James A. Bennett: A Dragoon in New Mexico, 1850–1856

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August 12, 1853.—Lieut. John Wynn Davidson joined the company. His wife came with him. She is a very beautiful St. Louis lady.

Sept. 7.—Been in company with Serg't. Holbrook and 50 men in the mountains through the finest kind of country. Passed the grave of an old soldier who was killed by Indians in 1849 and was buried by his companions. The funeral service was the short eulogy by Major Grier, "Here lies the remains of a good soldier." We returned home by way of Rayado, having been absent 20 days.

Oct. 1.—Numerous Apache Indians were at the fort today. Indians have been here every day recently. We have had to keep watch of all loose property for fear of losing it. One took a great fancy to me. I gave him an old bowie knife. He said he should remember me as a friend.

Went to town, Taos, today. Heard that a Navajo Indian came into Fort Defiance a few days since, and asked a soldier for a piece of tobacco. The soldier told him that he had none. The Indian shot the soldier dead. The other Indians brought the murderer in and gave him up to the military authorities. The Navajo Indian was hung by the soldiery.

Oct. 27.—An old cow belonging to a Mexican was taken and killed by the Indians near Las Vegas. A few days ago, one of the tribe came into that place and was shot by the owner of the cow. The Indians again came into Las Vegas. They learned that one of their tribe was killed a few days before by a Mexican. They left town, swearing vengeance.

85. John Wynn Davidson entered the service as 2nd Lieut., 1st Dragoons, July 1, 1845. He was in command at the battle of Cieneguilla. (See footnote 100)
86. These were no doubt the Jicarilla Apache who roamed over northern New Mexico. They were placed on a reservation about 1878. Reeve, "Federal Indian Policy in New Mexico, 1858-1880," N. M. H. R., XIII, 60-62, 168-191.
News came yesterday that several hundred head of cattle were taken and 2 men killed near Las Vegas. Today 30 men of Company H, 1st Dragoons, left in pursuit.

Nov. 22.—The troops just returned to Fort Union. They have had a hard fight with the Indians and killed a number of them. Among those killed was the Chief of the Jicarilla Apaches, Old Lobo, who has boasted that he has had intercourse with Mrs. White. Although Old Lobo was pierced by seven bullets, he drew his bow and killed a young man named Arnold. They both fell and died grappled in each other's arms. Two soldiers were killed and 3 were wounded. The Indians lost 9 or 10 and fled. The troops captured all their stock.

Dec. 17.—Capt. Sykes, Lieuts. Bell and Maxwell, left with 130 men from Fort Union in pursuit of Indians on December 5th. Today Lieut. Maxwell with 4 men was riding "advance" one half mile from the main party. The Indians waited in ambush and shot him with 8 arrows. He fell mortally wounded and the 4 men also were wounded but only one mortally. Capt. Sykes was in sight and was threatening men who would dare to go to his rescue. Shame! The party returned to Fort Union with the soldiers very indignant in regard to the conduct of Capt. Sykes.

Jan. 1, 1854.—Commences another year which sees my finish in the army. We had a great dinner, jolly time, and dance at the Rancho de Taos.

Jan. 8.—My 24th birthday arrived. This evening in coming up the cañon from town I was faced by 3 large white mountain wolves who wanted to either make a meal of me or my pony. I fired my pistol at one and pelted the others with rocks. Came off victorious but badly frightened, however.

Jan. 12.—Tuesday started for Santa Fe for the United

87. See footnote 81.
88. David Bell was commissioned 2nd Lieut., 2nd Dragoons, July 1, 1851.
Joseph Edward Maxwell was commissioned 2nd Lieut., Third Infantry, July 1, 1850. He was killed by Apaches near Fort Union, June 30, 1854.
89. George Sykes was commissioned 2nd Lieut., Third Infantry, July 1, 1842, and Captain on September 30, 1855.
States Mail. Traveled alone over the mountains for 75 miles. Snow was very deep. Ice covered the path. Wind howled through the pines. It was lonely traveling. Arrived yesterday at Santa Fe. Last night I went to the Exchange where gambling was going on at a great rate. In one half hour I saw at least $700,000 lost and won.

Again went to Exchange. F. X. Aubrey, the celebrated trader and express rider, rode up to the door and came in. He was met by Richard H. Weightman who invited Aubrey to drink with him. While drinking, Aubrey asked Weightman, "What has become of the paper you formerly published?" "It died a natural death," was the reply. Aubrey said, "It ought to." Weightman dashed his glass of liquor in the face of Aubrey who drew his pistol and, when in the act of firing, a third person knocked up the muzzle of the pistol and the ball passed through the roof. Weightman drew his bowie knife, rushed in, and stabbed Aubrey to the heart. He died in a few moments.90

It was said that Weightman was expelled from West Point for using a bowie knife on a comrade.

Jan. 15.—Mail came in from the States, Friday. Started for Taos via San Juan where an American, Mr. Clark, lives. I put up at his house last night. Arrived Cantonment Burgwin, Taos, today.

Jan. 21.—Started yesterday with Major Cunningham, Army Paymaster, en route for Fort Massachusetts to pay off the troops. Camped at Arroyo Hondo. It is tremendously cold. Today the road over the mountains was covered

90. It is interesting that Bennett was another eye-witness to this incident, but it occurred August 18, 1854, or more likely a few days later. The story, secured from an eye-witness, is related in William R. Bernard, "Westport and the Santa Fe Trade," Transactions of the Kansas State Historical Society, 1905-1906, vol. ix, 552 (Topeka, 1906). A second eye-witness account is in Ralph Emerson Twitchell, Old Santa Fe, p. 346 [1923]. A third account in Benjamin M. Read, Illustrated History of New Mexico [1912], p. 645, is the least reliable. Bennett offers the only explanation of how Aubry's shot hit the ceiling, which lends weight to his claim to being an eyewitness; on the other hand, he is in error about the date, and very likely wrong about the location of the fight.

A recent summary of this episode can be found in Floyd B. Streeter, Prairie Trails and Cow Towns (Chapman and Grimes, Boston, 1926), C. E. B.

Richard Hansen Weightman was elected Captain, Battery A, Missouri Light Artillery, Army of the West under Kearny. He was discharged August 1, 1849.
with smooth ice. The mules could not stand or draw the wagons. We were obliged to unload the wagons, carry everything up the hill and draw the empty wagons up the slope by ropes. Camped at Red River.

Jan. 24.—Camped at Costilla\(^91\) where a new town is springing up and again at Colevira\(^92\) which is a very serpentine stream as its name would indicate. There is no settlement upon it. Arrived at Fort Massachusetts. Three companies of soldiers are here in the snow and icy hills. The troops were paid off and now about 80 drunken men are staggering about the grounds.

Jan. 27.—Yesterday started for home. Cold northeast wind and snow made bad travelling so camped on the Colevira and again at Red River. Glad to find shelters from the storm. One wagon while descending the mountains got the start of us and went tumbling down the hill. It was literally smashed to pieces.

Jan. 30.—Last night camped at Taos where I went to a dance. A fight occurred. An American shot one Mexican dead and wounded 2 others. Arrived home. Comfortable fires and good quarters are much appreciated.

Feb. 4.—Accompanied the paymaster to his home. Camped at Picirise\(^93\) and Las Rincones, two Indian towns, and at San Juan. I was quite unwell at Mr. Clark’s house. Arrived at Santa Fe. At night I went to a fandango. An Army officer came in with his mistress by whom he has two children. The officer has a wife and family in the States. What do men think of themselves, and she, the woman, knowing to the fact?

Feb. 5.—Camped at Pehocke\(^94\) an Indian town. The descendants of Montezuma live here. They have been burning the “eternal fire” of which history speaks. They have a legend among them that they formerly lived at a place now

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\(^91\) Costilla is located on Costilla creek just south of the Colorado boundary.

\(^92\) Colevira may be the stream marked on early maps as Culebra, meaning snake; it flows westward into the Rio Grande north of Costilla creek.

\(^93\) Properly spelled Picuris. It lies west of south from Taos in the Sangre de Cristo mountains.

\(^94\) Properly spelled Pojuaque, it is about fifteen miles north of Santa Fe. Bennett is now returning to Cantonment Burgwin.
in ruins, called Pecos. A serpent with seven heads came among them and a virgin of their tribe had to be sacrificed every few days to appease his wrath. For which reason the tribe nearly became extinct and had to abandon their homes. This is the same tale that the Mexican told me at Rio Pecos on August 5, 1851.

Feb. 8.—Encamped at La Joya Arriba and in the mountains near Embudo before reaching home today. There is "no place like home" for good fires and comfortable quarters.

Feb. 17.—Started for Rayado. Night came on and found me in the midst of the mountains. Snow was piled on piles. Still snowing and a cold wind was blowing furiously. Tied my horse to a tree, built a fire, and lay down. At dark a large body of wolves came around and set up a dismal howling. I could see their eyes glisten in the dark. They came so near as to snap at my horse's heels. I suppose the fire was all that kept them away from me. A pleasant situation: I had nothing to eat; surrounded by wolves; bound in by snow; and to make the matter worse, my horse broke loose. It was so dark I could not find him. At last morning came but not the horse. By diligent searching and carrying my saddle, I found the horse at about 11 o'clock. At that time I mounted and went on. Found my road. Arrived at Rayado.

