

PASSWORD



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THE EL PASO COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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EUGENE O. PORTER, Editor

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EUGENE O. PORTER, *Editor*

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The El Paso City Council passed an ordinance in 1894 that restricted the horseback riding of "ladies with case-hardened spiritual natures" to an area bounded by Seventh, Stanton, and Oregon Streets and the river. Fines of \$10 to \$100 were to be levied against any such lady identified in any other part of the city. The ordinance also forbade any woman, "good or bad," from riding astride ("straddle on horseback") inside the city limits.

Since the white man came from the North, the Apache had tried to live at peace with him. Broken promises, brutality, murder of women and children, and deliberate starvation had led the Apache to war. The children were to be left in a safe place.

On this raid he was not going to carry extra baggage—the women and and constantly on the move; wear him out. Nana added a new tactic: strike at weak spots as they develop. Keep the enemy forces scattered when it was time to break off the engagement. Always keep on the move; enemy's horses at the beginning of the fight so that he could not pursue engage in open battle; try to lure the enemy into an ambush. Kill the it was much smarter to run and live to fight again. If possible, never of man to a harsh environment. One was foolish to be killed needlessly; The Apache warfare tactics were the result of the natural adaptation was he who would reap the harvest of Nana's revenge.

the North whom he held responsible for the great loss of his people; it pain of vengeance for the death of Victorio. It was the white man from the daily activities were running smoothly, Nana began to plan a campaign restored their confidence, so badly shattered at Tres Castillos. As soon as choice, for Nana immediately reorganized them, put them to work, and day. The Warm Springs Apaches never questioned the wisdom of their a horse, but once astride he could cover seventy miles a day—day after left foot, and so crippled with rheumatism that he could hardly mount sider, for Nana was almost eighty years old, nearly blind, lame in his Victorio's campaign. Their choice may have seemed ludicrous to an out-the man considered by many to have been the tactical brains behind Coloradas, had been a great warrior and leader under Victorio, and was Their choice was a warrior named Nana. He had fought under Mangus of the Tres Castillos massacre gathered and elected a new war chief. Mogollon Mountains of Southwestern New Mexico, the few survivors However, during the winter of 1880-81, in a remote canyon of the

band survived. Perhaps peace was really possible. policy of the United States government. Only a handful of Victorio's and bloody campaign of Victorio and his people against the removal Mexicans in Tres Castillos Mountains of Mexico. Thus ended the long Apaches, and most of his followers had been killed in a fight with the On October 15, 1880, Victorio, the great chief of the Warm Springs As 1881 dawned in the Southwest, a feeling of peace was in the air.

by HAROLD MILLER

NANA'S RAID OF 1881

Nana—Chief of the Warm Spring Apaches. Photo by Ben Wittick—Courtesy of the Museum of New Mexico.



Story of the Warm Springs Apache's fight with the North Americans began with Mangus Coloradas, perhaps the greatest chief of Apache history. Even after a tragic experience with scalp hunters, Mangus tried to keep peace with the whites, but after a group of miners tied him to a tree and beat him into unconsciousness, he waged total war against all who entered his territory. Finally, making peace with the white man, he was treacherously murdered by United States soldiers after he had accepted an invitation to come alone to a conference at the army camp. As a final indignity, his corpse was mutilated, a fact long remembered by the Apaches.

Victorio, the next important chief of the Warm Springs, tried for many years to live in peace and to follow the wishes of the white men. As a respected voice of Victorio's band, Nana counseled the people to follow the path of peace. The Warm-Springs band had one desire, to live a peaceful life at their traditional home at Ojo Caliente. This simple desire was not to be their lot!

With its usual great wisdom, the federal bureaucracy in Washington instituted the removal policy to solve the Indian problem. Simply stated, under the removal policy the Indians would be concentrated on certain designated reservations where the federal government would take care of them until they had been taught to support themselves. In Arizona, because of the influence of those whites who stood to benefit the most, the removal policy evolved into the concentration of all of the Western Apaches and some Southern Apaches at the San Carlos Agency. By February, 1877, all Apaches in Arizona, including the Chiricahuas, had been concentrated at San Carlos. Victorio and his Warm Springs band were to be the next victims of the removal policy.

Part of the Southern Apaches, the Warm Springs' traditional home was at Ojo Caliente, New Mexico. In 1870, the Warm Springs had been removed to San Carlos, but conditions were so bad that Victorio and his people soon left the reservation and returned to Ojo Caliente. The Warm Springs were next moved to Tularosa Canyon, northwest of Ojo Caliente, but after an extremely bitter winter they again returned to Ojo Caliente where the army allowed them to remain. On March 20, 1877, Indian Agent, John Clum, received orders to proceed to Ojo Caliente and there to arrest Geronimo and any other renegade Apaches who were to be found. When Agent Clum and his Indian police arrived at Ojo Caliente, he not only arrested the renegades but also Victorio and the other leaders of the Warm Springs band. All Apaches then living at Ojo Caliente were escorted to the hated San Carlos Agency, arriving there on May 20, 1877.

At San Carlos, the Warm Springs were assigned a location on the Gila River. Victorio was appointed to the council of judges and the band was encouraged to engage in farming. Removed from their familiar and traditional home, mixed with other Apache band whom they disliked and distrusted, Victorio's people were unhappy but did their best to live as white men directed. On July 1, 1877, John Clum was forced to resign as Indian Agent and was replaced by H. L. Hart. Thereafter, the Indians were plagued with insufficient supplies, particularly food, and inefficient distribution of what little was issued to them. Starving because of the short food ration, the Apache was denied the opportunity to augment his food supply by hunting. If found off the reservation, the Indian was considered a hostile, to be shot on sight. In reality, the removal policy had now become a policy of extermination. If the Indian stayed on the reservation he and his family would soon starve; he would be hunted down and killed if he left the reservation. Bitterness began to build, obviously the proud Victorio would not long allow the women and children to go hungry. The explosion came in September 1877. Victorio left San Carlos with 310 men, women, and children, all headed for Mexico.¹⁰

Constantly harassed by the Apache scouts from the reservation, Victorio and his fleeing band fought many skirmishes with the scouts and the army; they subsisted by raiding ranches for food and horses between fights. The first clash with the scouts occurred near Ash Creek and forced Victorio to turn North, away from sanctuary in Mexico. After a month of continuous fight, Victorio surrendered to the army at Fort Wingate, New Mexico. During this month of freedom, Victorio's band killed twelve ranchers and took a hundred head of horses, but lost fifty-six Apaches killed.¹⁰

The army was aware of the problems that would arise if Victorio and his people were returned to San Carlos. With the Apaches who had remained on the reservation at San Carlos, the Warm Springs were not very popular because all Apaches received blame for the warlike actions of the few. The army's solution to the problem was simple: Victorio and his people were returned to Ojo Caliente where they were kept under army surveillance. The Apaches were so grateful for their escape from the corruption of the civilian agents of the Department of Interior that Victorio promised good behavior on the part of himself and his people if they were allowed to remain at Ojo Caliente. So well was the promise kept that no record exists of any violent act on their part.¹¹

Washington continued to press its removal policy. In October 1878, the Warm Springs were notified that they were to be returned to the San Carlos Agency. The Apaches, having fulfilled their promise to live peacefully, were unable to understand this order. Victorio and a hundred of

his followers fled the reservation. After enduring another severe winter in the mountains, they returned to Ojo Caliente and surrendered, but rumors of a return to San Carlos sent Victorio back into the mountains. In April 1879, Victorio and a portion of his band came back to Ojo Caliente and once again surrendered to the army. The remainder, led by Nana, surrendered at the Mescalero Agency at Fort Stanton. During the summer, an agreement was reached whereby the Warm Springs at Ojo Caliente were transferred to the Mescalero Agency.

On the Fort Stanton reservation, the Warm Springs people were among their Mescalero friends and lived a peaceful life. Peace, however, was to be an elusive dream for the Warm Springs Apaches. Victorio learned that he was under indictment for murder and horse stealing. One day, civilian authorities were seen riding through the Mescalero Agency. Not knowing that they were merely on a hunting trip, Victorio surmised that they were there to arrest him. Gathering his people, he left for Mexico, where he was joined by a large number of Mescalero and Chiricahua warriors. Thus, began the long and bloody war that continued unabated until Victorio's death in the Tres Castillos Mountains of Mexico.



VICTORIO

Sketch by C. Batchelor—Courtesy of the Museum of New Mexico.

The news of Victorio's death was received with relief by the citizens of the Southwest. The editor of the *New Southwest and Grant County Herald* wrote: "The news was received in Silver City with a great rejoicing, the people feeling a great relief had come to them, and General Terrassas received cheer after cheer from all. . . . As Victorio is killed, his band nearly destroyed, we can only look to the future and feel comparatively safe. . . ." Looking in to the future, the editor continued: "The Indian warfare as far as Victorio's band is concerned is ended, but we must not forget one principle in evolution, the survival of the fittest, the few that are left will be more treacherous, more ugly than ever before known."¹²

How prophetic he was, for out of the ashes of the Tres Castillos massacre arose an Apache Phoenix-Nana-to pick up the mantle of Mangus Coloradas and Victorio.

Nana, who had been in command of the rear guard at the time of the Tres Castillos fight, gathered the few remaining survivors and headed North. He crossed the border into the United States below the Florida Mountains and headed into the Mogollon Mountain, where he wintered. From his hidden *rancheria*, Nana sent out scouts to locate other survivors of Victorio's band and he put the remainder to finding food supplies and equipment that would be stored in secret caches for use in his forthcoming campaign.¹³

By the spring of 1881, Nana was almost ready to start the only campaign that he would ever lead. First, he sent the women and children to the safety of Juh's stronghold in the Sierra Madre Mountains of Mexico. Nana's campaign was to be free of the responsibilities of the women and children, a burden that had constantly hindered Victorio. Nana assigned to Blanco the task of leading the noncombatants to safety, but Blanco was killed in a fight with Negro troopers of the Ninth Cavalry. Sulden, Blanco's brother, took charge but he was killed in a fight with some miners. Word was sent out to Nana, who rejoined his defenseless people and led them to safety high in the Sierra Madre.¹⁴ Nana next secured arms and ammunition from the Mexicans.¹⁵ In June old Nana started for the border with his war party of fifteen Warm Springs warriors, some of whom were survivors of Tres Castillos. The war of vengeance had commenced.

Nana had planned his campaign carefully and now he took the time to test his tactics in actual combat with a minimum of risk. The first to feel his wrath was a group of five Americans on their way to El Paso. Four unarmed members of the Upham surveying party left San Jose, Mexico on June 26th, accompanied by a teamster. On June 28th, about forty miles south of El Paso, the Americans were attacked by the Apache

war party. Nana had set up a classical ambush. He hid some of his warriors behind a low hill beside the road, he then took the rest of the band back up the road and waited in hiding for the wagon. When the wagon passed, the Indians rode to the attack. They chased the wagon to the place where the remainder of the war party was hiding. There they killed the teamster and the lead team of mules. The four surveyors ran from the wrecked wagon toward the nearby hill where they were met and killed by other Apaches waiting in ambush. To the rescue party from El Paso, it appeared that the four unarmed surveyors had raised their hands in an attempt to surrender. In addition to their wounds, each man had been shot in the back of the head and their corpses looted. The wagon, along with the teamster's body, had been completely burned.¹⁸ The rest had demonstrated the soundness of Nana's tactics and had given the warriors a chance to work together as a team. A few more rehearsals and Nana would be ready to cross the border into the United States.

Later, on the same day, the El Paso-Chihuahua stage was ambushed about twenty miles south of the site of the survey party massacre. For this ambush, Nana concealed all of his band along one side of the stage route. When the stage drove into the ambush, the driver and lead horses were killed by the first volley. The conductor and the four passengers escaped from the stagecoach on the side opposite from the Indians. Except for one passenger, they escaped from the Apaches. The captured passenger, Thomas Key Fugh, left a ransom note, but nothing further was ever heard of him.¹⁷

Nana's scouts had advised him that a freight train was headed north toward El Paso. On the next day the Apaches attacked the freight train about seven miles south of the point of the stage ambush. Nana's warriors killed three freighters; the remainder, which included several wounded men, managed to escape. The men with the freight train were too heavily armed for the Apaches to press attack. A search by Mexican troops from the garrison at El Paso del Norte failed to find the raiding party. Old Nana had decided that it was time to head north. He and the war party simply vanished.¹⁶ Ten men were dead, with no loss to the Apaches.

Nana led his Apache war party across the Rio Grande near Fort Quitman, Texas and headed for the Sacramento Mountains of New Mexico.¹⁵ Traveling through the desolate hills of Southwest Texas, the Indians killed a number of isolated Mexican shepherders as they journeyed northward toward the Mescalero reservation. Arriving in the Sacramento Mountains, Nana made camp in Dog Canyon, where he was soon joined by twenty-five Mescaleros. Nana's war party now consisted of forty skillful Apache warriors.¹⁴

Wise old Nana wasted little time in giving his men an opportunity to work together in an ambush. On July 17th, in Alamo Canyon, the supply train of Company L, Ninth Cavalry was ambushed as it returned from Fort Stanton with a load of provisions. A short way into the canyon, the train was fired upon by Apaches concealed behind craters and rocks, from a distance of about forty feet. The pack animals which the two troopers were riding were killed instantly and Chief Packer Burgess suffered a flesh wound in the thigh. The Negro troopers returned the fire from behind their dead animals. They had been fighting for around half an hour when the troopers thought they killed one of the Indians. Whether they actually killed one of Nana's warriors is doubtful, but the Indians reacted in confusion, which the troopers used to escape to camp where they sounded the alarm. The ambush was not successful, for only one trooper was wounded and three pack animals captured, and the troopers had escaped to alert the cavalry. Knowing that pursuit was inevitable, Nana broke camp and headed south.

