline the appointment. He then joined the local militia company but served only a few weeks and it is doubtful if he received any military training of value from this experience.

In 1851 he became a music teacher in Jacksonville, Illinois, and also organized several bands in adjoining towns. In the summer of 1852, he took his Jacksonville Band to Springfield, where it won considerable attention. *The Illinois State Register* noted that his band was unique in that the members played by the card instead of their own conception of what each particular piece of

music should be.<sup>1</sup> In 1854, at the age of twenty-eight, he married Alice Kirk, a childhood sweetheart. By 1858 he had become interested in politics and composed several songs for Abraham Lincoln's senatorial campaign of that year. In April, 1861, Grierson joined a volunteer infantry company and left for Cairo, Illinois, where he was promptly appointed Aide de Camp to General Benjamin Prentiss.<sup>2</sup> At that time he was described as typically Scotch-Irish, tall, gangling and wiry. His swarthy scar-marked face was surrounded by rich black hair and a beard worn in the down-spreading shape of the times. The scar was the result of a kick by a pony when he was eight years of age, which split his forehead and badly mangled one cheek. This accident left him with a profound distrust of horses which persisted all his life, hardly an auspicious beginning for a man who was to become one of the world's greatest cavalymen.<sup>3</sup>

After five months service, Grierson was offered a commission as a Major of Volunteer Cavalry. He tried to transfer to the Infantry but was refused and in December, 1861, he reported for duty as a Major with the 'Sixth Illinois Cavalry Regiment, then in winter quarters. The Captains of his Squadron resented his lack of cavalry experience. Promotion by election was customary at



BENJAMIN H. GRIERSON  
*The Regiment's First Colonel*

that time and Grierson voluntarily submitted to an election to determine if he would hold his rank of Major. He was easily elected over the dissident captains. Four months later he was elected Colonel of his regiment. The regiment was occupied with routine raids and fights during this period and it soon became known as Grierson's Cavalry. In the summer of 1862, the Sixth was brigaded with the Seventh Illinois Cavalry and the Second Iowa Cavalry and Grierson became the Brigade Commander. The Brigade was soon known as Grierson's Brigade and in the spring of 1863 was attached to General Grant's Command for the Vicksburg Campaign. Grierson remained a Colonel through the Vicksburg Campaign.

<sup>1</sup>D. Alexander Brown, *Grierson's Raid* (Urbana, 1954), 24.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.*, 25.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 25.

Colonel Grierson's Brigade was selected by General Grant to conduct a cavalry raid from La Grange, Tennessee, to Baton Rouge, Louisiana, operating in Confederate held territory east of Vicksburg. The mission of the raid was to aid Grant by cutting off Vicksburg's supplies and communications from the East. The story of this very successful raid has no place in this article, but several books, both fictional and historical, have been published about this raid and recently a movie has been made. Prior to this raid the Union Cavalry had very little to boast about. Jeb Stuart and other great Confederate Cavalrymen had previously carried off all the honors for the Cavalry but Grierson changed that. Grierson's reward was to be made a Brevet Major General of Volunteers and designated by General Grant as Chief of Cavalry of Grant's XVI Army Corps. After further distinguished service, he was mustered out of the Volunteers, on April 30, 1866, with the rank of Brevet Major General of Volunteers. In recognition of his war service, he was appointed a Colonel of Cavalry in the Regular Army of the United States on July 28, 1866, and directed to organize and command the newly authorized Tenth Cavalry. He was to command the Tenth for the next twenty-two years, twenty of them fighting Indians of the Southwest.<sup>4</sup>

An Act of Congress of 1866 authorized the increase of the Regular Army to twenty-five regiments of Infantry and ten of Cavalry, and further provided that the 24th and 25th Infantry Regiments and the 9th and 10th Cavalry Regiments be negro soldiers with white officers.<sup>5</sup> General Grierson arrived at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas in September 1866, to find that the regiment then consisted of himself as Commanding Officer, and a Lieutenant Colonel who was absent on recruiting duty. The "Regimental Return" for the month of September, 1866, contained only the names of these two officers, and under "Remarks" the entry, "Recruits needed, 1092." The need for troops to use against the hostile Indians of the West was so acute at that time that the new regiments were sent into action piece-meal. Thus companies and Squadrons were scattered all through the West and General Grierson did not see his entire regiment in one place for over twenty years. Training the Band was General Grierson's personal responsibility.<sup>6</sup>

During organization, Regimental Headquarters was moved to Fort Riley, Kansas, where the last four companies were organized. All this time units of the Tenth were constantly in action against Indians. These campaigns gradually moved southward and in April 1869, General Grierson was ordered to move his Headquarters to Oklahoma, where he established Camp Wichita on Cache

<sup>4</sup>Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, I (Washington, 1903), 478.

