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GOVERNMENT EXPLORATIONS IN THE TERRITORY OF NEW MEXICO 1846-1859¹

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BY the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, 1848, the United States came into possession of a vast tract of western land. In the same year gold was discovered in California and this was soon followed by discoveries in other portions of the Far West. A mighty immigrant wave followed. The newly-acquired Indian wards disputed the advance of the gold-seekers and settlers. The peaceful Indians suffered at the hands of the wild tribes, as well as from unscrupulous whites. The extended frontier made the adoption of a definite governmental policy in the trans-Mississippi West paramount. The government met this need promptly. During the period, 1848-1861, it initiated a comprehensive policy which embraced the greater part of the Far West. Its extensive program involved: (1) opening the Far West to trade and settlement; (2) surveying routes for Pacific Railroads; (3) frontier defense; and (4) surveying the Southwestern boundary. In carrying out this policy army officers and engineers explored most of the trans-Mississippi country, surveyed the principal western rivers, and ran the boundary line. This program also included the construction of a network of roads, the establishment of military posts and Indian reservations, the dispatch of punitive expedi-

1. This article is part of a doctoral dissertation prepared under the direction of Professor T. M. Marshall, Washington University, St. Louis. Professor R. P. Bieber of the same institution has made valuable suggestions in the preparation of this paper.

2 NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

tions against the Indians, and the formulation of treaties with the tribes. It is the purpose of this paper to show how the federal government carried out a definite exploration policy in the territory of New Mexico, or the Ninth Military Department,² in the interest of the immigrant, the trader, the prospector, and the settler.

The exploration program was started while the Mexican War was in progress. Colonel Stephen W. Kearny, who had been ordered to capture New Mexico and California, conducted the first official expedition to the Pacific across the New Mexican Territory. While Kearny's expedition was primarily for military purposes, an important phase was exploration. The reconnaissance division was headed by Lieutenant William H. Emory, Topographical Engineer, who was assisted by Lieutenants W. H. Warner, James W. Abert, and William G. Peck of the Topographical Engineers, and J. M. Stanley and Norman Bestor. Emory was instructed by Colonel John J. Abert to collect data which would give the government some idea of the character of the regions traversed.³

Kearny and his "Army of the West" left Fort Leavenworth on June 27, 1846, and on August 18 entered Santa Fé. Within five weeks he left Colonel Alexander W. Doniphan in charge of affairs and proceeded to the Pacific

2. At the close of the Mexican War, for purposes of military administration, the United States was divided into two Divisions, Eastern and Western, and eleven Departments. Between August 31, 1848, and October 3, 1853, the territory of New Mexico was known as the Ninth Military Department. From the latter date to the eve of the Civil War it was designated as the Department of New Mexico. Like the other military departments, its boundaries were modified from time to time. On July 3, 1861, the Department of New Mexico was merged into the Western Department. R. P. Thian, *Notes Illustrating the Military Geography of the United States; 1813-1880* (Washington, 1881), 49-50, 71; *American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge for the year 1848-1861* (Boston, 1847-1860), XX, 111-112; General Orders, Number 49, 1848, Number 58, 1849, Number 56, 1851, Numbers 5, 25, 1853, Number 40, 1861. Ms., General Order Books, XII-XIV, 1847-1861, Old Records Section, Adjutant General's Office, Washington.

3. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 41, p. 7.

coast. Leaving Santa Fé on September 25, Kearny's army,⁴ mounted on mules, moved down the Rio Grande Valley about 230 miles. At Fray Cristóbal the command, separating from the wagon train which took a more southerly route, crossed the dividing ridge nearly on the 33rd parallel, struck the Gila and followed it to its junction with the Colorado. Crossing this stream about ten miles below the mouth of the Gila, Kearny travelled northwest over the Colorado desert. By December 5 the army crossed the summit of the coast range through Warner's Pass, and a week later arrived at San Diego, where the principal reconnaissance terminated.⁵

Although the journey was accompanied by no startling adventures, the men and animals suffered considerable hardships. Upon leaving the Rio Grande the command struck out toward the southwest and marched over a tortuous course of valleys, mountains, streams, and stunted timber. Numerous varieties of gigantic cacti appeared everywhere. The march along the Gila was extremely difficult: the mules stumbled repeatedly because of the steep ascents and descents; deep gullies cut the river banks; the troops wound dizzily through cañons, over mountains, and under overhanging cliffs; huge boulders, deep sands, and sharp pebbles obstructed the trail; "mirages distorted the landscape into many fantastic shapes"; ruins of dwellings of an ancient race added to the barrenness of the scene; game was scarce, but lizards, scorpions and tarantulas were plentiful. Beyond the Colorado the worn and weary band entered a more barren and desolate region. Men, horses, and mules plodded through a ninety mile stretch of drifting sand. The jaded animals were left behind to die. The

4. At Santa Fé, Kearny divided his command. After garrisoning this post, he detached Colonel Doniphan with 850 men to form a junction with Taylor at Monterey; he ordered the wagon train and the Mormon battalion under Colonel Cooke to open a new wagon road, while he led about 100 First Dragoons. John T. Hughes, *Doniphan's Expedition* (Cincinnati, 1848), 27, 205-208; Louis Pelzer, *Marches of Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley* (Iowa City, 1917), 142; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 1, pp. 513-517.

5. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 41, pp. 45-118.

rations became low and the men consumed an entire horse with great relish.

Emory kept a journal of the expedition. His account, accompanied by an excellent map, and numerous sketches and drawings, proved highly valuable. It contained a good description of the country, its inhabitants, its plant, and animal life. The relics of the ancient inhabitants, the ruins, pottery, and rock inscriptions of mastodons, horses, dogs, and men, examined by Emory for the first time, attracted much attention. The data obtained by the Topographical Engineers proved of great value to those who were to follow. Emory and his men made astronomical observations, measured distances, located mountains, plains, cañons, and streams; they collected many plants and examined rocks which threw considerable light on the botany and geology of the country; they added materially to the knowledge about the habits and character of the Apache, the Pima, and the Coco-Maricopa Indians. This expedition was the first in the series of scientific transcontinental surveys of the Far Southwest.⁶

Colonel Philip St. George Cooke, one of Kearny's officers, conducted the second expedition to California. Cooke, who led the Mormon Battalion, had been ordered by Kearny to locate a wagon road south of the route followed by the "Army of the West." Cooke's command which was composed of about 350 men, each company having a three-mule wagon, separated from Kearny's army at Fray Cristóbal.⁷ Moving southwestward to Ojo de Vaca, the wagon train was guided by Antoine Leroux to the Guadalupe Pass, through which a trail led to Janos. On reaching the pass, Cooke was obliged to cut a road for his wagons. Moving along the San Pedro River, the command turned northward to Tucson, where Cooke experienced some difficulty in getting permission to pass through the town. From Tucson the route led to the Pima villages and thence down the Gila to its junction

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-127, 567-614.

7. Hughes, *opus cit.*, 210-211; Stephen W. Kearny, Letter Book, 1846-'47, p. 97. Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis.

with the Colorado. Crossing the latter stream, the command marched northwest across the desert to Warner's Ranch, and thence westward to San Diego, arriving there on January 29, 1847.

Cooke's route, located south of Kearny's, was almost an arc, with one point near El Paso and the other near the Pima villages. Its southern extremity was on a line with San Bernardino. The command had been on the march from Fray Cristóbal three months and ten days, and had suffered many hardships from the lack of food and water.⁸ But Cooke had accomplished his object: he had proved that a wagon road could be constructed to the Pacific and had been the first to build such a road.⁹ This new southern wagon route served not only as an important aid for the California immigrants but also as a potent factor in the Gadsden Purchase. Troops occasionally used a portion or the whole of Cooke's wagon route.¹⁰

When Kearny left Santa Fé, his entire reconnaissance staff did not accompany him. Lieutenants Abert and Peck were left with instructions to make explorations in the neighboring region. Their detailed instructions from Lieutenant Emory, September 14, 1846, directed them to chart the course of the Rio Grande and its tributaries to the base of the mountains or beyond the settlements, and to determine the width of the valleys, the position of towns, and hills. They were also to secure statistical information such as the size of the population, amount of live stock, quantities of grain under cultivation, facilities and localities for water power to operate machinery, and mineral resources.

Pursuant to these instructions, Abert and Peck commenced their examinations on October 8, 1846, and continued until December 23.¹¹ Santa Fé was the starting point of

8. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess. No. 41, pp. 551-562; Thomas E. Farish, *History of Arizona* (Phoenix, 1915), I, 137-148.

9. A. G. Brackett, *History of United States Cavalry* (New York, 1865), 124.

10. H. H. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico* (San Francisco, 1889), 478-479.

11. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 41, pp. 43-44, 460-511.

the survey. Abert descended the Rio Grande to Algodones, whence he made a short trip up the Rio Jemez and back. Continuing down the Rio Grande to Albuquerque, he crossed the river. Striking out westward to the Puerco, he followed its valley to the Rio San José. He then ascended that stream to the pueblo Moquino, and visited the pueblos of Laguna and Acoma and the ruins of a deserted pueblo on the Rito, a branch of the San José River. From there, Abert retraced his steps to Albuquerque. He moved down the east side of the Rio Grande as far as Peralta and, recrossing the river, returned to Padillas. From Padillas he again recrossed the Rio Grande and travelled up the Cañon Inferno through the Sierra Blanca, visited the towns of Chililí, Tajique, Torreón, Manzano, and Quaraí, and returned to the Rio Grande by way of the ruins of Abó. He struck the river at Casa Colorada. Moving down the river as far as the ruins of Valverde, he recrossed the Rio Grande and returned to Albuquerque. From there Abert proceeded up the San Antonio Cañon to its head in the Sandía Mountains, thence northward to the mine and town of Tuerto, and so back to Santa Fé where he arrived on December 23.

Abert's report to Colonel John J. Abert,¹² chief of Topographical Engineers, was exceedingly detailed and highly valuable. It included an account of the topography, the inhabitants, and the plant and animal life of the region. West of the Rio Grande, Abert's route, for the greater part, was through deep sands. The Mexican inhabitants in the small villages, Abert found extremely ceremonious, polite, ignorant, and deceitful. Very few Indians were encountered on the march and those that were met appeared friendly.¹³

12. John James Abert's name is linked with the Bureau of Topographical Engineers for more than a quarter of a century. As head of the Topographical Bureau, 1838-1861, he was an important factor in the development of governmental engineering projects prior to the Civil War. His reports are considered standard works. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, 1789-1903* (Washington, 1903), I, 150; *Lamb's Biographical Dictionary of the United States* (J. H. Brown, ed., Boston, 1900-1903), I, 13; *New International Encyclopedia* (1914 edition), I, 37.

13. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 30 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 41, pp. 426-500.

Upon the conclusion of the Mexican War the government's exploration policy assumed a more definite character. The location of shorter and better routes, the selection of sites for military posts and Indian reservations, the construction of roads, the sinking of artesian wells, and the dispatch of punitive expeditions served as occasions for numerous explorations across the entire Far West, as well as in particular departments. In 1849, Captain Randolph B. Marcy, Fifth Infantry, who had figured prominently in connection with explorations in Texas and Utah territory, explored a portion of the Ninth Military Department. He led an expedition from Fort Smith to Santa Fé. Marcy's instructions, dated April 4, 1849, from the headquarters of the Seventh Military Department, directed him to "ascertain and establish the best route from Fort Smith to Santa Fé and California; explore and survey, with a view toward construction, a wagon road from Fort Smith to Santa Fé by way of the south Canadian River; conciliate the Indian tribes along the route; serve as an escort to California emigrants." Marcy's command consisted of twenty-six non-commissioned officers and privates, company F, First Dragoons, and fifty men of the Fifth Infantry. Lieutenant James H. Simpson, Topographical Engineers, was the chief reconnaissance officer. Doctor Julian Rogers of Wilmington, Delaware, accompanied the expedition, and "Black Beaver" acted as guide and interpreter.¹⁴

Marcy's train, consisting of eighteen wagons, one six-pounder, and a blacksmith's travelling forge, left Fort Smith on April 5. The route was in a general westerly course along the south bank of the Canadian. On May 17, opposite the mouth of Spring Creek, near the Upper Cross Timbers, the command was joined by an immigrant company bound for California. While encamped on Antelope Hills, the expedition had its first experience with Indians. Four Kiowa braves dressed in war costume and armed with

14. Black Beaver, a Delaware Indian, was engaged at Shawnee village, 125 miles from Santa Fé. *H. Ez. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 45, pp. 23, 26, 27, 28, 31

rifles, bows, lances, and shields came into camp. According to their own version, the Indians were on a horse and mule stealing expedition to Chihuahua. They were given presents and told that the Great Father desired peace with all his "red children."¹⁵ On June 14, the exploring party got its first glimpse of the Llano Estacado of New Mexico. While encamped near Cerro Tucumcari, Marcy was visited by Is-sa-ki-ep (Wolf Shoulder), Comanche chieftain, with a band of about fifty followers, including women and children. Marcy held a "talk" with the Indians, in which he emphasized the need of the white brothers moving westward and expressed the hope that the Indians would not molest the white man on his march. The chief replied that the "talk" was good and produced a passport given him by Thomas Fitzpatrick, Indian agent of the Upper Platte and Arkansas, dated Bent's Fort, February 26, 1849. Upon request, Marcy gave Is-sa-ki-ep a similar document. On June 23, Marcy entered Anton Chico and found the people celebrating St. John's Day. Dressed in gala attire, the several hundred inhabitants turned out to attend the horse races, chicken fights, and dances. Even Marcy was persuaded to attend a *fandango*. Five days later the command entered Santa Fé.¹⁶

After a six weeks' rest the expedition started homeward. Instead of following the outward bound trail, Marcy decided to use a southern route. He employed a Comanche Indian as guide, who stated that there was a point opposite El Paso where the Staked Plains could be crossed and commenced the return by a new route. Leaving Santa Fé, he struck the Rio Grande at Algodones, and moved southward along the east bank of the river to Doña Ana. The line of march was next shifted toward St. Augustine Pass, a gap in the Organ Mountains. On September 16 the valley of the Pecos was sighted, and five days later the entire command was transported in rafts to the east bank. The re-

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 82-87.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 42-48.

mainder of the journey was in a northeasterly course. Marcy was back at Fort Smith on November 20.¹⁷

Both routes were reported favorably. The northern (outward bound) route was described by Simpson to Colonel Abert as one of the best roads he had seen. It was also reported safe for immigrants. Numerous parties had used it without a military escort. One party of four Germans had travelled from Fort Smith to Santa Fé without molestation from Indians.¹⁸ Marcy reported favorably on the southern route to Lieutenant F. F. Flint, Acting Assistant Adjutant General, Seventh Military Department. From Doña Ana to Fort Smith, a distance of almost 1,000 miles, the road was smooth and uniformly level. It ran through the heart of a country possessing great natural advantages. Because of the abundance of water, timber, and rich fertile soil, Marcy considered this road the best overland wagon route to California.¹⁹ His description proved correct. This road was used quite extensively by California immigrants after 1849.²⁰

In the Ninth Military Department the semi-agricultural and wild tribes²¹ frequently went on the war-path. Expeditions against them were necessary. In 1849, Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel John M. Washington,²² military commander and governor of New Mexico territory, led an elaborate punitive-exploring expedition into the heart of the

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 53-77.

18. Despite the reputed safety of the route along the southern Canadian, Simpson recommended the establishment of several military posts. *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 21, 29.