When the packers reached camp with the news of the attack, Lieutenant John Gullfoyle, the commanding officer of L Company, immediately sent word of the attack to Colonel Edward Hatch at Fort Stanton. Lieutenant Gullfoyle then started for the ambush scene with thirty Apache scouts; the regular troopers following as quickly as possible. The scouts followed the trail to Dog Canyon, but the camp site was deserted and Nana's band had disappeared. The scouts picked up the trail, leaving the canyon toward Laguna Springs. Hearing firing ahead, the scouts and cavalry abandoned caution and charged toward the Springs. Hoping to frighten the Indians and to save anyone who was still alive, they opened fire as they charged. Warned by the firing, the Apaches fled west along the edge of the white sands. A running fight was kept up for forty miles across the searing desert. Near Ash Canyon, the cavalry horses gave out; whereas, the Apaches well mounted and with a hundred spare horses, were able to continue their fight, leaving Lieutenant Gullfoyle's troopers far behind. Six spent Indian ponies were captured but it is doubtful that any Indians were even wounded. Nana had successfully escaped from the cavalry—a warning of things to come from the old warrior.

At Laguna Springs, the Negro troopers found the bodies of two Mexicans, José Proencio of Mesilla and his step-son, Victoriano Albillar from Tularosa. The stage driver had warned two men against traveling because of hostile Indians in the area. A short distance from the bodies of the two men, the troopers found the body of a Mexican woman who had been traveling with her husband. No trace of the husband was found.²¹

From Fort Stanton, Colonel Hatch sent out warnings that the Indians were in the San Andres Mountains, about thirty-five miles north of Las Cruces. Word was sent out to warn the miners and settlers in the area, but not everyone received the warning. Mr. N. E. Doy, a miner in the San Andres came into Las Cruces to report that the Apaches had killed one of his partners and looted his camp. Mr. Doy and his other partner had been out prospecting when the raid occurred.⁵⁵

On July 25th, Lieutenant Guilfoyle's Negro troopers again caught up with Nana. The Apaches, still in the San Andres, had paused for a brief rest about fifty miles north of Membrillo Canyon. This time the cavalry, led by the Indian scouts, approached cautiously and were able to surprise the Apaches. Nana and his warriors, seeing no reason for holding their ground, scattered in different directions to avoid pursuit and to reassemble at a previously selected location. The Apaches left two horses and twelve mules to the cavalry, along with a dubious claim of two Apaches either killed or wounded.⁵⁶

On July 26th, the army sent out a warning that the Apache war party had headed across the *Jornado del Muerte* (Journey of Death) in the direction of either the San Cristobal or the Caballo Mountains.⁵⁷ The warning requested that settlers and miners be notified. Couriers were sent out to as many mining camps and ranches as could be reached. Old Nana, outguessing the army, had bypassed the mountains, going on to the Rio Grande where he turned north raiding ranches along the east side of the river. Meanwhile, Lieutenant Guilfoyle was still pursuing despite the desperate condition of his men and animals. He reported: "Started out on trail at daybreak (26th)—found the Indians had scattered. . . . Camp at water hole—shoes off mules. Compelled to use hides of dead animals for moccasins for mules so as to be able to move at all. Distance 16 miles."⁵⁸ Lieutenant Guilfoyle was temporarily out of the chase so he headed for Fort Craig for refitting. Nana, the old warrior, had literally ridden the cavalry into the ground; he and his men remained fresh and ready for action.

Old Nana raided and burned the ranch of José Montoya at the mouth of the Cuchillo Negro Creek on July 28th, killing two Mexican men and one American woman. They then turned back south and crossed the Rio Grande somewhere below San José. Once across the river, Nana resumed his westward march. Despite his age and infirmities, this rugged old warrior was still outwitting, outsmarting, and outfighting the cavalry in a land where everyone was his enemy.

On July 29 and 30, the Apaches killed two miners and a Mexican shepherd. The next day, Nana's band of raiders killed four more

Mexican shepherders about six miles above Cantarccio, a small village in the foothills of the San Mateo Mountains.²⁶ At the time, Lieutenant Guilloye's tired and dispirited troops were taking a brief rest while being reoutfitted at Fort Craig, only eight miles from the site of the killings. Not only were his horses unfit, but his troopers had worn out their boots as on foot they led their mounts to Fort Craig—many of the troopers made the walk with bare feet.²⁷

After a brief rest, the Negro troopers left Fort Craig and headed west, trailing Apaches. Meanwhile, a posse of thirty men (twenty-six miners from Chloride and Fairview, plus ten Mexicans from towns along the Rio Grande) decided to pursue the Apaches without waiting for the cavalry. The civilian posse rode into the San Mateo Mountains to find Nana and to give the *buffalo soldiers*²⁸ a lesson in Indian killing. On August 1, word was received in San Marcial that these persistent Indian fighters had the renegades surrounded.²⁹ The wiley old chief Nana was more than a match for a bunch of amateurs. On the morning of August 2, the posse scouted Red Canyon and found no sign of the hostile Apaches. Red Canyon was a delightful place with a cool spring, shade trees, and a good pasture for the horses. Believing that no Indians were in the vicinity, the posse paused in the canyon for a lunch break and a short rest. The horses were watered and turned loose to graze under a light guard while the remainder of the posse rested comfortably in the shade. Suddenly, their siesta was shattered by a double attack—a mounted, blanket-waving stampede of their horses, accompanied by a hail of bullets from Apaches carefully concealed along the sides of the canyon—which succeeded in completely confusing the undisciplined civilians, forcing them to run for cover. Before the posse could return the fire, the Apaches were gone, along with all of the posse's horses, leaving two dead and seven wounded civilians.³⁰ It had been a classic Apache ambush, and in the art of Apache warfare, Nana had no peers. The survivors were left to carry out their wounded on foot. In spite of this humiliating debacle, the survivors could count themselves fortunate, for Nana's need was for horses. Had the canny old chief planned a killing ambush, probably none would have survived. Nana had replenished his horse herd and was on the move again.

On August 3, Lieutenant Guilloye and his Company L troopers again caught up with Nana's band, this time at Monica Springs in the San Mateos. That these brave and hardy troopers were still in the chase was a remarkable achievement, for both men and horses were exhausted. This time the skirmish was short. The Negro troopers captured eleven exhausted horses and reported that they had probably wounded two Indians. Nana and his warriors disappeared again.³¹

Lieutenant Guilloyle's troopers continued to follow Nana and his band of warriors, but they were falling so far behind that in reality they were out of the pursuit. Paul I. Wellman pays them this tribute: "In spite of his utmost efforts, efforts which well-nigh killed his command, Guilloyle was falling far behind. What cavalry could follow these raiders? It is a rule of army tactics that twenty-five miles a day is the absolute limit which cavalry can stand in continuous overland marching. Guilloyle exceeded that every day of his campaign. Some days he did forty miles or more. Yet Nana, old and crippled, rode away from the troopers as if they had been infantry."²⁸

After either the Red Canyon ambush or the Monica Springs skirmish, Nana divided his band into two parts. One band, led by Nana, headed north across the Magdalena Mountains toward the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad right-of-way. The second, smaller band was sent south with a twofold purpose: first as a diversionary tactic to force the army to disperse its cavalry, and, secondly, to capture horses. The second band headed south along the Rio Grande, raiding as they went. They crossed the Rio Grande near the town of Colorado to raid the Uvas ranch where they captured a larger herd of horses. The Indians then headed toward the Organ Mountains. South of Kincon they encountered some railroad section hands; a few shots were exchanged without anyone on either side being hit. The railroad crew estimated that there were only twelve Indians in this band. The Apache raiding party then disappeared, probably on their way to rejoin Nana, taking him a supply of fresh horses.²⁹

On August 8, from Fort Craig, Colonel Hatch telegraphed a warning to Silver City that the Indians were heading for the San Francisco Valley. Colonel Hatch requested that warnings be sent to miners in the Mogollons and to the settlers on the Fresca. Upon receipt of this dispatch at Silver City, Sheriff Whitehill sent George Parker out to spread the alarm.³⁰ Nana's diversionary tactic was working. Not knowing of the separation of the war party into two parts, the army had assumed that the Apaches encountered by the railroad section hands was the entire war party and that they were then headed toward the Mogollons.

On August 9, Nana revealed his whereabouts when he burned the town of Garcia, about twenty miles from El Rita on the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad route, killing six Mexicans in the raid. The Indians were reported by the Albuquerque *Journal* to be killing and burning along their route. Late in the afternoon of August 10, a Mexican arrived in El Rita and reported that the Apaches had killed five Mexican sheep-herders and two boys. At midnight of the same day, a Pueblo Indian

came into El Rita and reported that his wife and two of his children had been killed by the Apaches. On the morning of August 11, three scouts arrived in El Rita to report that the Apaches were camped at Salt Springs, only fifteen miles from El Rita.³⁵

Meanwhile, in spite of Colonel Hatch's efforts to protect this vast and primitive territory with a force of only a thousand men, the civilian population was becoming very critical of his lack of success. The editor of the *Albuquerque Journal* expressed the opinion that Colonel Hatch would not be safe from mob action, without a bodyguard, on the street of any town in Southern New Mexico. From Silver City, the editor of the *Grant County Herald* arose to the defense of the honor of that area. He replied that, while Hatch was not popular with the citizens, he certainly would be as safe as would be the editor of the *Journal*.³⁶

The editor of the *Herald* paid tribute to the effectiveness of Nana's leadership when he estimated that the number of people killed by the Apaches during the past two weeks would not fall far short of one hundred.³⁷

Captain Charles Parker and nineteen Negro troopers of Company K, Ninth Cavalry was the next army unit to meet up with the raiders under old chief Nana. On August 12, Captain Parker and his troopers encountered the hostiles about twenty-five miles west of Sabinal, near Chiencuilla ranch. Although outnumbered two to one, Captain Parker chose to attack. With nothing to gain from a stand-up, toe-to-toe fight with the cavalry, the Apaches fled with the Negro troopers charging after them. A running fight ensued which lasted for an hour and a half. One trooper was shot from his horse, another disappeared, and three cavalrymen were wounded. The cavalry also lost nine horses. Captain Parker's report claimed one Indian killed and three wounded. Based on the number of Apaches involved in this fight, it is probable that the two bands had reunited. Nana and his warriors escaped in the direction of Carizo Canyon.³⁸

On the following Sunday, August 14, a rancher named Warner was killed by the Apaches at his ranch about fifteen miles from San Marcial. The other residents of the ranch successfully fought off the raiders.³⁹

To combat Nana's raiding party, Colonel Hatch had every available soldier in the field and had assumed personal command. Altogether, eight companies of cavalry, eight companies of infantry, and two companies of Indian Scouts were scouring the wilderness in an all-out search for the hostile Apaches. With such a small force and without knowledge of where Nana would strike next, Colonel Hatch found it impossible to protect every settlement in this vast and rugged territory.



Drawn for PASSWORD by José Cisneros.

Beginning on August 18, Nana concentrated his efforts in the Lake Valley area. The Apaches first attacked the ranch of Perry Ousley, killing him, burning the ranch buildings, and taking his horses. Nana's

County, 1941
As if the spreading panic and constant fear of other Indian outbreaks were not enough for the harried resident of New Mexico, the Eastern newspapers jumped into the fray, but as usual they had their facts wrong. The New York Sun accused the New Mexicans of burning alive two captured members of Nana's band. From Silver City, the editor of the *Grant County Herald* responded with his pen dipped in acid. Knowing that none of Nana's band had even been captured and that it was highly probable that not one of his warriors had even been killed, he branded the story a lie and suggested that "... there might be an opportunity for a burning . . . could a few Eastern sympathizers be caught in Grant

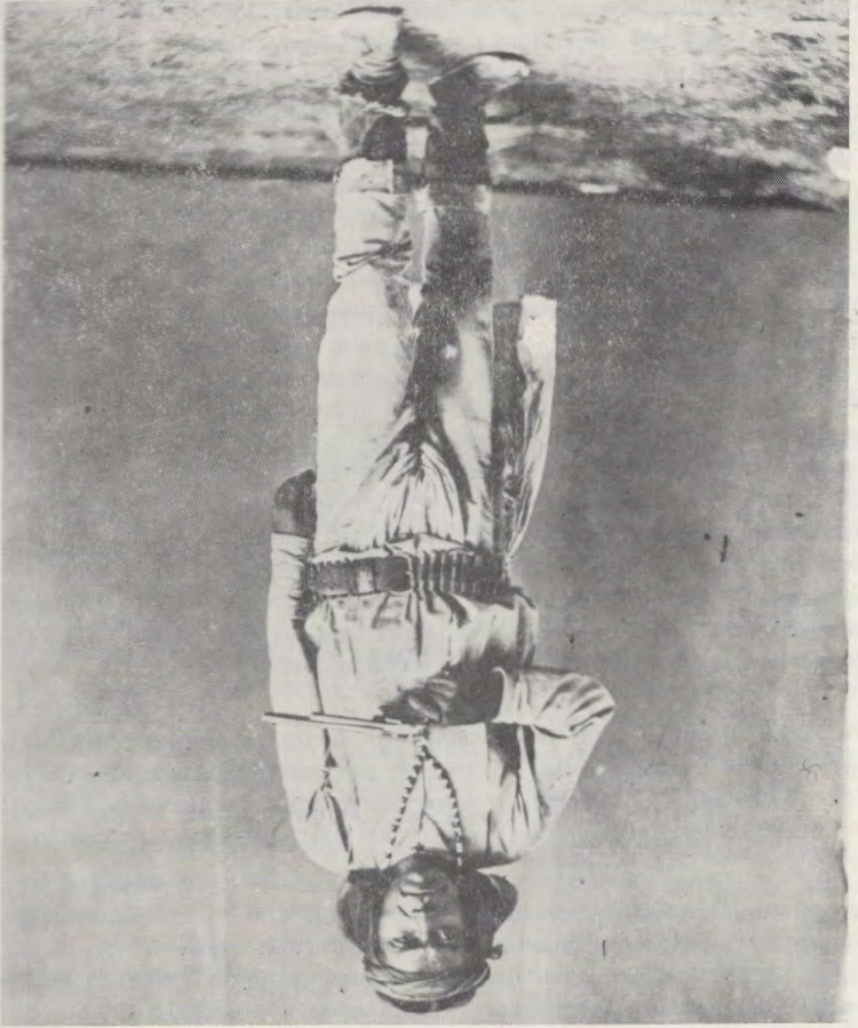
County, 1941
Four days after Captain Parker's brief skirmish with Nana, a Mexican rancher came into the camp of Lieutenant Gustavus Valois' I Company to report the killing of his family by the Apaches at a nearby ranch. Lieutenant George Burnett led a detachment of fifteen troopers to the ranch to pick up the trail of Indians. Lieutenant Valois and the remainder of the company broke camp and followed. At the ranch, the troopers found the bodies of the woman and her three children. Company I, reinforced by some Mexicans set out on the trail of the Apache raiders. Nana's scouts were keeping him informed of the pursuit by the cavalry so he set up another of his classic ambushes. He concealed his warriors behind the natural cover on both sides of a narrow part of a canyon. When Lieutenant Valois and his troopers rode into the trap, the first volley from the Apaches was aimed at the horses. The killing of the cavalry horses would allow the Indians to break off the fight and leave at a time of their choosing without fear of pursuit. It was a hard fought and bitter battle; two troopers were killed and several were wounded. During the battle, four troopers were cut off by the Apaches. They were rescued by Lieutenant George Burnett and two troopers. Lieutenant Burnett was wounded twice during the rescue. Nana broke off the skirmish at dusk and departed for the Black Range with Lieutenant Taylor and his troopers in pursuit. Lieutenant Taylor and his command had arrived after the ambush and even though his men were still mounted, he was unable to keep up with the fleeing Apaches who had scattered in many directions in their standard tactic to escape pursuit. Lieutenant Burnett, First Sergeant Moses Williams, and Private Augustus Walley were awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor for conspicuous gallantry in saving the lives of the four troopers.⁴⁰

warriors next struck the Irwin ranch, only about a mile from Lake City. When Mrs. Irwin discovered the Apaches, she and her children attempted to escape. The children successfully hid in the weeds and sun-flowers. Mrs. Irwin, carrying her baby, ran down the road toward town to obtain help when she was caught by one of Nana's warriors. He rode back to the ranch, dragging her by the hair and beating her with a rope. After they had reached the ranch house, the Indians threatened to kill the baby unless Mrs. Irwin gave them ammunition and money. She gave the Indians twenty dollars—all she had. While the Apaches were plundering the ranch building, Mrs. Irwin managed to escape with her baby and hid in the weeds until the raiders were gone. "The Apaches demand for ammunition or money indicated that their supply of ammunition was becoming low.