<sup>5</sup>Major Edward L. N. Glass, *The History of the Tenth Cavalry* (Tucson, 1921), 11-13.

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, 12-14.

Creek which is still part of what is now one of the Army's largest military reservations, Fort Sill. This camp site proved unsatisfactory and General Grierson was directed to establish a permanent military post, which is still part of the Fort Sill of today.<sup>7</sup> The construction of the original Fort Sill started General Grierson on a new career, that of builder. During the next twenty years he would build or rebuild several frontier posts in Oklahoma and Texas. He was very busy at Fort Sill, fighting Indians and building the new post until April, 1873, when part of his Tenth Cavalry made the acquaintance of Texas. Five companies were sent to the Lone Star State to garrison Fort Richardson, Fort Griffin and Fort Concho. With the companies remaining at Fort Sill, General Grierson took part in the 1874-1875 campaign against the Kiowas and Comanches, capturing three hundred braves and 1500 ponies in a single engagement.<sup>8</sup>

During March of 1875, General Grierson moved to Texas and established his Headquarters at Fort Concho where San Angelo is now. The "Regimental Return" for May, 1875, lists the distribution of the Tenth as follows: Headquarters, Band and six companies at Fort Concho; two companies at Fort Griffin; two companies at Fort McKavett; and one company each at Fort Davis and Fort Stockton.<sup>9</sup> That distribution represents the situation on that date only, as companies and squadrons were constantly changing stations according to the needs of the Indian situation. General Grierson's duties were much the same as they were at Fort Sill, administration of his widely scattered command, placing troops where they were most needed, and taking personal command of larger expeditions. In addition to the Kiowas and Comanches of Fort Sill, he now had to cope with the Mescalero Apaches.<sup>10</sup> General Grierson also commanded the Military District of the Pecos which contained all the posts occupied by units of the Tenth Cavalry. Many of these posts also had sub-posts at water holes and stage stations which had to be manned, usually by small detachments such as a sergeant and ten to fifteen men. General Grierson found Fort Concho run-down and inadequate and again he had to take on a building and repair program, mostly with troop labor and local materials. He also built a military road connecting some of his posts. He led a large expedition into the Big Bend Country, charting water holes and trails to be used in the pursuit and interception of marauding Indians. One of the best of these water holes was subsequently named Grierson's Spring.

Another negro regiment had been stationed at Fort Concho prior to General Grierson's arrival, and he inherited considerable resentment against negro

<sup>7</sup>Colonel W. S. Nye, *Carabine and Lance* (Norman, 1943), 84.

<sup>8</sup>Glass, *The History of the Tenth Cavalry*, 20.

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*, 20.

<sup>10</sup>J. Evetts Haley, *Fort Concho and the Texas Frontier* (San Angelo, 1952), 152.

soldiers on the part of the local population. Grierson punished his troopers for brawling when investigation indicated they were guilty, but refused to turn them over to the Rangers when they were not to blame. Ranger S. Sparks once threatened to take a handful of Rangers and wipe out the entire garrison of Fort Concho.<sup>11</sup> However, Grierson was a diplomat as well as a soldier and he managed to avoid any serious trouble.

During 1879 and 1880, General Grierson was absent from Fort Concho almost continuously, leading the campaign against the notorious Apache Victorio. Many times Grierson trailed Victorio through the Big Bend Country only to lose him by being unable to follow him across the Rio Grande into Mexico, where Victorio frequently took refuge. His first contact with Victorio was along the Tularosa River in New Mexico, but he managed to slip away. Victorio was next reported near Paso del Norte but when Grierson arrived there Victorio had crossed the Rio Grande. Victorio next appeared near Eagle Springs in the vicinity of Sierra Blanca, where Grierson attempted to intercept him. Victorio attacked Grierson's command but again the Indian Chief was able to escape across the river when the attack was turned against him. Next Victorio tried to work back to Mescalero, attacking Grierson's screen in several places only to be beaten back. During this campaign, Grierson received valuable aid from Captain George W. Baylor and his Ranger Detachment from Ysleta, Texas. Again Victorio slipped out of the net, crossing the river at Fort Quitman with one company of the Tenth hard on his heels but unable to catch him. Although he failed to capture Victorio, General Grierson did deny West Texas to him and he was never able to return. Shortly after this episode, on October 15, 1880, Victorio was bottled up in the mountains of Mexico and killed by Mexican troops under Colonel Terrassas.<sup>12</sup>