19. *Ibid.*, pp. 80-82.

20. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 82 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 54, p. 112.

21. The Ute, Apache and Apache-Mohave, or Yavapai, were the principal wild tribes. Adolf F. Bandelier, *Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States., carried on Mainly in the Years from 1880-1885* (Cambridge, Mass., 1890-1892), pt. 1, p. 174; J. Ross Browne, *Adventures in the Apache Country; A Tour Through Arizona and Sonora with Notes on the Silver Regions of Nevada* (New York, 1869), 21; F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (Washington, 1907-1910) II, 874.

22. Washington became civil and military governor of New Mexico on October 11, 1848. This position he held until October 23, 1849, when he was relieved by Colonel John Munroe, who served in that capacity until the end of the military regime, July 8, 1850. David Y. Thomas, "History of Military Government in the Newly Acquired Territories of the United States," in Columbia University, *Studies in History, Economics and Public Law* XX, No. 2, pp. 128, 141; Thian, *opus cit.*, 49-50.

Navaho²³ country. Washington's command, consisting of 175 men, was accompanied by Lieutenant Simpson, chief reconnaissance officer, James S. Calhoun, Indian agent of the department, and James L. Collins, Spanish interpreter. One six-pounder and three mountain howitzers were intended to impress the Indians.²⁴

This imposing cavalcade, with its wagons, pack mules, and thirty days' rations for 500 men, left Santa Fé on August 16. Washington marched southwest toward the Rio Grande. Crossing the river at Santo Domingo, he moved on to Jemez, where the command was further strengthened.²⁵ In the meantime, Simpson, accompanied by assistant surveyors Edwards and Hammond, and a Mr. Edward Kern of Philadelphia, visited the ruins of Los Ojos Calientes. On August 22 the wagons were changed for pack-mules, and the journey was resumed. The enlarged command numbering about 400 men moved north westward. Numerous pueblo ruins dotted the line of march, many of which Simpson examined. On September 6 the command arrived at Cañon Chelly, and two days later Simpson with an escort of sixty men made a reconnaissance of the valley. The Cañon was explored for a distance of nine and one-half miles above its mouth. The previous notion that it was an impregnable fortress was found erroneous.²⁶

On September 9, Washington and Calhoun entered into a treaty²⁷ with the Navaho, and on the following day the expedition started on its return. Washington had planned to return through the Utah country, but because of a rumor

23. Since the treaty made with the Navaho in 1848 by Colonel Edward W. B. Newby they had stolen large quantities of stock and had carried off several Mexicans. Jacob P. Dunn, *Massacres of the Mountains: A History of the Indian Wars of the Far West* (New York, 1886), 257; Farish *opus cit.*, I, 307.

24. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 64, p. 60.

25. At Jemez the command was increased by fifty-five Pueblo Indians, by Captain Henry L. Dodge's company of fifty men, and by some eighty Mexican mounted militia. The Mexican contingent proved very unstable; thirty deserted within three days, *Ibid.*, pp. 60-71.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 99, 102.

27. This treaty, like those that preceded it, was a dead letter. The Navaho reverted to their old habits, and military forces had to be sent against them. Farish, *opus cit.*, I, 308-309; Dunn. *opus cit.*, 258.

of Apache depredations he changed his course. He moved southeastward to Zuñi and then struck out to Atrisco, opposite Albuquerque. By September 26 the command was back at Santa Fé.²⁸

The character of the region traversed was uninviting. Simpson described the country between Santa Fé and the Tunicha Mountains as "one extended, naked, barren waste, sparsely covered with cedar and pine of a scrub growth, and thickly sprinkled with wild sage and artemisia." From the eastern base of the Tunicha to Cañon Chelly and thence to Santa Fé by the southern route, the region was, for the most part, quite barren. Simpson considered the route from Santa Fé practicable only as far as the eastern base of the Tunicha Mountains. He believed that a practicable wagon road could be constructed between Santa Fé and Zuñi, a distance of some 200 miles. Carravahal, the Indian guide who had been down the Rio Zuñi to its junction with the Colorado of the West, reported that there was a good wagon road all the way to Colorado. Simpson recommended further exploration of this region. He believed that it would make an excellent route to Los Angeles, lying as it did between the Spanish Trail and Cooke's route, and shortening the distance probably by 300 miles. This route had another advantage over the other two as it passed the pueblos of Laguna and Zuñi and probably those of the Moqui, where supplies and repairs could be secured.²⁹

In his report of September 25, 1849, to Major General Roger Jones, Washington estimated the Navaho population between 7,000 and 10,000. Of these, about 2,000 he designated as warriors, well armed and well mounted. To secure a firm and durable peace, Washington believed it necessary to establish a military post in their country. Simpson recommended the establishment of a military post at Cebolleta,³⁰ a strategic position which guarded the avenue of approach

28. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 64, p. 136.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

30. It was situated northeast of Zuñi, about mid-way between that town and Santa Fé, *Ibid.*, p. 137.

of the Navaho.³¹ Shortly after this survey troops were stationed there.³²

According to Simpson the Navaho expedition had been successful. A treaty had been made with the Indians by which they put themselves under the jurisdiction and control of the United States government.³³ Of far greater value was the exploration of the country. Troops penetrated into the heart of the Indian country and gained accurate geographical knowledge valuable for future military demonstrations, as well as for the immigrant.³⁴

In the spring of 1850, Captain Henry B. Judd, Third Artillery, made an important military reconnaissance along the Pecos. Judd's objective was the selection of a site for a military post. On March 15, Judd and his command, Light Company C, equipped as cavalry, left Las Vegas. Accompanying the command were Lieutenants J. H. Dickerson and Ambrose E. Burnside, Third Artillery,³⁵ R. H. Kern, topographer, and P. M. Papin. Estephan Corunna, a Mexican who had been a prisoner among the Comanche, served as guide. A train of five wagons transported the provisions.

