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*CARLETON'S CALIFORNIA COLUMN:
A CHAPTER IN NEW MEXICO'S MINING HISTORY*

DARLIS A. MILLER

THE epic struggle between North and South has generated hundreds of historical monographs, but only a small portion of them describe the war's impact on western territories. Still, New Mexico's Civil War history is relatively well documented, and a number of writers have recorded the military services performed by the California Column—those soldiers who traveled to New Mexico from California at the outbreak of the rebellion. Since many of the Column remained in New Mexico when their enlistments ended, they frequently have been praised, either as individuals or as a group, for their contributions to the development of the territory.¹

Despite this recognition, the vast majority of California soldiers who settled in New Mexico have remained unidentified, and no historian has attempted to assess their impact on the territory's history. The veterans who remained in New Mexico were ordinary, hard-working Americans seeking a stake in a new environment. Not surprisingly, scores of California veterans resumed former occupations as prospectors and miners and scoured New Mexico's hills for traces of precious metals. What is surprising, however, is that ex-California volunteers, usually working with partners, were responsible for the initial discovery of precious minerals in at least five major mining districts in post-Civil War New Mexico and, in addition, staked claims in practically all areas where mining was attempted between 1865 and 1885.

A total of some 2,350 men comprised the California Column which marched east across the Arizona desert in 1862 under command of Colonel James H. Carleton. Their mission was to help

Union regulars expel rebels from New Mexico, but before this force reached the Rio Grande, the Confederates had been driven from the territory. Consequently, the California men spent most of their enlistments guarding against a possible Confederate re-invasion of the Southwest and fighting hostile Indians.²

By comparing census returns with military records and searching newspaper and territorial archives, it has been possible to identify 313 California veterans who remained in New Mexico following their discharge. These men had arrived in the territory as an identifiable group and retained their identity as "Column men" or "California boys" for the rest of their lives. Nonetheless, the men who marched with Carleton were a diverse lot, and it is appropriate to present an overview of the California men themselves before outlining their contributions to mining in territorial New Mexico.

Military records indicate that the men ranged in age from eighteen to forty-five and practiced a variety of occupations prior to enlistment. While the men most frequently listed their occupations as "farmer" or "miner," other California enlistees classified themselves as laborers, mechanics, carpenters, cooks, teamsters, saddlers, merchants, and a printer.³ A number of men who settled in land-locked New Mexico after the war had earlier careers sailing the seas. John Ayers and David N. Catanach, both of whom became well-known public figures in New Mexico, each went to sea at age thirteen, the former spending nine and the latter three years before the mast. Samuel Creevey, a navy man who later settled in Socorro County, was wounded in a fight with Chinese pirates in 1851; a decade later his ship docked at San Francisco in time for him to enlist in Company G, First California Infantry.⁴

California volunteers came from virtually every state in the Union and every European nation. Distant Maine contributed at least nine future New Mexico residents, while the states of New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania together accounted for over seventy-five future New Mexicans. The New Yorkers were a resourceful and versatile group and included Carleton's Assistant Adjutant General Benjamin C. Cutler, Indian agent and miner John Ayers of Santa Fe, hotel owner Chauncey N. Story of Elizabethtown, surveyor William McMullen of Santa Fe, Mesilla

saloon keeper Bernard McCall, rancher John D. Slocum of Doña Ana County, the "King of the Jornada" John Martin, lawyer Albert J. Fountain of Mesilla, and businessman-politician Joseph F. Bennett of Silver City.⁵

Large numbers of men native to the southern states enrolled in the Union army, and among California veterans who settled in New Mexico were eight Kentuckians, five Virginians, and a smattering of men from the states of Maryland, North and South Carolina, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, and Tennessee. England, Ireland, and Germany accounted for over twenty-five veterans who remained in New Mexico, while Holland contributed Grant County pioneer Linklain Butin, and Poland contributed Lyon Phillipouski of Lincoln County. Westy Peterson of Norway marched to New Mexico as a private and stayed to prospect in Kingston and Hillsboro, while Samuel Zimmerly of Switzerland arrived a corporal and subsequently became owner of a flour and grist mill in the town of Socorro.⁶

A prominent characteristic shared by California volunteers was physical mobility. For some men, migration to the California gold fields was the second or third major relocation of their young lives. Their subsequent removal to New Mexico merely continued this pattern of mobility. Several future New Mexicans had turned from mining in California to more lucrative pursuits. Barney W. Connelly became a manufacturer and merchant of shoes at Nevada City, California, while John D. Barncastle labored two years as a clerk at a Grass Valley store and one year as a clerk at Marysville.⁷ William L. Rynerson, one of the leading southern New Mexico politicians in the 1870s and 1880s migrated to California in 1852 and spent one year prospecting throughout the state. He subsequently studied law, became a captain in the state militia, and served as deputy clerk of Amador County.⁸

Many of these young Californians had formed acquaintances prior to the war and then become comrades in the march overland to New Mexico. Still it is not surprising that vast numbers who journeyed to New Mexico with the California Column had been strangers before their enlistments. When applying for a military pension years later, Barncastle could recall no one who knew anything about him during the time that he had clerked in Marysville

and Grass Valley. His own words succinctly describe the isolation that he experienced in the California gold fields. Referring to Marysville, Barncastle recalled that "in early times there you hardly knew a man's name. It was a floating population. . . . It was a mining camp."⁹

The vast majority of California volunteers had no previous military experience, although some who later became residents of New Mexico were also veterans of the Mexican War. All became seasoned troopers in the long march to New Mexico, and most who remained in New Mexico after the war had personally experienced the fatigue and danger associated with Carleton's Indian campaigns. Several continued prospecting and hunting for precious minerals while serving in the volunteers. While marching overland from California, one soldier-correspondent wrote that the entire route to Tucson had been prospected by the volunteers. He and his comrades spent two to three feverish hours prospecting with tin pans and buckets while encamped at Cañada del Oro twenty-eight miles north from Tucson. Everyone found traces of gold and concluded that rich diggings could be located.¹⁰ Later, California soldiers who had worked in the placer and quartz mines in California were stationed at Pinos Altos where they resumed their quest for gold. In addition, California volunteers who were sent in mid-1863 to escort Surveyor General John A. Clark to new gold mines opened in the San Francisco Mountains northwest of Tucson were ordered to prospect for gold once they reached the diggings so that Carleton could evaluate their worth.¹¹

At the end of three-year enlistments, California volunteers serving under Carleton were mustered out in New Mexico rather than being returned to California for final discharge. Over 300 took up residence in New Mexico at the end of the war, and had this total been present in the territory in 1870, former California soldiers would have composed about seven percent of the Anglo-American population, estimated for that year at about 4,500 men, women, and children. Through death and migration out of the territory, however, only 195 of the veterans are listed in the 1870 census, comprising about four percent of the Anglo population.¹²

California veterans who remained in New Mexico at the end of the war scattered throughout the territory searching for economic

opportunities in well-established frontier towns, isolated ranching districts, and raw mining camps. Well over half the one hundred ninety-five California veterans whose names appear in the 1870 census resided in four southern New Mexico counties when that census was taken. The county having the largest number of California veterans in 1870 was Grant, the leading mineral region occupying the southwest corner of the territory. Forty-four veterans lived in that county, while twenty-three resided in Lincoln, twenty-three in Doña Ana, and seventeen in Socorro counties. Colfax County, an important mining and ranching region located in the northeast corner of the territory, had the second largest population of California soldiers. Twenty-six former volunteers lived there in 1870 while sixty-two were dispersed among the remaining northern counties.¹³

Collectively, these men had arrived in New Mexico with a wide assortment of talents; individually, they differed radically in terms of educational background and ability to amass riches. At least one, William L. Rynerson had studied at a university, but several were at least partially illiterate, signing official documents with their mark—X—rather than with their signature.¹⁴

The economic worth of California soldiers at the time that they enrolled in the service is not known, although the editor of the Santa Fe *Daily New Mexican* believed that most were practically penniless at the time of their discharge. Lewis Clark, for example, began his civilian life with “almost nothing” but established a dry goods store in the small town of Plaza Alcalde in San Miguel County after his discharge. He estimated the value of his personal property and real estate in 1870 as \$9,000 and his establishment was described as one of the best stocked stores in the territory.¹⁵ Less than half the California veterans whose names appear in the 1870 census reported their net worth to the census taker. Figures ranged from a low of \$50 declared by Henry Ostrander, a farmer in northern Mora County, to \$65,000 by William V. B. Wardwell, sutler at Fort Craig.¹⁶

These California soldiers had entered New Mexico in the prime of life; optimism was high as military careers ended and opportunities beckoned to those who were willing to stay and to grow with the land. They contributed both labor and money to the economic

development of New Mexico and participated in all major economic activities in post-bellum society. But the record of the former soldiers was particularly impressive in the mining industry, for their discoveries led to the establishment of five new and important mining districts: Elizabethtown, Silver City, Hillsboro, Magdalena, and White Oaks.