Despite the criticism from the civilian population, "Colonel Hatch's strategy was working. Everywhere Nana turned, the infantry was guarding the springs and passes and the cavalry was constantly on his trail. Time had caught up with the old chief, it was time for him to head for Mexico and safety.

On August 18, Colonel Hatch ordered Lieutenant G. W. Smith to Fort Cummings with forty-six men on order to cut off Nana's escape to Mexico. For some unknown reason, Lieutenant Smith left with only seventeen men; the remainder of the detachment was to follow later. En route to Fort Cummings the cavalry met up with a posse of twenty civilians led by rancher George Daly. The combined force picked up Nana's trail which led toward Barendo Springs, near which the scouts located the Indian campsite. The original plan was to strike the Apache camp just before day-break in a surprise attack. For some reason this plan was discarded and the combined force set up camp for the night at a site about nine miles from Lake Valley. They broke camp about daylight the next morning and when they reached the Indian campsite the Apaches were gone. Nana's trail was followed into Gavallan Canyon to a point about eight miles from Brockman's mill. The advance scouts reported the presence of Indians in the vicinity. From this point, a dispute has arisen regarding the events that followed.

The army version is that Lieutenant Smith, fearing an ambush, did not want to continue following the trail with such a small force. George Daly, however, was determined to continue after the Indians. As a man of honor, Lieutenant Smith could not let the Daly party go alone into what he felt certain was an ambush, so the cavalry continued up the canyon with the Daly party. They had proceeded only a short distance when old Nana sprang his trap. Lieutenant Smith was shot from his



horse by the first volley. Helped back onto his horse, he ordered his command to dismount and take cover behind the rocks. Lieutenant Smith and Mr. Daly then charged the Indians in an effort to disperse them. Both men were killed immediately. Sergeant Brent Wood took command and the soldiers were able to hold off the Apaches until Sergeant Anderson arrived with the remainder of Lieutenant Smith's detachment. Nana, having been warned of the approaching reinforcements, broke off the engagement and disappeared into the mountains.

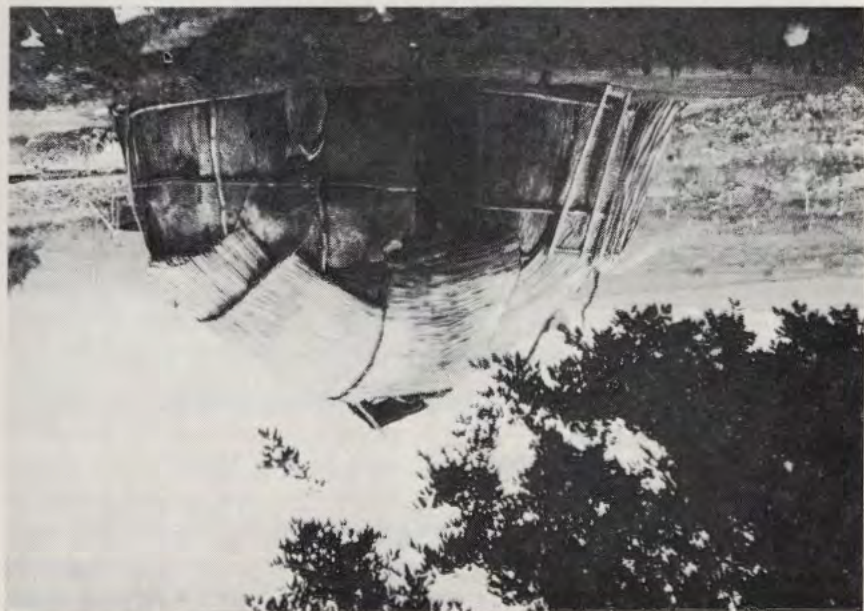
The civilian version of the battle was that Lieutenant Smith ordered an advance, and the combined forces moved into the canyon and the ambush. The civilians made no mention of their having left the scene of the ambush."⁴⁵

Whichever version is true, two soldiers and one civilian (in addition to Smith and Daly) were killed and eight men were wounded, one of whom subsequently died at John Brockman's ranch. Lieutenant Smith's body was later found to have been mutilated by the Indians. The total number of Apaches in this engagement was estimated at about thirty. The Apaches captured about thirty horses and approximately one thousand rounds of much needed ammunition. The trail of a small part of the band headed straight south, while the larger group, driving a sizable herd of horses, struck off to the Southwest with Indian scouts and cavalry on their trail.⁴⁶ The army was never able to catch up with the fleeing Apaches. Nana and his men crossed the border into Mexico, where he was safe from American pursuit, and where he returned to the safety of the high plateaus of the Sierra Madres.

Nana had created an uproar in the Territory of New Mexico. There were cries of outrage against the army throughout the Southwest. Typical was this biting editorial in the *Archison*, New Mexico *Globe*: "A TRIBUTE TO OUR TROOPS," which read: "So far the troops in New Mexico have had six fights with the hostile Apaches. There have been twenty soldiers killed in these engagements, but it is not known or believed that a single Indian has been killed. It is said that only seventy Indians are away from the reservation, and that these are the only ones terrorizing the whole Territory. Somehow this showing is not very flattering of the conduct of military affairs in New Mexico. Under the circumstances, it would seem a wise thing for the Secretary of War to relieve John Pope of the command of the Department of Missouri, and turn it over to Nelson Miles . . . who has the habit of taking to the field in person and riding after the hostiles until everyone is captured or killed. That kind of man is wanted in New Mexico."⁴⁸ With the remarkable crowding and fighting ability of the Apache, it is doubtful if anyone, even the vaunted General Miles, could have done more to protect the Territory than did General Pope and Colonel Hatch. However, the Apache was so feared that only a very long period of peace would calm the settlers and erase what was in reality the continuing call for an official policy of genocide. The Honorable Lionel A. Seldon, Governor of New Mexico, gave voice to this policy with his proclamation of August 25, 1881. In it he provided for a paid volunteer force of one thousand men to serve anywhere in the Territory and for unpaid companies to

serve within their own counties, but under the command of the gover-
nor.⁴⁷

Harold Miller



An Apache Wikip, Kenneth Chapman Collection—Courtesy of the Museum of New Mexico.

The end of Nana's campaign signaled the end of the fight of the Warm Springs Apaches. All they had ever wanted was to live peacefully on their own reservation at Ojo Caliente. For this principle, they were willing to fight and die; this they did. First with the great war of Victorio, and after his death one final shot of the arrow from old Nana. What an arrow he shot! Dan L. Thapp paid this tribute: "Nana's raid was legendary in truth. In something like six weeks the rheumatic old Nana led his handful of warriors over more than a thousand miles of enemy territory, sometimes pounding seventy miles or more in a single day. During this campaign they foraged on the countryside, fought a dozen skirmishes with troops and won most of them. They killed from thirty to fifty Americans and wounded many more, captured two women and not less than two hundred horses and mules, eluded pursuit by a thousand soldiers and several hundred civilians, and did all this with a band that numbered fifteen at the start and probably never counted more than forty."⁴⁸ Could any man have done more?

After his great raid, Nana remained in Mexico with Chihuahua's band, occasionally joining a raid led by some other Apache. Undoubtedly, his tactical brilliance was in much demand by the younger war leaders.

He finally surrendered with Geronimo and in spite of his advanced age and failing health, he was sent to Fort Marion, Florida in 1886, being removed from there to Vermont, Alabama and thence to Fort Sill, Okla. in 1894, where he died in 1896⁴⁹—unconquered in mind and heart.

REFERENCES

1. Eve Ball, *In the Days of Victorio* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1970), 102. The story of Victorio's death as related by James Kaywaykta differs significantly from the previously accepted Mexican version that one Mauricio, a Tarahumara scout, killed Victorio with a direct shot in the head. James Kaywaykta says that those who escaped from the Mexicans returned and found the body of Victorio, who, when his ammunition was exhausted, had committed suicide by stabbing himself in the heart with his own knife.
2. Nana, pronounced Nan-ey, is the currently accepted spelling. In older sources it is spelled variously as Nana, Nane, Naney, and Naneh.
3. Nana's true age is unknown. The estimates used in various sources range from seventy to over eighty. Whatever his age might have been, the fact remains that he was a very old man when he accomplished a deed that would have taxed the endurance of most men half his age. Dan L. Thripp in letter to the author, dated May 25, 1973 refers to one source that establishes Nana's birth as the year 1800. It had always been the practice of the Apache to leave the noncombatants in some remote camp near a source of water and a hidden cache of food. More often the cavalry were finding and attacking these camps, causing great loss to the Apache. Thus, Nana conceived the plan of removing all the women, children and aged to Mexico where they would be completely safe from accidental discovery by the cavalry.
3. Ross Santee, *Apache Land* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, Bison Book edition, 1971), 31-49. An excellent, brief account of Apache history.
6. Paul I. Wellman, *The Indian Wars of the West* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1947), 286-312.
7. Ball, 107.
8. *El Paso Times*, July 9, 1931. In a letter to the *Times*, John Clum stated that he received orders to arrest Victorio after he had arrived at Ojo Caliente. Woodworth Clum, *Apache Agent: The Story of John P. Clum* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1936), 229. Woodworth Clum contradicts his father concerning Victorio's arrest. He quotes his father: "Bring him in, Said Clum . . . He has three hundred or four hundred followers somewhere in this part of New Mexico, and we might as well take them all along with us to San Carlos." Frank C. Lockwood, *The Apache Indians* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1938), 227-28.
10. Dan L. Thripp, *The Conquest of Apache* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967). This book is largely the source used in the brief summary of Victorio's campaign.
11. Clum, 229. John Clum confirmed the peacefulness of Victorio when he stated: "Victorio was more inclined to be peaceful and had quarreled with Geronimo over some of the latter's raiding policies . . . Victorio never had been classed as a troublesome renegade." This was at the time that Clum arrested Victorio and removed him and his people to San Carlos.
12. *The New Southwest and Grant County Herald* (Silver City, New Mexico), October 30, 1880. Hereinafter referred to as *Grant County Herald*.
13. Ball, 103.
14. 107-14. C. L. Sonnichsen, *The Mesquero Apaches* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), p. 170. "Mexican sheepherders with whom they (the Apaches) had a very good understanding, would get arms and ammunition for ammunition, and much of it, Jim decided to make a trip to Casas Grandes, where he was accustomed to going for supplies." By the judicious use of black-mail, no Apache attacks in return for traffic in arms and ammunition, the Apaches had a steady and reliable source of weapons.
15. *The Rio Grande Republican* (Las Cruces, New Mexico), July 9, 1881. Hereinafter referred to as *The Republican*.

- 70
17. *Ibid.*, Mr. Pugh was the son of ex-Senator Pugh and the son-in-law of ex-Governor Hendricks of Indiana.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *Annual Report of the Secretary of War*, 1881, Report of Brigadier-General Pope (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1881), 117. Sonnichsen, 189. Dr. Sonnichsen states: "Nana and his thirty fighting men probably spent that winter in Mexico." See page 100 for James Kaywaykla's story of their journey from New Mexico in preparation for Nana's campaign.
20. Sonnichsen, 190 and *The Republican*, July 9, 1881 number Nana's band at seventy although *The Republican* reports that women were part of the seventy. Other sources, including General Pope in the *Annual Report of the Secretary of War*, 1881, 117 give the number in the Nana's band as approximately forty.
21. *The Republican*, July 23, 1881. At first the unidentified woman was believed to have been an American but in the July 30th edition of *The Republican* she was identified as a Mexican woman.
22. *Ibid.*, July 30, 1881.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Grant County Herald*, August 6, 1881.
25. Mrs. Tom Charles, *Tales of the Tulagosa* (Alamogordo: n. p., 1959), 22.
26. *Grant County Herald*, August 6, 1881.
27. Charles, 22.
28. William H. Leckie, *The Buffalo Soldiers* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1967), footnote 26. "The origin of the term 'buffalo soldier' is uncertain, although the common explanation is that the Indian saw a similarity between the hair of the Negro soldier and that of the buffalo. The buffalo was a sacred animal to the Indian, and it is unlikely that he would so name an enemy if respect were lacking..."
29. *Grant County Herald*, August 6, 1881.
30. *Ibid.*, August 13, 1881.
31. Wellman, 396.
32. *Ibid.*, 397.
33. *The Republican*, August 13, 1881.
34. *Grant County Herald*, August 13, 1881.
35. *The Republican*, August 13, 1881.
36. *Grant County Herald*, August 20, 1881.
37. *Ibid.*
38. *The Republican*, August 20, 1881.
39. *Ibid.*
40. Leckie, 232-33.
41. *Grant County Herald*, August 27, 1881.
42. *Ibid.*, and *The Republican*, September 10, 1881.
43. *The Republican*, August 27, 1881. The feeling against all Apaches was also running so high that Roman Chiquito, Sub-Chief and head of the Three Rivers Band of Apaches found it necessary to visit the office of *The Republican* and deny printed stories that he was on the war path. Roman Chiquito stated that: "Mr. Patrick Coghlan, and Don Carlos Armijo, who are my neighbors at Three Rivers, and all the citizens living on and in the vicinity of the Reservation will testify that there is not a word of truth in the charge..."
44. *Grant County Herald*, August 27, 1881 gives both versions of the fight.
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*, September 3, 1881.
47. *Ibid.*
48. Thrapp, 215-16.
49. Letters to author from Dan L. Thrapp, May 25, 1973 and Mrs. Eve Ball, April 22, 1973.