The death of Victorio and the dispersal of his band marked the end of an era in West Texas. There would still be small Indian raids but they would be easily handled. It also marked the end of Fort Concho, and the companies of the Tenth Cavalry were withdrawn in July of 1882 and marched to Fort Davis in the Davis Mountains. The elimination of small bands of Indians that hid out in the mountains of the Big Bend occupied the Tenth for some time, but these were largely nuisance raids and they were easily handled by small units of cavalry.

At Fort Davis General Grierson faced the same old problem of repairing and rebuilding a run-down military post. As usual this was accomplished with troop labor, local materials and no help from Washington. General Grierson at this time detailed Ordinance Sergeant R. F. Joyce to prepare a map of the Indian country of West Texas, on which Grierson plotted all operations of

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, 274-283.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, 336.

troops under his command from 1878 to 1880. This map indicated that scouting parties, detachments and bodies of troops up to regimental size, had traveled a total of 137,710 miles in operations against hostile Indians.<sup>13</sup> The writer has been unable to locate a copy of this map, the original of which was reported to be in the possession of General Grierson's son Robert as late as 1947, but it could not be located now. Mrs. O. L. Shipman's book, *Taming the Big Bend*, contains a map of the same area, entitled *Military Map of the Rio Grande Frontier* and inscribed Property of General Benjamin H. Grierson. It bears the date of 1883.<sup>14</sup>

General Grierson's stay at Fort Davis was short but it was long enough for him to fall in love with the country, and he determined to return and live there after he retired from the Army. To that end he purchased considerable acreage of ranch land near Fort Davis, and later stocked it with fine cattle.<sup>15</sup> By 1885 the need for Grierson's Tenth Cavalry in West Texas was past and it was time to move again. At that time the Tenth was described as being a perfect cavalry fighting machine. The men were lean and hard and grizzled, and loved a fight.<sup>16</sup>

In the spring of 1885, Grierson's Tenth Cavalry marched out of Fort Davis en-route to Arizona to join General George Crook in his pursuit and capture of Geronimo and Cochise. On leaving Fort Davis they marched along the line of the present Southern Pacific Railroad, with detached units joining the column as it marched westward, the last troop joining as they passed Camp Rice.<sup>17</sup> There is little material available as to the details of that march but it can safely be assumed that they laid over a few days at Fort Bliss to rest men and animals, and replace equipment and supplies. Now for the first time in the Tenth's history General Grierson could sit his horse at the side of the trail and see his entire regiment, consisting of Headquarters, Band, three Squadrons of four troops each, and the long wagon train file past him in column of twos. It was also the last time that he would see the Tenth in one place, for it would be many years more before the Regiment would be assembled again. The regiment had barely reached the Arizona border, when it was again split up. On arrival at the Chiricahuas the troops and squadrons received new assignments to stations, and proceeded directly to their new posts.

General Grierson and his command did not participate in the capture of Geronimo, but they were busy much of the time pursuing and eliminating Apaches allied with Geronimo and Cochise. In 1887, a large part of the Tenth under the personal command of Grierson pursued and broke up the followers

<sup>13</sup>Barry Scobee, *Old Fort Davis* (San Antonio, 1947), 70.

<sup>14</sup>Mrs. O. L. Shipman, *Taming The Big Bend* (Marfa, 1926), 191.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, 193; Scobee, *Old Fort Davis*, 74.

<sup>16</sup>Glass, *The Story of the Tenth Cavalry*, 23.

<sup>17</sup>George Ruhlen, "Fort Hancock—Last of the Frontier Posts," *PASSWORD*, IV, 1 (January, 1959), 21.

of an Apache chief called The Kid, a disciple of Geronimo. They failed to capture the Kid, however, but he was never heard of again, and it is assumed that he was killed and that his braves carried him away. That was the custom of the Apaches, whenever it was possible. General Grierson and his command was commended by General Nelson A. Miles, the captor of Geronimo, for their service in the campaign.<sup>18</sup>