One of the most spectacular gold rushes in the territory's history occurred in the Moreno Valley country of northern New Mexico shortly after the close of the war. Gold was discovered on Willow Creek in October 1866 by Peter W. Kinsinger and his two partners, Larry Bronson and a man named Kelley. Kinsinger had worked as a miner in California before the war and having marched overland with the California Column had continued seeking his fortune in New Mexico's rugged mountains. While stationed at Fort Craig in 1863, Private Kinsinger discovered silver ore at Pueblo Springs about five miles north of Magdalena in Socorro County.¹⁷

Kinsinger mustered out of the service at Fort Union in November 1864, and two years later, after having discovered gold on Willow Creek, he and his two partners returned to Fort Union to spend the winter. Although they agreed to say nothing about their strike, news of their discovery became common knowledge during the long winter months, and as spring approached, swarms of miners descended upon Willow Creek to initiate one of the nation's most colorful gold rushes.¹⁸

The population of the gold region quickly mushroomed, and California miners, who had crossed the desert with Carleton, contributed both to the organization and to the exploitation of the region.

Peter Kinsinger joined Tom Lowthian and Colonel Edward J. Bergman, a former officer in the New Mexico volunteers, to work the famed Spanish Bar on the banks of the Moreno River. Kinsinger and his brother Joseph, who also had marched under Carleton's command, became incorporators with Nicholas S. Davis and Lucien B. Maxwell in the Copper Mining Company, organized to exploit copper deposits on Baldy Mountain and to work placer claims on Cimarron Creek.¹⁹

By mid-May 1867 miners in Moreno Valley had adopted a constitution and bylaws for the gold region, which they named Cimarron Mining District. During the summer George Buck, who was a former private in the California volunteers, along with John Moore and other miners organized a town which they named after Moore's daughter—Elizabethtown. It was soon a prosperous mining center and in 1868 boasted a population of over 2,000 people, fifty or sixty houses, several stores, two restaurants, two saloons, a drug store, a billiard table, a barber shop, and gambling houses.²⁰

One of the most colorful saloon keepers in the history of Elizabethtown was Joseph W. Stinson who arrived in the territory in 1862 as a private with the California Column. After his discharge he joined the rush to Elizabethtown where he apparently assumed that he could acquire more gold by selling whiskey and beer to miners than by digging and panning for the mineral himself. Brawls and shootings were not uncommon occurrences in western saloons, and Stinson's establishment witnessed its share of violence. It was there that Stinson shot and killed the notorious Wall Henderson on October 26, 1871 after the latter threatened to burn down the premises.²¹

The major problem facing miners at the Moreno placer fields, however, was not violence but the scarcity of water. A solution to the water problem was offered by Captain Nicholas S. Davis, an engineer and former officer in the California volunteers. He proposed constructing a ditch to tap water from Red River, eleven miles west of Elizabethtown, for use by miners in Moreno Valley. Completed in July 1869 under supervision of Captain Davis, the "Big Ditch" consisted of a system of canals and flumes that circled hills and bridged ravines, extending over forty-one miles in length. The ditch has been called "one of the most remarkable engineering feats in the West," but it failed to provide the volume of water anticipated by its backers because of leaks and breaks.²²

By the mid-seventies, the boom at Baldy Mountain had ended and Elizabethtown was virtually deserted. A few hearty souls—Pete Kinsinger among them—continued to search for that elusive bonanza which remained hidden from most mortals. Kinsinger had married an Ohio girl—Elmira Balis—in 1868, and each of

their five children was born in a mining camp, either at Elizabethtown or Ute Creek. Occasionally Pete's name appeared in newspaper articles describing mining activities, but for the most part he lived his life with slight official recognition. This ex-soldier and original discoverer of gold at Elizabethtown died of pneumonia in April 1884 in the booming silver camp of Kingston in southern New Mexico.²³

One of the most productive mineral regions to be prospected by California veterans was the Pinos Altos-Silver City area situated in the hills and mountains of southwestern New Mexico. Gold had been discovered at Pinos Altos in 1860, but Apaches forced most of the miners to abandon the area in succeeding years, despite Carleton's Indian campaigns. A few brave men found their way to Pinos Altos in 1865, including Albert H. French, who had mustered out of the California volunteers the preceding year. Together with four partners, he located three copper mines in the vicinity of the famous Santa Rita and Hanover mines and four gold claims, including the Santa Juliana, near the town of Pinos Altos. French and his partners organized the Bay State Pinos Altos Mining Company to develop their claims and diplomatically deeded two hundred shares of the company to Carleton for the nominal sum of one dollar.²⁴

In 1866 hordes of miners descended upon Pinos Altos, and a second gold rush to the region was underway. Soldiers who had been stationed at military posts in southern New Mexico were among those who rushed to the scene. Five months before their enlistments expired, Captains John D. Slocum and Charles P. Nichols of the California volunteers joined former comrade Robert V. Newsham and two other men in locating a claim one-half mile north of Pinos Altos. On the same date and in the same locality First Lieutenant John K. Houston together with Nichols, Newsham, and two other men staked a claim on Turkey Creek Lode. Indeed, California soldiers ranging in rank from private to lieutenant-colonel located several claims in the district before severing their connections with the military.²⁵

Pinos Altos quickly became a mining camp of sizeable proportions. Carleton, who visited the mines in June 1867, estimated that eight hundred to one thousand miners inhabited the camp, while

the following year the Santa Fe *New Mexican* reported that over six hundred gold-bearing quartz lodes had been discovered within six miles of Pinos Altos, a town that now sported eight good stores to handle miners' needs.²⁶

Large numbers of former California soldiers searched surrounding hills and gulches for traces of valuable minerals, and at least twenty-seven acquired mining property in the Pinos Altos district, several holding more than one claim. William L. Rynerson was owner or co-owner of at least nine Pinos Altos mines, including the Amberg located October 15, 1866. The company organized to develop the mine consisted of leading civil and military officers in the territory: Chief Justice John P. Slough, Governor Robert B. Mitchell, Colonel Herbert M. Enos, General James H. Carleton, and Lieutenant-Colonel William L. Rynerson.²⁷ During summer 1867, Rynerson brought a quartz mill from California to operate at Pinos Altos and subsequently sold one-fifth interest in the mill to Carleton for \$3,000.²⁸ While commander of the District of New Mexico, the general had acquired extensive mining property, particularly in the territory's southern mountains. Before leaving New Mexico in 1867, Carleton appointed Lieutenant-Colonel David L. Huntington, who was assistant surgeon at Fort Bayard, as his attorney to oversee his mining interests. Huntington received one-fourth of Carleton's mineral claims in return for his services.²⁹

Many California soldiers who staked claims near Pinos Altos subsequently became leading political and social leaders in southern New Mexico. Rynerson, for example, served three terms in the territorial legislature, while Richard Hudson, who located at least four mines in the district, became Grant County's first sheriff. James Crittenden, who held joint interest with Hudson in the Humboldt and John Billings mines, served three years as sheriff following Hudson, and John K. Houston, who was part owner of the Independence, the Alpha, and the Omega mines, was Grant County's first probate judge.³⁰

Placer and lode mining prospered at Pinos Altos well into the seventies, but the opening of new mining camps drew miners away and the camp declined from its earlier brilliance. In 1877 the population of Pinos Altos had declined to one hundred, of

whom it was estimated eighteen were "American."³¹ Typical of the miners who drifted from one mining camp to another was Barney W. Connelly, who mined in Pinos Altos in 1872 with his younger brother Patrick. Together the two men had enlisted in the California volunteers at Nevada City, California in 1861, serving in the same unit while stationed in New Mexico. From pension records, Barney's movements can be traced in some detail. Mustered out of the service at Fort Craig in August 1864, Barney Connelly moved to Mesilla where he kept a hotel called the Fonda House until he reenlisted in January 1865. After his discharge the following year, he resided at Fort Union where he had charge of the saddler's shop. He subsequently moved to Colorado, living at Georgetown, Blackhawk, and other mining camps, staying at each place but a short time.³²

Barney returned to New Mexico in 1868 and resided in mining camps in the southwestern part of the territory until 1872. During this time he and Patrick ran a shoe shop in Silver City and acquired mining properties in Silver Flat, Lone Mountain, Virginia, and Pinos Altos mining districts.³³ From New Mexico, Barney drifted to San Francisco and then to Arizona, where he resided for several years in Pinal County with his brother. In 1877 the New Mexico press reported that Barney Connelly had made a rich strike in Arizona, his ore assaying about \$5,000 per ton. Two years after this alleged bonanza, the forty-seven year old miner married Mary A. Shannon, nineteen years his junior, at San Jose, California. In subsequent years, Barney returned to Arizona apparently to continue mining operations with his brother Patrick, but on January 6, 1889, Patrick was killed in the Silver King Mine in Pinal County, leaving his brother to mourn at his graveside.³⁴

From documents in the pension files of the two Connelly brothers, it is not apparent that either became wealthy from their mining enterprises. Nor did their reputations receive favorable comment from agents investigating their applications for pensions. One investigator reported a year prior to Patrick's death that the latter was "almost an imbecile from the effects of drink" and that among the miners Barney was "considered a moderate drinker—among respectable people, a common drunkard." On

September 6, 1889 Barney W. Connelly died in San Francisco eight months to the day after the death of his brother. Thus the Connelly brothers passed unheralded from the scene, two immigrants from Ireland who had struggled to find fortunes among barren and dusty hills in the American Southwest.³⁵

Others who came west with Carleton fared better than the Connellys, especially after 1870 when silver was discovered in the Pyramid Mountains south of modern Lordsburg. Veterans of the California Column as well as other miners rushed to the site to stake out claims and to build the town of Ralston. One hundred seventy-five miners located claims in the Virginia district which centered on Ralston in 1870. In this and subsequent years, at least twenty-three California veterans acquired mining property in the district, including Sidney R. DeLong, pioneer Arizona newspaper editor and one of six Anglo participants in the infamous Camp Grant Massacre.³⁶ Among New Mexico's most prominent pioneers who resided at Ralston in 1870 was John S. Crouch, frontier lawyer, newspaper editor, politician, mine speculator, and former officer in the California volunteers.