CAPTAIN GEORGE M. FRAZER'S
ARIZONA RANGERS, C. S. A.

by MARTIN HARDWICK HALL

During the secession crisis, the Gadsden Purchase area, commonly called Arizona, was a center of pro-Southern sentiment. Delegates to a convention held in Mesilla on March 16, 1861 voted unanimously to withdraw from the Union and apply to the Confederacy for admission as a separate territory. In keeping with the prevailing martial spirit, George Milton Frazer, a prominent local resident, organized a volunteer company for Confederate service styled "The Arizona Rangers."

Frazer, the fifth of seven children of Harmon and Martha (Wallace) Frazer, was born in Brownsville, Haywood County, Tennessee on January 5, 1828. He arrived in Texas with his family on June 1, 1835, settling first in San Augustine and then in Sabine County. In 1840 Frazer's father was residing in Sabine County and was the owner of one gold watch and the agent for two grantees of bounty lands. Young Frazer apparently remained at home until the outbreak of the War with Mexico. On May 25, 1846 he enrolled in Galveston as fourth corporal in Captain Joseph L. Bennett's company which was mustered into national service at Fort Polk, Point Isabel, for a term of three months on June 13 as Company B, 1st Regiment Texas Foot Rifles (Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston). Without seeing combat the regiment was disbanded near Camargo, Mexico on August 24. One week later Frazer joined Captain Robert K. Goodloe's Company K 2d Regiment Texas Mounted Volunteers (Colonel George T. Wood) at Camargo as a substitute, and fought in the battle of Monterrey. When the company was mustered out on October 14, 1846 at the camp near Monterrey, Frazer returned home. But military adventure apparently must have appealed to him, for he enrolled in Captain Benjamin F. Hill's company on March 10, 1847. The military record is not clear, but it appears that Frazer changed his mind and enrolled in Captain Henry Weidner Baylor's Company of Lan-cers in San Antonio six days later. The unit was mustered into national service for "the war" at Monterrey, Mexico as part of Major Walter P. Lane's Battalion on June 17. Frazer was accidentally wounded on August 23, 1847, and spent time recuperating in the hospital at Monterrey. On June 30, 1848, with the expiration of their terms of service, Frazer and the others of the company were mustered out at Camargo. He apparently now returned home, but at least in October, 1848 he was in Nacogdoches, for it was here that he applied for his bounty land grant. In 1849 Frazer came to El Paso, having accompanied Colonel Joseph E. Johnston on his reconnaissance to find a better road from San Antonio

to the West. He remained in the border village until March of 1850 when he set out for New Mexico. Following a stay of several months in Socorro, he settled in Santa Fe. In February, 1852 he joined a seventy-man party which, after rendezvousing at Lematlar, set off for the San Francisco River valley area in search of gold. The quest proved fruitless, so the party broke up and Frazer returned to northern New Mexico. From October 9, 1852 and until February 28, 1857, he was employed as the wagonmaster for the United States Army Quartermaster depot in Albuquerque. During this period he headed trains carrying supplies to Forts Stanton, Thorn, Fillmore, and Bliss to the south and northwest to Taos and Fort Union.

In March of 1857, Frazer bought a large stock of goods and started for Tucson to go into business for himself. Indians, however, attacked his train and carried off all his property, including the wagons and mules. Forced to give up his plans for Tucson, he apparently served as an unofficial army sutler for some four months. He then settled in Mesilla where, for a time, he operated the "Frazer House" hotel. On January 4, 1858 he married Mary Edgar of nearby Doña Ana. In 1860 he was appointed a deputy United States marshal to take the census of Doña Ana County, and he listed himself as a farmer residing in Mesilla with his Arkansas-born wife and two-year old daughter, Anna. He estimated his real estate to be worth \$500, and his personal property at \$2,500. About March, 1861 he became a partner in the "Pino Alto Express Company" which operated a weekly express between Mesilla and the mines at Pinos Altos. This business venture apparently ended by May due to the exodus of many miners and increased Apache hostility.

At meetings held by Mesilla citizens on May 10 and 11, 1861, Frazer was commissioned to raise a company of rangers "to chastise the Apaches for their late outrages." Frazer had no difficulty recruiting, for his company was formally presented with a Confederate battle flag on May 17. "The Arizona Rangers," characterized by *The Mesilla Times* as "bold, hardy and unconquerable," were mustered into Confederate service for a "term of twelve months—if not sooner discharged," at Fort Fillmore on August 1, 1861. When Colonel John Robert Baylor proclaimed the Confederate Territory of Arizona, he appointed Frazer marshal. "The Arizona Rangers" engaged in a number of scouts and forays against Federals and hostile Indians, and as part of Major Charles L. Pyron's Battalion during the Confederate invasion of New Mexico, saw action at the battles of Valverde and Glorieta and the skirmishes of Apache Canyon and Peralta. On the eve of the invasion of New Mexico, three men had transferred to other companies, and two had been taken pri-

soner (but one had been exchanged), leaving "The Arizona Rangers" with fifty-six effectives. While in New Mexico three men were taken prisoner and Frazer was promoted major. Although one man deserted at the end of the campaign, three new men joined. The company was reorganized and assigned to Colonel Philemon Thomas Herbert's Battalion Arizona Cavalry. As part of this new command, Frazer and his men withdrew to San Antonio and later saw extensive action in the Louisiana theatre.

At war's end, Major Frazer settled in San Antonio, but in 1868 he moved to Pecos County, Texas where he engaged in farming, raising cattle, and the mercantile business. He eventually settled in Toyah, Reeves County where he served as judge. He died, probably in Toyah, Texas on August 27, 1908.

In the following annotated list of Frazer's volunteers, an asterisk (*) indicates a soldier who joined after the first muster roll of August 1, 1861 was drawn up. In such instances, the place and date of enlistment follow the soldier's name in parentheses. Neither the first muster roll, nor the Compiled Military Service Records contain the ages of the men.

* * *

George Milton Frazer, Captain, 33 (appointed provost marshal of Albuquerque; assumed command in Santa Fe during the battle of Glorieta; promoted major)
Sherrod Hunter, First Lieutenant, c.37 (resigned in January, 1862 to form his own company)

Frank H. Bushick, Second Lieutenant
William Simmons, Second Lieutenant (sent to reconnoiter vicinity of Fort Craig with ten men October 31; captured on the Jornada del Muerto twenty-seven miles south of Fort Craig November 5, 1861 and exchanged in December for Lt. Mettaze Medina; recaptured during invasion and paroled at Fort Union April 5, 1862)
Adolph Lea, First Sergeant (treated at Fort Fillmore Hospital with lancet and poultice August 5, 1861)

Alward W. Sapp, Second Sergeant ("deserted" from Company F, 1st Regiment U.S. Mounted Rifles at Las Cruces July 31, 1861; in Dona Ana Hospital with variolae January 6-20, 1862)
William Wright, Third Sergeant (in Dona Ana Hospital with subluxation October 20-21; on detached service at Fort Bliss October 27, 1861; in El Paso Hospital with dysentery June 1-July 6, 1862 and left without permission)

Henry Elam, Fourth Sergeant (on detached service at Fort Bliss from October 27 to at least October 31; indicted for murder in December, 1861 court session, but apparently charge was dropped)

Edward Furguson, First Corporal
 Robert Butler, Second Corporal ("deserted" from Company E, 7th Regiment U.S. Infantry August 2, 1861)
 John Lamar, Third Corporal (treated at Doña Ana Hospital October 16-19; on detached service at Fort Bliss from October 25 to at least October 31, 1861)
 Alfred Van Patten, Fourth Corporal, c.23
 Eugene Van Patten, Musician (Bugler), c.19

PRIVATES:

*Barrios, Jose (Fort Fillmore, August 2, 1861; treated at Doña Ana Hospital for gonorrhoea; January 1-6, 1862)
 Benton, William (on detached service at Fort Bliss from October 29 to at least October 31, 1861; elected second lieutenant May 21; in El Paso Hospital with vulnus sclopeticaria genu July 9-13, 1862)
 *Boyer, Rudy (Doña Ana, November 1, 1861; admitted El Paso Hospital with gonorrhoea July 10 and deserted to Mexico July 14, 1862)
 *Boyle, William (transferred from "The Arizona Guards" August 30, 1861; treated for syphilis at Doña Ana Hospital January 1-11, 1862)

Bryant, William (on detached service at Fort Bliss from October 29 to at least October 31, 1861)
 *Dover, William (Fort Fillmore, August 2, 1861)
 Earrar [probably Ferrer], Gregorio
 *Elises, Augustavus (Fort Fillmore, August 2; attached to quarter-master department September-October, 1861)
 Estell, William (on detached service at Fort Bliss from October 27 to at least October 31, 1861; entered El Paso Hospital with typhoides July 9; in hospital August 1, 1862)
 *Eure, Hillary (Camp Robledo, September 1, 1861)

Fitch, James
 Frazer, Edward P., 23
 Hagan, George
 Hamerick, William (admitted El Paso Hospital with fractured tibia et fibulae May 24 and left behind; in hospital August 1, 1862)
 Hampton, Thomas, 31 (on extra duty October 12-28, 1861; transferred to Hunter's company January 25, 1862)
 Horan, James ("deserted" from Company E, 7th Regiment, U.S. Infantry August 2, 1861; admitted El Paso Hospital with vulnus sclopeticaria July 9; in hospital August 1, 1862)

*Jones, James ("deserted" from Company E, 7th Regiment U.S. Infantry; enlisted at Fort Fillmore August 1, 1861; promoted second sergeant May 21, 1862)

Jones, John

Kirker, Robert, 19 (transferred to "The Arizona Guards" November 4, 1861)

*Langston, Issac, c.34 (Doña Ana, November 1, 1861; elected first lieutenant May 21, 1862)

Larrar, Massy

*Lehr, William (Fort Fillmore, August 2; on detached service at Fort Bliss from October 28 to at least October 31, 1861)

*Lespierre, John, 35 (transferred from Company E, 2d Regiment September 2, 1861)

*Linn, William (Doña Ana, September 1; in Doña Ana Hospital with hemorrhoids October 20-22, 1861; promoted first sergeant May 26, 1862)

*Mannett [Mennet], Adolphe (Fort Fillmore, August 2, 1861)

*Marshall, Charles (Camp Robledo, September 1; on detached service at Fort Bliss from October 28 to at least October 31, 1861; prisoner on parole since March 28, 1862)

McGuire, Michael (deserted from U.S. Army; captured while on a scout near Fort Craig November 5, 1861)

McGuire, Pat (either Michael or Pat in Fort Fillmore Hospital with bilious August 6-12; treated at Doña Ana Hospital for febris intermittens quaternary October 22; detached to scout Fort Craig, but captured November 5, 1861)

McLane, William

Morrison, Robert ("deserted" from Company E, 7th Regiment U.S. Infantry August 2; on extra duty September 23-October 11; on detached service at Fort Bliss October 28, 1861)

*Ouy, Granville Henderson, 37 (Mesilla, May 21, 1862; elected captain May 21; acting quartermaster since June 1, 1862)

*Radcliff [or Radeleff], Edward F., c.29 (Mesilla, June 1, 1862; on extra duty in quartermaster department June 1, 1862)

Ramsy [Ramsey], William (admitted Fort Bliss Hospital September 2; treated at Fort Fillmore Hospital for rheumatismus chronicus September 26-October 12; in Doña Ana Hospital with rheumatismus chronicus October 13-23, 1861)

*Riggs, L. Seth, 28 (transferred from "The Arizona Guards" November 4, 1861)

*Riggs, Sidney (Fort Fillmore, August 8, 1861; either L. Seth or Sidney treated at Doña Ana Hospital for syphilis January 1-6,

1862)
 Rodriguez, José
 Roe, John (on detached service at Fort Bliss from October 27 to
 at least October 31, 1861; prisoner on parole since March 28,
 1862)
 *Ross, James (Doña Ana, September 1; admitted Fort Bliss Hospi-
 tal October 28, 1861)
 Rubles, John (on detached service at Fort Bliss from October 27 to
 at least October 31, 1861)
 *Stocomp, Samuel (Fort Fillmore, August 2, 1861)
 St. Vern, Elie

*Taylor, John M. "Marty" (Fort Fillmore, October 1, 1861; indict-
 ed for murder in December, 1861 court session, but apparently
 charge was dropped)
 *Titterington, John, 25 (joined McAllister's company at Fort Davis,
 April 4; treated at Fort Fillmore Hospital for myxiosis August
 11-19; joined "The Arizona Rangers" at Doña Ana, September
 4, 1861; horse lost in action July 3, 1862)
 *Valencio, Florencio (Mesilla, July 1, 1862)
 Van Sickle, Isaac, 23

*Wallace, Robert (Fort Fillmore, August 2, 1861)
 Warris [probably Juárez], Vicente
 *Welsh, William, 22 (Fort Fillmore, August 2; on extra duty Octo-
 ber 13; on detached service at Fort Bliss from October 27 to at
 least October 31, 1861; elected brevet second lieutenant May
 22, 1862)

*Woodhall, Thomas (Doña Ana, October 1, 1861)
 *Zehr, George (Fort Fillmore, August 2, 1861; daily duty in ord-
 nance department at least through October 31, 1862)
REFERENCES

1. *Historical and Biographical Record of the Cattle Industry and the Cattlemen of Texas and Adjacent Territory* (St. Louis, Woodward & Lothrop Printing Co., 1895; reprinted in 2 vols., New York Antiquarian Press, Ltd., 1959), I, p. 457. Although this work states that Harmon Frazer came to Texas in 1834, his first Class Headright states that "he arrived in this country on or before the first day of June in the year eighteen hundred & thirty five."
2. The grantees were Alexander Coates and Daniel Etridge. White (ed.), *The 1840 Census*, 165.
3. Many soldiers were disgusted with the inactivity and misery of camp life at Ca-
 margo. When their terms of enlistment were up, some 318 volunteers left for home,
 and the remaining 224 of the regiment were assigned to other commands. Charles
 F. Roland, *Albert Sidney Johnston, Soldier of Three Republics* (Austin, University
 of Texas Press, 1965), 130-131.
4. Frazer served as a substitute for Enoch Bradshaw.
5. The Compiled Military Service Records show that Frazer enrolled in Captain
 Benjamin F. Hill's company in San Antonio on March 10, 1847. The unit was
 mustered into national service at the same city as Company A, 1st Regiment Texas
 Mounted Volunteers (Colonel John C. "Jack" Hays) on April 14, 1847. The rec-

- ords show that Frazer was mustered out as a sergeant at Monterey on June 16, 1847. Obviously, the records are in conflict.
6. The Compiled Military Service Records also show this to be Major Michael Chevalle's Battalion.
 7. The *Historical and Biographical Record* states on page 457 that Frazer "... was appointed sutler under Col B. W. E. Boneville, receiving the appointment for garrament services during the Indian depredations. He served four months as sutler. However, a search of the lists of sutlers in the National Archives who were employed between 1821 and 1899 did not reveal Frazer's name.
 8. Five of Frazer's men were "deserters" from the United States Army. Enlisted men did not have the privilege of resigning as did officers.
 9. *Historical and Biographical Record*, 457.