On December 1, 1888, Grierson was relieved of command of his beloved Tenth Cavalry after twenty-two years as the regiment's first Commanding Officer. His next assignment was a Commander of the Military Department of Arizona, relieving General George Cook. He was promoted to Brigadier General in the Regular Army during April, 1890. He was retired from active service on July 8, 1890, having reached the age of 64 years, dearly beloved by every man in the Tenth Cavalry. When General Grierson relinquished command of the Tenth in 1888, the officers of the regiment presented him with a beautiful cavalry saber made by Tiffany, the famous New York jeweler. One side of the blade was etched with the names of the States and Territories in which General Grierson had fought Indians; Kansas, Oklahoma, Colorado, Texas, New Mexico and Arizona. On the reverse side was inscribed a remark made by General Grant after Vicksburg, "I need more cavalry and a Grierson to command them," followed by Grant's signature.<sup>19</sup>

Although Illinois claims General Grierson as one of its most illustrious sons, the General adopted Texas as his home while stationed at Fort Davis.<sup>20</sup> There is a Grierson Room in the Library of the University of Illinois which contains his papers and all known literature pertaining to him and his campaigns. While at Fort Davis, he purchased considerable grazing acreage and stocked it with fine cattle. When he did retire at the statuary age of sixty-four, he immediately returned to his Fort Davis ranch where he spent the remainder of his life. Even in retirement he did not escape from horses. Cattle means horses and it is certain that he did not operate a large cattle ranch without doing much of it on horseback. He died on September 1, 1911, while on a visit to his summer home in Owena, Michigan.

General Grierson's place in history is assured. He is recognized by almost all Military Historians as the outstanding Cavalry Leader of the Union Army.

<sup>18</sup>Glass, *The Story of the Tenth Cavalry*, 27.

<sup>19</sup>Scobee, *op. cit.*, 275.

<sup>20</sup>Scobee, *Old Fort Davis*, 275.

## HISTORY OF AGRICULTURE IN THE EL PASO VALLEY— THE NATIVE PERIOD\*

. . . . . by Helen Orndorff

The Anglo-Americans are newcomers to the El Paso district when one considers that this area was under the control of the Spaniards and the Mexicans from 1536 until 1836 and that it was occupied by the native Indians for thousands of years before the coming of the Spaniards.

Little information exists concerning the culture of the earliest people who lived in the El Paso area.<sup>1</sup> Even less is known of the ancient people inhabiting the valleys along the Rio Grande because the everchanging course of this river and the resultant continual shifting of the soils have contributed greatly to the erasure of the archeological remains.<sup>2</sup> There is no doubt, however, that long before the first European trod American soil, and even before the Star of Bethlehem guided the Wise Men over the Asian sands, the El Paso area had for countless ages been the home of pre-historic man. These people lived partly by agriculture and partly by the chase.

Archeological records have been found in higher areas in the El Paso district from which certain aspects of the life of the area's early inhabitants can be learned. Twelve Pueblo sites have been unearthed on terraces near the City of El Paso. Each contained firecracked stones, scattered chips, flint implements, hammerstones, *metates* (stones for grinding corn), and various kinds of pottery which were identified as belonging to the Pueblo Indian culture.<sup>3</sup> The Pueblo Indians were agriculturalists; they cultivated corn, beans, squash, and cotton, and they domesticated the wild turkey.<sup>4</sup>

In 1930 shelter caves were found in a region of dry lakes on the mesas between the Franklin and Organ mountains on the west and in the Sacramentos and Huecos to the east. This area does not exceed fifty miles to the north and east of the City of El Paso. Some of these caves furnish evidence of the Basket-Maker Period.<sup>5</sup> The Basket-Makers were the first to cultivate a primitive corn,

<sup>1</sup>Martin F. Brown, *America's Yesterday* (Philadelphia, 1937), 37-38.

<sup>2</sup>George Griggs, *History of Mesilla Valley or the Gadsen Purchase* (Las Cruces, N. M., 1930), 3.

<sup>3</sup>*Bulletin of the Texas Archeological and the Paleontological Society* (Abilene, 1929), 1, 39.

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*, 1, 37.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, 11 (1930), 64.

