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Comanchero: José Piedad Tafoya, 1834–1913

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Comanchero

JOSÉ PIEDAD TAFOYA, 1834–1913

Thomas Merlan and Frances Levine

José Piedad Tafoya is generally known as a comanchero who traded with the Native people of the Southern Plains during the mid- to late nineteenth century. Born in a New Mexican village on the then far northern frontier of Mexico, he died in a village scarcely twenty-five miles away in the new U.S. state of New Mexico. The label comanchero, however, was an inadequate description of Tafoya, for he was also an army scout, farmer, rancher, man of property, and family man. Later, like a number of his New Mexican contemporaries who observed the changing character of territorial New Mexico, he sent his son to be educated at St. Michael's College in Santa Fe. The purpose here is not only to review and supplement the facts of Tafoya's life as a comanchero but to offer a biographical essay on a man whose life spanned two major economic and cultural networks. Tafoya witnessed major geopolitical change, and his responses to that change offer insights into his times. Tafoya's life tells a story of courageous deeds beyond the folk legends of the comancheros.

Among the enduring legends of the Southwest, comancheros were New Mexicans—both Pueblo Indians and Hispanics—who traded with Comanches

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and other tribes on the Southern Plains. They operated between the New Mexican settlements and plains country in the years from 1786, when the Spanish colonial government entered into a peace treaty with several Comanche bands, to 1869, when the majority of Comanche bands living along the border of Texas and New Mexico reorganized and some were confined to reservations by the U.S. Army. At times Comanche bands were peacefully engaged in trade with New Mexican settlers and governors. In other instances they were a scourge on the eastern New Mexico frontier.

Frontier historians have called Tafoya the dean or prince of the comancheros.[1] He is the most famous comanchero in part because of his association with two other frontier folk heroes—cattle baron Charles Goodnight and U.S. cavalry commander Col. Ranald S. Mackenzie. In 1893 Tafoya was called to testify for an Indian depredation claim filed by Goodnight on behalf of the Goodnight and Loving cattle company. Tafoya's testimony provided valuable details about the final years of the comanchero trade, and was cited by James Evetts Haley (1935) in his classic description of the comanchero trade.[2] "He was a wonder," Goodnight told Haley in 1925.[3]

Among the sources used by Haley to describe the comanchero trade was a series of oral histories from men who had served with Colonel Mackenzie during his campaigns against the Comanches from 1872 to 1874. One of those sources was Frank Lloyd of Tularosa, New Mexico. Interviewed in 1927, Lloyd recalled that, upon their first meeting, Mackenzie ordered Tafoya hanged from a wagon tongue until he revealed the Comanches' location. The colonel relented when the comanchero agreed to lead the Fourth Cavalry to the main Comanche encampment concealed in Palo Duro Canyon. Lloyd's dramatic account, however, is probably apocryphal.[4] To his superiors, Mackenzie described Tafoya as "very reliable," and "brave, intelligent and sagacious," recognizing the New Mexican's vast knowledge of the Southern Plains and recruiting him as a scout during several decisive campaigns. He thought enough of Tafoya to keep track of Tafoya's whereabouts, in 1879 asking his superiors to detach Tafoya from duty at Fort Clark and send him to Mackenzie at Fort Garland, Colorado. He stated that Tafoya had "been in my employ . . . for a number of years" as a scout and added that "it is very desirable to have him here."[5]

Trade between the northern Rio Grande region and the Southern Plains was long-established by the time Hispanic colonists arrived in the new Spanish kingdom of New Mexico at the end of the sixteenth century. The sys-

tem, well established by late prehistoric times, involved the exchange of Pueblo Indian agricultural products and pottery for products of Plains hunting cultures. Spanish chroniclers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries mention *querechos* and *vaqueros* who lived on the Plains and traveled to the Rio Grande to exchange their meat, tallow, and hides for the produce of the New Mexico pueblos. These Indians were probably Athapaskans, as opposed to ancestors of the Shoshonean-speaking Comanches.[6] Entering the records of New Mexico history much later, the Comanches clearly adopted a pattern of regional trade that was of considerable antiquity.

The first documentary references to Comanches in New Mexico date to 1706. Taos Pueblo leaders told Sgt. Maj. Juan de Ulibarrí that Utes and Comanches were coming to raid the pueblo. Gov. Francisco Cuervo y Valdés then reported the threat of hostile Indians, including Comanches, to his superiors.[7] These communications suggest that the New Mexicans already knew something of the Comanches but may not have established regular relations with them.[8]

The Comanches had lived on the Northern Plains since the sixteenth century and were one of the first Plains groups to obtain horses. The Comanche people consisted of various divisions (also called branches, tribes, or nations by the Hispanics of the time, but referred to by anthropologists as bands). By about 1730, Comanches had driven out the Apache peoples who had ranged on the Southern Plains since prehistoric times. They had occupied a vast area of the Southern Plains including the Texas panhandle and west Texas, as well as parts of Colorado, Nebraska, Oklahoma, and eastern New Mexico. The Hispanics called this "Comanchería." The Comanches had gained control of the trade between New Mexico and the Plains. By 1735 Comanches were regularly visiting trade fairs in the northern Rio Grande. About the same time, other Comanches established relations with French traders from Louisiana and Illinois.[9]

The Comanches dominated the Southern Plains and exchanged goods with traders from all points of the compass. These trading partnerships, an essential element of Comanche individual and group identity, were protected and extended by the Comanches' great prowess in war—a trait always mentioned by observers—and were facilitated by considerable social fluidity. Divisions developed, dissolved, and recombined rapidly in response to trade, subsistence opportunities, and internal sociopolitical events.[10]

Throughout the eighteenth century, trade fairs were held at various New Mexico pueblos. Spanish law prohibited both Hispanics and Pueblos from

trading independently with the nomadic peoples, and few Hispanic New Mexicans had occasion to visit Plains villages.[11] Hispanic trade with the Plains tribes increased markedly after Gov. Juan Bautista de Anza met with Comanche leaders at Pecos Pueblo in 1786 to establish a long-lasting peace treaty, which provided for fairs at the pueblos. A tariff and schedule for the trade were also among the terms of the treaty.[12] The peace was formally renewed in 1826, 1828, and 1829. Soon after the treaty of 1786, New Mexican traders—both Hispanic and Pueblo—began traveling to the Plains to trade with the Comanches. At first the travelers were called just that—*viageros*. The word *comanchero* first appeared in a document dated 1 June 1813 noting the safe return of a party of traders from the Plains to San Miguel del Vado.[13]

At the Pecos Pueblo fair in 1786, Comanches traded "more than six hundred hides, many loads of meat and tallow, [and] many riding beasts."[14] In return they received "sugar loaves, maize, tobacco, brandy, guns, ammunition, knives, clothing or coarse cloth, vermillion, mirrors, glass beads, and other trifles."[15] In the 1840s, Comanches traded "furs of all kinds, dressed buffalo robes, dressed and raw deer skins, dried buffalo tongues, [and] beeswax."[16] A great deal of trade over time revolved around the exchange of livestock—horses, mules, and, later, cattle.

Captives were another important trade item. Thomas Kavanagh suggests that the taking and trading of captives functioned as a means of restoring population numbers after an epidemic. Historical sources document capture as a recruitment method among Plains people, but the literature of contact documented captives long before historical sources recorded epidemics. News of the taking and trading of captives—mainly women and children—inspired fear in the Hispanic borderlands communities and later on the Anglo frontier, yet some captives assimilated into their captor communities, becoming Comanches, Kiowas, or Apaches.[17]

Comanches on the Southern Plains were drawn into several converging international economic spheres as Spanish, French, and U.S. interests established continental boundaries in the nineteenth century. Trade between New Mexico and Missouri opened in 1821 and grew more lucrative through the U.S. annexation of New Mexico in 1846. Comanches adroitly played their position in the geopolitics that engulfed Comanchería. Many Comanche bands participated in several kinds of trade: at the government level on which the Spanish, French, and Americans attempted to control Comanche movements and amity through official gifting; in formal exchange with private trading posts established in Comanchería; in opportu-

nistic trade with caravans, which Comanches may have seen as barter for access; at trade fairs in Taos and Pecos Pueblos; and finally through the partnerships of the comanchero trade. Each context gave Comanches access to a variety of trade goods, and each relationship contained powerful symbols of the Comanches' place in the larger political world. Tobacco, cloth, beads, buttons, buckles, clothing, mirrors, knives, and axes, while not of great monetary value in all cases, were symbols that Comanche leaders displayed and distributed to enhance their status among their own people. Such items were tangible evidence of their transactions with Europeans.[18]