Anton Chico was the starting point of the survey. To avoid the numerous barriers caused by the arroyos and dry ravines running down from the table lands, Judd struck out eastward across the hills and rocky ridges of the uplands bordering the river. This course was pursued till the Galinas was reached, at which point one route led to the Red River country and another to Marcy's trail. Leaving the

31. The Navaho had a route coming from the north and passing west of the village; from the east, several routes led to Cebolleta. The route from this village to Albuquerque was reported as being fairly good. The other route which led through Alamo to Albuquerque was also a good wagon road. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

32. James S. Calhoun, *Official Correspondence* (Washington, 1915), 77.

33. This however, was a mere gesture on the part of the Navaho. Dunn, *opus cit.*, 258; Farish, *opus cit.*, I, 308-309.

34. Simpson's journal is filled with interesting and accurate descriptions of the physical features of the country, towns, natives, and relics. It is illustrated with colored drawings and has an excellent map. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess. No. 64, p. 107.

35. Heitman assigns Dickerson to the First Artillery. Heitman, *opus cit.*, I, 378.

Gallinas, the command followed the trail of the buffalo hunters and Comanche traders on their route to and from Red River for about eleven miles, and then struck out due south to the Arroyo de los Esteros, where wood and water were plentiful. From this point the expedition travelled over a rough and broken country till it struck a trail of Indian traders; Judd followed this trail to the crossing of the Cañada de Juan de Diós. Moving over a level country to the Alamo Gordo and to the Arroyo de los Carretos, the reconnoitering party crossed some steep sand hills and descended into the rich and fertile bottom lands of the Pecos, the upper extremity of the Bosque Redondo.³⁶

At this point the command was divided. The main division continued southward to the Espias, a noted haunt of the Navaho while on their predatory visits to the Bosque Redondo. A small reconnoitering party was sent to the west side of the Pecos to search for an old road which had been described as branching off to Matamoras and Socorro. The main party crossed to the west bank of the river, and ascending the table lands, travelled over a rugged country till it reached the Bosque Grande.³⁷ The expedition had travelled about 200 miles from Las Vegas to the southern extremity of the Bosque Grande. From the latter point, Judd had originally intended to strike out westward toward the Rio Grande in the direction of Albuquerque and Socorro, via the Jumanos chain of mountains. His reconnaissance, however, had already proved that the Pecos was considerably farther to the east than was located on current maps. As

36. Bosque Redondo, "round forest," was about 130 miles below Las Vegas. Extending for fifteen miles on both sides of the Pecos, it was a sort of neutral ground where a number of Indian tribes were accustomed to meet with traders from the settlements. From the middle of May to early August these plains were covered with Indian lodges and horses. Judd to L. McLaws, March 30, 1850. Ms., Letters Received, Headquarters of the Army, Old Records Section, Adjutant General's Office, Washington (Hereafter cited as Ms., L. R., H. A., O. R. S., A. G. O.); *H. Ex. Docs.*, 31 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 45, p. 52.

37. Bosque Grande, "great forest," was about sixty miles below Bosque Redondo. George A. McCall, *Letters from the Frontiers Written During a Period of Thirty Years' Service in the Army of the United States* (Philadelphia, 1868), 509; John C. Cremony, *Life Among the Apaches* (Santa Fé, 1868), 200.

his animals were considerably weakened from the journey, he abandoned the proposed march to the Rio Grande. After a brief rest, the expedition retraced its steps; Judd was back in Las Vegas on March 29.

With the exceptions of the Bosque Redondo and Bosque Grande, the entire region traversed was destitute of timber. The plains and table lands on both sides of the Pecos were covered with the finest buffalo and gramma grass. The bottom lands were quite extensive, rich, and fertile. The game in this region was abundant; deer and turkey were numerous in the groves, while ducks were plentiful in the willows; and the streams abounded in fish. Judd considered both *Bosques* as important military positions, and because of the Indian dangers, they were particularly suitable for mounted garrisons.³⁸ Despite Judd's recommendation, a military post on the Pecos was not selected until the time of the Civil War.³⁹ This reconnaissance, however, added materially to the knowledge about the upper Pecos valley.