\*This is the second in a series of articles on the "History of the Development of Agriculture in the El Paso Valley." The first article, "Climatological Data of the El Paso Area," was published in V. IV, No. 2 (April, 1959), 53-58. (Editor's Note.)

a forerunner of the grain that was one day to be the dominant staple in the diet of the people.<sup>6</sup> Other ruins found here belong to the early Pueblo Period.<sup>7</sup> A twelve-room house ruin was located in 1941 in the Hueco Bolson, on the old Tobin Ranch property, about eight miles northeast of the city limits. The pottery, *metates*, and fragments of gourds found in the area stamp the occupants of these dwellings as agriculturalists.<sup>8</sup>

Thus it is seen that in ancient times Indians who carried on primitive agriculture roamed the El Paso district. There is little evidence to substantiate the claims of some writers that, long before the coming of the Spaniards, the Indians on the present site of Ciudad Juárez had "a system of irrigation of seemingly great antiquity, which has been continued and carried on by the descendants of the aborigines and those of their conquerors continuously for three hundred and fifty years."<sup>9</sup> But even if the Indians had built an irrigation system, it is unlikely that they could have withstood the great drought that occurred in the Southwest between 1276 and 1299. Much of the land could not support a crop of maize sufficient to feed the population during that period. As food became scarce, the people scattered; no one knows where. There are indications that many of them moved southward. The drought, no doubt, contributed greatly to the downfall of the Pueblo culture.<sup>10</sup>

During the period immediately preceding the Spanish conquest, and even later, some of these Pueblo Indians, still practicing their rude form of agriculture, lived along the Rio Grande and other regions of the Southwest. But no such rudiments of agriculture as the Pueblos possessed met the gaze of the Spaniards as they came upon the El Paso area. For here the Indians, the Mansos or Gorretos as they were called, were nomadic and non-agricultural. They cultivated no fields and sowed no grain.<sup>11</sup> Neither did they appear to have pottery or the *metates*. Their food was the bean from the mesquite and variety of native plants such as mescal, agave, screwbean, sotol, piñon, yucca, and opuntia.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*, 1 (1929), 36.

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.*, 11 (1939), 64.

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.*, XVIII (1947), 94-114.

<sup>9</sup>*Irrigation in Mesilla Valley and Other Water Supply Papers*, No.'s 10-18, United States Geological Survey, House Document Number 310, Fifty-fifth Congress, Second Session, 10.

<sup>10</sup>Brown, *America's Yesterday*, 72-73.

<sup>11</sup>Anna E. Hughes, *The Beginning of Spanish Settlement in the El Paso District* (Berkeley, Cal., 1914), 303. See also Carlos E. Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage* (Austin, Texas, 1936), 1, 246; Alonso de Benavides, *Memorial on New Mexico in 1626* (undated MS. in the New York Public Library, copy in the El Paso Library), 3-4; Herbert Eugene Bolton, ed., *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest: 1542-1706* (New York, 1930), 142-150; 168-192.

<sup>12</sup>"The Utilization of Mesquite and Screwbean by the Aborigines in the American Southwest," *Ethnobiological Studies in the American Southwest* (U. of New Mexico, 1937), V, 15-16. Also "The Early Utilization and the Distribution of Agave in the American Southwest," *Ibid.*, VI (1938), 27.

The Indians shared their food, particularly the mesquite beans, with the Spaniards as they first passed through this area.<sup>13</sup> White men as well as Indians could live, at least temporarily, on the plants that grew wild in the locality. Oñate and his followers, having exhausted their supplies near "sand dunes south of El Paso," were forced to eat whatever the land produced in order to survive. And living upon whatever the earth grew, the expedition managed to exist.<sup>14</sup>

Though the word Manso means *tame*, these Indians were in reality fierce and barbarious.<sup>15</sup> The men wore no clothes and the women wore only deerskins that fastened about their waists. Their hair was so cut that they appeared to wear small caps.<sup>16</sup> Cunning as well as warlike, they feigned friendship with the Spaniards either to receive gifts or to be in a position to steal from them.<sup>17</sup>

These, then, were the Indians and the conditions the Spaniards found as they came upon the banks of the Rio Grande near El Paso. And the valley of the river, that under their care would one day produce great quantities of fruits and vegetables and grain, was then but a wasteland.

<sup>13</sup>J. Manuel Espinosa, tr., *First Expedition of Vargas into New Mexico, 1692* (Albuquerque, N. M., 1940), 5.

<sup>14</sup>Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage*, 1, 244.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, 1, 247.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*, 1, 186-187. Also Benavides, *Memorial on New Mexico in 1626*, 3-4.

<sup>17</sup>Castañeda, *Our Catholic Heritage*, 1, 247.