Captain George M. Frazer's Arizona Rangers, C.S.A.

In 1800 there were 250,000 grapevines in the El Paso district.

Trade between the two Spanish territories of New Mexico and California consisted principally of New Mexican blankets for California mules and horses.

Cortez brought only 13 guns to conquer the New World.

The cowboy—Outlaw period of Western History began about 1875, reached its height in 1897, and ended about 1905.

The Customs District of Paso del Norte, established in 1853, took in all of west Texas plus Arizona Territory which included the present New Mexico.

The state tree of Texas is the pecan.

Beans have been staple food for the world's population since prehistorical times. The most popular for human consumption in the United States is the pinto bean.

Paso del Norte (Juarez) had a school enrollment in 1807 of 406.

A WEE BIT OF FRANCO-MEXICAN HISTORY CAMERONE

by EUGENE O. PORTER

The battle of Camerone (Hacienda de los Camerone) was an isolated incident in the two-months-long siege of Pueblo (23 March to 17 May, 1863). The siege ended in victory for the French but the victory shed no glory on French arms. It did, however, open the way to Mexico City which General Forey's army occupied on the seventh of June.

The importance of Camerone is that it became the symbol of courage for the French Foreign Legion. It was "something like the battle of the Alamo." As the French Government noted in a brochure: "At Sebastopol in the Crimea (1855), as at Magenta in Italy (1859), the Legionnaires confirmed the record that had been acquired in the battles of Africa. "But it was in Mexico that the Legion won its greatest title of glory. On April 30, 1863, at the hacienda of Camerone, three officers and 62 Legionnaires resisted for the entire day 2,000 Mexican soldiers. In the evening, after an epic struggle, the five survivors charged with their bayonets." Yet no American writer of Mexican history, so far as can be determined, makes any mention of Camerone.

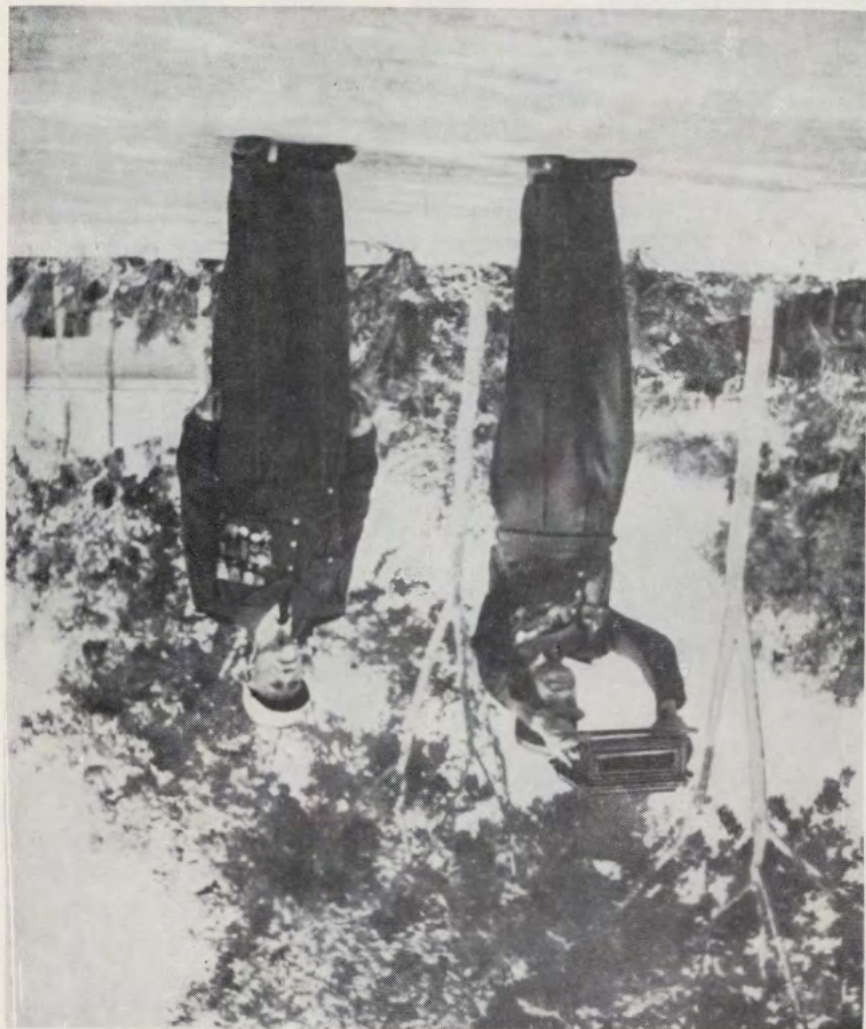


The Last Moments of the Battle of Camerone 30 April 1863. Photo reproduced by Cndr. McKinney.



Captain Danjon—Photo reproduced by Cmdr. McKinney.

The brochure continues: "The name 'Camerone' was henceforth inscribed on the banners of the Legion. A plaque perpetuates the memory of the heroes and their chief, Captain Danjou. This battle has remained a symbol, to the point that the expression, "'To Make Camerone' has become a part of the current language of the Legion, signifying the utmost resistance, without hope to the point of total sacrifice. Since 1863, many Legionnaires, all over the world, have 'made Camerone' in the service of France."¹⁶



Sidi-Bel-Abbès: Anniversaire de Camerone — Photo reproduced by Cmdr. McKinney.

It was while serving in Air Force Intelligence in Germany (1951-1953) that I first heard of Caméron. I had met a Russian Count who, after escaping from Russia, had enlisted in the Legion in order to obtain French citizenship. I invited him and his Countess to our unit's Thanksgiving Day dinner and he commented that the Legion had "something like your Thanksgiving Day." He said that on Caméron Day, 30 April, discipline is relaxed and food and wine rations increased."

But Caméron Day involved a great deal more than relaxed discipline and increased rations of food and wine. As the government's brochure, mentioned above, noted: "Each year around the world, in all the corps or detachments of the Legion . . . the anniversary of the battle of Caméron, Mexico, 1863, exalts the cult of total service. The official record of the battle is read to the troops, standing at attention. It remains a symbol of Legionnaire courage, and the pledge of the 62 men of Captain Danjou represents the finest example of fidelity to the oath of allegi-^{ance."}

NOTES

1. Hubert Howe Bancroft, *History of Mexico* (San Francisco, 1890), 6 vols., vi, 68. *Ibid.*, vi, 72. There is controversy among historians as to the number of French troops at Pueblo. One writer states that France had an army of 36,000 but Bancroft believes the number was closer to 26,300. This figure includes 2,000 Mexican allies and between 300 and 400 Mexican officers of all ranks without troops. Washing to serve as private soldiers they organized themselves into a battalion, called the Legion of Honor, and elected General Taboada their commander. Taboada had fought with the French the previous year at Cinco de Mayo.
3. Letter dated 7 February 1961 from Le General Ph. Gouraud, Attaché Militaire, Ambassade De France aux Etats-Unis. The General wrote in part: "Therefore this is something like the battle of the L'Alamo between Americans and Mexicans." *La Vérité sur la Légion Etrangère Française*, 15. Translations from the French are by Mary Ellen B. Porter.
5. At least three important American narrators of Mexican history make no mention of Caméron: Herbert Ingram Priestly, *The Mexican Nation: A History* (New York, 1926); Henry Bamford Parkes, *A History of Mexico* (New York, 1938); and Bancroft, *History of Mexico*.
6. *La Vérité sur la Légion Etrangère Française*, 11.
7. *Ibid.*, 41.

The governor of Spanish New Mexico with his capital in Santa Fe received an annual salary of \$4,000 and the Lt. Governor in Paso del Norte (Juárez) received \$2,000.

El Paso did not begin to pave her streets until after 1900.

Early-day El Paso real estate promoters would not consider a new subdivision or new addition without first ascertaining whether a streetcar line could be built to it.

The town of Cosihuiriachi, to come to the point, is about 90 miles west from Chihuahua, in $28^{\circ}12'$ latitude north. The road to it from Chihuahua is always ascending, very rough and mountainous, and leads to the very heart of the Sierra Madre. The only considerable town on the road is San Isabel, about 35 miles west of Chihuahua. Only a part of the road can be travelled with wagons; pack-mules furnish, therefore, the means of transportation. Steep mountains of igneous rocks rise in all directions. The mountains are generally intersected by small valleys and high plains, fit for agriculture, and more yet for raising of stock; but on account of the Indians, who roam the country, but few settlements exist. The mountains are principally formed by porphyritic rocks, and covered with oak, cedar, and pine. Travelling west of Chihuahua, one will soon perceive in the western mountain range a prominent point that is seen for a great distance, and may serve as guide. This high mountain is called the "Buta," and at its very foot lies the town of Cosihuiriachi. Coming close to it, the road descends for a couple of miles to a narrow ravine, between high, steep, sometimes perpendicular mountains, on both sides; and through the ravine, along a creek, stretches but one street of several hundred mud-built houses, representing the town of our banishment. The seclusion and closeness of the place, together with the poverty and thinness of the greater part of its inhabitants, make it a very fit place to control prisoners of state and prevent them from being too comfortable.

Gentle reader, whenever in the course of your life you should feel tempted to pronounce a foreign, jaw-breaking word, or to visit a strange-looking, incomprehensible, awful place, I would recommend to your kind attention Cosihuiriachi, because it includes everything that human imagination may conceive of—a combination of difficulties in words, appearances, and naked reality. Most willingly I would have saved to your eye the trouble to travelling so many times over the whole length of the unpronounceable word, which in old Indian language means, no doubt, a great deal more than we know of; but, as ill-fortune wished me to be confined there for six long months, I must ask you the favor to bear as patiently with the name, as I did (yielding to necessity) with the place itself.

[Editor's note: The Winter, 1973, issue of PASSWORD (Vol. xviii, No. 4) left Wislizenus in Cosihuiriachi as an exile, actually a prisoner. We take up his narrative at that point.]

(PART ONE OF THREE PARTS)

notes by EUGENE O. PORTER

WISLIZENUS

ACROSS NORTHERN MEXICO WITH

Two Americans, Mrs. Phistoe and Mrs. Carlyle, happened to live at that time in Cosihuiriachi, engaged in mercantile business, they received their exiled countrymen very hospitably, and extended the same favor to me on my arrival. In their dwelling-house, more commodious than the rest, we all took our lodgings, while Bill, our colored cook, attended to our board.

The name of the Americans who had been sent from Chihuahua to Cosihuiriachi before me, are the following: Messrs. East, Messerli, Weatherhead, Stevenson, Douglas, and Litzleiter. Our common impression then was, that our banishment could not last longer than one, or at the utmost two months, on account of the most positive news we had of General Wool's march towards Chihuahua. But, instead of that, ill-fortune wanted us to stay there six long months, which I consider the most tedious of my whole life.

The day after my arrival I presented myself, with my passport received in Chihuahua, to the prefect of Cosihuiriachi, a respectable old man, who treated us throughout very kind, and executed the strict orders which from time to time arrived from Chihuahua for our better control, with all the humanity that his official station allowed. Though we were not permitted to leave Cosihuiriachi for another residence, we considered ourselves at liberty to make excursions in the neighborhood. Most of us were experienced hunters; and as the surrounding mountains contained a great many deer, we roamed almost daily over our hunting ground, to kill as well as to provide our table with venison. On such excursions I paid constant attention to the botany of the country, and made in the first month a rich collection of mountain plants, most of them undescribed as yet. But with the approach of winter the flowers disappeared; the geology of the country was most uniform. To extend our excursions, which was forbidden by a new order from the Governor of Chihuahua, which limited them to two leagues at the utmost; nearly all my books and instruments I had left behind; society was confined to ourselves; communications from Chihuahua were seldom received, and, according to all accounts, there was no more prospect of General Wool's march towards Chihuahua. So we spent the winter in a state of constant expectation and weariness, interrupted sometimes only by a small patriotic excitement from a part of the Mexicans, most of whom hated us as foreigners, but did not dare to attack us; But instead of expatiating upon these trifles, which afford no interest to the reader, I will rather insert here the few statistical accounts which I was able to collect in relation to Cosihuiriachi.