When Marcy's expedition was planned, there were but two routes of any consequence from Santa Fé to California⁴⁰ entirely within the limits of the United States. These were Kearny's route and the route from Santa Fé through Cañada and Abiquiú to San José or St. Joseph's Spring, and thence to Los Angeles. The part between San José Spring and Abiquiú was comparatively unknown. As it was called the "caravan route", from California to Santa Fé, there was reason to believe that it was a good one. Desirous of obtaining more accurate knowledge about this route, the War Department planned an exploring expedition across the northern part of the Ninth Military Department. Simpson was to have led this expedition and was to have sub-

38. Judd to McLaws, March 30, 1850. Ms. L. R., H. A., O. R. S., A. G. O.; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 78, p. 62

39. Cremony, *opus cit.*, 199-200.

40. For other trails, see R. P. Bieber, "The Southwestern Trails to California in 1849," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XII, 346-347, 356, 360, 363-366; R. G. Cleland, *History of California: The American Period* (New York, 1922), 236; J. J. Hill, "The Old Spanish Trail," in *Hispanic American Historical Review*, IV, 444-469; O. T. Howe, *Argonauts of '49* (Cambridge, Mass., 1923), 16, 37-38.

mitted a map and detailed report.⁴¹ This expedition, however, did not materialize until 1851, when Captain Lorenzo Sitgreaves of the Topographical Engineers made the first government exploration across the northern part of the present state of Arizona. The terminal points were Zuñi and Fort Yuma⁴² on the Colorado River.

Sitgreaves' instructions from Colonel Abert, November 18, 1850, directed him to "pursue the Zuñi River to its junction with the Colorado, determining its course and character, particularly in reference to its navigable properties and to the character of its adjacent land and productions."⁴³ The exploring party was organized at Santa Fé. Under Sitgreaves' command were Lieutenant John G. Parke, Topographical Engineers, Dr. S. W. Woodhouse, physician and naturalist, and R. H. Kern, photographer and draughtsman. Antoine Leroux was guide, and five Americans and ten Mexicans served as packers and *arrieros*; some thirty pack mules carried the equipment, and a flock of sheep furnished the main food supply.⁴⁴

Sitgreaves assembled his entire command, including an escort of thirty men under Major Henry L. Kendrick, Second Artillery, at Zuñi, and on September 24 the exploration

41. Abert to Simpson, May 5, 1849. Ms. Letter Books, Chief of Topographical Engineers, Old Records Section, Office of Chief of Engineers, Washington (Hereafter cited as Ms. L. B., C. T. E., O. R. S., O. C. E.)

42. This post had a very colorful history. It was established on November 27, 1850, by Major Samuel P. Heintzelman and was at first located on the right bank of the Colorado River, within the present Imperial County, California. "At first it was situated in the bottoms, about a half mile below the mouth of the Gila; in March 1851 it was moved to a higher elevation, on the west bank of the Colorado, the site of a former Spanish Mission—the "Mission of Concepcion." The post was variously designated as the "Post of the Mouth of Gila" or "Military Post at the Junction of the Gila and Colorado Rivers," "Camp Yuma," and finally "Fort Yuma." In the fifties Fort Yuma was the most important post in southern California: it protected the southern route of American immigration; it controlled numerous bands of war-like Indians, and commanded the passage by land on the Pacific side into Sonora and Mexico. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 34 Cong., 3 Sess., No. 76 p. 34; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 96, p. 437; Eugene Bandel, *Frontier Life in the Army, 1854-1861* (R. P. Bieber, ed., Glendale, California, 1932), 260.

43. The Zuñi River had been partially explored by Simpson as far as Zuñi. Abert to Sitgreaves, November 18, 1850, Ms., L. B., C. T. E., O. R. S., O. C. E.: *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 59, p. 4.

44. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 59, pp. 4, 11.

started. The command pursued a general westerly course across the present state of Arizona. Marching along the 35th parallel, Sitgreaves passed north of the San Francisco Mountains and through the Yavapai Indian country. On November 5 the expedition reached the Colorado River about 240 miles above Fort Yuma.⁴⁵ From this point Sitgreaves had intended to explore the river upward to the Grand Cañon and determine accurately the mouth of the Virgin River. But the exhausted condition of the animals and the scanty food supply caused him to abandon this plan. He moved southward along the east bank of the Colorado until he arrived at Camp Yuma. The expedition had travelled 657 miles from Zuñi and had been on the journey more than two months. Although the official exploration ended at Camp Yuma, Sitgreaves continued westward across the California desert to San Diego.⁴⁶

The march was not entirely without incident. In the San Francisco Mountain region, the silence of the night was occasionally broken by the cry of a panther. During the night of October 14, the camp was alarmed by the stampede of mules caused by the roaring of a panther or some other wild animal. Fortunately the terrified animals ran into a gorge near the camp, with but one outlet, and the men succeeded in quieting them. In the course of the march Sitgreaves came across encampments of Yavapai and Yuma Indians. In several instances the Indians fled, leaving their belongings behind. To secure their friendship, Sitgreaves did not permit his men to pilfer, but left in the abandoned lodges "small presents of tobacco, handkerchiefs, and knives." The Mohave seemed more bold than the Yavapai. On November 7, while the expedition was moving down the Colorado, it was overtaken by a band of about 200 men, women, and children. These professed considerable friend-

45. T. E. Farish in his *History of Arizona* says that Sitgreaves struck the Colorado River about 160 miles above Fort Yuma. In his itinerary, Sitgreaves places this point at 248 miles above the post. Farish, *opus cit.*, II, 17-18; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 59, p. 24.

46. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 59, pp. 5-20, 24-29.