The chief significance of the Ralston strike was that it led to the discovery of silver in San Vicente Valley where Silver City blossomed as a roaring mining camp later in 1870. In the spring of that year, John and James Bullard, California veteran Richard Yeamans, Henry M. Fuson, John Swisshelm, Elijah Weeks, Joseph T. Yankie, and probably Andrew J. Hurlbert left their farms in San Vicente Valley to join the silver rush to Ralston. Upon examining ore at Ralston, John Bullard reportedly remarked, "Well if that is silver ore, I know where there is lots of it."³⁷

The men returned to San Vicente Valley, picked up samples of ore from a hill west of their farms, and had the samples assayed at Pinos Altos. The ore was sufficiently promising to lead to a stampede once news of the strike spread to surrounding mining camps. The eight partners organized the Silver Flat Mining Company and staked the first three claims in the district on May 27, 1870, including the famous Legal Tender Mine.³⁸ Miners from the entire adjacent country poured into San Vicente Valley so maddened by the silver craze that candles were used so that prospect-

ing could continue in the dead of night. Eventually two districts emerged, Silver Flat and the far richer Chloride Flat, which became the first major silver producing district in the territory.³⁹

At least eighteen California veterans located or purchased mines in the Silver Flat District, several of whom were among the first to locate in the district. The most famous of the Silver Flat mines was the Legal Tender. Richard Yeamans, the former private in the California volunteers who had helped initiate the stampede to San Vicente Valley, sold ten feet in that mine in August 1870 to Robert V. Newsham for one hundred dollars and subsequently published a notice in the *Borderer* that he would sell his one-eighth interest in the mine for two thousand dollars. Whether Yeamans truly enjoyed the fruits of his labor is unknown, however; he was brutally beaten to death in 1875. Shortly after his death his estate showed assets of less than two hundred dollars.⁴⁰

The first discoveries in Chloride Flat District were made in September 1870, and among individuals acquiring mining property in this district were no less than twelve former California volunteers, a number of whom came to own some of the principal mines in the area. Joseph F. Bennett became part owner of the valuable Providencia Mine in 1872; in the following year it was reported that ore from Providencia paid over one hundred dollars a ton.⁴¹

Among the most publicized mines in Chloride District was the Dexter Mine, purchased in 1872 for \$5,200 by two former officers of the California volunteers, George W. Arnold and Sidney M. Webb, and their partner Frank M. Wilburn. During one week in June the threesome extracted five and one half tons of ore from the mine, yielding \$532. But the Dexter was forced to shut down in August due to a controversy over ownership. A lawsuit hovered over the mine for more than a year, initiated by Martin W. Bremen, owner of the neighboring Seneca Mine, who claimed title to the Dexter property. The stable of attorneys employed in the case included two former California officers, William L. Rynerson for the plaintiff (Bremen) and James A. Zabriskie for the defendants. During the litigation, Wilburn and Webb transferred their shares in the Dexter and other mines to Arnold for \$2,000 and

\$3,000 respectively, although Webb continued to be associated with the mine's management.⁴²

The impasse was partially resolved in November when Judge Warren Bristol threw out Bremen's claim to the entire mine, limiting the area in dispute to a small strip of land lying between the two mines. This allowed Arnold to resume work on the mine, and by the end of the year they were again extracting large quantities of rich ore. In the spring of 1873 the disputants agreed to new boundaries separating their properties, and the case was eventually dropped from the court docket. Although the press continued to eulogize the richness of the Dexter, Arnold apparently was finished with mining; on July 1, 1873 he sold the mine for \$4,000 to Cornelius Bennett, brother of the owner of the Providencia mine.⁴³

Arnold and Webb spent the next several years in the vicinity of Silver City, their wanderings and activities occasionally being described in the local press. In 1876 Arnold grew vegetables at his farm on the banks of the Gila River which he delivered in Silver City to his friend Webb, who had opened a vegetable store on Broadway Street. The two men subsequently moved to Globe, Arizona, where Webb opened a commercial establishment. Violent death was close at hand, however, and the two partners who had labored so hard to extract wealth from the hills of Chloride Flat met similar fates across the border in the dry barren deserts of Chihuahua. On May 14, 1878, George W. Arnold was shot to death while on a trip south of the border to purchase cattle. Six months later, the *Grant County Herald* reported that Sidney M. Webb and his entire family were murdered while traveling in Chihuahua.⁴⁴

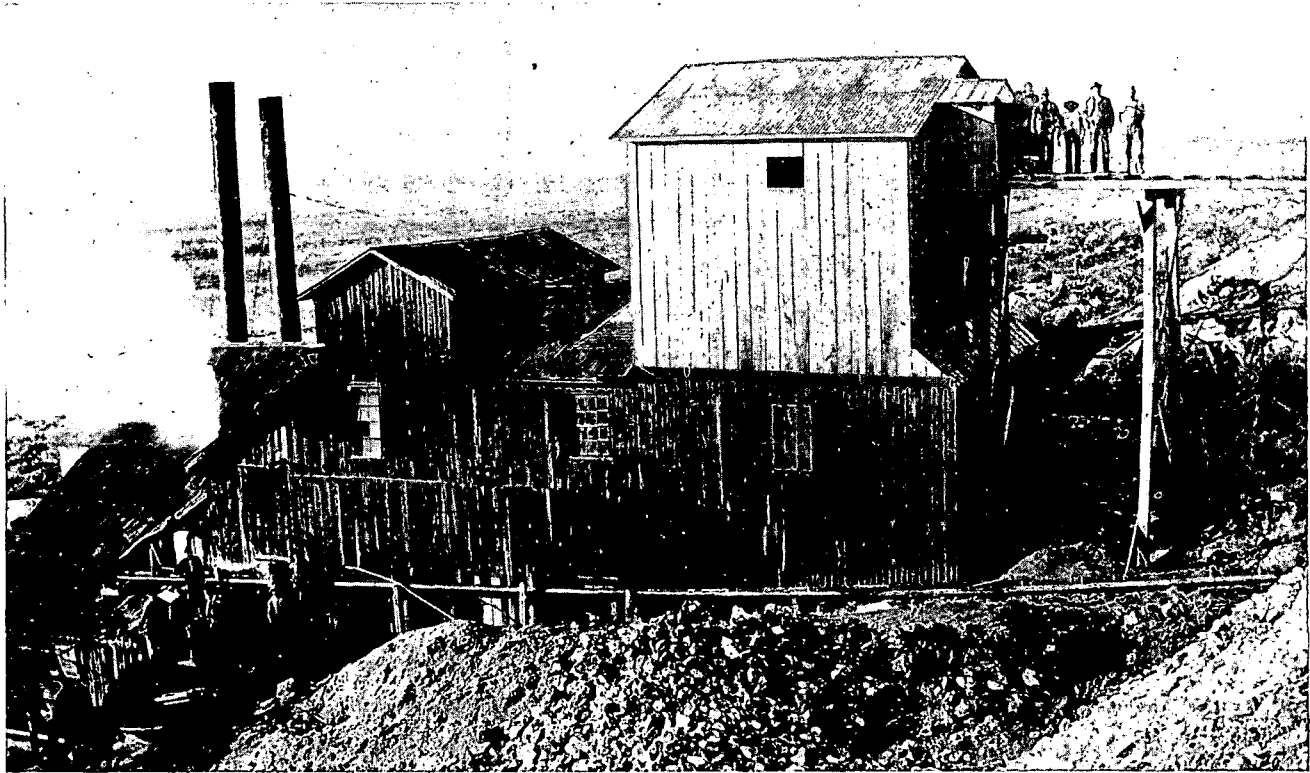
A frustrating problem faced by the first locators in Silver City was lack of equipment to reduce ore extracted from the mines. The first bullion produced at Chloride Flat was smelted in crude adobe furnaces constructed in the spring of 1871, but three years later there were six mills and four furnaces in camp, including the Tennessee Mill, owned in part by Richard Hudson and said to be the largest and most complete mill in New Mexico. Two of the mills, however, the old Rynerson, which had been transported from

Pinos Altos to Silver City, and the Cibola Reduction Works, had been out of commission for some time.⁴⁵

The Cibola Reduction Works had been plagued with problems since the fall of 1872 when it was under construction. The company defaulted on its indebtedness, its machinery was attached by the courts, and all work stopped on the mill, casting "a gloom over the buoyant spirit" of the mining camp.⁴⁶ To bolster the company, Joseph F. Bennett and his two partners, Cornelius Bennett and Henry Lesinsky, doing business under the name of Bennett Brothers and Company in Silver City, advanced the Cibola Reduction Works \$5,000 in October 1872 and \$4,000 the following March, taking a mortgage on the property in return. When the Cibola Reduction Works again defaulted, Bennett Brothers and Company instituted a suit in the courts, and in October 1873 the Cibola Reduction Works was sold at public auction to meet its indebtedness. The highest bidder was Bennett Brothers and Company who purchased the mill for a mere \$3,000.⁴⁷

The company consisting of the two brothers and Lesinsky was a powerful commercial enterprise in Silver City during the seventies; not only was it one of the largest mercantile establishments in town but also it frequently served as a banking house, extending loans to local miners and other commercial men. In this decade the company also acquired ownership—at least for a time—to the Pope Mill, erected in 1874 by Nathaniel Pope, former superintendent of Indian affairs for New Mexico.⁴⁸

One of the most illustrious mining camps to emerge in the seventies in southern New Mexico was Hillsboro, located near the south end of the Black Range Mountains where gold was discovered in the spring of 1877 by David Stitzel, a former private in the California volunteers, and his partner Dan Dugan. When news of the strike filtered through New Mexico's mining community, prospectors rushed to the scene, turning Hillsboro into a thriving town by the end of the year. The territorial press reported that one hundred men, mostly "American," were at the mines during the first winter and that miners were confident that they had rich strikes.⁴⁹ The North Extension of the King Mine, owned by Stitzel, Joseph Yankie and Company was considered one of the most productive in the district; in 1879 it was producing ten tons of ore a day and



The Stephenson-Bennett mine and mill, Organ Mountains, New Mexico, near the turn of the century. Courtesy Rio Grande Historical Collections, New Mexico State University Library.