Feb. 19.—At Kit Carson's house last night. He related to me numerous adventures and hair breadth escapes he had had. He is small-sized with blue eyes and sandy hair but has a heart of the first magnitude. He is ever ready to sacrifice his all for a friend in need and his name is a terror to the Indians. Last year he drove 6500 sheep over the mountains to California. He is now the Indian Agent for the United States in New Mexico. He was a hunter at Bent's Fort from 1833 to 1841 and later guided Fremont across the plains and over the Rocky Mountains. He told me of the time that Godey and he put to flight 30 Indians who had

95. La Joya is in the narrow canyon of the Rio Grande on the road to Taos.
killed some Mexicans and stolen the two women in the camp. One husband escaped with the horses and found Col. Fremont's camp but not before the Indians had captured most of the horses which they had followed. Godey and Carson followed the trail, charged the Indian camp at full speed. The Indians naturally thought more men were following these two so they fled, leaving 3 of their number dead. Space doesn't permit me to tell all that Kit told me. Returned home very sick from something I ate.

March 1.—Just recovered from quite a sickness.

March 6.—In company with Lieut. Davidson and 60 men, started to watch the movements of a party of Apache Indians. Met 150 Indians. Talked with them. The chiefs agreed to come into our Fort and treat (or make a treaty) when we returned. Arrived at Mora.

March 7.—Lieut. Davidson went to Fort Union to report to Col. Cooke. Spent the day in town. At night a dance took place. A man of Company F, 1st Dragoons, had difficulty with some Mexicans and got five pistol balls through different parts of his body. He was picked up insensible and sent to Fort Union hospital.

March 9.—Started for home yesterday. At dusk arrived at Picirise where we learned the Indians we met two days ago had gone on to join another tribe instead of going to our fort as they had agreed. We saddled up our horses, started across the mountains, got lost, and scattered. It was the darkest night I ever saw. Men were shouting to each other. Riding under trees, we lost nearly all our hats. The sleet and wind made it a terrible night. This morning at daylight, I got home. The other men came stringing in by ones and twos. 8 o'clock in the morning we started anew, having heard that the Indians were a few miles off. We traced

96. The Godey affair occurred on the Mojave desert during Fremont's return trip from California in the spring of 1844. Godey and Carson attacked the Indians on foot, not on horseback running at full speed, and killed two of them. Kit Carson's Own Story . . . , pp. 60 ff. See also Sabin, Kit Carson . . . , I, 377f.

97. Col. Philip St. George Cooke was commissioned 1st Lieut., 1st Dragoons, in 1833, and Lieut.-Col., 2nd Dragoons, in 1853. He led the Mormon Battalion to California in the War with Mexico.
them to Taos Rancho. Surrounded the Rancho and found 10 Indians. Took them prisoners to the fort where we held a council. Three chiefs agreed to accompany Major Blake to Fort Union to conclude a treaty with Col. Cooke.

March 11.—Major Blake with 12 men and the three Indian Chiefs started for Fort Union.

March 29.—Major Blake came galloping into our fort with the news that the Indians would not come to terms but had run away from him. We were, 60 of us, to saddle up immediately and pursue the band to prevent them from crossing the Rio Grande and joining the Chachon band of Apaches. At the same time that Major Blake came in a Mexican also came riding in saying that 1500 head of cattle were driven off by the Indians and two herders were killed. We mounted and left at 11 o’clock that night. Encamped on the banks of the Rio Grande at Cieneguilla where there are five mud houses. Heard of Indians.

March 30.—At sunrise this morning, started, found the body of a white man who was killed by the Indians. Followed their trail; found ourselves at 8 o’clock A.M. in ambush, surrounded by about 400 Indians; fought hard until 12 noon when we started to retreat. I was wounded shortly after by a rifle ball through both thighs. I then ran about a mile; found I was not able to walk alone any farther; got between two horses, seized their stirrups. The horses dragged me one half mile when I managed to mount my horse. In riding under low trees I lost my hat. Blood flowed freely. I got weak and such pain I can not describe. At sundown the

98. Three settlements bear the name Taos in the Taos valley, northern New Mexico: The Indian Pueblo of Taos, the Spanish settlement of Taos, and close to the latter on its southern side another Spanish settlement called Rancho de Taos. For a mid-century description see Lewis H. Garrard, Wah-To-Yah and the Taos Trail, ed., Ralph P. Bieber (Glendale, California, The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1938), p. 232, (C. E. B.)


100. Bender is probably in error in describing this fight as a case of an Indian attack on a mail party under escort of Lieut. J. W. Davidson with 60 Dragoons. It was a very severe fight, however. The sixty Dragoons were forced to retreat with twenty-two killed and most of the survivors wounded. For details see Bender, “Frontier Defense . . .,” 348ff. James F. Meline, Two Thousand Miles on Horseback (New York, 1873), p. 104. Kit Carson’s Own Story . . ., pp. 106ff.
Indians left us after fighting with us all day. At 11 o'clock arrived at Rancho de Taos. I was taken off my horse having ridden 25 miles after being wounded. I was placed in a wagon; taken to the fort (Cantonment Burgwin); and put to bed in the hospital.

March 31.—The doctor we have here knows nothing. I asked him to extract the ball last night but it was not done until today. The shot struck me in the fleshy part of my left thigh, passing out very low, and entered my right leg, striking the bone and following it around to the fore part of the leg where it lodged about two inches below the groin.

April 15.—Past 16 days have been an age. My leg has swelled and become greatly inflamed. It was supposed I must die. I supposed so also. Today I had the first food I have taken since being wounded.

April 19.—A Sinus (a suppurating tract) has formed in my right leg. The doctor tried to produce suppurration (formation of pus) by bandaging but failed. Dr. Byne\textsuperscript{101} had to perform a very painful operation upon my limb.

April 25.—Believe that I must die. Directed a letter written to my mother to be sent in case I died. Last night Lieut. Davidson left for Santa Fe to find a doctor. We have none here at present.

April 27.—Worse than ever. Doctor came. He says he will have to amputate my leg at the hip joint. I refused. I can never live.\textsuperscript{102}

\textsuperscript{101} There was a Dr. John Byrne, Assistant-Surgeon; and Dr. Bernard M. Byrne, Assistant-Surgeon, May 20, 1836, and Major-Surgeon, March 31, 1853. Governor Lane mentions a Dr. Byrne as army surgeon at Fort Union in 1852; he is identified as Bernard M. Byrne in Ralph P. Bieber, ed., "Letters of William Carr Lane, 1852-1854," N. M. H. R., III, 179-203 (April, 1928).

\textsuperscript{102} The first use of chloroform as a general anesthetic was in 1847. It is hardly possible that it was used on the frontier as early as 1854, therefore the patient would be conscious of all pain. (C.E.B.)

It is, therefore, easy to understand why all wounds suppurated. Injuries which today seem comparatively trivial were treated by amputation. . . . In fact, it was a general rule in compound fractures to amputate, and injuries to the larger joints were subjected to this procedure. The reason for such radical measures was that because of suppuration the surgeon, usually called from a distance, found amputation the most practical measure. There was no one present to care for the wound. The experience was that if amputation was not done, death from infection would most likely follow, an end not obviated in many cases by amputation, because the wound made by the amputation often became infected and killed the patient." Arthur E.
May 3.—Improving but the days are long and I am downhearted and homesick. I would give all I am worth to see one of my family walk in here today. I lie in bed perfectly helpless, unable to help myself at all. The Indians came quite near the fort just now. We momentarily expect an attack. Few soldiers are here now. What a pleasant situation: to lie in bed, helpless, and expect to be massacred at any moment.

May 11.—Today returned the troops that followed the Indians who cut up our company. They overtook the Indians, fought with them, took from them all their animals, provisions, and camp equipage. Received a letter of inquiry from my sister, Amanda. Answered it immediately.

May 30.—Still on my back, improving very slowly. Think I shall always be lame. Mrs. Davidson has been very kind to me in sending me a great many little niceties which soldiers do not have. Moved to new hospital. Carried in a bed by six men. One wounded man died in the room. He has been a great sufferer. Almost wish I died, too. Today makes two months since I was put in bed. There is nothing left of me but skin and bones.

June 10.—15 of us left alone. The company is following Indians. Got out of bed; sat a few moments; got dizzy; had to go back.

June 13.—Walked a few steps upon crutches.

June 17.—Tried to walk, fell at the door into a puddle of water and hurt my limb. Carried to bed.

June 28.—Got up for the first time since the fall. I must be careful for I am very weak. Company returned, bringing 150 horses and mules captured from the Indians. Brought 4 scalps, too.

July 1.—Company away again. 21 of us here in the fort are surrounded by Indians.

July 4.—Today I walked out upon my crutches about 300 yards from the fort into the bushes. I heard a noise. Supposing it was a deer, I secreted myself. In a few mo-

ments I discovered it was an Indian spy who was crawling through the bushes. When the Indian got within 8 or 10 paces from me, I fired my pistol and struck his neck. He fell but still exhibited signs of life. I fired again and the ball passed directly through his head. I then approached him, cut off his scalp or "took his hair" as some say here, and hobbled to my quarters, bearing my trophy of war. We had a regular war dance around it. The Captain congratulated me on my success as a "lame warrior." Thus I celebrated the anniversary of Independence.

