New Mexico Historical Review

Volume 45 | Number 2 Article 2

4-1-1970

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FORT SUMNER: A STUDY IN ORIGINS

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THE ARID and nearly treeless plains that enclose the greater course of the Pecos River always have challenged the endurance of explorers and discouraged all but a few determined efforts at settlement. If Antonio de Espejo was not induced to linger when he followed the tortuous stream southward in 1583, the same may be said for Castaño de Sosa's men when they worked their way northward seven years later. These earliest explorers were not soon followed by others.

For more than two hundred fifty years the region between Anton Chico and a point near the Bosque Grande would be claimed and almost exclusively roamed—but never inhabited for long—by Kiowa and Comanche and by Mescalero Apache. Spanish and then Mexican owners of sheep would winter-graze their animals south from Anton Chico and La Cuesta and Chaparita, but perhaps not so frequently as some ranchers later would remember.

A professional interest on the part of American military officers produced little to support the notion of a sheep-raising climate nurtured by the Pecos River, but did substantiate legends of war and peace gatherings at Bosque Redondo by the two Plains tribes mentioned, these gatherings sometimes joined by Apache allies of the Jicarilla and Mescalero bands. Not infrequently, Spanish or Mexican and Pueblo traders (the Comancheros of legend) would find their way to these councils to barter guns and ammunition, as well as cloth goods and firewater, in exchange for Indian horses. But in a territory so wide professional military interest necessarily was spread thin. It is not strange, then, that when they prepared their

1846-1847 map of New Mexico, Lieutenants James W. Abert and William G. Peck showed the Pecos vanishing, a few miles below Anton Chico, into the unknown, into blank white space. They thought, and cannot be too seriously blamed for it, that the Pecos was a tributary of the Rio Grande.

Every wondering conjectural approach to why a military post was established at Bosque Redondo (but more especially why that post was made the center of a reservation for Navajo and Apache) must begin by studying a series of military surveys; inevitably it will end by examining the actions of one man: James H. Carleton.

An uncertainty about what might be found on the plains and in the valleys of the Pecos led Brevet Colonel John Munroe, commanding the Ninth Military Department, to issue orders for the first survey by American forces in 1850. Snow was deep on the Sangre de Cristos when Captain Henry B. Judd, Third Artillery, led a light company equipped as cavalry southward from Las Vegas. His departure, on March 15, would assure his command the discomfort of facing into high winds off the Sierra Capitan. Richard H. Kern, who as artist, diarist and amiable companion had proved so valuable during the previous summer's Navajo expedition, was Judd's cartographer. Five wagons trailed the column with provisions for two weeks.

Judd's course, dictated by a rough broken country below Anton Chico, turned him east on the Fort Smith road as far as Lagunitas and then south along the east bank of the Pecos. The river for the next few days remained always present to the right, but invisible in the twisting depths of a red sandstone canyon. Aside from an occasional mesquite bush the prairie country contained no timber until the command reached the Arroyo de los Esteros. Here wood enough for fires was found, and water, too, though brackish to the taste. Only twice thereafter, in the valley bottoms of Bosque Redondo and Bosque Grande, were trees seen again. The character of the land generally was a sandy prairie with covering of grama grass interspersed with cane cactus and the yucca plant. At a point nearly below Bosque Grande Captain Judd had intended to turn west, exploring and mapping a route through the Sierra de Jumanos

to the Rio Grande. He was diverted from this purpose, however, upon learning that the distance separating the two rivers was much greater than hitherto believed. This, and the weakened condition of his horses, persuaded him to back-trail to Las Vegas. After arriving there March 29 he reported to the department commander that he found the soil of both timbered bosques to be rich and fertile; deer and turkey and duck were numerous, and the stream abounded in fish.[1] Judd believed that either of the bosques offered an important position for a post garrisoned by mounted troops.

Colonel Munroe took no action in the matter. The question of a military post on the Pecos remained in abeyance until the arrival in New Mexico of Munroe's successor, Brevet Colonel Edwin Vose Sumner, in July 1851. Determined that Santa Fe was an evil place and to be avoided, Sumner on his march from Fort Leavenworth turned off the main road to the capital somewhere between Tecolote and San Miguel and marched down the Pecos some little distance in search of an eligible site for his headquarters. Nothing has been found to tell how far down the stream he explored, but the evidence suggests he went no farther than Anton Chico.[2] What he saw apparently did not please him. Within a few weeks he would establish headquarters on Coyote Creek, naming his log buildings Fort Union.