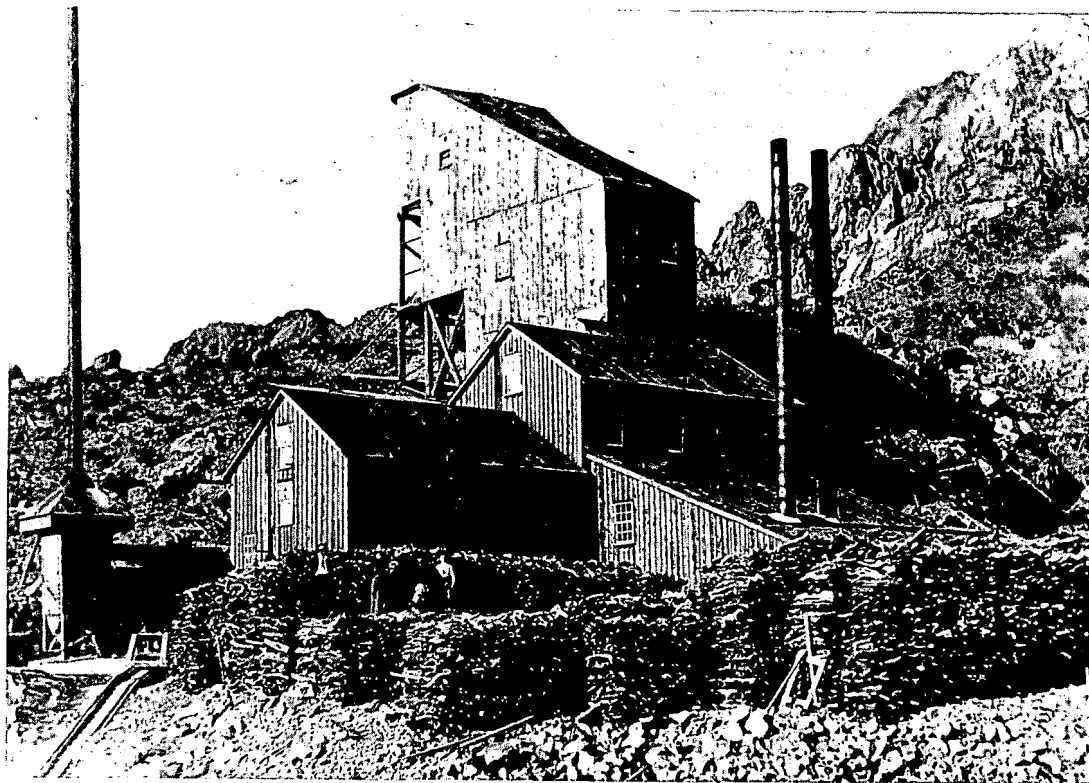
employed twenty men, ten working on the day and ten on the night shift. The El Dorado Mine, owned by Westy Peterson—a California veteran—also was considered to have good prospects.⁵⁰

David Stitzel made one of New Mexico's most important gold strikes, yet his personal history has remained in obscurity. Born on October 25, 1839 in Butler County, Ohio, he had made his way to California by the outbreak of the Civil War. A dark-haired and dark-eyed man of medium stature, Stitzel listed his occupation as "farmer" when he enlisted in the Fifth California Infantry at Camp Drum in 1862. After three years of service, he was discharged in Las Cruces and spent the next few years as a resident in the county of Socorro.⁵¹

In November 1868 Stitzel was arrested somewhere beyond the Gallinas Mountains for distilling whiskey illegally and was later indicted in the Second Judicial District Court in Albuquerque, although the case was ultimately dismissed.⁵² From Socorro he drifted to Lincoln County and then to Grant County, where he engaged in mining and farming. In 1872 he and John E. Coleman discovered gold placers in Santo Domingo Gulch, about two and a half miles from Silver City on the Fort Bayard road. Water to work the gold was so scarce that it had to be drawn from a well or hauled to the gulch in barrels and consequently the region never developed into a bonanza. The following year Stitzel located the Mexican and Red Top mines in the Mimbres District and also sold to Coleman his half-interest to the ranch which the two had jointly owned.⁵³

Stitzel subsequently settled on 160 acres of land which he claimed as a homestead in September 1873 near the town of San Lorenzo in Grant County, receiving final confirmation to its title in 1879. For the next several years he lived on his homestead with his Hispanic wife Juana and a ten-year old adopted son Pablo Martínez. His farm was valued in 1880 at \$2,000 and his livestock, consisting of one horse, six oxen, and three swine, at \$150. The value of all farm products produced during the preceding year on Stitzel's farm was estimated at \$1,425.⁵⁴

Based on the scant available documentation, it does not appear that David Stitzel grew wealthy from his celebrated gold strike in 1877. Nor did he manage to live a quiet and peaceful life on his



The Modoc mine and mill, Organ Mountains, New Mexico, near the turn of the century. Courtesy Rio Grande Historical Collections, New Mexico State University Library.

homestead. In 1884 he shot and killed Charles Ramm, a former tenant on the Stitzel homestead, in an argument over ownership of a plow. Stitzel was tried before a jury of his peers, found guilty of murder in the fifth degree, and sentenced to eighteen months confinement in the new territorial prison. The presiding judge admonished Stitzel that he was lucky to get off so lightly as testimony showed that the killing had been unjustified despite his plea of self defense. There is no record that the old soldier served his sentence, but it is known that he lived the last thirty years of his life in Sierra County. His wife died at Hillsboro in 1902, and twelve years later, at the age of seventy-five, he married Margarita Martínez but died himself at Hillsboro on June 8, 1914, four months after the wedding ceremony.⁵⁵

The Las Animas Mining District which Stitzel helped found witnessed a fantastic period of expansion during the eighties and nineties, producing in a twenty year period an estimated \$6,750,000 in bullion. The population of Hillsboro rapidly expanded and by 1884 the town sported five stores, a good hotel, a lumber yard, a soda water factory, two saloons, one restaurant, two butcher shops, two blacksmiths, a drug store, and a livery stable.⁵⁶ Among its leading citizens was George O. Perrault, an ex-California trooper of Canadian birth, who engaged in mining and retailing and was part owner of a saloon. This gentleman located mines with tremendous energy; in a three month period he staked twenty-two claims in the mining districts surrounding Hillsboro, including one in the appropriately named Fraud Gulch, one and one-half miles southeast of Animas Peak. He immediately sold eighteen of these claims for \$1,000 to a capitalist from Greenfield, Massachusetts, and in the same year, 1881, Perrault and two partners sold a half interest in two mines in the Lake Valley District for \$600 to an investor from Washington, D.C.⁵⁷ A handful of other California veterans labored in the Hillsboro region, men like Jacob Laycock, Richard M. Johnson, Westy Peterson, and Charles Brakebill who left few written records and consequently have failed to stir imaginations of writers of history.

Seemingly no ravine, gulch, nor mountain slope in southern New Mexico escaped scrutiny from miners struck with gold fever at the close of the war. One of the least productive mineral

districts proved to be the San Andres Mountains in Doña Ana County, where, in the fall of 1866, at least eight California veterans, as well as General Carleton, joined other prospectors in locating gold and silver claims thirty-five miles northeast of the town of Doña Ana.⁵⁸

The real center for mining activity in Doña Ana County was the Organ Mountains, seventeen miles east from Las Cruces, where in the 1850s Hugh Stephenson of El Paso worked the famed Stephenson Mine, which became the most productive mine in the region. The history of this mine, though tangled and complex, touched the lives of several men from the California Column and will therefore be examined, even though the definitive history of the Stephenson Mine has yet to be written.