The town of Cosihuiriachi, or, with its full name, Santa Rosa de Cosihuiriachi, (also written Cosiguiriachi and Cosihuiriachic,) was es-

tablished in the beginning of the latter century, in consequence of the accidental discovery of silver mines. The mines must have been very productive, because the population of the town in Spanish times was estimated at 10,700 souls; while at present, with the surrounding settlements, it hardly exceeds 3,000. The mountain chain on which it is situated is called Sierra de Metates, and forms a part of the Sierra Madre, which occupies the whole western portion of the State of Chihuahua. The mines are all in the mountain chain, west of town. Renowned among them were the mines of San Antonio, Santa Rosa, La Bufa, etc.; the first of them had been worked to a depth of near 300 varas. The mines are all found in porphyritic rocks, the prevailing formation in this part of the country. Silver occurs as sulphuret, in combination with sulphuret of iron and of lead. At present very little mining is done, more from want of capital than from exhaustion of the mines. Some of the mines have been abandoned on account of the water in them. The few wealthy families that live here, and attend to mining on a small scale, are unwilling to risk anything by expensive machinery, and foreign capitalists and miners have in the last 20 years been more attracted by the rich mines of Jesus Maria, further west. The ores of the few mines that are worked yet, contain, on an average, from three to four ounces in the carga, (300 pounds.) The silver is extracted by fire. With the decline of the mines, the town also decayed, and the greatest part of the population looks at present wretchedly poor. Besides that, they are afflicted with two diseases, very common among them, and not apt to promote propagation, syphilis and lepra [leprosy]. In Cosihuiriachi itself they cultivate only a few gardens, but in the neighborhood are some villages and settlements with cornfields and orchards; and if it were not for the scourage of the country, the hostile Indians, all the plains might be cultivated, and the people might get richer by the raising of stock than by the mines. But the Mexicans are at present so under fear from those savage highway robbers, that they dare not even pursue them. During our stay in Cosihuiriachi, a party of Apaches stole away a drove of mules and killed six persons in a neighboring village, but nobody thought of pursuing them till they saw us determined to do so. A few badly armed Mexicans joined us then, and we followed all day the trail of the Indians, who were ahead of us for six hours, till we convinced ourselves that they had already retreated into the deepest recesses of the mountains, where it would have been more than temerity to have followed them in the night. One company of American rangers, roaming about like the Indians themselves, would soon sweep these enemies of all cultivated life out of the country; but the arms and fight to the last.

The elevation of Cosihuiriachi above the sea is, according to my own observation, 6,275 feet, and the height of the "Buta," the highest mountain in the chain, 7,918 feet above the sea, or 1,643 feet above Cosihuiriachi. The climate is, notwithstanding the high elevation, more temperate than cold; during the winter we had sometimes ice, but no snow.

In the beginning of the year 1847 our prospects began to brighten. The battle of Brazito^o had been fought, and the relief we had in vain looked for from below seemed to approach now from the north. But, for two long months yet, we were kept in a dreadful state of suspense, the more excruciating the nearer the time came when a decisive battle between the two armies could be expected. Of the American troops we had no reliable information, but on the part of the Mexicans we witnessed all the strenuous exertions which they made for a vigorous resistance. They had procured a goodly number of cannon and small arms, with ammunition; new taxes had been gathered by a forced loan; about 4,000 men were pressed into service; in the public press and from the pulpit, the people were excited against the "perfidious Yankes:" "heroic deeds, and death for the fatherland, became every-day phrases. But to what, after all, could such theatrical display avail against the cool, determined bravery of the Missouri volunteers, which sought no vent in words, but in action! Near the time of the expected battle, our suspense was of course on the highest point; but only vague rumors penetrated into our distant, isolated mountains, till, two days after the battle, some fugitives of the Mexican army returned as the first indication of a lost battle; and soon after, an express, sent out by our friends in Chihuahua, informed us positively of the glorious victory at Sacramento. There was no further authority in the place that would have tried to retain us under such circumstances. A part of the Mexican population, whose conscience was not quite clear from self-reproach, fearing revenge, fled even to the mountains, while we in the meanwhile prepared in all haste our baggage and animals, for our return to Chihuahua. Next morning, on

March 3, 1847, we left the place of our exile. Having taken leave of our old prefect and several better minded Mexicans of the town, and embraced, a la Mexican, some of the fair señoritas who had never given us cause for offense, we moved off in a body as happy as freeman, under such circumstances, can be, and two days afterwards we entered Chihuahua again. The city looked rather differently from what it did formerly, but not for the worse. One half of the Mexican population had left the city, from fear that the Americans would, after their victory, act as meanly and overbearing as they had done themselves before it; but in that they were disappointed—no excesses were committed, and the Mexicans

were treated as mercifully as ever a vanquished enemy was by a generous

visitor.

But, really, what a ragged set of men those brave Missouri boys were!

There was not one among them in complete uniform, and not two in the whole regiment dressed alike; each one had consulted either his own fancy of necessity, in arranging the remnants of former comfort, to produce a half descent appearance. Some of the resident Americans in Chihuahua, I understood, when after the battle the first American companies entered the town and halted on the Plaza, were so thunderstruck by the savage exterior of their countrymen, that they ran back to their houses to ascertain first to what tribe or nation they belonged. But, notwithstanding their raggedness, there was some peculiar expression in their eyes, meaning that they had seen Brazito and Sacramento, and that Mexicans could not frighten them even by ten-fold numbers. Among the troops I met with some old friends from Missouri, and during our stay in Chihuahua I became acquainted with many officers and men whose knowledge and bravery would do honor to any army, and whose gentle-mannerly deportment I shall always recollect with pleasure. But, for the present, we will leave Colonel Doniphan with his regiment in their comfortable quarters in Chihuahua, and take a review of the State and city of Chihuahua, before our final return to the United States.

[Editor's note: For the next seven pages, 54-61, of the text, Wislizenus gives "Statistics of the State of Chihuahua," all of which are now omitted. For this reason and also because of lack of space in PASSARD your editor decided to omit these seven pages.]

Let us return to the American troops in Chihuahua. When Colonel Doniphan's regiment left Santa Fe [New Mexico] for this place, it was done in consequence of a previous order from headquarters to march south and report himself to General Wool, who was at that time marching towards Chihuahua. General Wool's destination was afterwards changed but no news of that event nor contrary orders reached the troops at Santa Fe, and the "lost" regiment marched towards the south to meet General Wool, in Chihuahua or somewhere else. In El Paso they ascertained, for the first time, that the general had not yet come to Chihuahua, and that the government of that state had made formidable preparations for defense. At the same time, news reached them of the revolution in New Mexico, exaggerated, for purpose, by the Mexicans. In this dilemma—surrounded in the rear and front by enemies—thrown in the middle of a hostile country—cut off from all communication and support of their own country, they took the only resolution that could avail in such emergency; they marched on, to conquer or die.

Having conquered Chihuahua, and not finding General Wool there, an express was sent out from here to his camp near Saltillo to ask further orders. John Collins, esq.,¹⁰ of Booneville, Missouri, a trader, who had volunteered in the battle of Sacramento, undertook the dangerous excursion with only 12 men. The regiment was stationed in the meanwhile in Chihuahua, and indulged in the luxuries of the town. Towards the end of March the first news of the battle of Buena Vista was received. Although Santa Anna claimed, in his official report that reached Chihuahua, a victory on his part, the Americans were too well versed in translation of Mexican reports not to consider themselves privileged to fire a salute on the Plaza in honor of *our* victory.

Most men of the regiment got at last tired of the inactive life in Chihuahua, and in a council of war an expedition to the southern part of the State was agreed upon. Some negotiations with the old Mexican authorities of Chihuahua, who had fled in this direction, failed to produce any result; they kept up, on the contrary, a shadow of Mexican government in the south of the State, at Parral. A march of the American troops there would have broken up that government at once, and being nearer to the seat of war, the regiment might, according to circumstances, have either thrown itself upon the State of Durango or marched towards Saltillo.

EXPLANATORY NOTES

1. San Isabel [Santa Isabel] made newspaper headlines on January 10, 1916, when Mexican bandits stopped a train there and took off fifteen American officials of the Cusi Mining Company on their way from Chihuahua City to Cushtutcha. The men were shot to death and their bodies stripped and mutilated. Rancho Villa always denied responsibility for this atrocity but all evidence points toward the guilt of that outlaw.
- When the mutilated bodies arrived in El Paso, Texas, passions flared so high that General Pershing in command of Fort Bliss had to deploy troops to protect the Mexican quarter of the city from attack.—Halden Bradley, "Rancho Villa at Columbus: The Raid of 1916 Restudied," *Southwestern Studies* (El Paso: Texas Western College Press), Vol. III, No. 1 (Spring, 1965).
2. Max L. Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road*, 173n, names Robert Carlisle as one of the twenty American merchants interned at Cushtutcha when Wislizenus was there. Phritoe's name does not appear among the twenty named.
3. Moorhead gives their names as George East, William Messerly, George Wethered, Archibald Stevenson, David Douglas, George Litchliter.—*New Mexico's Royal Road*, 173n.
4. *Vara* is a "Spanish yard." Wislizenus very likely means a *vara castellana* which measures 838 millimeters. An English yard measures 914.4 millimeters.
5. Until rather late in the history of medicine, syphilis and leprosy were indistinguishable from each other. As syphilis became more recognizable, leprosy became less common.
6. The battle of Brazito took place on Christmas Day, 1846. For an account of the battle see George Ruhlert, "Brazito—The Only Battle in the Southwest Between American and Foreign Troops," *Password*, Vol. II, No. 1 (February, 1957), 4-13.
7. The battle of Sacramento was fought about 20 miles north of Chihuahua City on February 28, 1847. It lasted three and one-half hours. The American casualties out of 924 effectives were one killed and eight wounded, one mortally. The Mex-

lean casualties numbered about 300 killed and as many wounded of a force of 4,000.

8. General John E. Wool's invasion of the State of Chihuahua was planned as a diversionary movement. It was believed that the conquest and occupation of that area would hasten Mexico's desire for peace. General Wool began his march in San Antonio, Texas, in September, 1846, and advanced by way of Monclova which he occupied on October 29. However, because of the difficulty in maintaining communications, it was thought that the invasion of Chihuahua would be hazardous. For that reason Wool moved his command from Monclova to Parras in Coahuila for the purpose of joining Taylor. On December 21 he effected a union with General William J. Worth's command at Agua Nueva, south of Saltillo. In so doing Wool had made "a successful march of 900 miles through Mexican territory without meeting any armed resistance whatsoever."—Priestly, *The Mexican Nation*, 307-08.
9. "The revolution in New Mexico," sometimes called the "Taos Rebellion," was plotted by Don Diego Archuleta and a group of Mexican malcontents. It was planned for midnight, December 19, but Gertrude Barcelo, described as "an extraordinary monte player and madam," warned the Americans and thus the plot was foiled. It was not crushed, however, and a second revolt was planned for January 19. This one proved to be better organized and required three military engagements to put it down. The Mexicans lost a total of 282 killed and an unknown number wounded. The Americans lost fifteen killed and forty-seven wounded. Among those killed was Charles Bent the first American governor of New Mexico. He had been appointed to that office on September 22, 1846 by General Stephen Watts Kearny.

The fascinating career of Gertrude Barcelo has been fictionalized by Ruth Laughlin in her romantic novel, *The Wind Leaves No Shadow* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1948).—Gregg, *Commerce on the Prairies*, 51n; Drumm, *Diary of Susan Magoffin*, xxxin; Hughes, *Doniphan's Expedition*, 192-197.

10. Both Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, xxiv, and Keicher, *Turmoil in New Mexico*, 46, give Collins' name as James. Moorhead, *New Mexico's Royal Road*, 143n, gives a short biographical sketch of "James 'Squire' Collins." Born in Missouri in 1801 he was a merchant in Chihuahua as early as 1830. He served as Doniphan's chief interpreter in 1847. In the 1850's he was owner and editor of the *Santa Fe* (New Mexico) *Gazette*. From 1857 to 1863 he served as superintendent of Indian affairs for New Mexico and afterwards as head of the government depository at Santa Fe. In this capacity he was found shot to death in what was evidently a robbery.
11. The battle of Buena Vista takes its name from the Hacienda de Buena Vista where General Taylor had established his camp. Santa Anna with 15,000 men skirmished with Taylor's outpost on February 21, 1847 and attacked in battle formation the following day. The battle resulted in a complete rout for Santa Anna. Mexicans call the place of battle "La Angostura." The Hacienda was about a mile and a half northeast of Angostura. This was the bloodiest battle the United States Army ever engaged in until Shiloh (Pittsburg Landing) in the Civil War. At least eighteen hundred Mexicans were killed or wounded, while American losses were six hundred and seventy-three.—Priestly, *The Mexican Nation*, 312; DeVoto, *The Year of Decision*, 60n; Holman Hamilton, *Zachary Taylor Soldier of the Republic* (New York, 1941), 231, et seq.

Colonel Alexander Doniphan for whom El Paso's Doniphan Drive was named was one of the attorneys who represented the Mormons during their "trouble" in Missouri in the 1830s.

The first issue of the new *Field Artillery Journal*, dated January-February, 1974, has an article by the editor of our Society's *El Conquistador*, Major Richard K. McMaster (Ret.). The article is titled "The Pack Artillery 1898-1957."