In terms of the ultimate decision, the survey of the Pecos that had greatest importance was that of Brevet Major James H. Carleton in February 1852. A native of Maine, Carleton was left fatherless when he was fifteen years old, and educated in Boston. His flaring talent (and brassy ego) caused him at the age of twenty-six to write Charles Dickens asking not alone for literary counsel but for friendship should he venture to England. He responded to the novelist's firm but not unkind rebuff by pursuing, instead, a military career. He reported in 1839 as a second lieutenant to then Captain Sumner, at Carlisle Barracks. More or less ever since the two had been together in the First Regiment of Dragoons, a certain brilliance and brash arrogance in the younger man striking strange chords of affectionate approval in Sumner's massively wooden nature.

Sumner's orders to Carleton have not been found, but the tenor of the major's subsequent report indicates that he was instructed to investigate any movement of Indians in the vicinity of Bosque Redondo, and determine whether the Pecos offered a desirable site for a military post.[3] Major Carleton left Fort Union February 3 at the head of Company K, First Dragoons, his train including two wagons to which he added loads of unshelled corn obtained at Anton Chico. Because he feared that winter prairie grass would not sustain his horses, he sent forward additional supplies of corn to be held under guard, or cached, at a crossing of the Gallinas River and at the mouth of the Esteros.

Turning south from the Fort Smith road February 10, Company K followed Judd's descending trail to Tanos Creek, the dry arroyos of San Juan de Dios and Alamo Gordo (the last of which Carleton explored to its head), and to Las Carretas Cañon, finally reaching Bosque Redondo February 13. Leaving his command at the lower end of the bosque, Carleton set out on foot to look for Indian "sign," continuing down river five miles more. From a sandy eminence near Alamos Muchos, a sweeping view of barren prairie gave "not the least evidence that a single human being of any discription had been in the vicinity for many months." Carleton ordered a noncommissioned officer to fire the tall grass of the river bottom, thinking if Comanche or Apache were about this would bring them near. Smoke rolled upward in an immense column and as darkness came on the sky turned ruddy, but it availed nothing as no Indians appeared.

Camp was moved next day northward into the bosque and again the bottom land was fired, but again without result. One gathers that Carleton's state of mind, from this point forward, was euphoric. Very nearly everything he found here (if not quite all) convinced him that Bosque Redondo was "a most excellent point for the establishment of a strong cavalry post." He enumerated its advantages: round groves of cottonwoods shading the sinuous course of the stream in a valley perhaps twenty miles long and from one and a half to two miles wide; a soil dark chocolate in color, exceedingly rich and fertile and free of stones, that would not suffer in

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comparison with the black loamy Missouri bottom; the Pecos a constantly flowing stream abounding in beaver; sunflowers so tall their stalks reached higher than a man's head even when the man sat astride a horse; grama grass higher than a horseman's saddle skirts, the thick rank grass sheltering immense coveys of wild turkeys (very fat and finely flavored), not to mention flocks of antelope and deer and occasional wild horses; a supply of cottonwood "for building and other purposes" nearly limitless.

Threading Carleton's rhapsody, but almost submerged, was a comment that the valley bottom might be subject to overflow; also, that the surrounding country was sandy and sterile, that pools and springs found in abundance near the Pecos were more or less brackish, and that a saline efflorescence whitened the beds of tributary channels.

But apart from such few and small detractions the Bosque Redondo was a natural paradise of quite practical values: It was strategically placed in the center between hostile tribes of Indians, and a supply route from Fort Smith was shorter than and superior to the road from Fort Leavenworth. Finally, the moment a military post was established here, "a large number of settlers would immediately flock in—the produce of whose farms brought in competition one with the other, would be sold very low indeed."