# BOOK REVIEWS

## THE CONFEDERATE INVASION OF NEW MEXICO AND ARIZONA, 1861-1862

. . . . . *by Robert Lee Kerby*

(Los Angeles: Westernlore Press, 1958. \$7.50)

The Master's thesis of Lieutenant Kerby, USAF, has become a very readable narrative of Brigadier General H. H. Sibley's 1862 campaign to conquer New Mexico and the Southwest for the Confederacy. The author has performed a most useful service in collecting, collating and consolidating in one volume the numerous accounts of this often overlooked campaign for which there exist a surprising amount of primary source material. The campaign would be quite well known today had it resulted in a Confederate victory. The author does not disclose any significant new details, but for one unfamiliar with the details of this ambitious plan of conquest, this book should provide a wealth of information on a phase of the Civil War overshadowed by the highly publicized combat epics of the eastern seaboard.

One might wish that Lt. Kerby had devoted a few more pages to the tribulations of forming Sibley's Brigade, and to an analysis of General Van Dorn's strategic concept for the control of the West and Southwest, of which Sibley's campaign was but a component part. Not portrayed are the apprehensions of the Union and Confederate commanders induced by the meager and inaccurate reports of the movements of their adversaries in 1861 and 1862, nor the real apprehension of the Union forces over a possible reinvasion in 1863. Only by evaluating a military commander's decisions and actions in the light of information known to him at the time can one essay an historical judgment of his competence and his niche in history. However, this is not the stated purpose of the book.

In a few instances the author's tense positive assertions on moot historical incidents evince too cursory an evaluation or inadequate source verification. For example, on page 35 it is noted that Cos I and K, Mounted Rifles, actually joined Lynde's command as it retreated from Fort Fillmore and then acted as the rear guard, forcing Baylor's men to outflank the retreating column from the south. There were many officers and men under Lynde who were anxious and determined to fight off Baylor. It was an abject surrender on the part of the commander, rather than the corralling of a column of drunks.

On page 42 and thereafter the author inexplicably states that the Commander of the Department of the Pacific was David Wright rather than General George Wright, a most capable soldier whose services in holding the West for the Union have yet to be properly recognized. Referring to page 109, if the exhumed Confederate howitzers were turned in for scrap during World War II, Albuquerque could hardly have been trying to recover them in 1956, the date the thesis is assumed to have been written, when they were on the old plaza at least as early as the spring of 1953. The positive statement in the footnote on the same page that only four Union guns were captured at Valverde is particularly open to question. Although there are conflicting accounts as to the number and type of cannon that fell into Confederate hands there, the preponderance of evidence from all eye-witness accounts as well as from regimental and post returns is that McRae's entire battery of two 6-pounder guns and four 12-pounder field howitzers were lost. They later formed the Valverde Battery which fought for the Confederate Army until the end of the war.

It is in Appendix II, Battle Statistics of the Campaign, that most of the avoidable factual errors occur. Some are no doubt due to oversight, others to a lack of intimate knowledge of the organization of the troops employed. Examples are: listing the 7th Cavalry rather than the 7th Infantry as a unit at the Fillmore surrender; repeated reference to a company of the 2d Artillery, whereas no unit of an artillery regiment was in New Mexico until Shinn's light battery arrived with Carleton in the summer of 1862. Indeed, all of Canby's batteries were provisional units manned by elements of cavalry or infantry companies. Also, Union troops at Alamosa need not be listed as unknown. They were Captain Mink's company of New Mexico Volunteers and elements of three companies of the 3d Cavalry under Captain Moore. Companies of the 2d Dragoons are shown participating in engagements in 1862 whereas this regiment became the 2d Cavalry in the summer of 1861. Units are duplicated in the troop lists as, for example, G of the 2d Cavalry and I of the 3d Cavalry formed McRae's Battery and elements of the 5th Infantry manned Hall's 24-pounder howitzers. There were no "regimental" batteries in the Federal forces.

These errors, which are of concern mainly to the historian specializing in military organizations, do not detract from the overall interest nor general accuracy of the book. The graphic sketches of the actions at Valverde and Glorieta Pass aid materially in an appreciation of the ebb and flow of the battles described.

This is a volume which the casual reader will enjoy and one which the student of Southwest history should have on his bookshelf. It merits its place in content and typography with other historical publications of the well-known Westernlore Press of Los Angeles.

*Army Section, MAAG Taiwan*

George Ruhlen

## LIVERY STABLE DAYS

by Upton Barnard

(San Antonio: The Naylor Company, 1959. \$3.95)

It has been said, with considerable wisdom, that if a man is "once a horse-trader, always a horse-trader." This pithy old bromide just about epitomizes the life and love of Up Barnard. Up traded almost everything negotiable during his life; his love, of course, was horse-flesh.