During and after the U.S. Civil War, the Plains Indians made cattle the preferred commodity in the comanchero exchange, placing the trade in immediate conflict with the rapidly expanding Anglo frontier. Following the Civil War, published descriptions of the comancheros became more numerous than ever before. The depictions express the deep antipathy of the Anglo Americans toward the traders and their enterprise and, in several key ways, demonstrate the Anglo failure to understand Comanche power in the mid-nineteenth century.[19]

The first Anglo Americans to describe the comanchero trade were traders who crossed the Plains from Missouri to open and maintain markets in New Mexico and Chihuahua. Josiah Gregg's description of comancheros whom he met along the Canadian River in New Mexico in the spring of 1839 illustrates Anglo understanding and misunderstanding of the comanchero trade. Gregg's sketch remains a popular stereotype of the New Mexican traders:

> These parties of Comancheros are composed of the indigent and rude classes of the frontier villages, who collect together, several times a year, and launch upon the plains with a few trinkets and trumperies of all kinds, and perhaps a bag of bread and may-be [*sic*] another of pinole, which they barter away to the savages for horses and mules. The entire stock of an individual trader very seldom exceeds the value of twenty dollars, with which he is content to wander about for several months, and glad to return home with a mule or two, as the proceeds of his traffic.[20]

Texas cattleman John Hittson led a raid against New Mexican settlements on the Pecos River to recover stolen cattle in 1872. Hittson described the comancheros as "a low desperate class of greasers" employed by prominent merchants to steal cattle.[21] The descriptions ignore the strategic position of

Comanchería in the region and the role that New Mexicans played in balancing trade relations and access to resources important to continental economics.

New Mexico in the Mexican Period

José Piedad Tafoya was born in La Cuesta (now Villanueva) on the San Miguel del Vado Grant in 1834. Gov. Fernando Chacón granted the land to Lorenzo Márquez of Santa Fe and fifty-one of his friends and neighbors in 1794. The settlers asked for land on both sides of the Pecos River at the ford known as El Vado. By 1800 the settlement of San Miguel del Vado had superseded Pecos Pueblo as a port of entry to and from the Southern Plains. Interpreters to the Comanches moved to San Miguel del Vado, and Comanche traders and buffalo hunters established bases there. After 1815 several families moved down the valley and by 1818 established themselves at La Cuesta, a high point overlooking the river and the fields.[22] The San Miguel del Vado Grant was the easternmost settled area of New Mexico, and La Cuesta was located at its southeastern edge.

The New Mexico into which José Tafoya was born was a federal territory on the northern perimeter of the vast Mexican nation. Mexico launched its fight for independence from Spain in 1810 and succeeded in 1821. New Mexico was the largest nucleus of settlement on Mexico's far northern frontier, with a population that grew gradually from 42,000 (including 10,000 Pueblo Indians) in 1821 to 65,000 in 1846. Although both Pueblo and Hispanic New Mexicans were Catholics, the power of the church declined throughout the Mexican period. On 16 April 1834, about two weeks after Tafoya was born, the short-lived Gomez Farias government issued a decree secularizing all the missions in Mexico. In New Mexico, where only five or six Franciscan missionaries remained, the decree had already been accomplished by neglect and attrition. By about 1840, all the Franciscan missionaries in New Mexico had died.[23]

Most of New Mexico's people lived at a subsistence level. The gross national product of Mexico fell during the Mexican period to less than half of what it had been in 1805. In 1832 Antonio Barreiro wrote, "The people [of New Mexico] are poor and harmless, with no defense whatsoever, with no soldiers, with no formal treasury, with no constitution, and with no laws to protect its settlements." Mexico, moreover, was in political turmoil. Between May 1833 and August 1855 the nation underwent thirty-six changes of fed-

eral administration. In New Mexico, government signified little in the lives of the people; the central government was represented only by the federally appointed governor and a few assistants in Santa Fe, and the alcaldes at the local level.[24]

Even during the first days of independence from Spain, foreign trade influenced New Mexico. The first Santa Fe Trail trader, William Becknell, reached New Mexico from Missouri in the fall of 1821. Within five years, U.S. traders had saturated the small New Mexican market and were pushing farther south to Chihuahua. Some traders established posts outside the limits of the territory. Bent's Fort was established in present-day southern Colorado during the early 1830s, and after 1835 Forts St. Vrain, Vasquez, Jackson, and Lupton were established on the South Platte in U.S. territory close to Mexico.[25] As prominent Hispanic families entered the regional trading network, the Santa Fe Trail bound New Mexico ever closer to the United States, while weakening ties to the mother country.

Col. Albino Pérez, a professional soldier, was appointed governor of New Mexico in 1835 and arrived in Santa Fe on 22 May of that year. The new centralist government of Pres. Antonio López de Santa Anna ordered him to institute a departmental plan that imposed a new system of political control and tax collection. New Mexicans disliked the imposition of direct taxation and objected to a governor who came from outside the region. In 1837 a revolt broke out in Rio Arriba. Pérez was captured and killed in Agua Fria, close to the capital at Santa Fe. Manuel Armijo, a member of a family prominent in the trade between Chihuahua and New Mexico, emerged as governor after raising an army to put down the rebellion.[26]

Nomadic Indians greatly influenced life in New Mexico. According to Pedro Bautista Pino, there were thirty-three wild tribes surrounding New Mexico in 1812. Donaciano Vigil, lieutenant governor under Manuel Armijo and subsequently governor at the beginning of the U.S. occupation, remarked in 1846 that "nearly all the settlements are on the frontier."[27] What Vigil meant was that most of New Mexico was highly vulnerable to attack by nomadic Indians. Records of the Mexican period demonstrate the widespread fear of sudden Indian raids. Neither in the fields, on the trails, nor in the towns was there any security. Between 1828 and 1831 alone, Kiowas, Comanches, and Pawnees raided near San Miguel, San Jose, El Cerrito, and Anton Chico. Despite the political unrest and military crisis, New Mexico grew geographically through the establishment of outlying settlements such as La Cuesta, and its population increased slowly, as did population numbers

in Texas and California.[28] Demographic and territorial expansion caused further conflict with the nomadic tribes.

At the time of Tafoya's birth in 1834, New Mexico had weak or declining governmental and religious institutions. Its strongest institutions were the extended family, the frontier community, and the land grant, all of which generally overlapped. Furthermore, the abandonment of Spanish colonial economic exclusion opened New Mexico to trade with the United States—the most influential force of the period.

José Piedad Tafoya's Early Years

Tafoya was baptized by Fr. José Vicente Chávez in the parish church at San Miguel del Vado on 4 April 1834. Tafoya was the legitimate child of Cayetano Tafoya and Encarnación Herrera. Since other baptisms took place on the first, second, and sixth of the month, it may be inferred that Tafoya was baptized when only a few days old. Given that the Tafoyas were residents of La Cuesta, that settlement either had no church or resident priest at that time.

The Tafoyas were a young frontier family. In 1834 Cayetano Tafoya was about twenty-one years old; his wife Encarnación, seventeen. They already had a two-year-old daughter Pelegrina. Son Juan was born in 1836, and daughter Maria in 1839. The family of six was recorded in an 1841 Mexican census.[29] The territorial census of 1850 listed two more daughters in the Tafoya family: Alfonsa, born in 1845, and Andrea, born in 1847. The Tafoyas had three additional sons, José Ruedecindo [or Reducindo] (1851), José Victorino (1854), and Isidro (1856).[30]

We have not yet found any record of the marriage of Cayetano and Encarnación in San Miguel del Vado. It is possible that they were married in Santa Fe, the place of origin for the settlers of the San Miguel del Vado Grant, or in Pecos. Neither Cayetano nor Encarnación, however, was old enough to have been an original grant settler. The 1841 census listed Cayetano as a *labrador*; his principal occupation was probably farming. The baptismal record for Victorino Tafoya identifies his paternal grandparents as Antonio Tafoya and Maria Guadalupe Varela, and his maternal grandparents as José de Herrera and Maria Gertrudes Gallegos. None was among the first settlers of the San Miguel del Vado Grant. Further research may establish whether they were *genízaros* (detribalized Indians) or some other mixed *casta* (offspring or descendents of racially mixed unions), as were so many settlers of frontier New Mexico.[31] However, by the time Cayetano and En-

carnación began having children, casta was no longer a legitimate distinction. All races were considered to be Mexican citizens.

Neither the 1850 nor the 1860 U.S. census lists Cayetano Tafoya, yet baptismal records identify him as the father of José Reducindo, born in 1851, and José Victorino, born in 1854 (we have found no baptismal record for the last son, Isidro). Those absences from and appearances in written records suggest that Cayetano had left La Cuesta before the taking of the 1850 census but came home from time to time in the 1850s. We have found neither a death record for Cayetano nor any military records that name him. Many men of San Miguel del Vado served in the Navajo campaign of April 1849, but Cayetano is not listed on the muster rolls for this expedition.[32] Burial records for San Miguel del Vado are neither available for 1847 nor for many years thereafter. Cayetano may have been in a trade in which few or no formal records of individuals were maintained. Both the comanchero and the Santa Fe Trail trade networks are possibilities.