Colonel Sumner may have been favorably impressed, but two years went by without further action. Then, in early fall of 1854, another survey of the Pecos was ordered by a new department commander, Brevet Brigadier General John Garland. Again Major Carleton was chosen, but now with the stated purpose of selecting a site for a military post between Anton Chico and a point about twenty miles south of Bosque Redondo. The route followed (used ten years over some of its distance later by Navajo bound for confinement) was in part new. Carleton with his own Company K left Albuquerque October 5. He was accompanied by Brevet Second Lieutenant Henry B. Davidson whose task for the next three weeks would be to map, measure distances, and in a daily journal record the nature of the country explored. This—and more—with meticulous zeal the young Tennessean accomplished; the journal is

Davidson's, but appears to have employed the eyes and the mind of Carleton.[4]

From Albuquerque the column marched due east to Tijeras, here turning south in the Manzanos to Chilili. From this mountain village the company continued eastward to Antelope Springs, through the red and white sandstone depths of Cañon Piedra Pintada, to Agua Negra and a point just below the James Giddings and Preston Beck ranch. Here, near the junction with the Pecos, their guide led them out of the canyon and up to the high prairie and the familiar trail tracing the river's east bank. Carleton, it would appear from Davidson's journal, each day covered nearly twice the distance traveled by his men, tirelessly exploring in all directions in his search and testing constantly the qualities of soil, grass and water—but above all looking for that which was most scarce—wood. The nearest supply of any amount worth mention lay eighteen to twenty miles northeast of Bosque Redondo, in the vicinity of Mesa de las Truchas.

At a point nearly midway in the bosque, and in the bottom lands of the river's east bank, Carleton on October 19 planted a stout cottonwood post to mark the site he chose for a military post.[5]

Arriving at Tecolote October 27 and regarding his survey concluded, Carleton unreservedly recommended his choice of site to General Garland.[6] The valley of the bosque, by measurement, averaged a mile and a quarter in breadth, but in every other respect seemed larger or better than he found it two years before. Bosque Redondo alone contained sixteen thousand acres of arable land, but with protection afforded by a post, settlers of the valley would cultivate twice that acreage. He found the climate warm—ideal, in fact, for winter grazing of sheep. Citizens would flock to the valley, and in this happy event General Garland "would be a public benefactor to an enviable degree." The fuel supply was abundant, but should that of the bosque ever be exhausted wood could be cut and floated down river from the canyons above. Grazing and soil conditions of the valley were so excellent that a post here could be almost self-sustaining; it should, in any case, be the focal point for the year-around grazing and fattening of the depart-

ment's beef cattle and mules and horses. The post, Carleton advised, should be built of adobes. Cottonwood beams cut on the spot would serve as roof timbers—though in the end it might be better to haul in pine vigas from the upper country. Considering its role in defense against powerful tribes of Indians, Carleton proposed a garrison of four companies: two of dragoons and two of infantry, or three of dragoons and one of infantry or artillery.

More pressing affairs turned General Garland's attention elsewhere. Once again plans for a fort on the Pecos were shelved. Nothing further was heard of the proposal until the spring of 1857 when a patrol of Mounted Rifles out of Fort Stanton passed through Bosque Redondo on its way to Anton Chico. First Lieutenant Hyatt C. Ransom mapped the route taken by the command and later reported on the groves of cottonwoods that lined the Pecos for twelve miles on its course through the bosque. Unaware, most likely, of Carleton's earlier involvement, Ransom found this "would be a fine spot for a Cavalry Command, the whole Country is covered with splendid grass; and an abundance of Hay could be cut on the ground, plenty of Roots of the Mesquit to mix with the Cottonwood for Fuel."[7]

Again, two years passed. In May 1859 Colonel B. L. E. Bonneville, now department commander, ordered Captain Thomas Claiborne with a detachment of Mounted Rifles to proceed eastward from Fort Stanton to find a pass through the Sierra Capitan to the Pecos, examine Bosque Redondo ("it having been recommended as a site for a Military post"), and continue on a scout to the Canadian and the Conchos. From Hatch's ranch on the Gallinas, Captain Claiborne reported briefly that "the water of the Pecos is exceedingly bad and unhealthy," a judgment he would elaborate upon later.[8] After his return to Fort Stanton Captain Claiborne took an even more negative view. The Bosque Grande he found grand in name only—"it is a poor affair." As for Bosque Redondo, he described it as "an elbow of the river . . . cottonwoods are mostly on the left [east] bank . . . extending for perhaps six or seven miles, in clusters." The Pecos he found very crooked, but the bosque itself "in that desert country is very agreeable. The

lower half of the valley is tillable, the upper is filled with deep sand. . . . The water of the river is bad and the surrounding country is most desolate. The place is altogether unfit for a post."[9]