_July 25._—Company returned. Did not accomplish much. Left again for Rayado. I was left here in the hospital, not be able to travel.

_August 1._—For the first time since wounded, I mounted a mule. Rode to town. Very tired.

_August 8._—Quite sick. The doctor says I have the "Varioloid."103 The eruption commenced. Feel some better.

_August 22._—Once more out of bed after having a very light case of small pox. Guess I'd better go to town now and catch the measles!

_August 28._—Started for Rayado to join my company. Left with a train of 10 wagons. Camped last night just outside of Taos in a ravine. A man named Sullivan and another named Dowd are both still suffering from wounds received on March 30th. In company with the teamsters, they got very drunk and insisted on sitting out in the night air, singing, etc. I advised them to go to bed but to no avail. This morning Sullivan has a severe headache and is sick otherwise. Riding all day over rocks and logs is enough to jar the life out of a man. Poor Sullivan is paying dearly for his folly.

_Sept. 1._—Arrived at Mora last night. Got some fine melons, green corn, and squash for supper. Went to hospital at Ft. Union today for some medicine for Sullivan and me.

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103. *Varioloid*: "A modified mild form of small pox, or variola, occurring in persons who have been vaccinated or had small pox."
Sept. 3.—Last night camped on Ocate. No wood is on this stream. Cooked a little meat and made coffee over a fire of dry buffalo chips. Sullivan was very sick during the night. I have had to attend him all day as he is delirious. Drove very slowly to Rayado where we sent for the doctor at Fort Union.

Sept. 6.—Doctor came. Sullivan had "Brain Fever." He died from his own folly.

Sept. 17.—Col. T. T. Fauntleroy arrived from the United States Friday with 200 recruits, Companies B. and H, 1st Dragoons; the band belonging to the Regiment; 300 horses; 150 wagons; etc.

The band came out and played today. They were all mounted on black horses. They looked fine and played well. This is the first brass band I have heard since 1850. The first tunes played were "Old Folks At Home" and "Sweet Home."

They go to Fort Union from here sometime next week.

Oct. 5.—Spent last few days packing. Company is going 300 miles south on the Rio Grande to establish a fort to be called Fort Thorn. Camped on the Ocate. It rained all afternoon and evening. Got wet through and slept in wet blankets.

Oct. 8.—Got into Fort Union Friday, feeling bad from effects of the storm. Sent to hospital where I was again appointed Stewart [Steward]. Good situation. Company left today [Sunday]. I don't feel content away from companions, some of whom I have been in company with nearly 104. Thomas Turner Fauntleroy was promoted to the rank of Colonel, 1st Dragoons, July 25, 1856. According to Carson, Fauntleroy arrived in New Mexico in February, 1855, Kit Carson's Own Story . . ., p. 118. He became commander of the Department August 25, 1859. Bender, "Frontier Defense . . .," pp. 350, 367.

105. Fort Thorn was established in the upper end of the Mesilla valley on the west side of the Rio Grande near the settlement of Santa Barbara, 85 miles south of Fort Craig and 51 miles north of Fort Fillmore. Bender gives the date as December, 1853. Ibid., p. 347f. The garrison from Fort Webster "was first located in this spot," in November, 1853. 36 cong., 1 sess., sen. ex. doc. 52, p. 223ff (1035).

It was named in honor of Captain Herman Thorn who lost his life on October 16, 1849, by drowning in the Colorado river. William H. Emory, Report of the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey (Washington, 1857), I, 130-131, (C.E.B.)
five years. Busy dealing out medicine. Received letters from home inviting me, yes, urging me, to return.

Nov. 22.—Weather cold. I am afraid I can not cross the plains this fall or winter. This morning I was called to the Commanding Officer's quarters. My discharge was given.\textsuperscript{106} Once more I am free. 5 years of hard toil are finished.

Nov. 24.—At Taos, got my papers cashed. Received $410.00. Find Uncle Sam does not furnish any provender any more. There is no way to get home and no place to remain here, in Ft. Union.

Nov. 30.—In company with a government team, en route for lower country, stopped at San Jose, a small new place. Wanted change for a five dollar gold piece. Mexicans would not change it as they did not know its value. Corn for mules is $3.50 per bushel and a bundle of straw is 25 cents.

Dec. 3.—Albuquerque. Remain here for the present. Not far from Los Lunas where some of my acquaintances from Governor's Island are located. $12 per week for board; 12½ cents per piece for washing; everything else is priced accordingly. Bought a pony for $45 and a saddle and bridle for $22.

Dec. 15.—Los Lunas. Entered the army again;\textsuperscript{107} now a member of Company G, 1st Regimental Dragoons. 'Twas October, 1850, when I last saw some of the members of this company. 'Twas then I left them to join my old Company I, at Rayado. My former Company are now building Fort Thorn, south of here.

Dec. 28.—80 men of us under command of Captain Richard S. Ewell left fort;\textsuperscript{108} last night camped in the moun-

\textsuperscript{106} "James A. Bronson, Private, enlisted Nov. 22, 1849, at Rochester, N. Y. by Capt. Hamilton for period of 5 years. A Certificate of Discharge was given." Major Wm. N. Grier's \textit{Muster Roll}, Co. I, 1st Dragoons, October 31 to December 31, 1854, (C. E. B.)

\textsuperscript{107} "Bronson, James H., Enlisted as private 15 Dec., 1854 at Los Lunas by Capt. Ewell; pay due from (re)enlistment; Remarks . . . $2 per month for former service, discharged from Company I, 1st Dragoons, Nov. 21, 1854, joined Company G, 1st Dragoons, Dec. 15, 1854." Captain Ewell's \textit{Muster Roll}, Co. G, October 31 to December 31, 1854, (C. E. B.). Los Lunas is a settlement about twenty miles south of Albuquerque.

\textsuperscript{108} Presumably they left Fort Thorn and traveled eastward across the mountains.
tains having travelled 30 miles. In fording the Rio Grande, lost 3 horses and 2 mules by drowning. We lost 2 boxes of ammunition and some provisions also. Camped beside a small salty lake on a plain. Used some ice for cooking. It is very cold and there is little wood here.

Dec. 30.—Yesterday arrived at Anton Chico, a miserable, dirty little town. A guide, named Gleason, who lives here, will accompany us. Spent the day at the town making preparations for the march. A Mexican stole a gun belonging to one of our men last night. Found it with him; tied him up; gave him 50 lashes on the bare back.

Jan. 1, 1855.—Travelled 20 miles yesterday along the Rio Pecos which is a deep, muddy stream with very high banks. Today went 22 more miles and camped in a beautiful walnut grove. Such trees grow only in the richest soils. This is now a very fine country with the stream lined with walnut groves. Passed at least 6000 sheep.

Jan. 4.—Down the river all day yesterday. Found it increasing in size. No more timber to be seen. Today left Rio Pecos and went towards the Sierra Blanca range. At dark struck Rio Ruidoso, a very pretty mountain stream, emptying into Rio Pecos. The banks are covered with walnut trees, grapevines, etc.

Jan. 7.—Up the Ruidoso past three days. Once thought we espied an Indian running in the bushes. Found nothing. Met Capt. Stanton with 150 men. Encamped.

Jan. 9.—Left the river, crossed a spur of the mountains,

Captain Richard S. Ewell was commissioned 2nd Lieut., 1st Dragoons, July 1, 1840, and received the permanent grade of Captain August 4, 1849.

109. "Anton Chico is a town of about five hundred inhabitants, situated upon the west bank of the Rio Pecos, built (as all towns in New Mexico are) of 'adobes,' or unburnt blocks of clay, and looks at a distance like many piles of unburnt bricks." Grant Foreman, Marcy and the Gold Seekers (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), p. 245, (C. E. B.)

110. Sierra Blanca or White Mountains in south-central New Mexico.

111. The Rio Bonito and Rio Ruidoso unite to form the Rio Hondo which flows eastward into the Pecos river. Judging from the direction of travel and distance, the party first touched the stream below the junction point which was at that day called the Rio Bonito or Hondo.

112. Henry Whiting Stanton, commissioned in the 1st Dragoons, July 1, 1842, promoted to captain, July 25, 1853, was killed by Apache Indians, January 19, 1855, in the Sacramento mountains which lie south of the White mountains.
camped at a spring, last night. Found two beef cattle lost by Indians. Woke up this morning. Found the wind had blown away my hat. Looked an hour; found it in a crevice of rock, ¼ mile from camp. Horses frightened during the night. Suppose it was Indians.

Jan. 11.—Rio Penasco. Camped under a ledge of rocks forming an excellent barricade. Rested ourselves and our horses.

Jan. 18.—Moved up the river and into the mountains. Very little grass here so on account of our horses and mules we rested today. Camped in a ravine. High rocks are upon both sides. 11 o'clock at night, a dozen rifles cracked and a score of arrows came flying into our camp. The dry grass was set on fire around us. Our horses stampeded, running in all directions. With a great deal of trouble, we got them together. Remained quiet until morning.

Jan. 19.—On the mountain in front of us at daybreak, appeared about 100 warriors. They were dancing around a fire, "halloing," and seemed to be daring us on. We saddled our horses, took no breakfast, mounted in pursuit. The main body of troops moved up the stream and small parties of Dragoons kept charging out after parties of Indians. A running fight was kept up until 4 o'clock when we encamped.