José Piedad was seven years old in 1841, the year of the Texan–Santa Fe Expedition. The expedition, nominally a trading venture, was in fact a plan to annex New Mexico to Texas, which had revolted and gained independence from Mexico in 1836. George W. Kendall told the story of the capture of expedition members by New Mexican soldiers near La Cuesta and of their march south to Chihùahua. Kendall wrote: "Under an escort of some half dozen men, and followed by a rabble of men, women and children, we now set off on foot for San Miguel, leaving our well-tried animals in the hands of the miscreants who had captured us. Arrived at the little village of Cuesta, we were marched into the house of the alcalde. . . . While in this house we were visited by every woman and child in the place, the former giving us bread, cheese and stewed pumpkins, and appearing deeply to compassionate us in our unfortunate condition."[33] It is likely, then, that José Piedad witnessed the Texas drama unfolding in the Pecos Valley.

In mid-August 1846, during the early months of the Mexican-American War, the United States occupied and annexed New Mexico. Sen. Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri noted that preserving the valuable trade between Missouri and New Mexico was of the greatest importance. Consistent with this understanding, the Polk administration instructed Brig. Gen. Stephen W. Kearny, whose Army of the West conquered New Mexico, to establish temporary civil governments in the captured provinces of northern Mexico, to retain Mexican officials in service whenever possible, and to ensure that "trade with the United States was not interrupted under the changed

conditions."[34] American occupation was based not on any policy of assimilation, but primarily on the economic and secondarily on the political interests of the United States.

The 1850 census shows that José Piedad was still living at La Cuesta with his mother, younger brother, older sister, and three younger sisters. If, as we infer, his father was absent, José Piedad was the oldest male in the house. Since he was then sixteen, he might have been regarded and have considered himself as the head of the household and its main provider.[35]

Sometime between 1854 and 1856 José Piedad married María Jesusita Perez. In 1856 they had a son, Juan Bautista. We have no information about Tafoya's occupation in his mother's household or in his own. Most probably he was farming. In May 1860, he and María Jesusita had a second son, José de la Cruz. José Piedad's life would soon change, and his presence in the history of New Mexico would be established.[36]

The Navajo Campaign of 1860

Although New Mexico's civil governors attempted to establish treaties with the nomadic tribes, the dominant Indian policy of the United States was military. Policymakers in Washington, D.C., were indifferent to proposals for conciliation with the Indians. In summer 1851, Lt. Col. Edwin V. Sumner came to New Mexico as commander of the Ninth Military Department, which embraced New Mexico Territory. He and his successors established the system of forts from which army campaigns and patrols fought the tribes until the end of Indian hostilities in the mid 1880s.[37]

The Utes and Apaches accepted treaties in 1855, yet conflict with Indians grew worse over the next several years. Heavy Navajo depredations in western New Mexico especially aroused the territory. In August 1860, a convention met in Santa Fe to organize militia companies. Gov. Abraham Rencher, Col. Thomas T. Fauntleroy, Supt. Ind. Affs. James L. Collins, Congressional delegate Miguel A. Otero, and the New Mexico Territorial Assembly wrangled over how to address the Indian violence and unrest. In 1859 and again in 1860, the Territorial Assembly authorized the formation of citizen militias, but both Rencher and Fauntleroy refused to issue arms to these volunteers. Rencher told the Territorial Assembly in February 1860, "[The] people [of New Mexico] prefer to carry on Indian wars in their own way, as they were accustomed to under their former government."[38]

The volunteer militias, however, were not to be dissuaded by the governor. On 17 September 1860, at the age of twenty-six, Tafoya joined Capt. Juan N. Gutiérrez's regiment of volunteers (one of five in a battalion of citizen volunteers) for a campaign against the Navajos. He was one of forty-four citizens who enlisted at San Miguel del Vado. Tafoya brought with him a horse or horses valued at one hundred dollars and equipment valued at twenty-five dollars. One hundred dollars was average to low among the values listed for horses; twenty-five dollars, with the exception of forty dollars for Gutiérrez himself, was the highest value listed for equipment. The valuations and the fact that Tafoya was able to leave his family may suggest that the Tafoyas were in secure and prosperous circumstances. The requirement that a recruit furnish his own mount and provisions limited the number of volunteers who answered the call for citizen militias.[39]

Gutiérrez's San Miguel company, with Tafoya riding in the ranks, arrived in San Ysidro southeast of Jemez Pueblo on 24 September. The entire citizen battalion mustered for duty shortly thereafter. The volunteers represented the counties of Santa Fe, Bernalillo, Rio Arriba, San Miguel, and Valencia. Twenty-four officers and 448 men comprised the civilian battalion, while forty Jemez warriors, led by their governor Francisco Hosta, augmented the force as scouts.[40] Tafoya campaigned deep into Navajo country with the volunteer battalion. The volunteers marched west by way of Ojo Espiritu and across the Rio Puerco to the Arroyo de los Torreones. Crossing the continental divide, they passed the Chacoan site of Pueblo Pintado on 29 September. From there they marched to the Escavada Wash, into the Chusca-Tunicha range, to Cienega Grande, Cañon Desconocido, and to Fort Defiance. On 15 or 16 October, members of the volunteer battalion killed Zarcillos Largos, a prominent Navajo medicine man, in Canyon de Chelly.

The militia campaign was both arduous and destructive. The battalion lost a large number of its horses and mules and operated as far west as the Hopi villages before turning back in the first week of November. However, the New Mexicans captured thousands of head of Navajo sheep and about one hundred Navajo women and children. Only two volunteer deaths—one likely the result of appendicitis and the other the consequence of musket wounds received at Ranchos de Albuquerque at the campaign's end—were recorded by the battalion. Essentially, then, the campaign was a slaving and raiding party, just what Fauntleroy and the U.S. Army had feared.

Evidently, Governor Rencher had correctly assumed that New Mexicans preferred to conduct Indian wars "in their own way." His reference was

to the long-standing Nuevomexicano and Pueblo practice of capturing Native slaves and livestock. The U.S. Army's refusal to intervene against the volunteer battalion unwittingly enhanced the operational scope of this practice. Just about the time the battalion was mustered out, Sec. of War John B. Floyd expressed "regret" at "reports of a contemplated organization of volunteers to enter the Navajoe [*sic*] country" and instructed Army authorities not to permit or assist the effort.[41]

Tafoya, El Comanchero

Tafoya apparently did not serve in the Union volunteers but instead farmed and traded during the Civil War. In 1864 and 1865 he was living in San Miguel County and trading with the Comanches goods furnished by Capt. Edward H. Bergmann, a New Mexico volunteer cavalry officer who commanded Fort Bascom.[42] But the livelihood of the comancheros was increasingly scrutinized by federal authorities and threatened by the U.S. Army. Brig. Gen. James H. Carleton, the Department of New Mexico's new commander, both intensified the U.S. Army's conflicts with the southwestern Indians and tried to interdict most traditional Nuevomexicano Indian trade including that of the comancheros.[43] During fall 1864, Col. Christopher "Kit" Carson led 335 federal troops and 75 Ute scouts from Fort Bascom onto the Southern Plains. His target was chiefly the Kiowas, who had been raiding settlements in eastern New Mexico. His command fought nearly three thousand Kiowas, Comanches, Apaches, and Arapahos at Adobe Walls on the Canadian River over several days in late November.

Some federal authorities, Captain Bergmann among them, encouraged and profited from the trade that they were supposed to regulate or break up. In 1865 Captain Bergmann convened a board of officers at Fort Bascom to hear a report delivered by Gregorio Jaramillo in defense of José María Armijo and other comancheros who were accused of illegal trading with the Comanches.[44] Tafoya, however, operated legally among the Southern Plains tribes. On 9 October of that year, Felipe Delgado, superintendent of Indian affairs for New Mexico, issued Tafoya a permit to trade with the Comanches for a period of two months. Lorenzo Labadie and Julio Garcia stood as surety.[45] Labadie was a veteran Indian agent. In early 1865, he was stationed at Fort Sumner as agent to the Mescaleros. On 9 March, however, Labadie was expelled from the fort on suspicion of stealing government cattle.