In his brief foreword, the author states that "Livery Stable Days" is a "... true history. The stories are authentic, although the names, in some instances, have been changed." The reader can only suppose that this precaution was deemed necessary as a protection for the innocent!

Upton Barnard owned and operated many livery and boarding stables in Texas until the "horseless carriage" made such enterprise impractical. "Livery Stable Days" is the hilarious account of that nearly forgotten time before inside plumbing when salesmen rode the bowl and pitcher circuit in rented "rigs;" when all hearses must be obtained from the livery stable; when high-style courting was carried on in surreys and when ladies rode to "at-homes" in handsome livery stable carriages. It is, also, an excellent socio-economic study of the period when the livery stable was the axis of a town's social life—the club, so to speak, of the rural community. Life was different in those days and, according to Up, a lot more fun!

Upton Barnard's first book, "Jake Bell, Range Rider," established him as a first-rate chronicler of the American frontier; "Livery Stable Days" extends that reputation. The collector of *Americana*, the student of history and the casual reader will enjoy this book; it is an accurate record of our great American heritage.

*El Paso, Texas*

Mary Ellen B. Porter

# CONTRIBUTORS

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Dr. Jack L. Cross is an Assistant Professor of History at Texas Western College. He spent the summer of 1959 at Long Island University as a Lecturer in United States History. For further biographical details and a photograph see *PASSWORD*, IV, I, (January, 1959), 41.

Colonel Daniel B. Cullinane, U.S.A. (Ret.) will be remembered for his excellent article "Ciudad Juárez and the Escobar Revolution," *PASSWORD*, III, 3 (July, 1958), 97-106. Colonel Cullinane spent a number of years in the Tenth Cavalry. For further biographical details and a photograph see the issue of *PASSWORD* cited, page 125.

Mrs. Helen Orndorff is a teacher in the public schools of El Paso. For further biographical details and a photograph see *PASSWORD* IV, 2 (April, 1959), 85.

Colonel George Ruhlen, U.S.A., is a frequent contributor to *PASSWORD*. His article on Fort Thorn will be published sometime in 1960.

Mrs. Mary Ellen B. Porter is the wife of Dr. Eugene O. Porter. She is a graduate of Ohio State University and a frequent contributor to the "Book Shelf" in the *El Paso Herald-Post*.

# HISTORICAL NOTES

## THE REGARRISONING OF FORT BLISS

Colonel George Ruhlen forwarded the following item on Fort Bliss from his station on Taiwan. He discovered it in the Old Army Branch, National Archives, in a file of the Court of Claims Records which had to do with the litigation over the ownership of Fort Quitman's land. "I told the Archive people," Colonel Ruhlen writes, that "it belonged in the Military Reservation file for Fort Bliss and cross indexed to the Quitman file. Don't know where it is now except in the archives. It is the only accurate account I have found," Colonel Ruhlen adds, "as to what triggered the regarrisoning of Bliss." The item follows:

In the fall of 1877, Lt. L. H. Rucker, 9th Cavalry, was on detached duty at El Paso. During an early phase of the famed 'Salt War' of that year he had occasion to be present when Judge Howard was first seized by an angry mob of Spanish-Americans and Mexicans. (See Albion Smith, "The Salt War of San Elizario," *PASSWORD* I, 1 (February, 1956), 4-7. In his letter of October 4, 1877, to the Adjutant General of the New Mexico Military District, Lt. Rucker stated that he felt certain he had saved Judge Howard's life by his intervention and that he was present when Howard signed the papers promising to leave the El Paso area. Rucker felt that the presence of troops was necessary to protect the lives and property of Americans in the El Paso area, or the 'Mexicans will either kill or drive every American out of the country.'

Colonel Edward Hatch's first indorsement as District Commander stated that the protection of its citizens was a matter for the State of Texas, but troubles had occurred ever since the removal of the garrisons from El Paso and Fort Quitman by the Department Commander of Texas.

The Department of the Missouri, by second indorsement, directed that Lt. Rucker was to assist officials of the United States only.

The third indorsement from Headquarters, Military Division of Missouri, October 23, 1877, personally signed by general Phil Sheridan, reflects the fiery cavalryman's ire: he had 'never recommended the abandonment of Fort Bliss. . . . it was so done while

I was away . . . recommended by the Department Commander and approved by the Secretary of War.' General Sheridan further stated that he would order the reoccupation of Fort Bliss as soon as the Indian troubles in western New Mexico were over and he requested the authority of the Secretary of War to reoccupy Fort Quitman.