Captain Stanton with 12 men rushed up a deep ravine. The Indians in ambush fired upon him. He fell, a ball having passed through his forehead. One private soldier also was killed. The party turned to retreat. The horse of one man fell wounded. The Indians gathered around him and filled the rider's body with arrows. Those in camp heard the firing, ran to the rescue, met the Indians, had a hard fight of 20 minutes when the red men fled. We picked up the dead and brought them into camp. 2 ponies came running into camp. They were covered with blood, showing that their Indian riders had fallen.

At night, outposts were established ¼ mile in each direction from camp. The dead bodies were buried and fires built

113. The party has moved to the south through mountainous country. The Rio Peñasco flows eastward into the Pecos river.
over the graves to obliterate all marks of the burial place. I was just far enough from camp to hear the spade and pick-axe as they struck stones. The night was as dark as "Egypt." I was lying alone upon a blanket, waiting and watching anxiously, the approach of the foe. I heard the noise of something coming very stealthily through the bushes. The dry leaves rattled. My nerves were at their utmost tension when I was pleased to discover the intruder to be a large white mountain wolf, easily frightened off. No Indians were to be seen in the morning.

Jan. 21.—Went up the river. Camped last night at its head. Animals are dying fast, 8 to 12 per day. No one of our number has ever travelled this country before. It is nothing but snow and ice. We travelled less than 4 miles before we camped again.

Jan. 23.—Turned back yesterday. Saw 4 Indians in the distance but they soon disappeared. In crossing a stream we lost nearly all of our packs of provision. Those who couldn't ride became bare-footed and to make matters worse the road was strewn with sharp fragments of rock. The Indians have been burning the grass upon our route.

Came to where we buried Capt. Stanton and the two men. Found the bodies torn from the grave; their blankets stolen; bodies half-eaten by wolves; their eyes picked out by ravens; their bones picked by ravens and turkey-buzzards. Revolting sight. We built a large pile of pine wood; put on bodies; burned the flesh; took the bones away.

Jan. 26.—Down the river [Rio Peñasco] losing animals fast. The Apache Indians tried to burn us out of camp last night. Saved ourselves by burning a circle around the camp. Rio Ruidoso again where we parted company with Company B, 1st Dragoons, the Infantry, etc.

We went down the Rio Bonita or Pretty River. As its name signifies, it is a beautiful stream.

Jan. 29.—By a small salt lake, travelling on foot. Horses

114. This expedition was in the country inhabited especially by the Mescalero Apache.

115. See footnote 111.
are scarcely able to walk alone. We are to remain here at Pattos, a fine spring in the middle of a Juniper grove. 16 horses and 7 mules died on the road today. Here are some old ruins, pieces of pottery, stones for grinding corn, an old burying ground, etc. We have sent for provision and forage for our horses.

Feb. 2.—No mistake about it, we are living on a light diet. Killed our last beef; flour is gone; we have no shoes. It is hard fare. We have decided to call this Camp Starvation.

Feb. 4.—Have been subsisting on horse and mule flesh. No provision came so started on yesterday. Travelled until 10 o'clock at night, driving our wornout animals. We burned a great number of our saddles, not being able to carry them. Camped at “La Gyllina” a spring on top of a mountain. This morning 3 wagons with corn and flour came into camp. We are much happier. Travelled across a plain for 20 miles and camped beside a stream called Waha.

Feb. 6.—Manzano, a town where the people are more like Indians than anything else. They gather around with eyes and mouths open to see the soldiers. The Manzano Mountains lie between here and the Rio Grande which is the regular travel route in this region.

Feb. 8.—Crossed the mountains barefoot over sharp rocks and ice. There is nothing to ride. Crossed the Rio Grande and came to Los Lunas where we are all glad to be once more in our quarters, cleaning up and getting new clothing.

Feb. 10.—Started with the remains of Capt. Stanton to go to Fort Fillmore.

Feb. 15.—On the way stopped at the home of an Englishman, Mr. Connor, at Socorro and also at Valverde with

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116. There is a Patos Peak on present day maps.
117. Bennett has an ear for the correct Spanish pronunciation of this name, but it is spelled Gallina and means turkey or chicken.
118. Probably the intermittent creek called Abo.
119. A settlement on the southeastern side of the Manzana mountains.
120. Fort Fillmore was established in 1851 about ten miles below Las Cruces in southern New Mexico. Bender, “Frontier Defense ...” p. 265. Calhoun, Official Correspondence, p. 438.
121. “W. J. Conner was Postmaster at Socorro in 1855.” United States Official
Company I, 3rd Infantry. Yesterday crossed the Jornada del Muerto (Journey of the Dead). This is a sandy place where no water is to be had. It is 90 miles in length and is noted for murders and massacres by the Indians. Today overtook the men who parted from us in the mountains. Camped with them at Dona Ana which is quite a little town of some 2000 inhabitants. Soldiers had quite a dance.

_Feb. 16._—Fort Fillmore, established 1852, is occupied by Company B, 1st Dragoons; Companies C, K, and H, 3rd Infantry. We rode into the fort. Mrs. Stanton, the Captain's wife, stood in the door awaiting her husband. If a person had one drop of pity, here he could use it. Poor woman! She asks for her husband. The answer is evaded. An hour passes. Her smiles are fled. Her merry laugh is turned to sighs, and tears stain her cheek. Him she loved, she never more shall behold.

_Feb. 17._—Mounted my horse at 3 o'clock P.M. to carry an express from the Mexican General Santa Anna to Governor Lane of Santa Fe. Arrived 10 o'clock P.M. at Fort Thorn.

_Feb. 19._—Yesterday at daybreak was up and off. 9 o'clock P.M. arrived at Fort Craig, having ridden without a stop for 108 miles. Never so tired in my life. Took a good rest today. Slept nearly all day.

_Feb. 21._—Passed Lamitar, a very pretty town, where the former Mexican Governor of New Mexico, General

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122. The Jornada del Muerto is famous in the history of New Mexico as a waterless, dangerous trip, parallel to but east of the Rio Grande. It was about ninety miles long, extending from near Fort Craig to the northern end of the Mesilla valley, near Fort Selden. The journey or route long antedated the above-mentioned forts.

123. Doña Ana was founded in 1843 about five miles north of Las Cruces. Percy M. Baldwin, _"A Short History of the Mesilla Valley,"_ N. M. H. R., XIII, 314-324 (July, 1938).

124. Lane arrived in Santa Fe September 9, 1852, and served as governor until August 8, 1853. See Bieber "Letters of William Carr Lane . . . ."

125. Fort Craig was established in April, 1854, nine miles south of Fort Conrad (which was abandoned) at the entrance to the Jornada del Muerto. Bender, "Frontier Defense . . . ." p. 348.

126. Lemitar is about eight miles north of Socorro.
A DRAGOON IN NEW MEXICO

Armijo, lives. At Los Lunas, papers are taken by another. I am to remain with my company.

Feb. 27.—With General John Garland's\(^{127}\) escort, consisting of 30 men, General Garland was present and distinguished himself at the storming of El Molino del Rey during the Mexican War. Last night had the usual good fare at Mr. Connor's house. Today at Fort Craig. This is the best and prettiest fort in New Mexico. It is situated on a table land beside the Rio Grande. It is set in a grove of cottonwood trees.

March 3.—Down the Rio Grande past Fort Thorn, a new fort which was built by my old company and is garrisoned with 2 companies of Infantry and 1 of Cavalry [Dragoons]. Last night at Dona Ana. Stayed at Mr. Thompson's\(^{128}\) house. He is an American, formerly a soldier, and is now living here. He is married to a Mexican woman. Passed Las Cruces. Camped at Fort Fillmore. Here are found 3 companies of Infantry; 1 of Cavalry; the Colonel commanding the 3rd Infantry; the Staff; and a Brass Band.

March 8.—El Paso, Franklin, and Fort Bliss.\(^{129}\) The former is in Old Mexico, the next in New Mexico, and the latter is in Texas. These 3 territories joining here. Spent the last 4 days looking over the sights in El Paso, a city of 10,000 inhabitants. It is a rendezvous for rascals, cut-throats, and knaves. Murders are committed almost nightly in the streets.

Mar. 10.—Dona Ana. A dance took place as usual. Last night 4 Mexicans broke into Mr. Kirtsc's house, demanded

\(^{127}\) John Garland was commissioned 1st Lieut., 35th Infantry, March 81, 1813, and Brig.-Gen. August 20, 1847, for meritorious conduct in the War with Mexico. He became commander of the 9th Military Department, July 20, 1858. Bender, "Frontier Defense . . . ," p. 346.

\(^{128}\) P. M. Thompson was a native of New Jersey; he joined Black Hawk's tribe, fought in the War with Mexico, and was discharged in New Mexico. Davis, El Gringo, p. 210f.

He was "Postmaster for two quarters at Doña Ana in Bernalillo County during 1855." United States Official Register, p. 395, (C. E. B.)

\(^{129}\) Fort Bliss "was established as Camp Concordia in February, 1848, and was officially changed to Fort Bliss in honor of Lieut.-Col. John Bliss, who entered the Army in 1812 and died in 1854." Charles J. Sullivan, Army Posts and Towns (Burlington, Vermont, 1935), pp. 185f, (C. E. B.)