In mid-1866 A. B. Norton replaced Felipe Delgado as superintendent of Indian affairs. With the concurrence of Brigadier General Carleton, Norton

revoked all permits to trade with the Comanches. In response Lt. Patrick H. Healey resigned from the Army and went to Washington, D.C., where he persuaded the commissioner of Indian affairs to grant him and three associates, Charles T. Jennings, E. W. Wood, and Rufus C. Vose, licenses to trade. Bearing commissioner's licenses, the four men attempted to monopolize the Comanche trade but shortly discovered that the agent for the Pueblos, John D. Henderson, was also issuing permits. Before long they found that they were losing money and sublet their licenses. Jennings established a trading post at Hatch's Ranch on the Pecos River east of Anton Chico. On 12 August 1867, acting on the stated authority of a "license granted me by the U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs," he wrote and signed trade authorizations for "Blas Martinis," Julian Padilla, and José Tafoya.[46]

Capt. George W. Letterman, the regular U.S. Army officer now commanding Fort Bascom, wrestled with a complex situation. Some comancheros were going out to trade without permits. Others, like Tafoya, carried licenses whose validity Letterman was in no position to dispute directly, although he was inclined to think that all the comancheros were "smugglers." Letterman also faced the problem of trying to distinguish between the personal property of the comancheros—including their own weapons—and trade goods. His troopers compounded the situation by seizing without orders comanchero trade goods and property including horses, saddles, whiskey, ammunition, and bolts of cloth, and selling them to merchants on their own account. When Letterman instructed his noncommissioned officers to confiscate trade merchandise going to the Comanches as well as cattle coming back to New Mexico, and hold them until their ownership could be determined, he believed that the comancheros and possibly his own men were thieves. The captain told his sergeants to "take copies of their [the comancheros'] licenses or authority whether good or bad." He also explicitly instructed them not to confiscate personal property—in particular, the firearms the comancheros claimed to need for their own protection.[47]

Some twenty-six years later, during his 1893 deposition in the case of *Charles Goodnight and John W. Sheek v. The United States and the Comanche Tribe of Indians*, Tafoya stated that he traded with the Comanches in 1864, 1865, and 1867.[48] He had carried at least two permits for different time periods—one issued by Felipe Delgado in 1865, and the authorization from Jennings in 1867. According to Tafoya, Captain Bergmann furnished him with "different kinds of supplies and goods"; Jennings furnished "flour, baked bread, cloth, calico, domestics, and a lot of different and little articles

such as could be traded to the Indians, including beads, paints." Their partnership was a share arrangement. Tafoya paid Jennings with cattle and "the balance" was his profit. R. N. Stevens, the counsel for the defense (the United States and the Comanche Tribe), said to Tafoya that, although many others were engaged in the trade, "you done more trading than all the rest of them put together, didn't you?" Tafoya replied circumspectly, "I don't know. I was trading all the time, but there was others trading too." Tafoya had helpers and herders—"my hands" he called them—as did other traders.[49]

On 31 August 1867, Captain Letterman wrote to Maj. Cyrus H. DeForrest at district headquarters in Santa Fe that his men had "intercepted several parties with horses on their way to the Comanche country to trade, some with papers from Charles T. Jennings at Hatch's Ranch (who claims authority from Washington to trade with the Comanches) and others without permits of any kind." Letterman elaborated:

> I believe nearly all these said traders to be scoundrels who succeed frequently in smuggling contraband goods through to the Indians and bringing back stolen cattle in return notwithstanding the efforts of the military to prevent such practices. Enclosed please find copies of authority granted by Charles T. Jennings to José B. Martinis [*sic*] who presented the original paper here the other day while en route to the Comanche country. I examined the articles and found them to correspond with the enclosed bill (copies). I am now awaiting orders from District Headquarters with a view to the final disposition of the goods seized.[50]

During cross-examination at his deposition in 1893, Tafoya was asked, "Why did you quit?" The old comanchero replied: "The Government troops got after me, and the Indians got bad. They began killing the people." He testified that "the soldiers took away over nine hundred head [meaning cattle, but may also have included some horses] near the Berancos [the landmark feature and the creek called Barrancas in present-day Quay County, New Mexico] which I had purchased of the Indians, at Quitaque."[51] This incident probably occurred during the trade venture in the fall of 1867, and is consistent with Captain Letterman's practice of impounding cattle herded by the comancheros from Texas to New Mexico.

According to the 1870 Territorial Census of San Miguel County, Tafoya was living at the Ranch of the Gallinas Crossing, later called Gallinas Springs

or Park Springs. Although he apparently located there when he left the comanchero trade, there is no exact date for Tafoya's arrival because many San Miguel County records for these years have not survived. The 1870 census shows that Tafoya was the wealthiest Hispanic in the settlement of thirty-four families. (The largest landowner was an Anglo, James E. Whitemore.) Tafoya and his wife María Jesus, or Jesusita, had Juan Bautista, fourteen, and José de la Cruz, nine. Tafoya's mother also lived in the settlement with his three youngest brothers, Reducindo, Victorino, and Isidro.[52] In 1871 María Jesus died and was buried at Chaperito, about seven miles up the Gallinas River from Gallinas Crossing. At the time of her death, son José de la Cruz was attending St. Michael's College in Santa Fe.[53]

Tafoya's Service as Army Guide

On 1 March 1874, "Jose Tafolla and horse" were hired at Fort McRae, New Mexico, at a rate of five dollars per day.[54] It is unlikely that Tafoya rode the two hundred miles from Gallinas Springs to Fort McRae, which was located south of Socorro, about five miles west of the Jornada del Muerto and three miles east of the Rio Grande, in hopes of being engaged as a scout. He probably had some business on the Plains or at another fort such as Stanton, and found it convenient to stop at McRae. He may have had the name of an officer, such as Lt. H. J. Farnsworth, or a similar word-of-mouth reference or introduction. At any rate, the quartermaster's record details that Tafoya rode with Farnsworth of the Eighth U.S. Cavalry as a guide from 1 to 18 March. The record, however, contains no information about their whereabouts. Most likely they were chasing or tracking Apaches.

In fall 1874, Tafoya met a man who would influence the rest of his life. Col. Ranald Slidell Mackenzie of the Fourth U.S. Cavalry noted in his diary on 7 October: "Broke camp at Daylight, marched about 5 miles and found six Mexican ox carts, loaded with dried meat, with fifteen men with carts; three of the Mexicans claimed not to belong to the train and went with the column as Guides; traveled generally East, rained most of the night of the 6th. Prairie very bad. Marched in all 15 miles during the day."[55] Since the quartermaster's records show that Tafoya scouted for the Fourth Cavalry from 7 October to 23 December 1874, he was undoubtedly one of the three guides. The quartermaster also lists Teodosio Valdez as being hired the same day. No third man is readily identifiable. One Francisco Tafoya had been with the troop off and on since 23 August. This initial meeting gave rise to

the uncorroborated but often repeated story that Mackenzie had Jose Piedad Tafoya tortured to make him reveal the whereabouts of the Comanches.

Colonel Mackenzie was possibly the post–Civil War army's ablest frontier combat officer and his Fourth Cavalry its best combat regiment. In December 1870, at the age of thirty, he was given command of the Fourth Cavalry and ordered to end the resistance of Comanches and Kiowas on the Texas frontier and drive them onto the Fort Sill Reservation in Indian Territory. In subsequent campaigns in west Texas and on the Llano Estacado, Mackenzie noted the cart trails made by the comancheros operating from the Pecos frontier of New Mexico. Although Mackenzie's 1871 campaigns, which ended in November, captured no Kiowa or Comanche bands, the young colonel learned hard truths about Plains warfare and led United States troops onto the Llano for the first time.

Mackenzie would not let the Kiowas and Comanches rest. Establishing a supply camp on the Freshwater Fork of the Brazos River in spring 1872, he invaded Native sanctuaries throughout the Texas Panhandle, trading ground well known to comancheros since the late eighteenth century. In August he and the Fourth crossed the Llano twice, guided by Apolonio Ortiz, a comanchero from La Cuesta, who had been captured by regulars that spring. Ortiz admitted that many New Mexicans were stealing Texas cattle.

In February of 1873, Mackenzie and his Fourth Cavalry were ordered to the Texas border. From Fort Clark, Mackenzie staged a raid against a Kickapoo and Lipan camp eighty miles inside Mexico. This military excursion spurred diplomatic exchanges between the Mexican and U.S. governments. The Mexican minister to Washington made a rather mild protest, offering joint operations against lawbreakers, but insisting that Mexican sovereignty be respected.[56]

On 27 June 1874, Comanches and Cheyennes attacked a party of buffalo hunters at Adobe Walls on the Canadian.[57] This was the beginning of the last attempt by the Southern Plains nomads to drive back the encroaching settlers and hunters. Mackenzie and the Fourth Cavalry were ordered back to north Texas in July. His scouts in this campaign included Seminole Negroes.[58]

On the morning of 28 September 1874, Mackenzie led his command into Palo Duro Canyon and destroyed a large Comanche camp, capturing the Indians' horses. On the following day he ordered most of these—over a thousand head—shot near Tule Canyon.[59] This engagement and the following marches in pursuit of the defeated Comanches brought the Red

River War to an end. On 7 October, Mackenzie and his command were heading northeast away from the canyon. There had been two full days of rain, and most of the troopers were leading their horses in the mud. In the immensity of the Llano, they met the New Mexicans with their wagonloads of dried meat.