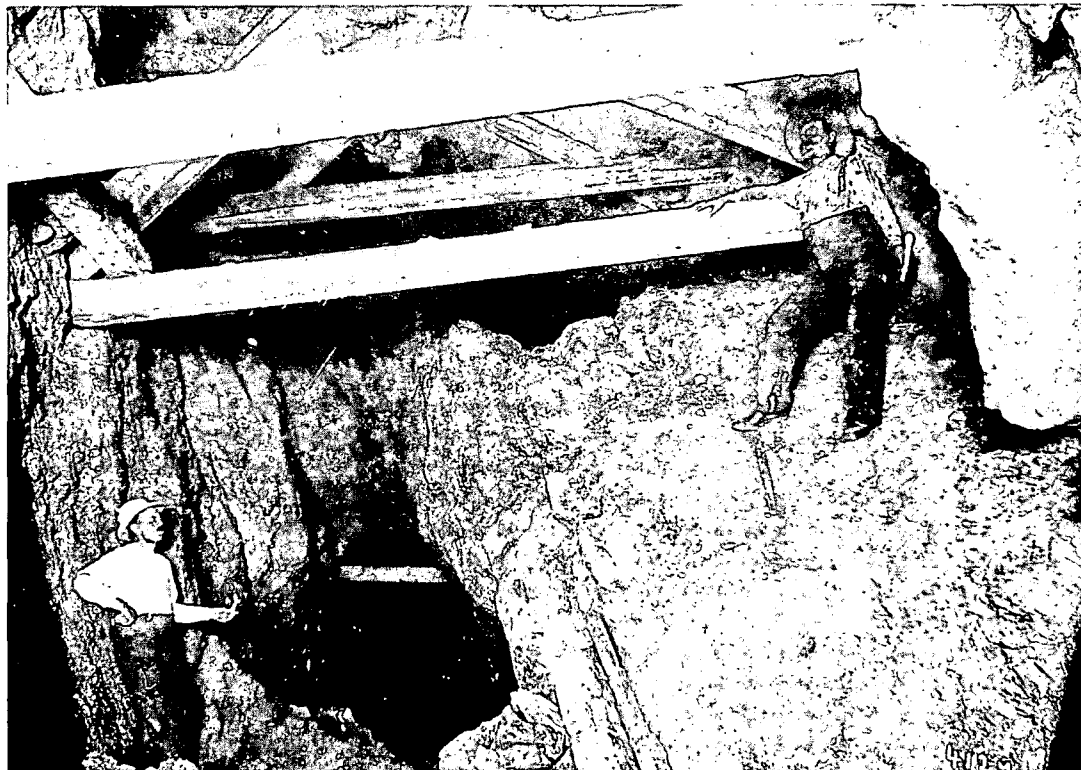
Hugh Stephenson acquired part interest in the mine in 1848 or 1849 and worked the claim for ten years smelting ore in an adobe furnace located near Fort Fillmore south of Las Cruces. Originally known as the Santo Domingo de la Calzada, the mine had several owners during the fifties, including Ramón Durán, José Pérez, Alejo Carrasco, Louis Flotte, and Hugh Stephenson.⁵⁹ In 1858 Stephenson sold his three-fourths interest in the mine to Josiah F. Crosby of El Paso and John T. Sprague of the United States Army and commander at Fort Fillmore for \$8,000. The two men subsequently deeded their three-fourths interest in the mine to Chauncey Bush of New York City. The remaining one-fourth interest, owned by Welcome B. Sayles of Providence, Rhode Island, was also transferred to Bush, who, in August 1859, deeded the Santo Domingo de la Calzada Mine to the Stephenson Silver Mining Company, organized to develop the "richest mine" in the Organ Mountains.⁶⁰

During the War of the Rebellion, two officers in the California Column, Colonel George W. Bowie and Captain Charles A. Smith, and El Paso politician William W. Mills gained legal possession of the Stephenson Mine through the courts, charging that it had been abandoned by its owners. Several California soldiers, in fact, believed that the Organ Mountains contained vast deposits of untapped mineral wealth. In August 1864 Captain William McCleave and Surgeon William H. McKee, both officers in the California volunteers, joined Bowie, Smith, Mills, and

Nepomuceno Carrasco in organizing the Carrasco Mining Company to work three mines located in the Organs—the Dolores, the Santa Susana, and the Santo Domingo de la Calzada. McKee was chosen director of the company while Carrasco was appointed superintendent. By November fifteen men were working under Carrasco's direction in the Calzada mine.⁶¹ In 1864 the Carrasco Mining Company purchased several claims that had been staked on the Calzada and Dolores lodes in earlier months, including those owned by three former California soldiers, Albert H. French, who became a member and shareholder in the company, Benjamin F. Harrover, and Joseph F. Bennett.⁶²

For several years the Stephenson Silver Mining Company and the Carrasco Mining Company were engaged in litigation concerning ownership to the old Stephenson Mine, but in November 1872 the *Las Cruces Borderer* announced that the two companies had consolidated and would soon begin active mining. Possibly as a result of this consolidation, the San Augustin Mining Company received a patent from the Interior Department to the Stephenson Mine on May 15, 1874 but for several years the company failed to develop the mine. Occasionally the press announced that work on the mine was about to begin, but it remained idle as late as 1882, apparently because of disagreements among stockholders.⁶³

Despite inactivity at the Stephenson Mine, the Organ Mountains continued to excite imaginations of residents living in the southern portion of the territory. At least a dozen California veterans staked claims in the Organs in the two decades following their discharge from the army, including William L. Rynerson and Joseph F. Bennett, who located or became associated with mines that developed into valuable mining properties. Among the more famous mines in the Organ Mountains was the Modoc, situated on the western slope about five miles south of the Stephenson and on the same mother lode as the Stephenson. It was located December 16, 1879 by John H. Rynerson, brother of William L. Rynerson who on the same date staked the Backbone Mine adjoining the Modoc. The two brothers and Nestor Armijo subsequently located The Great Republic Mine which also adjoined the Modoc. Additional mines staked by the Rynerson brothers included the Little Giant, the Valley Rose, and the Lebanon. In 1882 the two brothers and John



Miners in the Organ Mountains sometime around the turn of the century. Courtesy Rio Grande Historical Collections, New Mexico State University Library.

A. Miller, a former post trader at Fort Bayard, incorporated the Modoc Mining and Reduction Company to work the Modoc and nearby mines. Although the *Rio Grande Republican* predicted a lucrative future for the Modoc, lack of capital hampered its development.⁶⁴

Joseph F. Bennett located the Bennett Mine in the Organ Mountains on November 16, 1880—a mine which adjoined the Old Stephenson Mine and which later became part of the famed Stephenson-Bennett Consolidated Mine. Bennett staked two additional claims adjacent to the Stephenson on the same date, the Trinity and the Patton mines. He subsequently sold to William O. Cory of the United States Army one-half interest in the Trinity and Patton for \$500 and one-half interest in the Bennett for \$50. Bennett then sold one-fourth interest in the Trinity, Bennett, and Patton to John Dougher and William H. Skidmore for \$300 and one-fourth interest in the Bennett to Anne M. Dougher, John's wife, for \$350, thus ending in 1884 his ownership in the Bennett. Skidmore, who was superintendent of the Organ Mountain Mining Association of Philadelphia, purchased Cory's one-half interest in the Bennett in May 1886 for \$200.⁶⁵

The Bennett and the Stephenson were valuable mines, and efforts were made in the eighties to combine the two properties. Controlling interest in the San Augustin Company was held in the East although in 1884 New Mexicans Joseph F. Bennett, Singleton Ashenfelter, and Henry Lesinsky held one-third of the company's stock. Lesser shareholders included Phoebus Freudenthal, William O. Cory, and former California soldier Benjamin E. Davies, whose ranching property lay east of the Stephenson Mine in the Organ Mountains. To prevent litigation against the Bennett Mine by creditors and to enhance the value of each, the two famous mines were eventually combined as the Stephenson-Bennett Consolidated Mine. The president of the new company in 1891 was William T. Thornton, future governor of New Mexico, and its secretary was former California officer Albert J. Fountain.⁶⁶

One of the earliest discoveries of silver ore in New Mexico was made by the ubiquitous Peter W. Kinsinger at Pueblo Springs in Socorro County in 1863. Numerous prospectors worked that area in the later sixties, including a number of Kinsinger's former com-

rades, George F. Brown, Hugh D. Bullard, Emerson L. Smart, and John J. Shellhorn. It was George F. Brown who located the famed Ace of Spades Mine in this district in 1868.⁶⁷

Kinsinger's discovery at Pueblo Springs ultimately led to establishment of the Magdalena District near the north end of the Magdalena range of mountains twenty-six miles west of Socorro. Colonel J. S. Hutchason had traveled to the Pueblo Springs region in 1866 seeking the source of Kinsinger's silver ore. Failing to locate it, he turned toward the Magdalena Mountains where he discovered rich lead ore.⁶⁸ Other prospectors soon swarmed to the area and initially were interested in gold and silver to the exclusion of lead. By mid-1868 several former soldiers in the California Column were staking claims on the western slope of the Magdalena Mountains. George F. Brown and Hugh D. Bullard joined six other men, one of whom was Stephen B. Elkins, in locating 1500 feet of silver ore on the President Juarez Lode, while William V. B. Wardwell, David T. Harshaw, and five others located a silver claim on the Buena Vista Lode in the same locality.⁶⁹

The early seventies witnessed increased activity in the Magdalena Mountains, and the Albuquerque *Republican Review* boasted that Socorro's mines were the richest in New Mexico. Listed among the leading mines in this region were several located by California veterans: Powell Bingham's Poney and Alpine mines, Henry S. Hays' Grand Tower, and Lewis F. Sanburn's Succor. By December 1874 a mixed population of some two hundred-fifty Anglos and Hispanos had settled at Magdalena and by the following year the camp sported numerous primitive houses, two stores, two saloons, one hotel, several boarding houses, and two or three fandango halls.⁷⁰