El Paso was the present day Juarez, Mexico; Franklin was the first name for present day El Paso, Texas. Bennett visited the Mexican town.
his money. He informed them that he had none. They tied his hands and feet; searched for his money; found none; seized his wife and before his eyes each of the four villains forced her. This morning 10 of our men went in pursuit of the 4 Mexicans; found them in Las Cruces; brought them back.

Mar. 11.—Last night the 4 Mexicans were taken from the jail by some Americans. This morning they were found hanging from a tree just outside of town. Learned that one of the 4 men hanged last night was the man who killed his sister at Valverde in order to obtain $4.00 which she had in her pocket.

Mar. 13.—Last night at a spring called San Augustine in the Organ Mountains. These are an abrupt narrow chain of mountains with high sharp peaks covered with tall pines. Crossed a plain with a salt lake 40 miles in length and from 3 to 5 miles in width at the center. Salt is in such abundance that it lies from 3 to 8 feet deep as far from the shore as 3 miles. Wagons are driven to the shore and loaded with shovels. No other process is necessary to procure salt.

Mar. 15.—Camped last night among a few ash trees beside a nice clear stream at Dog Cañon which is a deep ravine with perpendicular sides about 450 feet in height. A small mountain path, much used by the Apaches, passes up the ravine. Passed a stream styled Senora de la Luz or Lady of the Light. It is a pretty little stream running from the mountain and sinking from sight in the ground. Camped upon another pretty stream in the Sacramento Mountains. It is called Tularosa or Flags. It is very deep but narrow.

Mar. 16.—Crossed the Sacramento and came into the Sierra Blanco range. Camped on a nice spot at the junction of 3 mountain streams. Saw thousands of wild game: deer, elk, bear, and turkey. Caught some trout.

Mar. 19.—Came upon the Rio Ruidoso and followed it

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130. The Organ mountains lie east of Las Cruces in a north-south direction.
131. Dog Cañon is in the southern part of the Sacramento mountains and afforded a refuge for the Indians. From there the party moved northward to La Luz and Tularosa.
132. Short streams unite to form Three rivers on the western side of the White mountains.
A DRAGOON IN NEW MEXICO

down to the junction of Rio Bonita which we followed up-
stream for 20 miles. Arrived at an encampment of United
States Soldiers, 300 men under the command of Lieut. Col.
Dixon S. Miles.**33 They are here for the purpose of building
a fort to be called Fort Stanton in commemoration of the
Captain who was killed three months ago. General John
Garland selected the site for the fort today. The Officers all
got drunk.

**Mar. 21.—**Killed several turkeys last night at Pattos.
This is the old spot which we named Camp Starvation. At
Gyllina, found the complete skeleton of an Indian said to
have been poisoned two years since by the people of Manzano.
15 men left us at Manzano to go direct to Los Lunas. We go
on to Santa Fe.

**Mar. 24.—**Spent last night upon the plain at Buffalo
Spring. This is a dirty, filthy spring with green and stagnat-
ner water. Reached Galisteo just at dusk. Men remained
here. I went on with General Garland to Santa Fe, arriving
at 10 o'clock P. M. Went to bed tired, having ridden 50
miles.

**Mar. 25.—**The other men came today. Spent the day in
town. Last night the Governor of the Territory was hung
in effigy to the flag staff in the main plaza. Cause: his course
taken with the Indians.**34

**Mar. 28.—**Last night spent at Las Algodones where Mr.
Gleason, our former guide in the Sierra Blanca range, now
lives. Two days ago he had a dispute with a Mexican and
shot him. He now has to keep his house closed well at night.
Such is justice in this country. After we encamped on the
Rio Grande opposite the Indian town of Isleta,**35 I went

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**133.** Dixon Stansbury Miles was commissioned July 1, 1824, and advanced to Lieut.-
Col., 3rd Infantry, April 16, 1851. He was campaigning against the Mescalero
Apache in the spring of 1855. Fort Stanton was established on Rio Bonito in May,
1866, and named in honor of Captain Stanton who was killed near there. Bender,

**134.** David Meriwether served as governor from 1853 to 1857. He negotiated
treaties for Indian reservations, but the sites chosen were not popular; they were too
close to settlements. See "Notes and Documents," N. M. H. R., XXI, No. 3 (July,
1846). Davis, El Gringo, p. 103ff.

**135.** The Pueblo of Isleta is now on the west bank of the Rio Grande about
thirteen miles south of Albuquerque.
across the river in a skiff to buy corn. Saw 3 girls with very white elegant forms and Indian simplicity. They were all of one family and of pure Indian blood but they were the handsomest specimens of humanity I ever beheld.

April 1.—Spent Friday getting ready to go again after being at Los Lunas only overnight. General Garland and Governor David Meriwether, the present Governor of the Territory, arrived yesterday en route for the Navajo Country to make a treaty with the Navajo Indians.

30 of us act as escort with Capt. Bill Ewell in command. Arrived at Rio Peurco [Puerco] which lives up to its name of Dirty River.

April 4.—Spent Monday night in Laguna at a preacher's house. His name is Reed. Passed Quivera which is a small town on a single rock, looking as though it would topple and fall at any moment. Camped at Osa or Bear, a little stream which winds along and around a ledge of black lava. The lava bears evident signs of having been melted. Iron is mixed with the rock.

April 6.—Spent last night at a spring where we could not use the water as some mineral gave it a bad taste. Arrived at Fort Defiance, located at Cañon Bonita where 2 companies of Infantry and 1 of Artillery are stationed. Went on to Laguna Niger [Negra] or Black Lake which is 25 miles from the fort. We formed our camp here where the Indians are to meet us.

April 8.—At least 3000 Indians came in and about our camp. They would not come to any reasonable terms. They became offended; left camp about 3 o'clock, P.M. At 11


137. The town of Cubero which Bennett has already mentioned. (See footnote 42.) The name was spelled both ways. Davis, El Gringo, p. 227.

138. The meeting was held at Laguna Negra to allay Indian suspicion of being assembled too near Fort Defiance, and also to preserve the army grazing ground from Indian stock. Reeve, "Government and the Navaho . . . ," N. M. H. R., XIV, 107ff (January, 1939).
P.M., Mr. Dodge,\(^{139}\) the Indian Agent, came crawling into our camp and informed us that we were to be attacked at daylight in the morning. Capt. Ewell at once had a man mounted upon a horse and gave him the following instructions: “Go as soon as God will let you, and tell the Commanding Officer at the fort to send me some help or we will all be killed in the morning.” At least 1000 little fires were to be seen about us. The first signs of day had just begun to appear when was heard a more welcome sound than music: the rumbling of cannon wheels over the solid rock road. When it was just light the full 75 men of the Artillery Company came charging into our camp. *No attack was made.*

*April 9.—* At 10 A.M. the Indians commenced slowly to come in. Finally about 2 P.M. the treaty\(^{140}\) was concluded satisfactorily, and we returned to Fort Defiance.

*April 10.—* Rained all day. We left the fort; went 20 miles in mud up to our knees; just got well fixed in camp when our horses took fright and ran back towards the fort. 8 of us followed them on foot to the fort where we got them. What a pleasant day: 1st, rode 20 miles in the rain; 2nd, ran 20 miles in the mud; 3rd, rode the same 20 miles bare back with a halter as bridle; 4th, ate neither dinner nor supper; 5th, lay down in the mud with feet to the fire at 3 o’clock in the morning; 6th, started again at 6 o’clock, A.M. to ride 40 miles to the old Hay Camp.

*April 13.—* In crossing stream, fell in; got a good soaking. What a pleasant life this is! At Los Lunas, had to replenish wardrobe.

*April 19.—* With Governor Meriwether down the Rio Grande to Socorro where we stayed at Mr. Connor’s house. About 10 o’clock P.M. a noise as of distant thunder was heard for 4 or 5 minutes. The earth trembled. Houses shook. Our horses were frightened. It was a shock or an earthquake.\(^{141}\) 2 houses were nearly destroyed.

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\(^{139}\) Henry L. Dodge was appointed agent to the Navaho in 1853 and was killed by Apache Indians south of Zufi, November 19, 1856. *Ibid.* p. 104.

\(^{140}\) Bennett’s chronology is wrong in this Navaho affair. The treaty was concluded July 18, 1855. *Ibid.* p. 109.

\(^{141}\) “The Rio Grande Valley between Socorro and Albuquerque has had as great
April 23.—Past Fort Craig to Fort Thorn. Indians were waiting for us here. Met in council. I acted as interpreter. 250 Indians made a treaty. Received from them 40 stolen horses, 10 mules, 3 Mexican boys, and a girl. The children were taken by them a few months ago. One of the boys we got from the Apaches tells me that he was with the Indians when we fought them at the time that Capt. Stanton was killed. He says that we killed a chief and 11 or 12 other Indians.

April 25.—Fort Craig. A day or so since a soldier refused to obey the orders of a Corporal. The latter put his authority in force. The soldier drew a knife and tried to stab the Corporal who then shot the soldier through the heart. Today he is being buried without the honors of war while the Corporal receives no blame.

April 28.—Los Lunas. Last night four men of our company were at the mountain 12 miles from here. The Indians came upon them and wounded all of them. News reached us this morning by a Mexican. 30 men followed the Indians. We brought in the wounded men. 3 of these died, one of them having 16 arrow wounds in his body.