According to Frank Lloyd, he had hanged "Old Tefowa" twice on a wagon tongue to make him reveal the whereabouts of the Indians. This story is repeated over and over in the literature but is probably a fabrication.[60] Lloyd puts this incident before the killing of the horses at Tule Canyon. He also says the abuse took place at night and that Mackenzie personally assisted him to torture Tafoya. The story is inherently improbable, full of inaccuracies and entirely out of character as regards Mackenzie.

Likely realizing that the comanchero trade had finally come to an end, Tafoya went to work for the U.S. Army, whose purchases of crops, livestock, goods, and services subsidized the incomes of thousands of Hispanic and Anglo southwesterners in the late nineteenth century. Army records show that Tafoya continued to serve as a guide or scout in various Southern Plains campaigns until January 1876, when he reported for duty at Fort Sill, which was commanded by Mackenzie. When the Department of War later transferred the Fourth to Nebraska and then Colorado, Mackenzie tried several times to have Tafoya assigned to his command. Gaps in Tafoya's service records make difficult determining whether such a transfer ever took place. Tafoya was definitely employed at Fort Sill January–September 1876 and August 1877–March 1878.[61] However, when Tafoya filed for a military pension in 1902, he stated that he had been seriously injured in a fall from a horse on 18 December 1876 while in service at Fort Sill.

From May 1879 to May 1880 Tafoya is listed as a corporal in the company of Seminole-Negro scouts at Fort Clark, Texas. His enlistment record states that José Tafoya was forty-one years old at his date of enlistment on 8 May 1879 (in fact, he was forty-five). His enlistment was for one year. He was described as having black eyes, black hair, a dark complexion, and being five feet, ten inches tall. He was discharged on 7 May 1880 at Fort Clark.[62]

Lt. John L. Bullis of the Twenty-Fourth Infantry mentions Tafoya in his report of a scouting mission that took place between 31 January 1879 and 19 April 1879. In a period of eighty days, his command of thirty-nine Seminole-Negro scouts, three Lipan Apaches, "one Mexican packer—Jose Tafoya," two officers (Bullis and Lt. J. D. Sharp), and a surgeon marched 1,266 miles from near Fort Clark, Texas, to Fort Stanton, New Mexico, and back, in

pursuit of Mescalero Apache raiders, whom they never saw. According to Bullis, the Mescalero agent, whom they visited at the Mescalero Indian Agency, promised to turn the Indians over to him but never did so. This epic pursuit, during which the party lost numerous pack animals and suffered severely from thirst, is still remembered by the descendants of the Seminole scouts.[63]

Over the next two and a half years Tafoya intermittently served as a contract scout and alternatively as a regularly enlisted soldier.[64] He remained in Texas into 1882, serving at Cantonment Peña Colorado, Fort Ringgold, and Fort Davis. In March 1882, he was transferred to Fort Selden, New Mexico. The following month, Tafoya was reassigned to Fort Stanton, New Mexico, where he was discharged in the fall of 1882.

Tafoya—Later Years

Tafoya returned to San Miguel County, which was very different from the frontier into which he had been born half a century before. The railroad had replaced the comanchero trails and the Santa Fe Trail as the main supply routes across the Plains. The era of industrial capitalism had begun. Settlement patterns changed, following the rail lines, rather than the stream systems. The federal government had established reservations for all nomadic Indians.

In 1886, at the age of fifty-two, Tafoya married Teresa Gonzales y Baca, a twenty-one-year-old mother of three. He appears next in the 1892 records of the San Miguel County Assessor. Tafoya was then living in El Aguilar, another name for Gallinas Springs or Park Springs.[65] Soon thereafter, in June 1893, he was deposed in the Goodnight-Loving depredation case. Tafoya gave his occupation as sheep rancher. According to an assistant attorney general assigned to the case, Tafoya's testimony supported Goodnight's claim that his cattle had been stolen by Comanches. The assistant attorney general also commented that he had never met a Mexican whom he could believe under oath.[66]

In May 1902, Tafoya filed a claim for a military pension, citing injuries sustained while breaking horses at Fort Sill.[67] The Pension Office found, on the basis of Tafoya's dates of service, that he did not qualify for a pension. He reapplied in 1908. We have no record of a response to this application. Tafoya died on 23 June 1913 at Park Springs, New Mexico, and was buried there the following day.

Tafoya's family continued to press for a pension to support his widow. Finally, in 1929, after a series of field investigations to determine her moral character, Teresa Baca y Tafoya was granted a pension of thirty dollars per month. The field investigator noted that Mrs. Tafoya had a good reputation among the neighbors, "but all are Mexicans," he disparagingly observed.[68] She received this pension until her death in 1938.

Conclusion

Tafoya's life was the stuff of legend, however fragmentary and mundane the written record. His military service was rewarded with a small pension, awarded to his wife after twenty-seven years of applications, and when Tafoya himself had been dead for sixteen years. Tafoya, as husband and father, professional scout, soldier, and man of property, bears no resemblance to the stereotype of the comanchero. An American trying to improve his condition and adapt to changing times, he applied special knowledge and skills to frontier circumstances. Although Tafoya served in wars and military campaigns, survived in lawless regions, and undoubtedly saw much cruelty and crime, witnesses characterized him as "honest" and "reliable." His life seems most remarkable for the absence of the transgressions often associated with the term *comanchero*.

The comanchero trade was important to both New Mexicans and Plains Indians. On 13 July 1851, Bvt. Col. John Munroe, commanding the Department of New Mexico, reported to the adjutant general in Washington that New Mexicans evidently did not "[desire] that the Indians should be disturbed. . . . I am forced to the conclusion that there is a feeling among the Mexicans towards Americans, at least negative in its character, and a positive friendly one towards the Indians."[69] Munroe, like the Santa Fe traders and the generation of military men who followed him, tended to condemn the accommodation between the Plains Indians and New Mexicans without attempting to understand the relationship.

Tafoya told the court in 1893 that he could neither read nor write. We have no letter or diary from his hand. He speaks to us only in a U.S. court record. "Are you part Indian?" R. N. Stevens asked Tafoya.[70] The attorney was likely attempting to divine Tafoya's loyalties and to test his veracity as well as his particular knowledge of the matter at hand. Tafoya answered no. "What are you?" Stevens pursued. "Mexican," Tafoya answered. In all probability Tafoya was a mestizo—that is, "part Indian," but it is unlikely that he

thought in those terms. Culturally, he was Hispanic, and he probably used the ethnic label *Mexican* in that sense and perhaps also in the Anglo sense—that he was not an Anglo. In 1860, when Tafoya joined the volunteer militia, he enlisted as a Hispanic to serve among other Hispanics. Yet in 1879, he joined a unit of Seminole-Negro scouts, in effect joining the Indians, evidently because, in the eyes of the Anglo-dominated Army, he was neither Anglo nor White.

During his years as a comanchero, Tafoya traded with the Comanches in apparent amity. He served Captain Bergmann, who was supposed to prevent the comanchero trade but instead connived in it, and accepted an authorization from Charles D. Jennings, who tried to monopolize that trade. When some of Tafoya's cattle were confiscated and the Comanches began their last war against the Whites, he quietly withdrew to New Mexico. Later, he served the United States as a soldier and scout with apparent loyalty and good faith.

What, then, did Tafoya think, and where did his loyalties lie? We are left with the obvious: among the mixed motives and conflicting ideas about race and identity of those around him, he followed a course both practical and fatalistic. His enduring loyalty was to his family and his *patria chica*, that small region of the upper Rio Pecos where he was born and died. As we noted above, community and family were the strongest institutions into which he was born. He wandered far but always came home—highly typical New Mexican behavior then and now. At different times in Tafoya's life, men in authority assigned him not only work to be done but an ethnic identity to go with it. He seems to have accepted all this in his own way and to have benefited from it more often than not.

Notes

1. Charles L. Kenner, *A History of New Mexican–Plains Indian Relations* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969), 199; and Pauline Durett Robertson and R. L. Robertson, *Panhandle Pilgrimage: Illustrated Tales Tracing History in the Texas Panhandle* (Canyon, Tex.: Staked Plains Press, 1976), 40.
2. See J. Evetts Haley, "The Comanchero Trade," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 38 (1935): 157–75. The full text of Tafoya's deposition is found in Jose Piedad Tafoya, Deposition, Indian Depredation Case File 9133, Goodnight Indian Depredation Claims, Indian Depredation Case Records, 1891–1918, Records of the United States Court of Claims, 1835–1966, Record Group 123, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C. [hereafter Tafoya, File 9133, Goodnight Claims, IDCR, RG 123, NAB].