Even had Captain Claiborne taken a favorable view of the Bosque Redondo and waters of the Pecos, it is doubtful if Colonel Bonneville could, or would, have authorized the construction of a post there. Sectional strife in the East and the strains of an onrushing Civil War no doubt contributed to other causes of immediacy that relegated a post on the Pecos to oblivion. Its only advocate was far from the scene. In September 1856, Major Carleton had received orders removing him from New Mexico and directing him to proceed to Europe. The War Department found him most qualified to study and report upon the methods and tactics of European cavalry, with especial concentration upon the Cossacks of the Czar of Russia.[10] He returned to New Mexico in 1857, but in the summer following was ordered to report for duty in California. There he remained until, in 1862, he led the California Column of three thousand volunteers across the Gila desert to the Mesilla Valley of New Mexico. He came back at the very peak of his military abilities, at the peak of his unbounded energy, ambition, and self confidence. As a brevet brigadier of volunteers (but major, still, of the Army's Sixth Cavalry), Carleton on September 18 succeeded Colonel Edward Richard Sprigg Canby as commander of the Military Department of New Mexico.

If General Carleton regretted that he had not been assigned to the eastern war front where brigadiers were suddenly as common as hens in a barn yard, there is no hint of it in his correspondence or his actions. In New Mexico there was but one rooster. Almost at once things began to happen.

One may imagine that the chronology of ensuing events does not necessarily reflect what may have had priority in Carleton's mind. In any case, he moved first and on October 8 by ordering Colonel Kit Carson of the First New Mexico Mounted Volunteers to proceed from Fort Union to Fort Stanton without delay and "attack the Mescaleros and Navajos wherever you find them."[11] It was an order soon modified to exclude, for the time being, the

Navajo; their turn would come later. And on the last day of October, Carleton resurrected a plan long dead and forgotten. With power now to command where before he could only recommend, Carlton vindicated his judgment in the past. His orders were in language reminiscent of eight and ten years before:

> A Military Post will, at once, be established at the Bosque Redondo, on the Pecos River, and will be garrisoned by two companies of Cavalry and one of Infantry.
>
> While it will afford protection to people who, this winter may be anxious to open farms along the rich valley of the Pecos, this post will offer like protection to those who wish to move their flocks and herds on to the extensive grazing lands that lie between Anton Chico and that point: a distance along the river of some ninety miles. At the same time it does this, it will be a barrier to the incursions of the Kioways, and Comanche Indians, and will intercept the northern raids of the Mescalero Apaches.[12]

The post would be named Fort Sumner, in honor of "that staunch patriot, and veteran soldier." Troops would be sheltered through the winter in tents or huts, but plans would be drawn by the chief quartermaster for permanent buildings. These would be started without delay as soon as spring weather permitted the making of adobes.

A board of officers was appointed four days later with instructions to meet at Bosque Redondo November 15, or as soon afterward as possible, for the purpose of selecting the exact site. An inability of two of the officers to serve, however, caused Carleton to appoint a second board on November 14, the board including Surgeon James M. McNulty, First Infantry, California Volunteers; and Captain Joseph Updegraff and First Lieutenant Allan S. Anderson, both of the U.S. Fifth Infantry.[13]

Shortly after his appointment to the board of officers, Captain Updegraff was notified that Carleton had selected him to be Fort Sumner's first commander and thus in a dual capacity he would proceed to Bosque Redondo and be prepared to remain indefinitely. Four Pueblo Indians would be attached to his garrison as messen-

gers to carry expresses from the new post to Fort Union. Updegraff was instructed to establish communications with the commander of Camp Easton, located northeasterly of the bosque on the Canadian River, a short distance from the future site of Fort Bascom.[14] From Fort Stanton, meanwhile, Kit Carson gave tangible evidence that his campaign against the Mescalero was progressing well. To avoid further bloodshed, about one hundred Apache had come in and encamped near the fort. Three of their chiefs—Cadete, Chatto, and Estrella—were being brought to Santa Fe by Apache Agent Lorenzo Labadi to talk peace with the department commander.[15]

The arrival of the delegation gave a totally unforeseen and fortuitous turn to Fort Sumner's future, even before a site for the post had been chosen. Meeting with the Mescalero on November 24, General Carleton advised them that if they wished to avoid collision with Carson's troops it would be necessary for them to withdraw completely from Mescalero country and go either to Fort Union or a new fort soon to be established at Bosque Redondo. After some deliberation, Cadete and the others said they would prefer to go to Fort Sumner.[16] Advising Carson of this development, Carleton instructed him to send on to the bosque those Apache who had come in. Transportation for women and children would be provided in wagons of a supply train that was to leave Fort Union for Stanton in a few days. Upon reaching Bosque Redondo the Apache would be fed and given protection by Captain Updegraff.