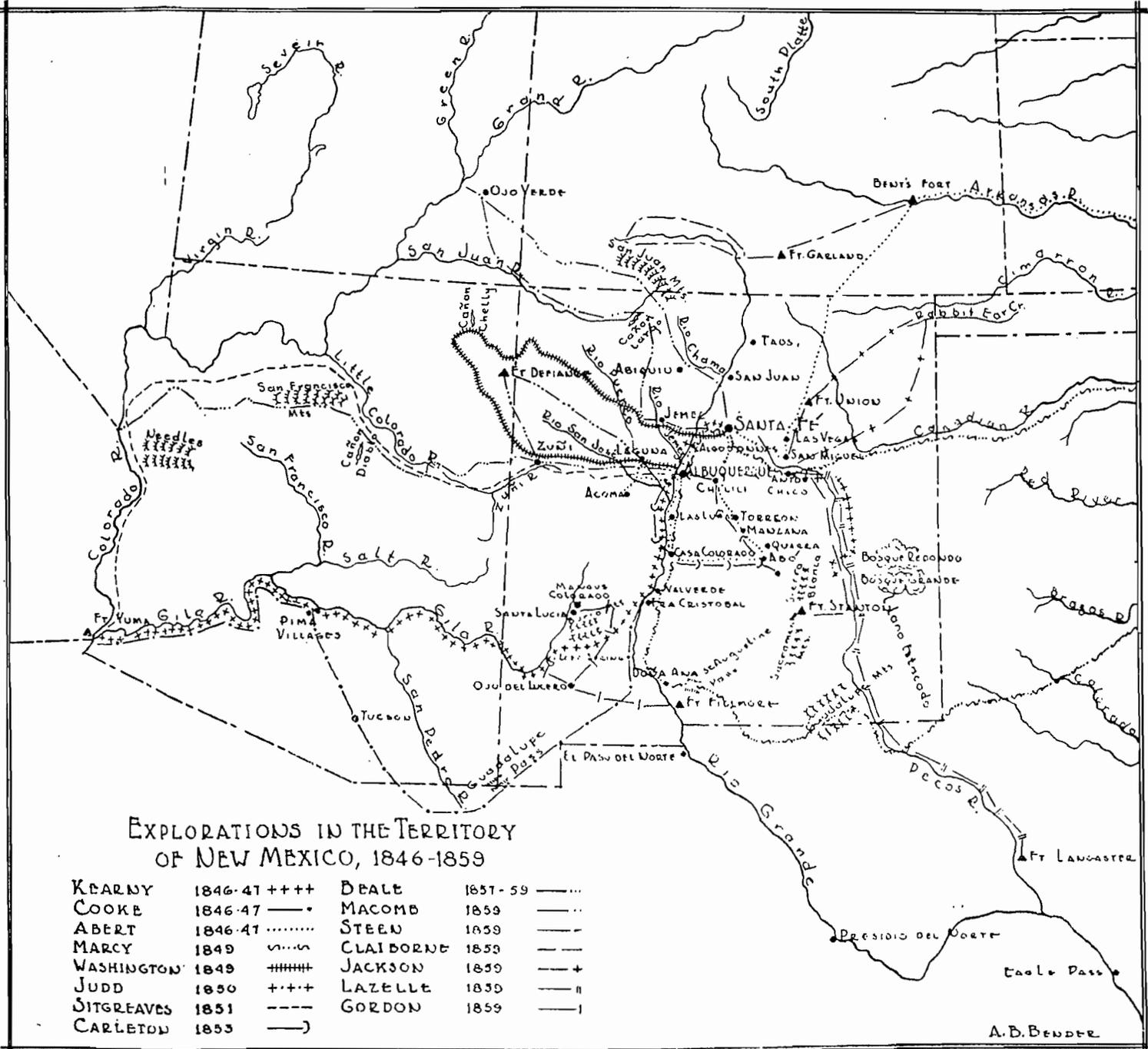
ship but proved a nuisance by their trading demands and pilfering. The Yuma were hostile. On November 17 a band of about fifty warriors, after despatching a straggler, made a general attack. A sharp engagement followed in which the Indians were beaten with the loss of four dead and several wounded. Sitgreaves' party suffered no loss.⁴⁷

Sitgreaves, who kept a journal of the expedition, made his report to Colonel Abert, February 7, 1853. The region between the San Francisco Mountains and the Colorado River he described as barren and devoid of interest. He characterized it as a succession of mountain ranges and desert plains, the latter having an altitude of about 5,000 feet above sea level. Below the point where the explorers reached the Colorado, irregular lines of rugged mountains enclosed the valley; at several points the mountains skirted the river bank so closely that it scarcely left room for a roadway at the base. The passage of these defiles proved to be the most difficult portions of the journey, requiring long detours over extremely high naked cliffs. To cross these, the men were obliged to break stepping places in the rock for the mules and to assist them in their ascent by means of ropes. Extensive flat spurs, hard, gravelly, and destitute of vegetation, jutted out everywhere. Though the journey was full of hardships, the men suffering from intense heat and lack of water, Sitgreaves had succeeded in carrying out his instructions. The result of his exploration was an interesting itinerary, a valuable map, and various scientific reports on the new region.⁴⁸

Two years later Brevet Major James H. Carleton, First Dragoons, made a geographic and topographic reconnaissance in the upper Rio Grande valley. Pursuant to orders from Brevet Major and Assistant Adjutant General of the Department of New Mexico, W. A. Nichols, a squadron of cavalry, H and K, First Dragoons, commanded by Major

47. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-14, 17-20, 37.