Tafoya's deposition is reprinted in Lowell Harrison, ed., "Three Comancheros and a Trader," *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review* 38 (1965): 73–94. This article also contains information that is probably erroneous. Tafoya himself received Goodnight's stolen cattle. He testified that he bought them from the Comanches at Quitaque and drove them to New Mexico.

3. Charles Goodnight, interview by J. Evetts Haley, 8 April 1927, transcript, Haley Library, Midland, Texas [hereafter HL].
4. Frank Lloyd, interview by J. Evetts Haley, 18 August 1927, transcript, HL; and Frank Lloyd, interview by J. Evetts Haley, 12 June 1935 and 13 June 1935, box 2H478, Earl Vandale Collection, The Center for American History, University of Texas, Austin.
5. Col. Ranald S. Mackenzie to Asst. Adj. Gen. T. M. Vincent, Department of Texas, 9 May 1878, p. 76, Mackenzie Letter Record Book No. 102, Gilcrease Library, Tulsa, Oklahoma; and Col. Ranald S. Mackenzie to Assistant Adjutant General, Department of the Missouri, 18 November 1879, Letter 161, Regimental Letters Sent, 1874–1882, Fourth Regiment of the United States Cavalry, Entry 718, Records of United States Regular Army Mobile Units, 1821–1942, Record Group 391, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C. [hereafter RG 391, NAB]. Tafoya was not the only New Mexican recognized for his immense knowledge of the Llano Estacado and Southern High Plains during the nineteenth century. See Harry C. Myers, "Don Pedro Ignacio Gallego, José Vicente Villanueva y Cavo, Juan Lucero and the Beginnings of Trade on the Santa Fe Trail," *Herencia: Journal of the Hispanic Genealogical Research Center of New Mexico* 3 (July 1995): 1–11. Myers describes the distinguished careers of three men who had first contact with American trader William Becknell when he reached New Mexico and, in effect, established the Santa Fe Trail in the fall of 1821. When Becknell met New Mexican troops on the frontier, he was taken to the Pecos River village of San Miguel del Vado, where Lucero and Villanueva were living. Lucero had been a member of explorer Pedro Vial's expedition between Natchitoches and Santa Fe in 1788. A presidial soldier throughout his life, he participated in more than twenty-five campaigns and twenty trips across the Southern Plains by the time he retired in 1821. Likewise, Villanueva had been a presidial soldier on Pedro Vial's expedition from New Mexico to St. Louis in 1792–1793. Villanueva interpreted for Becknell and the New Mexicans. Born in La Cuesta and baptized in San Miguel del Vado in 1834, Tafoya might not have had first-hand contact with these men but he likely grew up hearing about their travels and guide services.
6. Katherine A. Spielmann, ed., "Interaction among Nonhierarchical Societies," in *Farmers, Hunters, and Colonists: Interaction between the Southwest and the Southern Plains* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991), 8; and James H. Gunnerson, "Southern Athapaskan Archeology," in *Southwest*, ed. Alfonso Ortiz, vol. 9 of *Handbook of North American Indians*, 13 vols., ed. William C. Sturtevant (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1979), 162.
7. Thomas W. Kavanagh, *The Comanches: A History, 1706–1875* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1996), 63. Ulibarrí learned this when he stopped at Taos Pueblo en route to the plains of eastern Colorado to retrieve Taos and Picurís Pueblo

people who had taken refuge among the Plains Apaches following the Spanish Reconquest of New Mexico in 1692–1696. James F. Brooks, *Captives and Cousins: Slavery, Kinship, and Community in the Southwest Borderlands* (Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 93, suggests that the Pueblo people who fled to the Plains did so to protect their trade relationship with Plains partners. Brooks also quotes Governor Cuervo y Valdés's report that the Plains people had enslaved the Pueblo refugees, an interesting twist on a familiar theme in New Mexico history of captivity.

8. Because few documents survived the Pueblo Revolt of 1680, it is difficult to say if the Comanches were in New Mexico before the revolt. Kavanagh, *The Comanches*, 63, and Brooks, *Captives and Cousins*, 57, do not dismiss that possibility, noting that New Mexican Pueblos and Hispanics had long-standing trade partnerships with different Plains Indian groups.
9. Thomas W. Kavanagh, "Comanche," in *Plains*, ed. Raymond J. DeMallie, vol. 13, pt. 2 of *Handbook of North American Indians*, 13 vols., ed. William C. Sturtevant (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2001), 886; and Kavanagh, *The Comanches*, 68.
10. Kavanagh concludes that the Kotsotekas, or Buffalo-Eater Comanches, were the tribal division that maintained a trading relationship with New Mexico in the period 1786–1820. He also concludes that the Kwahadas were a political organization coalescing from or descending from the Kotsotekas about 1860 and that the Kwahadas were traders in stolen cattle. See Kavanagh, *The Comanches*, 481–82.
11. Timothy G. Baugh, "Ecology and Exchange," in *Farmers, Hunters, and Colonists: Interaction between the Southwest and the Southern Plains*, ed. Katherine A. Spielmann (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991), 124.
12. Alfred B. Thomas, trans., ed., and annot., *Forgotten Frontiers: A Study of the Spanish Indian Policy of Don Juan Bautista de Anza, Governor of New Mexico, 1777–1787*, Civilization of the American Indian Series, vol. 1 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932), 292–332.
13. Kavanagh, "Comanche," 886; Frances Levine, "Economic Perspectives on the Comanchero Trade," in *Farmers, Hunters, and Colonists: Interaction between the Southwest and the Southern Plains*, ed. Katherine A. Spielmann (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1991), 158–59; Frances Levine and Martha Doty Freeman, *A Study of Documentary and Archeological Evidence for Comanchero Activity in the Texas Panhandle* (Austin: Texas Historical Commission, 1982), 207; Manuel Baca to the Interim Governor regarding the return of the Comancheros, 1 June 1813, doc. T-2492, ff. 731–32, r. 17, Spanish Archives of New Mexico II, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe [hereafter SANM II].
14. Pedro Garrido y Durán, An account of the events which have occurred in the provinces of New Mexico concerning peace conceded to the Comanche nation and their reconciliation with the Utes, since November 17 of last year and July 15 of the current [1785–1786], Chihuahua, 21 December 1786, in *Forgotten Frontiers*, ed. Thomas, 306.

15. Kavanagh, "Comanche," 890.
16. William H. Clift, "Warren's Trading Post," *Chronicles of Oklahoma* 2 (June 1924): 129–40.
17. Kavanagh, "Comanche," 890; and Brooks, *Captives and Cousins*. The status of captives in the Spanish Colonial and Mexican periods of New Mexico is a fascinating social phenomenon, and remains an important subject for the exploration of identity, specifically processes of *mestizaje* and ethnogenesis. Miguel A. Gandert has photographed the performance of the folk drama *Los Comanches*, which provides a social identity for a group living near Ranchos de Taos. See Miguel A. Gandert, photographer, *Nuevo México Profundo: Rituals of an Indo-Hispano Homeland*, essays by Ramón A. Gutiérrez, Enrique R. Lamadrid, Lucy R. Lippard, Chris Wilson, and Helen R. Lucero (Albuquerque, N.Mex.: National Hispanic Cultural Center; Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 2000). This work and Enrique R. Lamadrid, *Hermanitos Comanchitos: Indo-Hispano Rituals of Captivity and Redemption*, photog. Miguel A. Gandert (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003) give voice to the complex negotiations that still surround ethnic identity in the Southwest.
18. Elizabeth A. H. John, *Storms Brewed in Other Men's Worlds: The Confrontation of Indians, Spanish, and French in the Southwest, 1540–1795* (College Station: Texas A&M Press, 1975); Elizabeth A. H. John, "Nurturing the Peace: Spanish and Comanche Cooperation in the Early Nineteenth Century," *New Mexico Historical Review* 59 (January 1984): 345–69; and Kavanagh, *The Comanches*, 193–293.
19. David J. Weber discusses the origin of Anglo attitudes toward Mexican people in "'Scarce More Than Apes': Historical Roots of Anglo-American Stereotypes of Mexicans in the Border Region," in *Myth and History of the Hispanic Southwest*, The Calvin P. Horn Lectures in Western History and Culture (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 153–68.
20. Josiah Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, ed. Max L. Moorhead, American Exploration and Travel Series, vol. 17 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954), 257.
21. Charles L. Kenner, "The Great New Mexico Cattle Raid—1872," *New Mexico Historical Review* 37 (October 1962): 245.
22. Three Comanche interpreters—Cristobál Tenorio, Manuel Martín, and Rafael Ruibal—are identified in the 1823 census of the Santa Fe Presidio. See Virginia Langham Olmsted, ed., *New Mexico Spanish and Mexican Colonial Censuses, 1790, 1823, 1845* (Albuquerque: New Mexico Genealogical Society, 1975), 177. Kavanagh, *The Comanches*, cites several instances in which Tenorio was used in diplomatic translations. Gregg, *Commerce of the Prairies*, 316, refers to Manuel, El Comanche, a guide and possible translator whom Gregg recruited in San Miguel del Vado for the 1840 caravan back to Missouri. Albert Pike also recruited Manuel, whom he described as an old Comanche living in San Miguel del Vado, for his 1831 travels in New Mexico and across the Plains. See Albert Pike, "Narrative of a Second Journey in the Prairie," in *Albert Pike Prose Sketches and Poems Written in the Western Country*, ed. David J. Weber, foreword by Tom L. Popejoy (Albuquerque: Calvin Horn Publishers, 1967), 41, 57. A great deal of research remains to