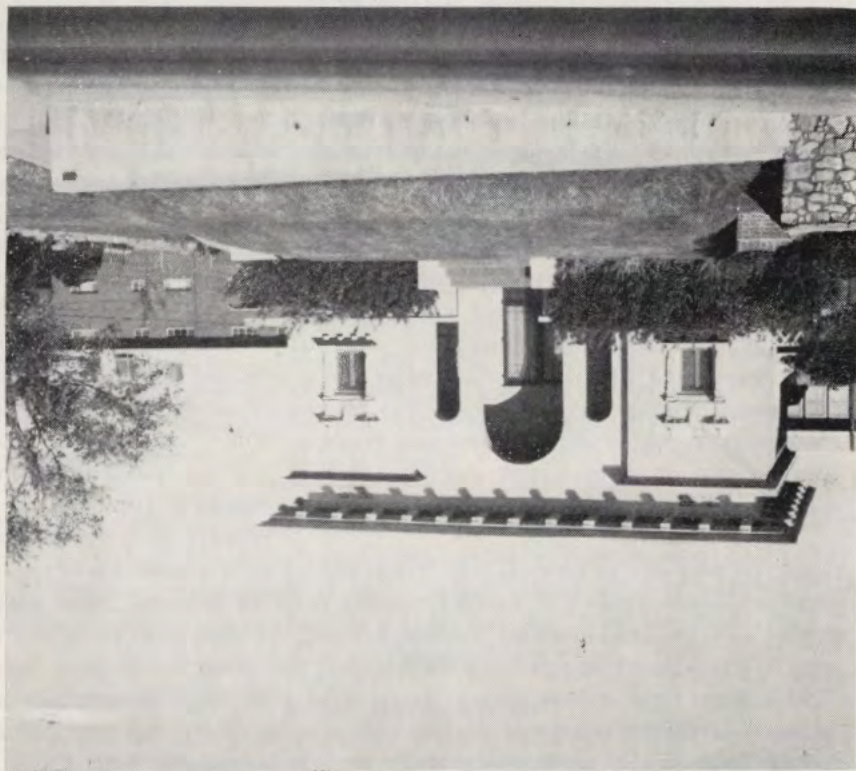
HERITAGE HOMES OF EL PASO

The Lawson House

by HARRIOT HOWZE JONES

The house at 1712 North Mesa Street is considered by architects to be one of the finest creations of the famous firm of Frost and Frost. Built in 1914 for Mr. and Mrs. Lawrence Milton Lawson, it is a one-story construction with simple lines, beautiful proportions and a plastered exterior. It has a pitched shingle roof with wide projecting cornice and overhang. There are handsome carved stone decorations on the two large front windows and an arched opening flanked by two smaller arches on a small loggia leading to the front door.

Mr. Lawson, who always signed himself with brevity, "L. M. Lawson," was born in 1879 in Washington, D.C. A Civil engineer, his life work was concerned with one of our most precious resources—water. He began his career with the United States Reclamation Service (Department of the Interior) when that service was started during the presidency of Theodore Roosevelt.



The Lawson House
[89]

L. M. Lawson came to El Paso in 1913, while Elephant Butte Dam was still under construction, as Engineer in charge of the Federal Irrigation project. In 1917 he was appointed Rio Grande Project Manager and charged with the development of the 160-thousand acre irrigation project situated along the river above and below El Paso. Several dams were constructed and the extensive system of main canals, laterals and drainage ditches planned and developed. Through his skill in working with and for the people of these valleys, an irrigation system was developed which has brought cash returns of about one billion dollars from an original construction cost of about fifteen million.

Mr. Lawson was chairman of the first Water Board of the city of El Paso. Foreseeing a great city, he took steps to help assure us of a plentiful supply of water. In 1927 Mr. Lawson was named Commissioner of the United States Section, International Boundary and Water Commission. In this position his talents as both engineer and diplomat were to be effective for the next quarter of a century.

More than a century ago, in 1848, the United States and Mexico agreed that the Rio Grande would forever mark the boundary between the two nations. But "Old Man River" meandered at will, shifting positions, eroding one bank and building another, adding or subtracting land to and from each country. Aerial photographs show that the river looked like a snake winding in great curves. This caused enclaves or "pockets" of Mexico to extend far to the north and pockets of the United States to protrude into Mexico.

In 1934 Mr. Lawson with his Mexican counterpart, Gustavo P. Serano, conceived, planned and directed the joint project for the rectification of the river. A new channel was dug, cutting across the enclaves; high levees were constructed on each side; and the channel lined with clay to keep the precious water from seeping into the earth and being lost. The channel marked the new International Boundary. Certain acreage which was in the United States was transferred to Mexico and other land which was in Mexico became United States property. The remarkable thing is that though 5,121 acres changed hands, the "swap" came out exactly even, neither country gaining or losing an acre! This was a tremendous undertaking and showed superb engineering as well as amity between the two nations. Rectifying the river not only did away with the problem of intrusion of enclaves from one country to another, but it lowered the depth of the river and helped prevent flooding because a straighter channel allows water to flow freely and not to back up at sharp turns, causing floods.

Mr. Lawson retired in 1954 and was succeeded by Colonel (Ret.) Leland H. Hewitt. The present International Boundary and Water Com-

missioner is Joseph F. Friedkin. It was under Ambassador Friedkin that the Chamizal Settlement took place but that is another story.

In 1962 Lawrence Milton Lawson became the first living person to have his name inscribed in the Hall of Honor of the El Paso County Historical Society. (See *Password*, vii, No. 1, Winter, 1962.) In his tribute to Mr. Lawson, Conroy Bryson stated: "For more than half a century of service he has helped fulfill the Biblical prophesy that The desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose."

The Lawsons had two lovely daughters. Both were reared in the house on North Mesa; both married young army officers. Kate married Woodrow W. Wilson. Since his retirement they have lived in Wellesley, Massachusetts. Laura married Karl L. Scherer and since Colonel Scherer's retirement the couple has lived in Pebble Beach, California. Mrs. Lawson son divides her time between the homes of her two daughters.

Today the house on North Mesa is occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Crawford S. Kerr. Mr. Kerr was for many years associated with Mr. Lawson on the International Boundary and Water Commission.

ERRATUM

Your editor added in good faith two statements which proved erroneous to Mrs. Harriot Jones' article, "The A. Goodman House," in the Spring, 1974 issue of *Password*, page 38, lines 15-18. Dr. Robert A. Levy asked that the errors be corrected with the publication of the following paragraph which he wrote:

"The information concerning Robert A. Levy is incorrect. Robert A. Levy received a Ph.D. in physics from the University of California (Berkeley) in 1955. He was an Associate Professor of Physics at the University of Cincinnati from 1963 to 1969. He lives with his wife, the former Phyllis Bargman, and their four children in their cabin in Cloudercroft, New Mexico."

A. B. Fall claimed in his memoirs that he had defended some five hundred accused criminals of whom no fewer than fifty had been charged with first-degree murder. Of the five hundred, only one was convicted and he received a seven-year prison sentence.

Samuel Hopkins Sibley, a West Point graduate of Natchitoches, Louisiana, completed "one of the most unique records in American military annals." He was court-martialed by both the Union and Confederate armies and kicked out of the Egyptian army. He was also known as a military inventor, having invented the Sibley tent and stove.

Unlike most indexes, this one contains in and of itself considerable substance and information. Thumbing through it one afternoon, I learned a great deal about El Paso and its environs. Take the Chamizal subject, for instance. There on an array of three-by-five cards is a short overview of the entire Chamizal issue, laid out chronologically, as that issue was covered in local newspapers. Merely by examining the cards, one can discover that 437.18 acres of land were involved — because “the Rio Grande went on a ‘binge’ in 1864”; one can learn the names of some of the principals in the drama; one can capture the tensions, the sense of

ces. which were published in such places as Mesilla, Santa Fe, and Las Cruces. and also a scattered assortment of late-nineteenth-century newspapers some few topics in El Paso newspapers published previous to that date, The Index covers all of the El Paso newspapers since 1888, as well as Subjects and People.

The existing files. The material is catalogued under two broad topics: the Index current and work simultaneously at refining and reorganizing financed within the Southwest Collection budget. Two volunteers keep was in charge of the initial organization. An ongoing project, it is now sum of \$1,282.00 being allocated to the project. Miss Edith McCright film-Newspaper Index, it began as a W P A Project in 1935, the grand To give you a little background on the El Paso Public Library Micro-

stantive resource in its own right. area—and it is useful, not only as a directional resource but as a sub- discovered. But nevertheless it is an index—the only one in the El Paso brian, “and somewhat haphazard in its topical arrangement.” True, I Collection. “But it’s incomplete,” hastens Harriet Stegner, Southwest Li- those few. The Microfilm-Newspaper Index is housed in the Southwest abundance of resource material. The El Paso Public Library is one of on microfilm. But probably very few libraries provide indexes to this public libraries keep complete files of local newspapers—usually, of late, To serve their patrons in this important area of archival history, most

ments were voiced? and, by inference, whose were neglected? raged? what topics swelled? what assumptions prevailed? whose argu- tant issues in a particular community at a given time? what controversies but answering also some rather subtle questions: what were the impor- —presenting not only contemporaneous facts (the who, what, and when), As any researcher knows, newspapers are a rich source of information

by LILLIAN COLLINGWOOD

The News of the Day: The Microfilm-Newspaper Index

SOUTHWEST ARCHIVES

delay, the angry voices ("talks still under way"; "the U.S. is not interested in settling the Chamizal dispute"; "Lower Rio Grande valley towns are uniting for action"; "no agreement"; "... has asked Senate Foreign Relations Committee members to make formal inquiry of the Department of State as to what is being done"; "... doesn't expect settlement ... for two years, if ever"); and one can participate directly as a resident in the disputed area ("Florentino Pacheco relinquished his hold ... on his property, 1214 Algodon Place, in the path of the new Rio Grande channel").

Moving along the subject side of the Index, I noticed the label "Stables." Well, now. Without even requesting the microfilm, I learned that on January 22, 1903, "a deed has been filed conveying the City Block 76 in Magoffin Addition for \$4,800.00 to the City"—presumably for the '03 version of a downtown parking lot.

Then the label "Negroes" caught my eye. And when I looked at the cards, a poignant record unfolded. Because of the filing arrangement, the most recent entries are the ones you see first. Thus, I learned initially that "Black Culture Week" would be celebrated in February, 1971. Moving back (in time), I learned that on July 19, 1920, "Federal Judge Boynton ... dismissed Luther Wiley's petition for an injunction restraining State Democratic officials from barring Negroes from the Democratic primary. This action maintains the 'White man's primary in Texas.'" Uncomfortably, I continued my journey backwards—to discover that in April, 1893, "a negro who owns a silk hat and a gold-headed cane" was a topic for editorial dispute between two El Paso newspapers, the *Herald* angrily accusing the man of putting "on white folks' airs" and the *El Paso Evening Tribune* arguing that "The negro has a perfect right to wear what pleases him." The final (earliest) entry under the subject "Negroes" told me that on April 4, 1888, "One man killed and a man and two women wounded at St. John's infamous 'Nigger Dive' on South Oregon Street." In just five minutes I witnessed the painful eighty-three-year transition from "nigger" to "Black Culture." An index to the news of the day.

If you're a researcher into local history, you already know about this Index—and you use it and find it ... well, perhaps frustrating at times, but valuable even so. I guess this article is really addressed to lay people, like me, who just like to know about the place where they live and who don't have much leisure for research. What I pleausurably share with such people is that the Microfilm-Newspaper Index in the Southwest Collection of the El Paso Public Library is so detailed as to spread before you a veritable panorama of El Paso as it has been lived day by day.

HISTORICAL NOTES

Letters to Germany

(*Second in a Series of Four*)

American House

Wm. Connor, Prop.

West Las Animas, Colo.

Sept. 25, 1875

My Dear Ones,

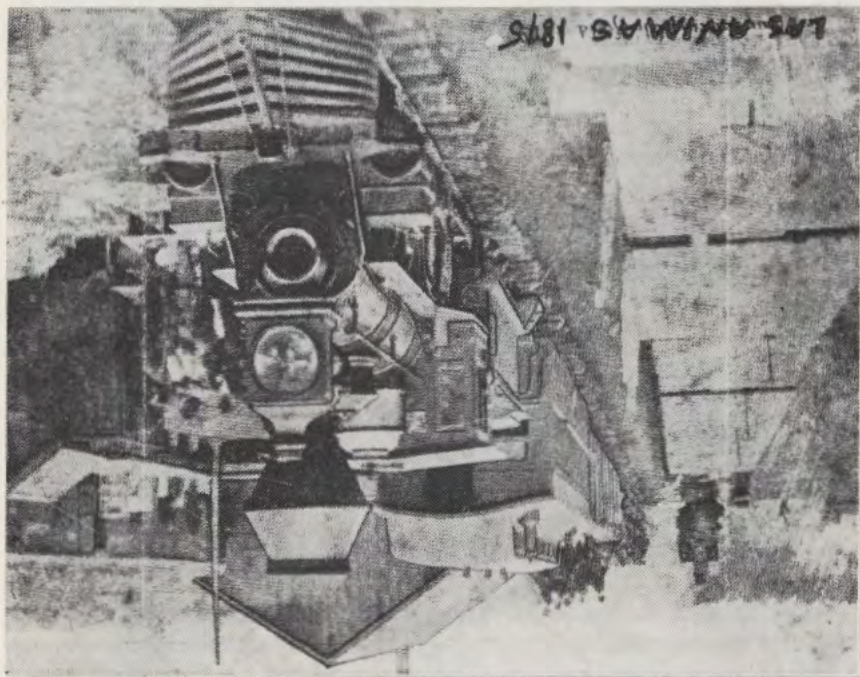
I hope that my letters from New York and Chicago found all of you in the best of health. Mr. & Mrs. Schutz and I are well although the trip has been rather strenuous for Mrs. Schutz.

We left Chicago at 8 P. M. on Sept. 18th and arrived in St. Louis the following morning at 8:30. I must write you fully about my stay in St. Louis. I have been wanting to write-you more about my whole trip, but there is so much to tell about that I have postponed doing so from day to day. I do want to say that I have seen many great and wonderful things not only in nature, but also in the things made by man. One of the most impressive sights was Niagara Falls. There is a suspension bridge over the Falls. The waters race and roar and boil and hiss. Then also there is the Eads Bridge at St. Louis which is several miles long and many other things of which I will write you. One does not know much in Germany about the practical and comfortable sleeping cars. I think I could travel in one of them for a fortnight without tiring. They ride so easily one seems to float and one can move about freely; really I can hardly tell the difference between sleeping on the train or in a hotel.

During my stay in St. Louis I hunted up Moritz Stein. With him I visited Marcus Stein and a Miss Walbrak. We found her at the home of a carpenter named Krummcke who used to live in Bruckhausen. He was very cordial. Opposite to him there lives another Beverunger named Gemmike Von Brink who is a butcher and is said to be worth 25 to 30 thousand dollars. It just happened that he had invited some friends for supper among whom were Franz Koch from Beverungen, teacher Bremer and his brother who gives music lessons, Karl Krull who used to be with Kamacke, Krummcke and so we also joined them.

We were all surprised and pleased to see each other. No one recognized me excepting Karl Assmuth whom I looked up on the following day. We had our supper there and I venture to say that no family in Beverungen eats as well as we did there. Later on we drank beer of very good quality at Gemmike's and it was eleven o'clock when we bade our kind host goodnight. I had enjoyed the evening in this group very much. You may

take it for granted that it was still later before I arrived at my hotel. The following evening the same crowd had supper at Karl Krull's. I am closing now as we leave here at 6 A.M. tomorrow per stage-coach for Santa Fe and expect the trip to take eight days to El Paso.