The true bonanza period of the Magdalena mines, however, came in the 1880s with arrival of the railroad and the increased flow of eastern capital. Prior to 1900 the Magdalena District was one of the most productive mineral regions in the territory, and it was sturdy miners like the ex-soldiers from California who had paved the way for this brilliant development.⁷¹

Contemporary with discoveries made in the Magdalena District was the discovery of gold in Water Canyon on the northeast slope of the Magdalena Mountains sixteen miles west of Socorro. Miners

were at work in Cañon de Agua as early as January 1867, but a California veteran, Patrick Higgins, is credited with establishing the first mineral claims there in 1868.⁷² The following year Higgins and a partner located preemption claims of 320 acres on the west side of Magdalena Mountains, two miles from Ojo Arreta where they had land under cultivation. Other miners continued to work in Water Canyon for several years but with relatively little success.⁷³

In the early seventies Emerson L. Smart and others first prospected the Cat Mountain District located twelve miles southwest of Magdalena. Although they failed to uncover significant leads, Smart continued prospecting in the region and staked at least five new claims in the early eighties. The district was never a major producer of mineral wealth but it was actively mined into the twentieth century.⁷⁴

Far to the west of Socorro, James C. Cooney, a soldier stationed at Fort Bayard, discovered silver in the Mogollon Mountains in 1875. Hostile Apaches prevented miners from working the area effectively, and during a raid on the district in 1880 Cooney was killed by Victorio and his warriors. The area's spectacular development dates from the mid-eighties after the Apaches had been driven from the region.⁷⁵ Still, at least two California veterans, William L. Rynerson and Robert V. Newsham, staked claims in Cooney District prior to the quieting of the Indian frontier. On July 5, 1878 Rynerson located—with James C. Cooney serving as witness—the North Extension Number 3 Copper Queen Mine seven miles from the San Francisco River on the northwestern slope of Mogollon Mountains. The following year Newsham located his Vault Mine in the same general area, and three months prior to Cooney's death Newsham located the Alta Mine.⁷⁶

California veterans searched for gold and silver throughout most of the territory, including the mountains and ravines in present-day Lincoln County. East of Sierra Blanca a few miles west of the village of Nogal, placer gold was found in Dry Gulch in 1865. Prospectors swarmed over the area, and in 1868 William Gill, a California veteran, made the first discovery of gold quartz in the Nogal District. Although the region produced only small amounts of gold, Gill sold his famed American Mine and two

other claims in 1885 to Dr. W. G. Hunter of Kentucky for \$25,000.⁷⁷

North of Nogal District in the Jicarilla Mountains, placer gold was worked intermittently during the sixties. Ranchers and prospectors judged the placers to be extensive and rich, but scarcity of water hindered development. In winter months snow was melted to sluice the gold.⁷⁸

During the seventies attempts were made to sink wells in the Jicarilla District, but the problem of sufficient water remained unsolved. Colonel Emil Fritz, a California veteran and one of Lincoln County's most illustrious pioneers, located several claims in the district, and with his partner, Lawrence G. Murphy, backed a major effort to sink artesian wells.⁷⁹ About three hundred "American" and forty "Mexican" miners were at work in the Jicarilla District in 1877. Water remained scarce, but small mountain streams and a few wells supplied water for the operation of several "dry washers." For the most part, however, the Jicarilla placers remained undeveloped, although territorial boomers remained enthusiastic over their mineral potential.⁸⁰

A former saddler in the First California Cavalry, John V. Winters was a member of the small group of prospectors whose discovery of gold ore in 1879 led to the establishment of White Oaks, one of New Mexico's most celebrated mining camps and center of mining activity in Lincoln County. John E. Wilson and John V. Winters staked a claim in the fall of that year to 1500 feet on a gold lode which they named the Homestake, the first quartz mine to be located in the Jicarilla Mountains. The two partners shortly thereafter split the claim with Wilson taking the south section and Winters the north. The customary stampede to the new location soon followed; by April 1880 over two hundred men were in camp with prospectors arriving daily.⁸¹

The two Homestake mines, North and South, generated enormous excitement among developers. Wilson sold the South Homestake to the Homestake Gold Mining Company for \$300,000 although he retained stock in the company.⁸² On December 23, 1879 Jack Winters deeded to Caroline Dolan, the wife of James J. Dolan of Lincoln County War fame, 350 feet of the North Homestake, and on the same date Dolan and wife conveyed half of

their interest to Joseph A. LaRue. LaRue and Marcus Brunswick, a silent partner in the proceedings, then advanced several thousand dollars to work the mine. Everyone estimated that the North Homestake was worth millions and in succeeding years it became the leading producer of gold in the district. With his share of the proceeds, Winters bought a "wagon load of whisky and made the whole town drunk."⁸³

Winters died March 21, 1881 at the age of 64 so that it is not likely that he enjoyed the benefits of his early discovery. Little is known about his early history, although his service record reveals that he was born in Little York, Pennsylvania, and was by trade a shoemaker. In 1870 he resided in Santa Fe County, and his occupation was listed in the census as miner. Seven years later he ran a ranch two miles north of the Jicarilla mines where he boarded miners, accepting in return half-interest in their claims rather than cash. After locating the Homestake Mine, Winters continued to prospect and opened several other mines in the White Oaks District.⁸⁴

As Winters had died intestate and without a known wife or relatives living in New Mexico, a notice of his death was published in the Pennsylvania press since it was thought that he had relatives living in western Pennsylvania. Several "pretender" brothers, sisters, and widows subsequently turned up to claim Winters' estate, but after a lengthy court battle, his legitimate heirs were granted ownership to the Homestake Mine, which they then sold for \$40,000 to W. G. Hunter, the mining investor.⁸⁵

Very few former California soldiers struck it rich in New Mexico's mining districts, but the fantasy of instant wealth kept large numbers combing isolated mountain valleys and barren hill slopes for signs of color. Men holding such visions quickly succumbed to one of the most celebrated mining frauds perpetrated in the American West—the diamond hoax of 1872.

Two prospectors, Philip Arnold and John Slack, took uncut diamonds to San Francisco in the early part of that year and let it be known to interested investors that the diamonds had been found at some undisclosed site in the West. Word of this discovery soon leaked to the rest of the world and by fall men with acquisitive instincts diligently were seeking the location of this new

windfall. Many speculated that the diamond fields were in Arizona; consequently Santa Fe became a staging area for easterners seeking their fortune among the newly discovered gems.⁸⁶

New Mexico residents contributed to, and were affected by, the diamond hysteria which swept the country. Former California cavalryman John Ayers was given credit by the Santa Fe press as being the first New Mexican to interest himself in the Arizona gems and was thereafter called "their discoverer."⁸⁷ Ayers led a party to Navajo country in September to investigate the fields at close hand, returning with what he labeled a true diamond and reports that Navajo agent and former California volunteer Thomas V. Keam had discovered several others larger in size. And in October Joseph F. Bennett journeyed to the diamond fields, which were then driving strong-willed investors like him wild with excitement. It was difficult not to succumb to diamond fever after hearing such fantastic stories as the one told by an old regular army man, Michael Cronin, who reported that some sixteen years earlier "Navajo diamonds were then so numerous and cheap with the men of the old rifle regiment, that, a canteen of sutler's whiskey could at any time command a haversack full."⁸⁸

In November, however, Clarence King, director of the Fortieth Parallel Survey, revealed that the diamond field, which he located in northwestern Colorado close to the Wyoming border, was a gigantic fraud. The New Mexico press carried articles exposing the hoax, but such reports failed to dampen the enthusiasm of all fortune seekers, including Thomas V. Keam who continued to profess that precious gems could be found near Fort Defiance.⁸⁹

Hundreds of Anglo and Hispanic men combed New Mexico's hills and mountains after the close of the Civil War seeking easy wealth and fortune. Americans everywhere were intent upon exploiting the nation's resources, and mountainous regions throughout the West were diligently searched by a special breed of human beings whose acquisitive spirits softened the rigors of living in primitive camps and rough surroundings.

The men of the old California Column were only a small percentage of pioneers who prospected and mined in New Mexico's rugged terrain, but their contributions were significant. Peter W. Kinsinger, Richard Yeamans, David Stitzel, and John V. Winters

were responsible for opening at least five of the territory's leading mineral districts. Dozens of other California men who prospected the hills and who opened mines in isolated regions created jobs for other New Mexicans, helped establish several new towns, and worked to attract eastern and foreign capital that was necessary to develop New Mexico's mining potential. Ex-California soldiers and men just like them laid the groundwork in the sixties and seventies which allowed New Mexico's mining to grow to truly massive proportions in the last two decades of the century.

NOTES

1. George B. Anderson, *The History of New Mexico, Its Resources and People* (Los Angeles, 1907), 2:572, 619-21, 624, 676, 832; Stanley Crocchiola, *The Civil War in New Mexico* (Denver, 1960), p. 160; Fayette Alexander Jones, *New Mexico Mines and Minerals* (Santa Fe, 1904), p. 123; William A. Keleher, *The Fabulous Frontier, Twelve New Mexico Items* (Albuquerque, 1962), p. x; C. L. Sonnichsen, *Pass of the North, Four Centuries on the Rio Grande* (El Paso, 1968), p. 168.