On November 2, 1877, Sheridan was given authority for which he asked and shortly thereafter he ordered the regarrisoning of Fort Bliss.

Colonel Ruhlen adds that "this is probably a unique instance in the Army wherein a lieutenant's letter not only was read and approved by his commanders, but was indirectly responsible for the reoccupation of a post which is active today. Present-day subalterns should take heart."

\* \* \*

The Mexican Government is planning a double celebration in 1960—the 150th anniversary of Independence from Spain and the 50th anniversary of the Madero Revolution. In conjunction with the celebration the Government is planning a large fair which "will dramatically exhibit our hemisphere's achievements during 150 years."

\* \* \*

The Indiana state senate has passed legislation raising permissible county support to county historical societies from \$10,000 to \$20,000 annually.

\* \* \*

Missouri's Jackson County Historical Society is restoring the pre-Civil War Jackson County Jail for use as a museum and society headquarters.

Colonel George Ruhlen, U.S.A. (Ret.), the father of Colonel Ruhlen whose book review appears herein on page 165, is the author of an excellent article appearing in the April-June, 1959, issue of the *Nevada Historical Society Quarterly*. The article is entitled "Carleton's Empty Fort" and is the story of Fort Baker which stood "in the northern part of Las Vegas, Nevada, on the east side of U.S. Highway No. 91."

The fort was established by the Mormons and was originally known as the Old Mormon Fort but in 1857 and 1858 was abandoned when the brethren were recalled to Salt Lake to add to the military strength of that city.

Colonel James H. Carleton of the First California Volunteers, as part of his strategy in sending the California Column through Arizona and New Mexico to El Paso, pretended that his goal was the reoccupation of the fort. But, as Colonel Ruhlen points out, "Fort Baker waited through four year of the Civil War for a garrison which never came. However, it performed a service by diverting attention during the critical period while the Column from California was being assembled for duty in another part of the southwest."

Because the story of Fort Baker is interwoven with the history of the California Column, Colonel Ruhlen's article is of unusual interest to all readers of *PASSWORD*.

\* \* \*

According to *History News*, XIV, 10 (August, 1959), "The Buffalo (New York) Historical Society has received a grant of \$3840 from the Western New York Foundation to launch publication of a series of small books on Western New York history for use in the public schools.

"Wilbur H. Glover, director of the society, indicates that each booklet in the series will run from 6000 to 7000 words in length. Projected plans call for one dozen titles to be published this year and next, ranging in subject matter from pre-historic Indians to metropolitan Buffalo. . . . The booklets will be designed for use in grades six through eight."

Mr. Frank B. Putnam, a member of our Society and the author of "El Paso's Navy" which appeared in *PASSWORD*, III, 4 (October, 1958), has loaned the Society the March, 1944, issue of *The Quarterly* of the Historical Society of Southern California. The issue contains an excellent article, "Overland by Ox-Train in 1870: The Diary of Maria Hargrave Shrode." The diary was published through the courtesy of the Huntington Library.

To quote the editor, "Mrs. Shrode's Diary describes the arduous journey of the covered wagon-train organized in Hopkins County, northeastern Texas, in May of 1870. It was composed of fifteen families and about sixty wagons, besides a large herd of cattle and mules." The Diary is of interest as it gives a vivid picture of life in Texas, New Mexico and Arizona before the transcontinental railroad was built across the southern route.

The train did not pass through El Paso but took a more northerly route, crossing the Hondo River at Roswell and passing through Ft. Stanton, Alamo-gordo, San Augustine Springs, and Ft. Cummings which was twenty-five miles northeast of Deming.

The article is well edited and its publication is a real contribution to the growing literature on the Southwest.

Mr. Putnam, by the way, is vice-president of the Historical Society of Southern California.

\* \* \*

According to *History News*, XIV, 10 (August, 1959), "An old blacksmith shop has been added to display facilities at Fort Robinson, Nebraska. The equipment in the shop goes back only a relatively short time to the pre-World War II period when Fort Robinson was an army remount station and when horse-shoeing was a large-scale operation. The shop was opened August 2 by the Nebraska State Historical Society."

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has inaugurated a new book publication series of major significance to both serious students and casual readers of American history. Entitled *STATE STREET BOOKS*, the series will embrace original publications and reprints of enduring worth, offering local history of the highest calibre in the popular paperback format, and at a popular price.

## NEW MEMBERS — 1959

### LIFE

Dr. and Mrs. Eugene O. Porter

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Dr. and Mrs. Robert Thompson, El Paso  
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