Carson was to continue carrying the war to the rest of the tribe, but so soon as others might surrender they also were to be sent to Fort Sumner. "The result of this will be," Carleton explained, "that eventually we shall have the whole tribe at Bosque Redondo and then we can conclude a definite treaty with them and let them *all* return again to inhabit their proper country."[17] The temporary nature of this arrangement was emphasized by Superintendent of Indian Affairs James L. Collins when he reminded Agent Labadi that it was not intended to locate the Indians indefinitely at the bosque, but to separate them "for the present from the [hostile]

portion of the band. . . . As soon as the campaign is ended they can again return to the neighborhood of Stanton where we hope to be able to make provision for settling them permanently."[18]

Thus Carleton's dream of settlers flocking to the valley of the Pecos would not materialize as soon as he had hoped, but his vision of a military post at the bosque was realized when Captain Updegraff pitched his tents on the river bank and officially established Fort Sumner on Sunday, November 30. The first garrison was composed of troops of Company A, U.S. Fifth Infantry. Any glow of satisfaction this occasioned no doubt was turned momentarily to disbelief and anger when Carleton received the findings of his board of officers. They had, indeed, faithfully carried out his orders to select a site at Bosque Redondo: a point on the east bank of the Pecos about 7½ miles southeast of the head of the bosque.

But there were certain unfortunate disadvantages. It was found that Bosque Redondo was remote from the depot of supplies and neighborhoods that would supply forage. Building materials would have to be brought in from a great distance. And worse, the Pecos contained "much unhealthy mat[t]er," and a large part of the surrounding valley was in danger of inundation by spring floods.

Respectfully, therefore, the majority of the board recommended that Fort Sumner be located at the junction of the Agua Negra and the Pecos. Here there was a supply of good lumber for building, while firewood was conveniently at hand. The water was pure and abundant and the grazing much finer than at the bosque. The valley was not subject to flooding, building stone was plentiful, and the site was fifty miles nearer to the settlements and Fort Union's supplies. The majority of the board for these reasons found the valley of the Agua Negra "as a post of observation on the country to the East . . . preferable to the Bosque Redondo."[19] The dissident majority are not named, but in consideration of his future command it is unlikely that Captain Updegraff was one of them.

The adverse report struck a response that in a peculiar way determined the future of Fort Sumner. General Carleton reacted as though Bosque Redondo in some obscure but real sense was his

own—to do with as he willed. Regardless of opposition from whatever level, from Santa Fe to the White House, Fort Sumner would be as he chose to make it. He would *explain* his intentions to the territorial legislature, to the governor of New Mexico, and to the War Department. But he would not ask approval of anyone: this he would take for granted.

A decisive turn of events occurred at the close of the Apache campaign. Carleton suddenly changed his plans for the Mescalero, some four hundred of whom were now held at the bosque. Instead of letting them go home he would keep them there permanently—"to have them, in short, become what is called in this country a *pueblo*."[20] If they remained quiet they would be well cared for and fed. If they attempted to leave they would be shot.

Approach of spring turned Carleton's attention to the Navajo, whose raids were mounting in intensity. In April he traveled to Fort Wingate, a post he had established in the preceding October at Ojo del Gallo on the Navajo frontier. Lieutenant Colonel J. Francisco Chaves, Wingate's commander, was hard pressed to answer the general's barrage of questions. During his tour of service against the Navajo in 1860-1861, Colonel Canby was known to have favored a reservation for Navajo on the Little Colorado.

Carleton was thirsty for information: what could Chaves tell him about that country? Was Canby right? Chaves was intimately acquainted with the country. Apprised that the general was about to make war upon the Navajo, Chaves answered as best he could—at the end noticing that Carleton "was not entirely satisfied about the location that would be most suitable for the Indians."[21] His uncertainty did not last long. At Cubero, on his return, Carleton met with the headmen Barboncito and Delgadito. He informed them that all Navajo who wished to be friends of the *Bilagáana* must move to Bosque Redondo under protection of the government; those who refused would be killed. Barboncito said he could not go so far from his country, but would bring his family from Canyon de Chelly to the vicinity of Fort Wingate; he would not fight even if attacked. The troops might kill him but he would not run.[22]