May 4.—Left for a long trip with Commissioners to fix the boundary line between the United States and Mexico. Major Wm. H. Emory is the Commanding Officer. President Franklin Pierce has appointed him commissioner and astronomer to fix the boundary under the agreement with Mexico of 1853.

a concentration of earthquakes as any portion of the United States except for the Pacific Coast zone, embracing California and western Nevada, and Helena, Montana region. It may be of interest to note that 542 earthquakes have been recorded in the 75-mile belt along the Rio Grande between Socorro and Albuquerque during the period 1868-1946.

"The earliest earthquake hitherto recorded in New Mexico was one on April 28, 1868, at Socorro. This was formerly regarded as the earliest in the entire Rocky Mountain region (Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, and New Mexico), but it was recently discovered that the Lewis and Clark expedition had reported one in Montana in 1805." Stuart A. Northrop, New Mexico Collaborator in Seismology, U. S. Coast & Geodetic Survey.

142. A treaty was made with the Mescalero at Fort Thorn, June 10, 1855. 35 cong., 1 sess., sen. ex. dec. 11 (919).
May 7.—Passed Belen$^{143}$ and Polvadera on the Rio Grande. Great vineyard and fruit trees are seen here. At Valverde, men got drunk. I was obliged to tie up 4 of them to keep them quiet.

May 10.—Received a letter from home at Fort Thorn. This fort was named in honor of Capt. Thorn who was drowned in the Colorado River in 1849. Major Emory sent out Dragoons from his camp in California to recover Capt. Thorn’s body.

May 12.—While crossing the Rio Grande at San Diego$^{144}$ on a ferry boat, lost one man and one horse by drowning. Could not recover the body. Took six men of Company B, 1st Dragoons, from Fort Fillmore, making my company 24 strong.

May 13.—Arrived at Fort Bliss. Reported to Major Wm. Emory.

May 14.—Started. Crossed the river to El Paso where we were joined by a party of Mexicans under their Mexican commissioner to act on behalf of their government. Put up the monument, 15 feet high, which marks the corner between New and Old Mexico, and Texas.$^{145}$

May 17.—Yesterday along the river in the Mesilla valley. Today at Rio Mimbres.$^{146}$ This is a delightful spot. It is a deep, clear stream. A fine walnut grove, abundant flowers, and a green bed of grass make this an ideal camp.

May 19.—Last night at Cook’s Spring which is small, being scarcely sufficient to water our animals. We have 49 horses, 88 mules, and 36 head of beef cattle to feed and water. We now have to make our road as no wagons have ever passed this way.$^{147}$ Came to Ojo de Vaca or Cow Spring.

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143. The reference must be to Belen, a settlement about thirty miles south of Albuquerque.

144. San Diego was about nine miles north from the southern end of the Jornada del Muerto and was the "old fording place" for the Rio Grande. Bartlett, Personal Narrative . . . , I, 215.

145. For the official account of this event see Emory, Report, I, 26.

146. The Rio Mimbres flows from north to south and disappears south of Deming, New Mexico.

147. Perhaps wagons had not traversed the exact route this party was taking, but their line of march had been marked out earlier by Colonel Philip St. George Cooke and the Mormon Battalion, and also by John Russell Bartlett, a member of the boun-
May 23.—Past 3 days in Guadalupe Canon. This is very fertile country for Cactus which is the largest I have ever seen. The fruit of the Prickly Pear is as large as a big pear and is very good. Hard business to pick roads for wagons. Once had to dig a road across the stream. Got well wet. Today came on a plain. Killed an old grizzly bear. Too much fat on it to be good food.

May 24.—Arrived at Harnesh, a small place belonging to Mexico. We are the first United States Troops they have ever seen here. They act like wild people.

May 26.—Along the Harnesh River yesterday. It was barren: not a spear of grass was to be found for our animals so they starve. Could find no wood so we went without coffee. At Tubac we found a little grass but not wood. Tubac is a deserted village as the Apaches frequently raid such villages.

May 27.—At Rancho de las Calabasas are the ruins of an old church; with the altar still standing and a bell still hanging in the cupola. The road from Tucson lay in the valley of the Santa Cruz as far as this ranch which is occupied by 2 Germans. A third brother has been killed by the Indians and all their horses and cattle have been stolen by the savages. These 2 brothers kept an awful old "bachelor hall."

May 30.—Camped on a plain and saw great quantities of wild game. At Tucson, found a great many good buildings and a very nice stone church with several "monuments" inside. This place is nearly deserted on account of the Indians.

dary commission in 1853. For description of the route and country see Bartlett, Personal Narrative... Vol. I, chap. X.

148. Harnesh was probably the Mexican town of Janos.

149. Tubac was in the Santa Cruz valley about 50 miles south of Tucson, Arizona. A presidio was established there in 1752. Emory describes it as abandoned. Report, I, 118. It was resettled in 1856 by Americans. Bender, "Frontier Defense...," p. 352 note.

150. Calabasas was thirteen miles from Tubac. Emory, Report, I, 133. It is also described in Bartlett, op. cit., I, 391. For a general account of the early Spanish and Mexican Settlements in this area see Ray H. Mattison, "Early Spanish and Mexican Settlements in Arizona," N. M. H. R., XXI, No. 4 (October, 1946).

151. See references in footnotes 149 and 150.
June 2.—Travelling due west. Struck California yesterday. It is truly a beautiful country with such fine valleys, hedged in by the picturesque mountains. Camped at a spring. The water tasted of mineral, perhaps soda.

June 5.—Travelled all day Sunday over a dry, sandy plain with no grass, water, or any sign of vegetation. Kept going all Sunday night. Felt rather tired Monday as we found no water until 3 P.M. About 11 o’clock this morning we were marching on, when a party appeared directly in front of us. Proved to be another party from California to meet us. We camped with them.

June 8.—Left the California party Wednesday and went due north, up the Colorado River, a large stream which empties into the Gulf of California. Met a body of Pimos Indians\footnote{The Pima Indians lived in the region from the Gila River in western Arizona to the southern part of the Mexican state of Sonora. A brief description can be found in Frank C. Lockwood, *Pioneer Days in Arizona* (New York: the Macmillan Co., 1932), pp. 218f. (C. E. B.)} who were very friendly. We traded a dozen lead bullets for gold ones.\footnote{The use of gold bullets by Indians is confirmed by Aubry in a journey across central Arizona. “The Indians use gold bullets for their guns. They are of different sizes and each Indian has a pouch of them. We saw an Indian load his gun with one large and three small gold bullets to shoot a rabbit.” “Diaries of Francois Xavier Aubry, 1853-1854,” Ralph P. Bieber, ed., *Exploring Southwestern Trails 1846-1854* (The Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, California, 1938), p. 370. The diary was also published by Walker D. Wyman in *N. M. H. R.*, VII, 1-31 (January, 1932).} The Pimos practice well their knowledge of agriculture and are good fighters as well. Their women work at making baskets and clothing. Their huts are made of reeds and mud with straw roofs. These are built in oval fashion. They possess fine horses, mules, cattle, pigs, and even cows for milking. Their women carry baskets of grain and jars of water on their heads. The women wear a single garment, serving as a skirt during the day and a blanket at night. Came to the mouth of the Gila and went up it. This is the finest country I ever saw but can not be settled on account of Indians.

June 14.—Laid over on Monday to take a rest and catch fish. Yesterday saw a large band of Apaches who ran from us. We got one of their ponies. Left the Gila and met a party of 70 men going out to look for gold diggings.
June 15.—Camped on the summit of quite a high mountain range with a good view of a vast plain, reaching towards the south. This plain is covered with Maguey or Century Plants, growing high into the air.

June 19.—Past Copper Mines, near which Fort Webster is located. Also past Rio de las Animos or River of Spirits which is about the size of the Gila in this country or the old Genesee River in New York State. Stayed last night on a plain at a small spring. Today arrived at Mesilla, a pretty town which is filled with very pretty women.

June 21.—Yesterday crossed the Rio Grande and camped at Fort Fillmore, ending our part of the duties with the boundary marking. The main party remained in the west to complete fixing the line during the rainy season when they might get enough water to cross the dry waterless plains. We got new shoes and fresh horses here and rested today.

June 30.—Started, June 22, up the Rio Grande to Los Lunas, arriving there, June 28. Immediately started down the river again with General Garland and Governor Meriwether as part of their escort.

July 3.—Past Fort Craig on a very warm day with swarms of mosquitos bothering us. Found a murdered man upon the bank of the river yesterday. Probably killed by Indians. Arrived at Fort Fillmore after 11 full days of hard riding with only 1 day of rest following return from the boundary trip.

July 4.—This morning the parade started with General Garland and Governor Meriwether leading it, followed by our Company, 2 companies of Infantry, Company B, 1st Dragoons, and the 3rd Infantry Band. We crossed the river and took possession of the town and valley of Mesilla in the name of the United States Government. A speech was

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154. Probably the Burro mountains in southwestern New Mexico.
155. The Maguey plant was a distinctive feature of the country and widely used by the Indian and Mexican. For an early description see Bartlett, Personal Narrative, I, 290ff.
156. A Mexican settlement established in the Mesilla valley after the War with Mexico. Baldwin, "A Short History of the Mesilla Valley."
made by the Governor and translated into Spanish. A flag staff was raised. The “Stars and Stripes” were then floated from the top and three times three loud cheers were given. The Band played: Hail Columbia, Yankee Doodle, and the Star Spangled Banner. The Mexicans, holding office, swore allegiance to our government. All Mexicans such as did not wish to obey our laws were notified to leave and to take refuge in Mexican dominions. This was the best 4th of July I have passed since I have been in the Army.