determine how these interpreters were recruited (or captured) by New Mexicans and how they conducted their lives in Spanish and Mexican New Mexico. See also Richard L. Nostrand, *El Cerrito, New Mexico: Eight Generations in a Spanish Village* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003), 18–19.

23. David J. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier 1821–1846: The American Southwest under Mexico*, Histories of the American Frontier, ed. Ray Allen Billington et al. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 20, 50, 59, 195.
24. Antonio Barreiro, "Ojeada Sobre Nuevo-Mexico, 1832," in *Three New Mexico Chronicles*, ed. H. Bailey Carroll and J. Villasana Haggard (Albuquerque: The Quivira Society, 1942), 75; and Howard Roberts Lamar, *The Far Southwest 1846–1912: A Territorial History*, The Norton Library (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1970), 31.
25. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier*, 95.
26. Janet Lecompte, *Rebellion in Rio Arriba, 1837* (Albuquerque: Published in cooperation with the Historical Society of New Mexico by the University of New Mexico Press, 1985).
27. Pedro Bautista Pino, "Exposición of 1812," in *Three New Mexico Chronicles*, 71. Donaciano Vigil, Address to New Mexico Departmental Assembly, 18 June 1846, *Journal of the Departmental Assembly*, f. 861, r. 42, microfilm, Mexican Archives of New Mexico, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe [hereafter MANM-NMSRCA]. Cited by David J. Weber, ed. and trans., *Arms, Indians, and the Mismanagement of New Mexico: Donaciano Vigil, 1846*, Southwestern Studies Series, no. 77 (El Paso: Texas Western Press, University of Texas at El Paso, 1986), 2.
28. Alcalde Constitucional Juan de Dios Maese to Arocha, Miscellaneous communications received and sent by comandante principal to authorities within New Mexico, ff. 62–63, 166–67, r. 8, MANM-NMSRCA; and Borrador de la Correspondencia del Comandante de la Compania, Comandante principal report and communications regarding Kiowa, Pawnee, and Comanche depredations near San Miguel del Vado, ff. 559–64, r. 13, MANM-NMSRCA. Weber, *The Mexican Frontier*, 177, 217, 227, 228.
29. San Miguel del Vado, 1841, in *Five New Mexico 18th and 19th Century Census Fragments*, abstracted by Julián Josué Vigil (Springer, N.Mex.: Editorial Telaraña, 1984), part I: 5; part II: 12, copy in MANM-NMSRCA.
30. San Miguel del Vado, *New Mexico 1850 Territorial Census*, 4 vols., trans. the New Mexico Genealogical Society, ed. Margaret Windham Leonard (Albuquerque: The Society, 1976), 3:148; *New Mexico Baptisms, San Miguel del Bado Church, 12 May 1844 to 6 July 1853*, vol. 2, extracted by Eloise Arellanes, Lila Armijo Pfeufer, and Virginia L. Olmstead, comp. Margaret Leonard Windham and Evelyn Lujan Baca (Albuquerque: New Mexico Genealogical Society, 1997), 2:193; and Bautismos, San Miguel del Vado, July 1853–June 1868, Baptismal Book Number 8, manuscript, trans., Hispanic Genealogical Research Center of New Mexico, Albuquerque, copy in NMSRCA.

31. Adrian H. Bustamante, "Los Hispanos: Ethnicity and Social Change in New Mexico" (Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 1991), 41–70. For census information, see San Miguel del Vado, 1841.
32. Baptismal records for San Miguel del Vado in the period 1829–1868 are found in Windham and Baca, comps., *New Mexico Baptisms San Miguel del Bado Church*; and *Bautismos: San Miguel Church, San Miguel del Vado, New Mexico, 7 July 1853 through 27 December 1900*, vol. 1 (Albuquerque: Hispanic Genealogical Research Center of New Mexico, 1996), copy in NMSRCA. Muster Rolls, Navajo Campaign, April 1849, Civil War Era No. 574, Adjutant General's Records, Department of Military Affairs, NMSRCA.
33. George Wilkins Kendall, *Narrative of the Texan Santa Fé Expedition, Comprising a Descriptioin of a Tour through Texas, and . . . Final Capture of the Texans, and Their March, as Prisoners, to the City of Mexico*, 2 vols. (Austin, Tex.: The Steck Company, 1935), 1:287.
34. Lamar, *The Far Southwest*, 57.
35. Windham, ed., *New Mexico 1850 Territorial Census*, 3: 148. The census mistakenly says that José Piedad was fourteen.
36. Ranch of Gallinas Crossing, County of San Miguel, Territory of New Mexico, 1870 Census, microfilm, NMSRCA; San Miguel County, Territory of New Mexico, 1900 Census, microfilm, NMSRCA.
37. Lamar, *The Far Southwest*, 94–95. For Sumner's reorganization of and a sketch of the Ninth Military Department, see Durwood Ball, "Fort Craig, New Mexico, and the Southwest Indian Wars, 1854–1884," *New Mexico Historical Review* 73 (April 1998): 154.
38. Rencher quoted in William A. Keleher, *Turmoil in New Mexico* (1952; reprint, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982), 103–5.
39. Capt. Juan N. Gutiérrez, San Miguel, Navajo Campaign, September 1860, ff. 125–27, r. 85, Muster Rolls, Records of the Adjutant General of the Territory, 1847–1911, Subseries 7.4, Territorial Archives of New Mexico, 1846–1911, Series 7, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe [hereafter TANM-NMSRCA]; and Frank McNitt, *Navajo Wars: Military Campaigns, Slave Raids, and Reprisals* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1972), 391.
40. "Diary of Adjutant General Marquis Lafayette Cotton, of New Mexico Mounted Volunteers," *Santa Fe Daily Gazette*, 24 November 1860, folder 21, box 10678, Frank McNitt Papers, NMSRCA. This campaign diary is also reproduced in full in McNitt, *Navajo Wars*, 393–95.
41. For discussions of captivity and slavery in New Mexico, see McNitt, *Navajo Wars*; and Brooks, *Captives and Cousins*. Sec. of War John B. Floyd is quoted in McNitt, *Navajo Wars*, 399–400. Adj. Gen. Samuel Cooper to Col. Thomas T. Fauntleroy, 29 October 1860, A-82, 1860, Letters Received, Department of New Mexico, Registers of Letters Received and Letters Received by Headquarters, Department of New Mexico, 1854–1865, Part 1, Records of U.S. Army Continental Commands, 1821–1920, Record Group 393, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C. [hereafter RG 393, NAB].