Las Animas—1875

This picture is from the Ernst Kohlberg manuscript and was copied by Cmdr. M. G. McKinney.

Las Animas is a village which has only been in existence for two years. There are about fifty houses in the place built partly of wood and of sun dried brick made of earth, everything very primitive.

The weather being clear we could see the snow covered Greenhorn Mountains more than 100 miles away. Here it is as level as a table. I also spoke to Fritz Pagendam; the whole crowd is well and happy. Please tell this to their folks.

Schutz' send greetings. Do not worry about me.

Best wishes for Mietchen, Karl, Minna and all friends.

With love your

Ernst



For the past thirteen years Mr. Frank Gorman, Sr., has anonymously sponsored through the Historical Society a history-writing contest for seventh grade students of the public and parochial schools of El Paso County. The prizes are \$75 for first place, \$50 for second, and \$25 for third. In addition, each of the three winners receives a certificate of achievement from the Society and the student winning the first prize also has his essay published in *Password*. The selections committee for 1974 was composed of Lt. Col. (Ret.) B. C. Wright and W. I. Latham, editor of the *El Paso Times*. Dr. Eugene O. Porter checked the essays for historical accuracy.

Mr. Gorman recently passed away. The Society, however, decided to continue the contest as an honor to him under the title: "The Frank Gorman, Senior, Memorial Historical Essay Contest for Seventh Grade Students."

The announcement of the 1974 winners and of the names of their schools along with the presentations of the awards were made at the spring meeting of the Society held at the Radford School for Girls on April 25. The winners were Kathleen M. Davis, Stanton School, first; James Behra, Stanton School, second; and Craig Ivey, Tornillo Junior High School, third.

The winning essay follows. Incidentally, the accompanying drawings are by the author.

HUECO TANKS ROCK ART—A STORY OF OUR PAST

by KATHLEEN M. DAVIS

Hueco Tanks is located about twenty-six miles east of El Paso. It is made up of three irregular igneous rock masses that offer an oasis-like environment compared to the arid hostile desert that surrounds the rocks. Hueco Tanks is an important archeological site because many of the cultures that are known to have existed here in the last 10,000 years are represented by the artifacts found at Hueco Tanks.



One of the most fascinating aspects of Hueco Tanks is the rock art. There are approximately 40 sites with 2000 individual figures, many of which are masks, and they present a lot of interesting relationships. One such group of masks, located in various parts of the rocks, seem to have their tongues hanging out. These masks might indicate that the person

was thirsty or they might indicate to other persons that water could usually be found at that spot (See attached sheet). One site called "Cave Kiwa" has eight masks with various parts missing. This could have shown a desire of one person to hurt another member of the tribe by magic; for example, if the victim was drawn with a missing eye or ear, it might mean the artist wished the victim to be blind or deaf. Some interpreters say that since this cave is high up in the rocks and can not be seen easily, it could have been a sacred or ceremonial place. Other than masks, there are animals, people in costumes, and geometric figures. Some of the figures show horses and men with guns and were done in historic times, probably by the Apache or our local Tigua Indians. Both groups are known to have occupied the Tanks at various times. In addition to the Indians, many Spanish and American visitors have painted their names at Hueco Tanks. Some of these names are dated as early as 1840.

The materials used for painting were natural earth minerals such as hematite for red, limonite for yellow, kaolin clay for white, and carbon for black. They were probably mixed with animal or vegetable fat. There are two green masks at Hueco Tanks. They are the only known green figures in the whole state of Texas. The green color is probably a copper ore. One of these green masks was discovered only last year when a group of amateur archeologists was conducting an inventory to see how much of the rock art had been damaged. A man by the name of Forrest Kirkland had recorded 1200 figures in 1939. The inventory showed that 75% of the figures were still intact and that carbon from picnickers' fires and name-writing were the major causes of damage. On the brighter side, approximately 800 unrecorded figures were found. No one knows when the first pictographs were painted at Hueco Tanks, but the number of figures and the different styles represented would suggest a long history of rock painting. Every effort should be made to preserve these unique momentos of our cultural heritage.

Archival records for the years 1827 to 1832 in New Mexico show the existence of primary schools in several of the principal towns.

At one time 60 million buffalo, more properly bison, roamed the Great Plains of the West.

President William McKinley visited El Paso in May, 1901.

The cowboy called his neckerchief a "wipes."

BOOK REVIEWS

PAT GARRETT: THE STORY OF A WESTERN LAWMAN

by LEON C. METZ

(Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974, \$8.96.)

President Theodore Roosevelt, in appraising Pat Garrett's place in history, noted that "Garrett was not the man who upheld the arm of law and order in New Mexico, he was the first man to introduce law and order." Roosevelt then expressed the hope that "justice is done to the character of the greatest New Mexican, Pat Garrett."

The author has faithfully fulfilled the President's hope by writing a complete and unvarnished biography of the great lawman. He traces Garrett's life from his birth in 1850 in Chambers County, Alabama, to his death by murder near Las Cruces, New Mexico in 1908. The result is a classic in the field of Southwest history.

Mr. Metz places special emphasis, as he should, on the three great crises in Garrett's life—the death of Billy the Kid, the death of Albert J. Fountain and his son Henry, and the death of Garrett himself. All three events, it should be noted, are controversial, yet Mr. Metz handles them with fairness and finesse. He is never dogmatic. For instance, he admits "the possibility that the real Billy the Kid might never have been buried in the Fort Sumner cemetery. There is enough evidence," he says, "to make one wonder whether Garrett actually killed him at all." Mr. Metz then examines all available evidence and reaches a conclusion that is both logical and credible.

In the Fountain case Mr. Metz again examines all available evidence and, unlike all other writers in the field, names the killers. He adds, however, that "the Fountain murder case will always remain legally unsolved." The death of Garrett is possibly the most controversial of the three. But after several pages of text in which Mr. Metz examines the trial testimony as well as all the volunteered theories, he concludes that Wayne Brazel on the killer of Pat Garrett, just as he said he was. To defend Brazel on the ground that he "was not the killer type," the author contends, is to ignore the evidence. And, after all, just what is the "killer type"?

Since his two previous books (biographies of John Selman and Dallas Stoudenmire) Mr. Metz has become an accomplished writer. His descriptive phrases and his frequent use of similes and metaphors aid greatly in making this the most enjoyable as well as the most informative book this reviewer has read in a long, long time. For example, Mr. Metz describes Billy the Kid as "a slightly built, five-foot seven-inch youth with scrubby hair who habitually whistled 'Silver Threads Among the Gold' through crooked front teeth." Of Governor Lew Wallace Mr. Metz writes, "he was fed up to his elegantly bearded chin with the bucktoothed outlaw (Billy the Kid)." Garrett, Mr. Metz points out, was "a one-man striking force, a fearless individual who made arrests." Of Pete Maxwell's house where the Kid was killed, Mr. Metz writes, "the wooden porch . . . wrapped around the sides and front of the dwelling."

The book is greatly enhanced with eighty photographs, many published for the first time, and by a number of maps, one of which is by El Paso's José Cisneros. Also the book is well designed, the printing good, the foot-notes complete, the bibliography exhaustive and the index sufficient. It is little wonder that Doubleday selected it as a book club choice.

—EUGENE O. PORTER

JOSEPHINE CLARDY FOX

by RUBY BURNS

(El Paso, Texas: Texas Western Press, \$10.00)

Ruby Burns, long-time Women's Page Editor of the *El Paso Times*, has added another "first" to her long list of journalistic achievements with her biographical study of Josephine Clardy Fox. Mrs. Burns has made the difficult transition from newspaper writing to literary narrative with apparent ease.

Josephine Marsalis Clardy, only child of Zeno and Allie Clardy, was born in Libertyville, Missouri, on August 13, 1881. Her father was an attorney and, according to the standards of the day, both of her parents emerged from rather distinguished backgrounds.

When Josephine was but one year old Zeno Clardy moved his little family to El Paso, Texas, at that time a small but progressing frontier town. Undoubtedly he had read of what was happening in El Paso in its two new weekly newspapers and had been bitten by the "boomtown" bug.

Upon his arrival in El Paso, Mr. Clardy was accepted as a law partner by Allan Blacker, a highly regarded attorney. He immediately began to purchase land, undoubtedly financed by his wealthy brother-in-law, Fermín Desloges, St. Louis lead mine owner and operator, for the purchases were made in the name of Desloges and Clardy real estate firm. No doubt he also received parcels of land in lieu of legal fees for his land holdings were the basis of his fortune.

After finishing school in El Paso, Josephine was enrolled in the exclusive St. Louis girls school, Hosmer Hall. She was popular and active in the music and dramatic endeavors of the school. Also, thanks to her wealthy aunt and uncle, the Desloges, she enjoyed many of the city's most exclusive social functions.

Following graduation from Hosmer Hall, Josie returned to El Paso and immediately plunged into the social life of the town. She was tall and willowy and beautiful and reigned as the undisputed belle of the city during those turn-of-the-century years. Suitors swarmed like bees around her and some of the city's most eligible bachelors vied for her favor. Most faithful of the suitors, however, was Eugene Fox, freight agent for the El Paso and Southwestern Railroad.

After her father's untimely death in 1901, Josie and her mother traveled extensively both at home and abroad and Josie studied voice in California and New York. They loved New York and they loved the opera and for a time they maintained a luxurious apartment at a fashionable address in New York. Wherever she went, Josephine captured her to consider matrimony. She was truly a beautiful moth who loved the flame and ever loath to settle

down.

In 1916, however, tired of "dangling" Eugene Fox wrote to Josie from California advising that he was releasing her from her engagement promise. Shocked, and probably doing the most serious thinking of her life, she telephoned him that she was ready for marriage. The wedding took place on January 20, 1916, in the Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas in New York City. Eventually they settled down in the now famous house at 1119 Montana in El Paso. Josephine's mother lived with them and what followed is

undoubtedly the strangest of all possible marriages in the strangest of all possible *menages*. Eugene Fox died suddenly early in 1934, leaving Josephine and her mother alone in the house that was more like a museum than a home.

The aura of mystique that surrounded Josephine Clardy Fox and that made her a legend in her lifetime derived mainly from her love of beauty. She loved beautiful clothes—especially hats—and she purchased fabulous *objets d'art* from all over the world. Her collection of jewels would have brought envy to the heart of a Rajah.

The last five years of Josephine's life were spent in a private room in Providence Memorial Hospital, amidst some of her paintings and treasures which she had brought from her home to relieve the starkness of the hospital décor. She died there in May of 1970. The probate of her Last Will and Testament revealed that with the exception of some small bequests, the bulk of her fortune was willed to the University of Texas at El Paso. The estate ran in excess of three million dollars.

Mrs. Burns is to be congratulated for the biography of Josephine Clardy Fox. It is a monumental study for one's first book. Her research was prodigious and she has treated the rather "difficult" subject in a fair and sympathetic manner. It is hoped that Mrs. Burns will not let this book be her last.

El Paso, Texas

—MARY ELLEN B. PORTER

THE GUNFIGHT AT BLAZER'S MILL

by COLIN RICKARDS

(El Paso: Southwestern Studies, Texas Western Press, UTTP)

By calling this book *The Gunfight at Blazer's Mill*, Rickards has short-sheeted himself. This is not just the story of a gunbattle, an isolated incident in the Sacramento Mountains near Ruidoso, New Mexico; it is the capsuled study of an era.

The gunfight is the subject, of course, and as such is dealt with in depth. We see Andrew L. "Buckshot" Roberts in an incredible display of courage and tenacity, holding off 14 of the West's most dangerous men. When the fight ends, one attacker lies dead, two others are wounded, and the remainder are in dispirited retreat.

Rickards supplies the background and does it well—the Lincoln County War, the Santa Fe Ring, the death of John Tunstall, the organization of the Regulators led by lawyer Alexander McSwen and dominated by such individuals as Billy the Kid. All of this is well narrated.

The Regulators were bitter regarding the murder of Englishman Tunstall, and so these self-styled vigilantes who wore the badge of law and order, set out on a quest of vengeance. They captured and executed two alleged killers. Then came the Blazer's Mill fight with Buckshot Roberts, a scrawny, crippled man, nobody's idea of hero. He fought the Regulators to a standstill, although he himself took a heavy rifle bullet in the stomach and did not long survive his victory.

Rickards ties up the loose ends with the inquest, and an investigation. There were no arrests. Billy the Kid was finally captured three years later.

LEON C. METZ, former archivist and presently supervisor of Special Collections at the University of Texas at El Paso library, is a frequent contributor of book reviews to PASSWORD. He is the author of three books, each dealing with peace officers of the Southwest. He recently served two terms as president of our historical society.

MARTIN HARDWICK HALL, Professor of History at the University of Texas at Arlington, is a valued contributor to PASSWORD. His articles include "The Journal of Ebenezer Hanna," iii, 14-20; "The Baylor-Kelley Fight: A Civil War Incident in Old Mesilla," v, 83-90; and "Negroes with Confederate Troops in West Texas and New Mexico," xiii, 11-12 sp. He is also the author of a book, *The Army of New Mexico, Sibley's Campaign of 1862*, reviewed in PASSWORD, vii, 78.

Mr. Miller is employed by the El Paso Natural Gas Company as Specialist, Commission Liaison. He is married to the librarian of Bel Air High School and they have one daughter.

HAROLD MILLER is a newcomer to the pages of PASSWORD. He was born in Kansas City, Missouri and reared in Parsons, Kansas, and Denton, Texas where he was graduated from high school in 1939. He spent the next six years of his life in the Air Force after which he attended Austin College, receiving a B.A. degree in 1950. He took graduate work at the University of Texas at Austin but contacted polio and was unable to continue for a degree.

CONTRIBUTORS to this ISSUE

* * *

escaped, killed two men, and at last met his rendezvous with death at the hands of Sheriff Pat Garrett. This is a good book (72 pages), a primer for those interested in the Lincoln County War and Billy the Kid. The author does his topic justice, and I suspect this small publication with its many interesting pictures will become the final word on the gunfight at Blazer's Mill.

LEON METZ

University of Texas at El Paso

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by

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