July 19.—Once more up the Rio Grande, leaving Fort Fillmore on July 5 and arriving at Los Lunas on July 12. Last 6 days spent in riding about the neighboring towns to buy corn for our horses.

July 20.—Called as a witness in a Court of Inquiry into a murder case at Albuquerque.

July 24.—Went in command of 25 men to see justice executed upon a Mexican who had been in prison and chained with an American. He, wishing to escape, killed the American who was sleeping. To get the irons clear, he cut off the dead man’s leg at the ankle joint. It was feared the prisoner’s Mexican friends would endeavor to rescue him from prison. For this reason we go to prevent it. He is across the river at Tome.

July 28.—Kept one sentinel in the cell and another out of the door, both day and night. The prisoner has been very dejected. A scaffold was erected in the plaza and guarded by 12 soldiers with ready arms. I, with the other 13 men, marched the prisoner out, accompanied by the Catholic Priest. He walked upon the stand; confessed to 5 murders; and was launched from time into eternity. We went home.

Aug. 1.—Transferred to Company B, 1st Dragoons. Commanded by Capt. John Davidson. Glad to be once more with my old friends.

Aug. 3.—With Capt. Ewell en route for Santa Fe. Last night camped at the Placer Mine, now worked by two Americans. I descended into the excavation 700 feet below the
surface by means of a windlass and bucket. Saw them wash out of one panful of dirt $15. It was done in less than ten minutes. At Santa Fe bid adieu to Company G as I am to remain here, awaiting Capt. Davidson.

Aug. 5.—Capt. Davidson arrived yesterday. I reported to him. I am now with Company B, 1st Dragoons, now stationed at Algodones.

Aug. 9.—Feasting on fruit, obtained at Albuquerque. Past Las Tihares\(^{158}\) in company with a train of 12 wagons loaded with provision for Fort Stanton. Past a miserable, dirty town in the mountains where dogs and all were hungry. Leaving Chilili, arrived at Tyrone [Torreon], quite a pretty little place at the foot of the mountains and located on a beautiful stream bordered with pine, walnut, and sycamore trees.

Aug. 13.—Arrived at Fort Stanton via Manzano, Gallina [Gallina] Spring, and Pattos. The fort is now going up fast. Quarters are already built for 8 officers, 1 company of men, a guard-house, the commissary and Quartermaster’s store rooms, etc. Soldiers are all at work. Appointed Commissary Sergeant at once which exempts me from all manual labor. My duties are the receiving and issuing of orders.

Aug. 21.—Started yesterday with Company down Rio Bonita to open communication with Capt. John Pope of United States Army. He is said to be hemmed in by Comanche Indians upon the Rio Pecos and has lost 7 men, killed by Indians. Brought with us a howitzer, a 12 pounder. Came to a spot where we could not take it along; secreted it; and left it along Rio Ruidoso. Reached plain out of the mountains.

Aug. 26.—Left Rio Ruidoso; struck Rio Pecos on Aug. 24. The soil is filled with vermin. Thousands of rattlesnakes, tarantulas, and centipedes are running over the ground throughout this region. Down Rio Pecos. It is dry, barren soil. The banks are so high and steep that we can

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158. Tijeras canyon is the route through the Manzana mountains due east of Albuquerque. The party traveled southward through these mountains and passed the small villages of Chillili and Torreón.
hardly find a place to water our animals. The water in the Pecos is quite brackish, not good water. Passed 2 or 3 salt lakes and crossed the mouth of the Rio Penasco.\textsuperscript{159}

\textit{Aug. 27.}—Guadalupe Mountain\textsuperscript{160} where we found a camp probably left by the Indians this morning. Suppose there had been 400 of them here. Found a pole stuck in the ground with a package of provisions tied to the top in a piece of raw-hide. Probably left for some party who are to follow them this way. We threw it in the river.

\textit{Aug. 29.}—At Blue Water,\textsuperscript{161} a very deep stream emptying into the Pecos River, we went in to swim our horses. It was very warm. There was a kind of weed in the water and some of the horses became entangled. Two were drowned and their riders with them. We recovered the bodies of the men and buried them with the honors of war.

\textit{Sept. 1.}—Last two days the thermometer was about 121 degrees above Zero. We traveled very slowly down the Pecos on account of the heat. No trees or shade to be had. Grass is completely burned up by the sun. Arrived at Captain Pope's camp. It is on the river but he sends a daily party out working ten miles from the camp. He is boring artesian wells\textsuperscript{162} on the Llano Estacado\textsuperscript{163} or Stake Plain which is a dry sandy route through Texas.

\textit{Sept. 2.}—Went out to the wells. One is 800 feet deep with no water yet. The boring is done by machinery and mule power. Captain Pope's camp consists of 76 soldiers of Company I, 7th Infantry, and 80 civilians who are employed by the Government.

\textit{Sept. 16.}—Up the river on the same route back. Found

\textsuperscript{159} The Rio Peñasco flows eastward from the Sacramento mountains to the Pecos river.

\textsuperscript{160} The Guadalupe mountains lie southeast of the Sacramento mountains and westward from the mouth of the Rio Peñasco.

\textsuperscript{161} The Blue Water creek is probably the Dark Canyon creek on present day maps. It was also called the Sacramento at one time.

\textsuperscript{162} Captain Pope's well was about ten miles east of the Pecos river and a short distance north of the present day Texas-New Mexico boundary.

\textsuperscript{163} According to Herbert E. Bolton, the Llano Estacado or Staked Plain in the Southwest received the name from the appearance of the cap rock formation which marks the beginning of the plain. The cap rock has the appearance of a palisade or stockade at a distance. The traditional explanation, that the Mexicans planted stakes to mark their route of travel, is found in Gregg, \textit{Commerce of the Prairies}, p. 338.
our howitzer all right. At Rio Bonita camped one night on what was formerly an Indian farm. An old hut was still standing. The soil was very rich. Reached Fort Stanton where I was appointed Orderly Sergeant.

*Sept. 19.*—Took charge of the guard. During the night 2 of the prisoners made their escape by digging a hole through the wall. Started with 4 men in pursuit of the runaways.

*Sept. 21.*—No sign of the prisoners. Went as far as Dog Cañon which is a poor place to camp as it is always a bad place for Indians travel here often. Went onto plain for the night. Turned back. Killed 2 turkeys along Rio Francisco. 164

*Sept. 24.*—Camped an hour upon a little stream. Saw a little smoke on the mountain. Supposing it was Indians, I reconnoitered but got safely into the Fort. Found Company all gone. I am left alone in my glory.

*Sept. 28.*—Company returned. I was put under arrest for absence without leave. Tried by a Court Martial and acquitted. Capt. Davidson gone again. I have command of the Company during his absence.

*Oct. 8.*—Capt. Davidson returned. Brought orders for the Company to move to Fort Fillmore. Preparing to move.

*Oct. 16.*—Left on October 11. Got wet crossing the Tularoso. Saw a large body of Indians on the mountain above us. Could not get at them. Camped at Dog Cañon before we crossed the 45 mile plain. Camped at San Augustine Spring last night. One man accidently shot himself through the leg just above the knee. At Fort Fillmore, we took our quarters for the winter. Orders were issued to clean, and brighten brasses, and otherwise appear in a military style.

*Oct. 22.*—Bought a pony for $90. Use it in riding to dances across the river, etc. At night went to a fandango at Santo Thomas on the other side of the Rio Grande. This small-place is like all the rest.

164. The party is on the west side of the Sacramento mountains. The Rio Francisco probably flows westward and disappears.
Nov. 2.—Yesterday went to El Paso with Captain Davidson and Dr. Cooper.\textsuperscript{165a} Spent the day at Fort Bliss with the infantry before returning to Fort Fillmore.

Nov. 20.—Weather very fine. Colonel Bonneville\textsuperscript{165} arrived from the United States by way of Texas with 150 recruits. This is the same man who explored the Rocky Mountains and California about 1831-1836.

Dec. 3.—With Major Cary H. Fry,\textsuperscript{166} Paymaster, en route to San Antonio, Texas, via Fort Bliss, Presidio del Norte, and Ojo del Diablo which is a deep, dark, rocky ravine. Many murders have been committed by the Indians at this place. I had the camp as well guarded as I could with my party of 35 men. Major Fry, like most of the officers out here, fought in the Mexican War. He was at the Battle of Buena Vista.

Dec. 19.—Crossed the Llano Estacado where it was as warm as one could desire. It was more like June. Arrived at San Antonio, a fine business city about the center of Texas. There is a very fine market. Immorality and vice abounds to a great extent. This place is remarkable for several conflicts some years ago between the Texans and the Mexicans. It is particularly known for the defense of the El Alamo for two weeks by Col. Travis and 400 Texans against 4,000 Mexicans under Santa Anna. It was at the El Alamo that Col. Crockett was killed, and not even one of the Texans was left alive to tell the tale.

Dec. 21.—Spent yesterday seeing the sights and giving the men a rest. Turned for home. Whole command is mine as no officer now being with me.