42. Fort Bascom, named for Capt. George N. Bascom, Sixteenth U.S. Infantry, who died in the Battle of Valverde on 21 February 1862, was established in August 1863 near the mouth of Ute Creek on the Canadian River about thirty-five miles west of the Texas border. The fort was established to watch the roads from Arkansas and Texas, and to prevent Confederate activity in the area. After the end of the Civil War, the troops at the fort dealt generally with Indian-White hostilities. See Robert W. Frazer, "Bascom," in *Forts of the West: Military Forts and Presidios, and Posts Commonly Called Forts, West of the Mississippi to 1898* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1965), 95. For Tafoya's whereabouts during and after the Civil War, see Harrison, ed., "Three Comancheros and a Trader," 73–94 passim.
43. For more on Carleton, see Arrell Morgan Gibson, "James H. Carleton," in *Soldiers West: Biographies from the Military Frontier*, ed. Paul A. Hutton (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 59–77; and Ball, "Fort Craig, New Mexico, and the Southwest Indian Wars, 1854–1884," 153–173.
44. Edward H. Bergmann, Special Order No. 2, 18 January 1865, Fort Bascom, entry no. 96, Part 4, RG 393, NAB. The verdict of the board convened is not known. Bergmann was soon relieved of his duties. See Special Order 71, 7 August 1865, Fort Bascom, Part 4, RG 393, NAB. According to Kenner, *A History of New Mexican–Plains Indian Relations*, 157, Bergmann resigned, settled on the Canadian River, and applied for a license in 1868 to trade with the Comanches. It is not known whether Bergmann received the requested license.
45. Delgado, Trade permit issued to Tafoya, 9 October 1865, r. 6, *Records of the New Mexico Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1849–1880*, Microcopy T21 (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Record Service, 1954), Records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Record Group 75, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C. [hereafter RG 75, NAB].
46. To All Whom It May Concern, pp. 12–14, vol. 1, Miscellaneous Letters Sent, Fort Bascom, District of New Mexico, RG 393, NAB.
47. Capt. George W. Letterman, Commanding Fort Bascom, to Sgt. James Rees, 15 September 1867, Miscellaneous Letters Regarding Fort Bascom, Parts 4 and 5, RG 393, NAB.
48. In their suit against the United States and the Comanches, Goodnight and Sheek claimed that in 1865, 1867, and 1868, Comanches had stolen cattle valued at over $66,000 from them. These thefts, according to the plaintiffs, had occurred in Young, Palo Pinto, and Throckmorton Counties in the Texas Panhandle. Tafoya was deposed by Asst. Atty. Gen. R. N. Stevens, referred to as "defendant's counsel." Tafoya testified that he had been the receiver of some of the stolen cattle, and had driven them to New Mexico.
49. Tafoya, File 9133, Goodnight Claims, IDCR, RG 123, NAB.
50. Capt. George W. Letterman to Maj. Cyrus H. DeForrest, 31 August 1867, Miscellaneous Letters Regarding Fort Bascom, Parts 4 and 5, RG 393, NAB.
51. Tafoya, File 9133, Goodnight Claims, IDCR, RG 123, NAB.

52. *U.S. Census of 1870: Lincoln, Mora, Rio Arriba, and San Miguel Counties*, microfilm, f. 258, r. 2, NMSRCA.
53. Cruz Tafoya, Affidavit, 9 January 1929, taken by Inspector C. R. Franks, Pension Records, Pension Case File W.O. 12128, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, 1780s–1970, Record Group 94, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C. [hereafter RG 94, NAB]. Tafoya says his mother's name was Perez, although the 1841 census has Parras. He may be right—most of the census takers, both in the Mexican period and in territorial times, were notoriously careless about the spelling of names.
54. Juan P. Tafoya, Service Record 1874, Fort McRae, File 213, Reports of Persons and Articles Hired, Records of the Office of the Quartermaster General, 1774–1985, Record Group 92, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C. [hereafter RG 92, NAB]. Fort McRae was established in April 1863. It was named for Capt. Alexander McRae, a Union artillery officer. Like Capt. George Bascom, McRae was a casualty of the Battle of Valverde. The fort was intended to protect travelers along the Jornada del Muerto. Below the high-water mark and periodically inundated, the site is now on the margin of Elephant Butte Lake. See Frazer, *Forts of the West*, 100.
55. Ranald S. Mackenzie, 7 October 1874, *Ranald S. Mackenzie's Official Correspondence Relating to Texas, 1873–1879*, ed. Ernest Wallace (Lubbock: West Texas Museum Association, 1968), 138.
56. Ernest Wallace, *Ranald S. Mackenzie on the Texas Frontier* (Lubbock: West Texas Museum Association, 1964), 106.
57. Ibid., 121.
58. The Black Seminoles were free men and slaves claimed by the Florida Seminoles. They had lived in villages in northern Florida under the authority of Seminole chiefs. Forced from their lands by the Army and escorted to the Indian Territory, they were placed on allotments within the hostile Creek nation. In 1849 they decamped, crossing Texas and seeking sanctuary in Mexico, where Mexican authorities allowed them to remain. After the Civil War, with the threat of enslavement gone, a band of Black Seminoles returned to Texas. This move occurred on 4 July 1870. See Scott Thybony, "Seminole Negro Scouts," *Smithsonian Magazine* 22 (August 1991): 93. A recent study of the Black Seminole scouts is Thomas Britten, *A Brief History of the Seminole-Negro Indian Scouts* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen Press, 1999).
59. Wallace, *Ranald S. Mackenzie*, 143–44.
60. Kenner, *A History of Plains Indians–New Mexican Relations*, 205–6. According to Lloyd, Mackenzie relented when Tafoya agreed to lead the Fourth Cavalry to the main encampment of Comanches in Palo Duro Canyon. This story has been widely quoted but the original army records of Mackenzie's campaign against the Comanches suggest that this incident never happened. The story told by Lloyd is not only recounted but amplified by a fictional dialogue between Tafoya and Mackenzie in Robertson and Robertson, *Panhandle Pilgrimage*, 44.
61. José P. Tafoya, Service Record 1876, file 237, Service Record 1877, file 229, and Service Record 1878, file 312, file 556, Reports of Persons and Articles Hired, RG 92, NAB. For a discussion of the Quartermaster Corps in the Southwest, see Darlis

A. Miller, *Soldiers and Settlers: Military Supply in the Southwest, 1861–1885* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1989); and Robert W. Frazer, *Forts and Supplies: The Role of the Army in the Economy of the Southwest, 1846–1861* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983).

62. Scott Thybony, letter to authors, 8 January 1992; Thybony, "Seminole-Negro Scouts"; and Bullis, Campaign Journal dated 9 May 1879, Department of Texas, entry no. 4872, Part 1, RG 393, NAB.
63. On 7 February, during Bullis's expedition, the Eastern Chiricahua Apache leader Victorio and twenty-two members of his band appeared at Ojo Caliente, which was an outpost of Fort Craig and the headquarters of the Eastern Chiricahua Reservation. Ojo Caliente is on the eastern edge of the Black Range in Sierra County, New Mexico. Lt. Charles W. Merritt parleyed with Victorio and reported to his superiors that he thought the Apache leader had been raiding in Mexico. On 30 June, Victorio and twelve followers came to Fort Stanton. Victorio, fearing arrest, broke out in August for the last time. He and most of his band were killed at Tres Castillos, Chihuahua, Mexico, on 15 October 1880, in battle with Mexican troops commanded by Col. Joaquín Terrazas. Dan L. Thrapp gives these details and notes that some Mescaleros who had been in Mexico stealing horses in the fall of 1879 may have been with Victorio. It is possible that the Mescalero raiders pursued by Bullis may have included some Eastern Chiricahua (Ojo Caliente or Warm Springs) Apaches. The available evidence makes clear that both Mescaleros and Warm Springs people were raiding into Mexico at this time, and there may have been some cooperation between these two groups. Scott Thybony, letter to authors, 8 January 1992; and Dan L. Thrapp, *Victorio and the Mimbres Apaches* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1974), 213–14, 216, 255–56, 301–7.
64. José P. Tafoya, Enlistment Record, Entry 997, Vols. 150–51, 1866–1877 (Indian Scouts), Registers of Enlistments in the U.S. Army 1798–1914, r. 70, *Records Relating to Regular Army Personnel* (National Archives Microfilm Publication M233), General Records, ca. 1775–1928, 1961–1996, RG 94, NAB.
65. San Miguel County Assessments, 1891–1892, microfilm, r. 4, New Mexico County Records, NMSRCA.
66. Asst. Atty. Gen. R. N. Stevens to Asst. Atty. Gen. Charles H. Howery, 31 August 1893, File 9133, Goodnight Claims, IDCR, RG 123, NAB.
67. José P. Tafoya, Pension Application, 16 June 1902, r. 71, *Records Relating to Regular Army Personnel* (National Archives Microfilm Publication M233), General Records, ca. 1775–1928, 1961–1996, RG 94, NAB. In his pension application, Tafoya describes himself as five feet, nine inches tall, 163 pounds, dark hair, hazel eyes, dark complexion, with a scar on his right cheek. He also notes that he weighed 175 pounds when he was in the service. This differs in several particulars from the description recorded in 1879 at Fort Clark, when he was listed as five feet, ten inches tall, and his eye color was listed as black.
68. Report of Inspector C. R. Franks to Commissioner of Pensions, Pension Case File W.O. 12128, RG 94, NAB.

69. Maj. John Munroe to Adj. Gen. Roger Jones, 13 July 1851, in *The Official Correspondence of James S. Calhoun, while Indian Agent at Santa Fé and Superintendent of Indian Affairs in New Mexico*, ed. Annie Heloise Abel (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1915), 347–49.
70. Tafoya, File 9133, Goodnight Claims, IDCR, RG 123, NAB.