Before Carleton launched the Navajo campaign June 15, another development occurred that had important bearing on Fort Sumner's changing role. In May Superintendent Collins was called upon to resign. The Indian Office appointed in his place Dr. Michael Steck, who had served as agent for Apache since 1852. Superintendent Steck and General Carleton fell to quarreling over Indian policy almost at once. Relations between them came near the point of open enmity in September when the first contingent of Navajo—fifty-one men, women, and children of the *Diné Ana'aii* band once controlled by Sandoval—voluntarily surrendered and were sent to Bosque Redondo. Although Carleton had promised them food and protection, Steck advised Agent Labadi, then at the bosque, that these and other Navajo brought to the Pecos were military prisoners of war, thus no concern to the Indian Department. Labadi must not take responsibility for them.[23] Carleton at about the same time informed the War Department that he was moving captured Navajo to Bosque Redondo. He did not ask approval but did propose that "If the government will only set apart a reservation of forty miles square, with Fort Sumner . . . in the centre, all the good land will be covered, and keep the settlers a proper distance from the Indians."[24]

Steck supported Carleton's Navajo war but was convinced there was not land enough at the bosque for both Apache and Navajo. After inspecting the facilities at Fort Sumner, Steck in late October departed for Washington, determined to thwart Carleton and secure approval of his own plans. After his arrival he began haunting the office of Indian Commissioner William P. Dole. For more than a month he hammered away on one theme: Carleton was right in advocating a reservation at Bosque Redondo, but wrong in bringing Navajo there to encroach on land already occupied by Apache. He urged the creation of a reservation forty miles square (Carleton's idea), but recommended that it be restricted to three thousand Jicarilla, Mescalero, and Mimbres Apache. The Navajo, who numbered at least ten thousand souls, were far too numerous to be sustained, with the Apache, on the bosque's six thousand (not sixteen thousand) arable acres of land; Navajo should be confined to a reservation in their own country.[25]

Commissioner Dole finally was persuaded. He outlined Steck's proposals in a communication to Secretary of the Interior John P. Usher, asking that if the Secretary should concur, he then submit the matter to President Lincoln.[26] Usher responded two days later. He had called upon Mr. Lincoln January 15, he said, and given

the President Commissioner Dole's letter "suggesting the necessity of having a reservation forty miles square, set apart for the Apache Indians. . . . The President approved the recommendation, and you are instructed to take such action . . . as may be necessary to carry the order into effect."[27] Approval, in this case, could not have been simpler. The President placed Dole's letter on his desk and wrote on the cover: "Approved January 15, 1864. A. Lincoln."

A month later, lingering still in Washington, Steck informed Carleton of certain changes affecting Bosque Redondo. "With reference to the Navajoes [he wrote] I would state that they will remain entirely under the controll of the Genl. commanding until such time as the tribe can be restored to the Department of the Interior. . . ." A bill before Congress provided for treaties with "wild tribes" of Indians. Should it pass, Steck was confident that provision soon would be made to remove Navajo from Bosque Redondo and confine them in their own country; he would agree with Canby that "the Colorado Chiquito is the proper place for the permanent location of the Navajo Tribe."[28]

President Lincoln was preoccupied with the grim course of the Civil War in an election year. His attention was fixed elsewhere when Carleton appealed to the War Department for aid in maintaining 4,106 Navajo at Fort Sumner. More would be coming, more than twice that number. Upon the recommendation of Secretary of War Stanton, Secretary Usher proposed that Congress appropriate $100,000 to subsist the Navajo "upon a reservation at the 'Bosque Redondo,' on the Pecos river."[29] It was the first appropriation of many that were voted.

Steck was out-maneuvered. Carleton through sheer determination—or was it obstinacy?—would have his way.

NOTES

1. A. B. Bender, "Government Explorations in the Territory of New Mexico, 1846-1859," NMHR, vol. 9 (1934), pp. 12-14.

2. Maj. Thomas Swords to Maj. Gen. Thomas S. Jesup, Oct. 25, 1851. Senate Exec. Docs., 32 Cong., 1 sess., No. 1, Pt. 1, p. 236. Major Swords separated from Sumner's command of some 500 recruits July 10 on the Rayado, and Sumner arrived in Santa Fe July 19. In the time elapsed Sumner could scarcely have gone below Anton Chico.