Dec. 31.—Fort Davis\textsuperscript{167} is a poorly built fort. Four


\textsuperscript{165a}. George E. Cooper, Asst. Surg., August 28, 1847.

\textsuperscript{166}. Cary H. Fry was commissioned Bvt. 2nd Lieut., 3rd Infantry, July 1, 1834, and Major Paymaster, February 7, 1853.

\textsuperscript{167}. Ford Davis was established in the Limpia mountains, Texas, in 1854. See C. G. Raht, Romance of the Davis Mountains, El Paso, The Raht Books Co., 1919.
companies of 8th Infantry and One company of Mounted Rifles are stationed here.

_**Jan. 8, 1856.**_—When we crossed the Rio Pecos where it was ½ mile wide and very deep and muddy, we lost 1 horse by drowning. Arrived at Gaudalupe¹ sixty eight which is a little town. Glad once more to see the Rio Grande. Today is my birthday.

_**Jan. 11.**_—Yesterday at Fort Bliss, learned that 2 days ago the Indians came quite near the fort and seized upon a little drummer boy who was 12 years old. They took him off prisoner, poor little fellow. Arrived at Fort Fillmore and reported to Capt. Davidson. Weather is now warm and pleasant.

_**Jan. 24.**_—With Col. Bonneville and Capt. Davidson en route for Santa Fe to attend a Court of Inquiry in regard to Capt. Davidson's conduct at the Battle of Cieneguilla. Stopped with Company I, 1st Dragoons, at Fort Thorn. By invitation recited Plato's "Soliloquy On The Immortality Of Soul" [that is, Plato's _Phaedo_] at a kind of theatre established here. Officers were all present. Major Wm. N. Grier went with us from Fort Thorn.

_**Jan. 27.**_—At Fort Craig, D. Company, 1st Dragoons and I Company, 1st Infantry, have just returned from a scout. Met the Indians; killed 7 or 8 of them; and took all their animals from them. They met a party of friendly Indians also and took them for foes. Fired upon them, killing 2 and wounding 10 more. It may make trouble.

_**Jan. 29.**_—4 of my men got drunk last night at Socorro. Today the drunken men were obliged to walk. Went 30 miles. Camped at Sabinal.¹ sixty nine The footmen are pretty tired.

_**Jan. 31.**_—Met my old company at Los Lunas yesterday. It is some colder here than below. Major Carleton¹ seventy and

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168. Guadalupe is on the west side of the Rio Grande about thirty miles down the river from El Paso.

169. Another small settlement in the Rio Grande valley about midway between Socorro and Albuquerque.

170. James Henry Carleton was commissioned 2nd Lieut., 1st Dragoons, October 18, 1839, and Bvt. Major, February 23, 1847. He later played an important part in the history of New Mexico during the Civil War.

Feb. 4.—At Santa Fe, stopped with the General’s escort of 25 Dragoons. Court of Inquiry opened. Lieut. Williams and Kit Carson were called on the stand.

Feb. 7.—I was called on the stand at 10 o’clock Tuesday morning and dismissed for that day at 4 in the afternoon. On the stand again at 10 o’clock yesterday morning until 3½ o’clock in the afternoon. Court was closed today. Capt. Davidson’s conduct was blameless.

Feb. 21.—Rejoined Company at Fort Fillmore on Feb. 17. Today left with Capt. Davidson and 80 men en route to the Organ Mountains in pursuit of Indians who stole the little drummer boy at Fort Bliss. Camped at Yellow Rock Spring.

Feb. 24.—Passed a silver mine, worked by Americans. Crossed a plain and salt lake which I should think was 10 miles in length, 3 miles wide. On a plain found an eminence 30 feet high. A spring was on top. I went to wash in the water with soap. Chemical action of the water and the soap made it like pitch before I knew it. My hands and face were covered and my hair was full of it with no water to wash it out.

Feb. 25.—Crossed a dry sandy plain. It was very warm with no water. A corporal belonging to the Infantry could not go any farther on account of thirst. Col. Chandler ordered him to get up and go on. He replied that he could not. The Colonel told him, “By God, you must!” The soldier said that he could not and would not. Col. Chandler raised his sword, struck the man across the shoulder, cutting a deep gash 6 inches in length. The man fell, bleeding pro-

171. Robert Williams, Bvt. 2nd Lieut., 1st Dragoons, July 1, 1851, and 1st Lieut June 7, 1855.

172. The implication is that Davidson was on trial, presumably John Wynn Davidson (see footnotes 85 and 100); there is no mention of this affair in the biographical sketches of Davidson in *Appleton’s Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, and *Dictionary of American Biography*.

173. Daniel T. Chandler, commissioned 2nd Lieut., 3rd Infantry, August 1, 1838, and Captain, September 21, 1846.
fusely. We went on and left him. On the road we left 4 other men almost dead. 17 horses and mules died from want of water. At 10 o'clock at night, I went ahead with 6 men; found a spring; drank copiously; filled a dozen canteens; turned back; picked up the 4 men; and gave them water. They went on and joined the main body. I found the man wounded by Col. Chandler just gasping his last breath. Got down from my horse, put the canteen of water to his lips. He opened his eyes, recognized me, and died thanking me for the favor I had done him, a poor victim of an inhuman tyrant. I hope that a day of retribution will surely come.

Feb. 27.—In the mountains yesterday where we had plenty of water. At mouth of Dog Cañon, the Indians came out to meet us with a flag of truce. We had a talk with them. They said they knew nothing of the boy. They agreed to try and find him to bring him into Fort Fillmore in 20 days.

Mar. 2.—Towards home. Caught a squaw, took her prisoner. She informed us that the boy could not keep up with the Indians so they beat his brains out with rocks. Took old squaw along. Stopped at edge of Organ Mountains. Passed Stevenson's Ranch where a smelting furnace for silver is doing a good business.

Mar. 4.—Started for Fort Stanton on March 4, taking old route via San Augustine, Tularoso, etc. Arrived all sound and went in quarters.

April 9.—Easy days at present. All I have had to do for 28 days past is call the roll of the Company, 3 times a day, and make out morning reports. The soldiers all are hard at work building quarters. A girl came into the fort, stating she was taken captive by the Apaches 8 months ago. She says she is a Mexican. Would think she is about 16 years of age. She was taken care of and placed in the house of our Company washwoman.

April 12.—The pretended captive vamosed last night, taking with her a good stock of her protector's clothing. A pretty sharp trick which she was probably sent in by the
Indians to play. It is possible that she was merely following the natural habits of so many of her people.

*May 6.*—Company was out at drill. An awkward move was made by a number of men. A Captain became enraged, ran his sabre into a man's back, injuring him for life. The Captain says it was accidental. I don't know.

*May 23.*—News reached here that the Gila Apaches were committing a great many deprivations. It appears that old Degado, a chief of that tribe, was sleeping in company with another Indian at San Diego. They were murdered in the night by some Mexicans. The Indians lay it to the Americans.

*May 28.*—Monday night some soldiers were gambling in an old tent which was filled with lumber. Two, named Jackson and Ferguson, quarreled. The former stabbed the latter with a pocketknife. I immediately arrested Jackson, put him in close confinement in the Guard House. Ferguson was taken to the hospital where he died today. He preceded me as Orderly Sergeant of the Troop. He was a very smart fellow but at times drank a little too much and gambled. He was very quarrelsome when under the influence of liquor. Jackson was placed in double irons.

*May 29.*—Funeral of Ferguson took place today. The order of the procession was: 1st, music—muffled drums, fifes; 2nd, funeral escort, consisting of 12 men with arms to fire over the grave; 3rd, Corpse and 8 pall bearers with crepe on their arms; 4th, horse covered with black velvet, saddle, bridle, arms, trappings strapped on, the boots in the stirrups, etc.; 5th private soldiers of his own company followed by other companies; 6th, Non-commissioned Officers; 7th, Commissioned Officers. The funeral cortege, as is usual, was commanded by the Orderly Sergeant of the deceased's Company. I was in command by that right.

*June 1.*—The prisoner, Jackson, was sent to Albuquerque and turned over to the Civil Authorities. 175

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174. The correct spelling is probably Delgado, meaning slender.
175. "Died . . . Abraham Ferguson, Private, Enlisted October 10, 1853 at Fort Leavenworth by Lieutenant Whittlesey for five years. Last paid to June 30, 1856 by"
June 8.—Left for Capitan Mountains in pursuit of Indians who have lately stolen cattle from Anton Chico.

June 16.—In passing through a valley, I went upon the brow of a hill to spy out the region. I was three miles from the Company when I came upon five Indians who pursued me for a mile and a half. They could not overtake me. One fired, the ball passing through my left hand, fractured the bone of the middle finger. Reached the Company. Twelve men pursued the Indians, overtook them. Four of them were killed and the other one of the Indians escaped. We later camped at Seven Rivers, so called because it is the junction of seven rivers.

June 26.—Albuquerque. Went in the Hospital under the care of Dr. David C. De Leon of the United States Army. Improving fast. I feel no pain at present.

July 1.—Today take charge of the Hospital as Stewart. Dosing out medicine to 70 men, daily.

July 31.—Left the Hospital for Fort Thorn to join Company.

Aug. 9.—Joined Company again.

Aug. 15.—Camped out. A number of men are sick with "fever and ague." This is the first I have seen in this country. It is very malignant as many die.

THE END