2. Civil War activities of the California Column are described in Aurora Hunt, *The Army of the Pacific* (Glendale, 1950); Aurora Hunt, *Major General James Henry Carleton* (Glendale, 1958); Ray C. Colton, *The Civil War in the Western Territories* (Norman, 1959).

3. More than two hundred military service records and pension claims were consulted during the course of this study. See Compiled Military Service Records, Civil War, California Volunteers, Records of the Adjutant General's Office, Record Group 94, National Archives, Washington, D.C., and Pension Application Files, Civil War Series, Records of the Veterans Administration, Record Group 15; National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as Pension Application Files).

4. John Ayers, "A Soldier's Experience in New Mexico," *New Mexico Historical Review* (NMHR), 24 (July 1949):259; David N. Catanach, Pension Application Files; Samuel Creevey, Pension Application Files.

5. Place of birth for the California volunteers primarily was obtained from New Mexico census returns for 1870 and 1880, in addition to Pension Applications. See Population Schedules of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, New Mexico, Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives, Microfilm Publication 593, rolls 893-897 (hereafter cited as New Mexico Census, 1870) and Population Schedules of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880, New Mexico, Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives,

Microfilm Publication T 9, rolls 802-804 (hereafter cited as New Mexico Census, 1880).

6. New Mexico Census, 1870, and New Mexico Census, 1880.

7. Barney W. Connelly, Pension Application Files; John D. Barncastle, Pension Application Files.

8. William L. Rynerson, Pension Application Files; William Gillet Ritch Collection, MS no. 2009 (Huntington Library).

9. John D. Barncastle, Pension Application Files.

10. *Daily Alta California*, July 10, 1862.

11. Carleton to Pishon, June 22, 1863, "Condition of the Indian Tribes," 39 Cong., 2d sess., *Senate Report No. 156* (Serial 1279), p. 115.

12. Hubert H. Bancroft states that in 1870 there were 2,760 people in New Mexico who were born in parts of the United States other than New Mexico and 1,717 people born in foreign countries other than Mexico. These figures have been used to estimate the so-called Anglo-American population of New Mexico. Hubert H. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888* (San Francisco, 1889), p. 723. The total population of New Mexico in 1870 was approximately 92,000.

13. See New Mexico Census, 1870 and Richard H. Orton, comp., *Records of California Men in the War of the Rebellion, 1861-1867* (Sacramento, 1890).

14. Darlis A. Miller, "William Logan Rynerson in New Mexico, 1862-1893," *NMHR*, 48 (January 1973):102.

15. Santa Fe *Daily New Mexican*, February 3, 1873; Lewis Clark, San Miguel County, New Mexico Census, 1870.

16. Henry Ostrander, Mora County, New Mexico Census, 1870; William V. B. Wardell, Socorro County, New Mexico Census, 1870.

17. Jim B. Pearson, *The Maxwell Land Grant* (Norman, 1961), pp. 16-17; Paige W. Christiansen, *The Story of Mining in New Mexico* (Socorro, 1974), p. 35; Jones, *New Mexico Mines*, p. 123; Peter W. Kinsinger, Pension Application Files.

18. Orton, *California Men*, p. 379; Pearson, *Maxwell*, p. 17; Santa Fe *Weekly Gazette*, June 20, 1868.

19. Pearson, *Maxwell*, p. 21; Jones, *New Mexico Mines*, pp. 142-143.

20. Ralph Emerson Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, 1912), vol. 3, p. 67; Pearson, *Maxwell*, pp. 23-33; Santa Fe *Daily New Mexican*, July 14, 1868.

21. Orton, *California Men*, p. 362; Pearson, *Maxwell*, pp. 30-33; George B. Anderson, *The History of New Mexico, Its Resources and People* (Los Angeles, 1907), vol. 1, p. 235; Santa Fe *Daily New Mexican*, October 28, November 8, 1871. Anderson and Pearson are in error when they state that Wall Henderson shot and killed Stinson.

22. Pearson, *Maxwell*, pp. 41-42; Twitchell, *Leading Facts*, vol. 3, p. 67; Santa Fe *Weekly Gazette*, June 20, 1868; Santa Fe *New Mexican*, November 24, 1868; Santa Fe *Daily New Mexican*, July 17, 1871.

23. Peter W. Kinsinger, Pension Application Files; Santa Fe *Daily New Mexican*, March 29, 1870; *Cimarron News and Press*, March 11, 1880.

24. *Mining Claims, Records, No. 2*, Doña Ana County (Doña Ana County Court House, Las Cruces, New Mexico), pp. 19-25, 36-47, 172-173 (hereafter cited as *Mining Claims No. 2*, Doña Ana County); Executive Records, October 6, 1865-November 5, 1866, entry for January 31, 1866, Records of the Secretary of State, Record Group 59, Territorial Papers, New Mexico, National Archives Microfilm Publication T-17, roll 3.

25. *Mining Claims No. 2*, Doña Ana County, pp. 84-86, 89-94, 99-101, 168-169, 170-171.

26. Santa Fe *Weekly Gazette*, June 27, 1867; Santa Fe *New Mexican*, February 25, March 17, 1868.

27. *Mining Claims No. 2*, Doña Ana County, pp. 190-192.

28. *Mining Claims No. 2*, Doña Ana County, p. 435.

29. *Mining Claims No. 2*, Doña Ana County, pp. 369-370, 435, 427-428.

30. The numerous mineral holdings for Rynerson, Hudson, Crittenden, and Houston can be found in records of mining claims located in the courthouses for Doña Ana and Grant counties, but see specifically *Mining Locations No. 1*, Grant County (Grant County Court House, Silver City, New Mexico), pp. 18, 23, 220, 268 (hereafter cited as *Mining Locations No. 1*, Grant County); *Mining Claims No. 2*, Doña Ana County, p. 268.

31. Santa Fe *Daily New Mexican*, February 7, 1877; Christiansen, *Story of Mining*, pp. 38, 48.

32. Barney W. Connelly, Pension Application Files; Orton, *California Men*, pp. 112, 364, 395.

33. Santa Fe *Daily New Mexican*, July 19, 1872; Las Cruces *Borderer*, April 6, 1871, February 7, May 8, 1872; *Mining Locations No. 1*, Grant County, p. 59; *Deeds No. 1*, Grant County (Grant County Court House, Silver City, New Mexico), pp. 208, 216, 307-308 (hereafter cited as *Deeds No. 1*, Grant County).

34. Barney W. Connelly, Pension Application Files; *Mesilla Valley Independent*, December 8, 1877.

35. Barney W. Connelly, Pension Application Files; Patrick Connelly, Pension Application Files.

36. Rita and Janaloo Hill, "Alias Shakespeare, The Town Nobody Knew," *NMHR*, 42 (July 1967):218; Don Schellie, *Vast Domain of Blood; the Story of the Camp Grant Massacre* (Los Angeles, 1968), pp. 26-29; *Deed Record No. 18*, Grant County (Grant County Court House, Silver City, New Mexico), pp. 298-299 (hereafter cited as *Deed Record No. 18*, Grant County).

37. Santa Fe *Daily New Mexican*, June 18, 1870; Silver City *Grant County Herald*, August 2, 1879; Conrad Keeler Naegle, "The History of Silver City, New Mexico, 1870-1886" (thesis, University of New Mexico, 1943), p. 15.

38. Naegle, p. 18; Santa Fe *Daily New Mexican*, June 18, 1870; *Deed Record No. 18*, Grant County, pp. 144-147.

39. Las Cruces *Borderer*, March 16, 1871; Christiansen, *Story of Mining*, p. 51.

40. *Deed Record No. 18*, Grant County, p. 328; *Las Cruces Borderer*, February 7, 1872; *Silver City Grant County Herald*, July 11, 1875; Richard Yeamans, Probate Files, Grant County (Grant County Court House, Silver City, New Mexico).

41. Naegle, "History of Silver City," p. 22; *Deeds No. 1*, Grant County, pp. 65-68, 126, 127, 133; *Las Cruces Borderer*, May 8, December 28, 1872; *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, April 5, 1873.

42. *Deeds No. 1*, Grant County, pp. 139-146, 189-191; *Las Cruces Borderer*, July 3, August 14, 24, September 14, November 30, 1872.

43. *Las Cruces Borderer*, December 7, 1872; *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, June 7, 1873; *Deeds No. 1*, Grant County, pp. 385-385, 415-416; *Civil and Criminal Record [1871-1874]*, Doña Ana County (Doña Ana County Court House, Las Cruces, New Mexico), p. 291.

44. *Silver City Grant County Herald*, August 5, 12, 1876, September 22, 1877, May 4, June 1, November 16, 1878.

45. Naegle, "History of Silver City," pp. 121, 127; *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, June 6, 1874.

46. *Las Cruces Borderer*, September 14, 1872.

47. *Deeds No. 1*, Grant County, pp. 198, 317-319, 493-495.

48. *Deeds No. 1*, Grant County, pp. 648-651; *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, June 6, 1874; *Albuquerque Republican Review*, February 20, 1875.

49. *Records F [1875-1879]*, Socorro County (Socorro County Court House, Socorro, New Mexico), pp. 296-326 (hereafter cited as *Records F*, Socorro County); Anderson, *History of New Mexico*, vol. 2, pp. 966-967; Twitchell, *Leading Facts*, vol. 4, p. 269; *Silver City Grant County Herald*, February 16, May 11, 1878.