3. Carleton to Sumner, Fort Union, Feb. 25, 1852. National Archives, Records of Army Commands, Record Group 98 (hereinafter, NA, RAC, RG 98), Letters Received, No. 16. Like Judd, Carleton returned by his outward route, reaching Fort Union (after drunken mutiny in his command at Las Vegas) February 24.

4. *Journal of an Expedition to the Bosque Redondo commencing at Albuquerque N.M. Oct 5th 1854,* by Henry B. Davidson, Brvt. 2d Lieut. 2d Dragoons. NA, RG 393, Records of the U.S. Army Continental Commands, 1821-1920, Dept. of New Mexico, Unregistered Letters Received, 1854.

5. "It is 10 miles 908 yards from the bluffs at the lower end of the wide valley," Davidson observed, "& 8 miles 955 yards from the Caretas Cañon at the head of the valley." The site was 90 miles below Anton Chico.

6. Carleton to Bvt. Maj. W. A. Nichols, A.A.G., Santa Fe, Tecolote, Oct. 28, 1854. NA, RAC, RG 98, No. C-74-1854, LR.

7. Ransom to Maj. J. H. Holmes, commanding Fort Stanton, June 26, 1857. NA, RAC, RG 98, No. H-20-1857, LR. The patrol mentioned here was commanded by Capt. Andrew J. Lindsay and was in the field from late May into early June.

8. Claiborne to Lt. John D. Wilkins, A.A.G., Santa Fe, July 4, 1859. NA, RAC, RG 98, No. C-15-1859, LR.

9. Claiborne to Wilkins, Aug. 9, 1859. NA, RAC, RG 98, No. C-21-1859, LR. An analysis made of a sample of water I took from the Pecos at Fort Sumner in May 1965 showed a saline content of 573 parts per million. James McCarthy of the consulting firm of Tighe & Bond, of Holyoke, Massachusetts, explained that 250 PPM sulphates and 250 PPM chlorides was near the maximum water standard limit approved by the U.S. Public Health Service. He emphasized that obviously many factors could change the chemical content of Pecos water, both season-to-season and over a period of 100 years.

10. Aurora Hunt, *Major General James Henry Carleton, 1814-1873, Western Frontier Dragoon* (Glendale, 1958).

11. Carleton to Carson, Oct. 8, 1862. NA, RAC, RG 98, Old Book 10, bound as 13, Dept. of New Mexico.

12. General Orders No. 94, Oct. 31, 1862. HQ, Dept. of New Mexico, Santa Fe. NA, RAC, RG 94.

13. Special Orders No. 198, Nov. 14, 1862. HQ, Dept. of New Mexico, Santa Fe. NA, No. 356, Orders and Special Orders, Dept. of New Mexico, 1862.

14. Capt. John C. McFerran, A.Q.M., to Updegraff, Nov. 18, 1862. NA, RAC, RG 98, LS.

15. Carson to Capt. Ben C. Cutler, Nov. 12, 1862. NA, RAC, RG 98, No. C-518-1862, LR.

16. Santa Fe *Weekly Gazette,* Nov. 29, 1862.

17. Carleton to Carson, Nov. 25, 1862. NA, RAC, RG 98, LS.

18. Collins to Labadi, Santa Fe, Nov. 26, 1862. NA, RAC, RG 98, No. 22/62, LR. The letter officially confirmed what Labadi knew already. He and Collins, as well as Acting Governor W. F. M. Arny were present when Carleton talked with the Apache November 24.

19. McNulty, Updegraff, and Anderson, to Cutler, Fort Sumner, Dec. 4, 1862. NA, RAC, RG 98, No. M-287-1862, LR.

20. Carleton to Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas, March 19, 1863. "Condition of the Indian Tribes. . . ." *Senate Reports,* 2d sess., 39 Cong., 1866-67, p. 106.

21. Chaves to Collins, May 4, 1863. NA, Letters Received by the Office of Indian Affairs, New Mexico Superintendency, 1849-80, Microcopy 234, Roll 551 (hereinafter cited as NMS 234-551).

22. *Ibid.*

23. Steck to Labadi, Sept. 5, 1863. NA, Records of the New Mexico Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1849-60, Microcopy T21, Roll 5 (hereinafter cited as NMS T21-5).

24. Carleton to Thomas, Sept. 6, 1863. NA, NMS T21-5.

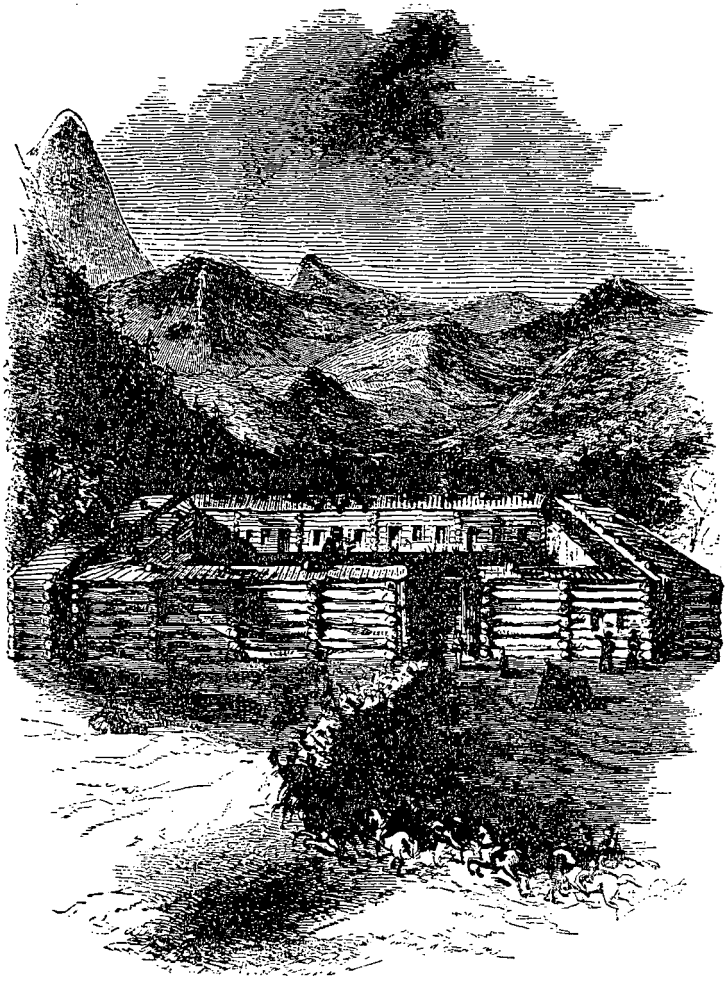
25. Steck to Dole, Dec. 10 and 23, 1863. NA, NMS T21-5 and NMS 234-551; Carleton to Thomas, Jan. 12, 1864, "Condition of the Indian Tribes . . . ," p. 155.

26. Dole to Usher, Jan. 14, 1864, "Executive Orders Relating to Indian Reserves," Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902, p. 73.

27. Usher to Dole, Jan. 16, 1864, enclosure with Dole to Steck, Jan. 18, 1864. NA, NMS T21-6.

28. Steck to Carleton, Feb. 12, 1864, and Steck to Dole, Feb. 16, 1864. NA, NMS T21-6.

29. March 31, 1864: House of Representatives, 38 Cong., 1 sess., Exec. Doc. 65: "Appropriations for the Navajo Indians." NA, RAC, No. 571-W-161-1864.



MAP

OF A

MILITARY RECONNAISSANCE

OF THE

RIO PECOS

(as far as the Bosque Grande)

under the Command of

BVT. CAPT. HENRY B. JUDD THIRD ARTY

BY ORDER OF

BVT. COL. JOHN MUNROE,

Commanding 9th Mil Dept.

Surveyed & Drawn by RYAN MANN

SANTA FE N. M.

1850

Scale - Ten Miles to 1.8 Inches.

Scale of Miles.

Nos. of Camps	NAMES OF CAMPS.		Distances from Camp to Camp	Distances from Last Water	Remarks.
No. 1	From Las Vegas	To Anton Chico.	33		
" 2	" Anton Chico	" Rio de las Gallinas	17	50	Wood scarce
" 3	" Rio de las Gallinas	" nearest Passage to Estero	18	68	
" 4	" Los Esteros	" Juan de Dios	25	43	" "
" 5	" Juan de Dios	" Arroyo de las Carretas	20½	153½	Wood, Water & Grass
" 6	" de las Carretas	" Rio Pecos	20	133½	" " "
" 7	" Rio Pecos	" Arroyo Perrenoso	25	158½	
" 8	" "	" Ojo Bonito Grande	23½	182½	Wood, Water & Grass

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