50. *Silver City Grant County Herald*, May 11, 1878; *Las Cruces Thirty-Four*, March 5, August 20, 1879.

51. David Stitzel, Pension Application Files.

52. *Albuquerque Semi-weekly Review*, December 1, 1868; *Journal, Second Judicial District, Record Book A 1* (October 2, 1865-September 8, 1872), Records of the District Court of the United States, New Mexico Territory, Record Group 21, Federal Records Center, Denver, Colorado, pp. 204, 207; Cause No. 78, *The United States vs. David Stitzel [sic]*, Records of the District Court of the United States, New Mexico Territory, Records of the Second Judicial District, Civil and Criminal Case Files, 1866-1880, Record Group 21, Federal Records Center, Denver, Colorado.

53. David Stitzel, Pension Application Files; *Las Cruces Borderer*, May 15, 22, 1872; *Mining Locations No. 1*, Grant County, p. 166; *Deeds No. 1*, Grant County, p. 465.

54. *Silver City Grant County Herald*, July 19, 1879; David Stitzel, Application No. 104, Homestead Declaratory Statements and Homesteads, Santa Fe, N.M. and La Mesilla, N.M., Records of the General Land Office, Record Group 49, Federal Records Center, Denver, Colorado; David Stitzel, Grant County, New Mexico Census, 1880; David Stitzel, Grant County, Agricultural Schedules

of the Tenth Census of the United States, 1880 (State of New Mexico Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico).

55. Silver City *Southwest-Sentinel*, December 13, 20, 1884; *District Court Record 7 A* [1883-1885], Grant County (Grant County Court House, Silver City, New Mexico), pp. 378-400, 475, 476; David Stitzel, Pension Application Files.

56. Christiansen, *Story of Mining*, p. 78; Las Cruces *Rio Grande Republican*, October 13, 1883; Santa Fe *Daily New Mexican*, February 14, 1882.

57. *Mining Claims No. 2*, Doña Ana County, pp. 592-612; *Mining Claims 3*, Doña Ana County (Doña Ana County Court House, Las Cruces, New Mexico), pp. 19-114, 255-256, 568-569 (hereafter cited as *Mining Claims 3*, Doña Ana County).

58. *Mining Claims No. 2*, Doña Ana County, pp. 155-278.

59. Jones, *New Mexico Mines*, p. 73; Rex W. Strickland, *Six Who Came to El Paso, Pioneers of the 1840's*, Southwestern Studies, vol. 1, No. 3 (El Paso, 1963), pp. 35-36; *Records Vol. B*, Doña Ana County (Doña Ana County Court House, Las Cruces, New Mexico), pp. 59, 175 (hereafter cited as *Records Vol. B*, Doña Ana County).

60. *Records Vol. B*, Doña Ana County, pp. 325-326, 444-449. *Rio Grande Republican* dated February 21, 1885 states that Hugh Stephenson became interested in the mine in 1852 and that he sold his three-fourths interest for \$12,000. Two other published works claim that officers at Fort Fillmore purchased the mine for \$12,500. Doña Ana County records show that Hugh Stephenson received \$8,000 for a three-fourths interest; they do not reveal how or for what price Sayles received his one-fourth interest. In 1859 Horace Stephenson, Hugh's son, sold to Sprague and Crosby for \$5,000 the Stephenson Smelting House and 160 acres near Fort Fillmore. Total receipt from the two sales may be the basis for writers stating that Stephenson received \$12,000 or more for his mine.

61. *Probate Journal A*, Doña Ana County (Doña Ana County Court House, Las Cruces, New Mexico), entries for July 18, October 3, 5, 1864; *Deed Record 1*, Doña Ana County (Doña Ana County Court House, Las Cruces, New Mexico), p. 116.

62. *Mining Claims No. 2*, Doña Ana County, pp. 119-121, 286-294, 302-320, 326-347.

63. Las Cruces *Borderer*; November 9, 1872; *Rio Grande Republican*, January 21, 1882, April 21, May 12, 1883; *Mesilla Valley Independent*, January 11, 18, 1879.

64. Christiansen, p. 55; *Rio Grande Republican*, June 4, 1881, April 15, September 30, 1882, January 20, 1883; *Mining Claims No. 2*, Doña Ana County, pp. 502-504; *Mining Claims 3*, Doña Ana County, pp. 178-179, 195, 339; *Mining Deeds No. 1*, Doña Ana County (Doña Ana County Court House, Las Cruces, New Mexico), p. 54.

65. *Mining Claims No. 2*, Doña Ana County, pp. 562-565; *Mining Claims 3*, Doña Ana County, pp. 539-540; *Mining Deeds No. 2*, Doña Ana County (Doña Ana County Court House, Las Cruces, New Mexico), pp. 140-141, 196, 198-200.

66. Bennett to Skidmore, August 24, 1884 and October 6, 1884, and contract dated October 24, 1888, W. H. Skidmore Collection, Rio Grande Historical Collection, New Mexico State University; *Rio Grande Republican*, March 20, 1891.

67. Jones, *New Mexico Mines*, p. 123; *Book U*, Socorro County (State of New Mexico Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico), pp. 196, 198 (hereafter cited as *Book U*, Socorro County).

68. Jones, *New Mexico Mines*, pp. 119-121.

69. *Book U*, Socorro County, pp. 200, 259.

70. Albuquerque *Republican Review*, October 5, November 23, 1872, December 4, 1875; Santa Fe *Daily New Mexican*, December 24, 1874.

71. Christiansen, *Story of Mining*, pp. 52-53, 69.

72. Jones, *New Mexico Mines*, p. 126; Santa Fe *New Mexican*, February 23, 1867.

73. *Book U*, Socorro County, p. 345.

74. Jones, *New Mexico Mines*, p. 125; *Records J*, Socorro County (Socorro County Court House, Socorro, New Mexico), pp. 254, 258, 501, 647.

75. Twitchell, *Leading Facts*, vol. 4, p. 285; Christiansen, *Story of Mining*, p. 70.

76. *Records F*, Socorro County (Socorro County Court House, Socorro, New Mexico), p. 462; *Records B*, Socorro County (Socorro County Court House, Socorro, New Mexico), pp. 106-107, 159-160.

77. Christiansen, *Story of Mining*, p. 39; Anderson, *History of New Mexico*, vol. 2, p. 952; Morris B. Parker, *White Oaks, Life in a New Mexico Gold Camp, 1880-1900* (Tucson, 1971), p. 4; *Deed Record G*, Lincoln County (Lincoln County Court House, Carrizozo, New Mexico), pp. 299-300.

78. Christiansen, *Story of Mining*, p. 39; Santa Fe *Weekly Gazette*, August 11, November 24, 1866; Santa Fe *Daily New Mexican*, August 26, 1870; Las Cruces *Borderer*, September 20, 1871; Albuquerque *Republican Review*, April 10, 1875.

79. *Mining Record Book A*, Lincoln County (Lincoln County Court House, Carrizozo, New Mexico), pp. 21-25; book marked *E-Misc.*, Lincoln County (Lincoln County Court House, Carrizozo, New Mexico), pp. 27-29; Santa Fe *Daily New Mexican*, August 26, 1870; Las Cruces *Borderer*, September 20, 1871; Albuquerque *Republican Review*, April 10, 1875.

80. Santa Fe *Daily New Mexican*, June 15, 1877.

81. Parker, *White Oaks*, p. 5; Anderson, *History of New Mexico*, vol. 2, p. 952; *Mining Record Book B*, Lincoln County (Lincoln County Court House, Carrizozo, New Mexico), p. 180 (hereafter cited as *Mining Record Book B*, Lincoln County); *Deed Record B*, Lincoln County (Lincoln County Court House, Carrizozo, New Mexico), pp. 46-47 (hereafter cited as *Deed Record B*, Lincoln County); Santa Fe *Weekly New Mexican*, April 26, 1880; *Cimarron News and Press*, February 26, April 15, 1880.

82. *Deed Record B*, Lincoln County, pp. 113-114; Las Vegas *Daily Optic*, February 22, 1881.

83. *Deed Record B*, Lincoln County, pp. 44-45; *Brunswick v. Winters' Heirs*, 3 N.M., p. 241, 5 Pac., p. 706.

84. John V. Winters, *Compiled Military Service Records*; John V. Winters, Santa Fe County, New Mexico Census, 1870; *Cimarron News and Press*, March 31, 1881; *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, June 23, 1877; *Mesilla Valley Independent*, August 11, 1877; *Deed Record B*, Lincoln County, pp. 83-84; *Mining Record Book B*, Lincoln County, pp. 234, 235; *Mining Record Book G*, Lincoln County (Lincoln County Court House, Carrizozo, New Mexico), pp. 32, 33, 36.

85. John V. Winter, Probate Files, Lincoln County (Lincoln County Court House, Carrizozo, New Mexico); *Brunswick v. Winters' Heirs*, 3 N.M., p. 241, 5 Pac., p. 706; *Deed Record H*, Lincoln County (Lincoln County Court House, Carrizozo, New Mexico), pp. 232-235.

86. William H. Goetzmann, *Exploration and Empire* (New York, 1966), pp. 452-457.

87. *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, August 24, 1872.

88. *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, September 20, 1872; *Albuquerque Republican Review*, October 5, 1872; *Las Cruces Borderer*, October 5, 19, 1872.

89. *Santa Fe Daily New Mexican*, November 26, 27, December 4, 13, 16, 1872.