48. The reports were accompanied by excellent illustrations of landscapes, mammals, birds, reptiles, fishes, plants, and phases of Indian life. *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21, 33-178.



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Carleton and Lieutenant S. D. Sturgis—in all about 100 strong, with one twelve-pounder mountain howitzer—left Albuquerque on December 14, 1853. Carleton was directed to make a thorough reconnaissance of the country in the vicinity of Gran Quivira and to impress on the roving, thieving Apache the power of the federal government.⁴⁹

Carleton's line of march was along a portion of the route followed by Abert on his reconnaissance of New Mexico in 1846. For the first forty miles the route was down the left bank of the Rio Grande. Heavy rains and snow storms greatly impeded Carleton's progress. On December 16 the expedition reached Casa Colorada and left the river for the mountains toward the east. For several miles the road led up a gradually inclined plane toward a level *mesa* entirely destitute of water. Continuing eastward the exploring party came to los Puertos de Abó, two passes in the mountains. Thus far, Carleton considered the road the finest in New Mexico. Marching through the pass on the left, he came to the ruins of Abó.⁵⁰ Very little of interest or value was found here. The appearance of the surrounding country was cheerless and desolate.

Leaving the ruins of Abó and marching northward over a rolling and partially broken country, the command came to the ruins of Quaraí. Striking out northward the expedition came to Manzano⁵¹ and Torreón. From the latter village the command retraced its steps toward Abó and

49. Nichols to Carleton, December 8, 1853. Ms., Letters Received, Adjutant General, Old Files Section, Executive Division, Adjutant General's Office. Washington (Hereafter cited as Ms., L. R., A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.); *Sen. Misc. Docs.*, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 24, p. 296.

50. The Pass of Abó, Carleton believed, afforded an excellent route for the passage of a railroad. *Sen. Misc. Docs.*, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 24, p. 300.

51. This small village of some 500 inhabitants was typical of some of the New Mexican towns of its size. It was built partly of logs set on end, *jaca* fashion, the chinks filled with mortar and the roofs covered with earth and partly *adobe*. The reputation of Manzano was quite notorious. It harbored "more murderers, robbers, common thieves, scoundrels, and vile abandoned women" than "any other town of its size in New Mexico." Carleton maintained that "there was not a single redeeming trait of disposition or habits to be found within its borders." *Ibid.*, pp. 303, 315, 316.

then struck out southeast toward Gran Quivira,⁵² reaching the ruins on December 21. Carleton's findings at Gran Quivira were similar to those at Abó and Quaraí. On the following day the expedition started on its return. Striking out northward, it skirted the ruins of Quaraí, passed Manzano and Torreón and came to Tajique. From there the line of march continued northward over a rolling, broken, and well-timbered country to the hamlet of Chililí. Marching northward and then westward, the command was back in Albuquerque on December 24.⁵³

Carleton's expedition dispelled the notion that Gran Quivira had once been the seat of an ancient Indian civilization whose inhabitants had constructed "paved streets, fluted columns, ornate friezes, sculptured façades, aqueducts, fountains, colonnades, and statues." The skill, taste, and opulence formerly attributed to the inhabitants of Gran Quivira, Carleton believed, was a figment of the imagination. Abó, Quaraí, and Gran Quivira had probably been built under the direction of Spanish conquerors and missionaries of the sixteenth century, as in other portions of Spanish America, and did not represent an ancient civilization.⁵⁴

Carleton's impressions of the New Mexican population are far from flattering. At various points along the line of march the inhabitants of the dirty little villages turned out *en masse* to get a glimpse of the soldiers. The groups were quite picturesque as well as grotesque. "Some were blanketed with *sombreros* and *cigarritos*; some with

52. A Gran Quivira had been visited by Coronado in June, 1542, while on his expedition into New Mexico in search of the seven fabled cities of *Cíbola*. But the Gran Quivira found by Coronado and described by Castañeda was not the same as represented by the ruins visited by Carleton. Coronado's town represented a lower order of civilization. For accounts of other Spanish expeditions in the Gran Quivira sector in the latter sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, see: J. L. Mecham, "The Second Spanish Expedition to New Mexico," in *New Mexico Historical Review*, 1, 265-291;—, "Antonio de Espejo and his Journey to New Mexico," in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXX, 114-138; H. E. Bolton, *New Spain and the Anglo-American West* (Los Angeles, 1932), I, 68-74; *Sen. Misc. Docs.*, 83 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 24, pp. 306, 310-312.

53. *Sen. Misc. Docs.*, 83 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 24, p. 316.

54. *Ibid.*, pp. 314-315; Bandelier *opus cit.*, pt. 2, pp. 114, 119, 577-591.

white washed and some with scarlet-dyed faces; some with *rebosos* and some nearly naked". In not a single *rancho* or village along the Rio Grande did Carleton find an indication of industry, cleanliness, or thrift. Indolence, squalid poverty, filth, and utter ignorance of everything beyond the corn fields and *acequias* were characteristic of the inhabitants along the east bank of the Rio Grande. Carleton was unable to impress or to intimidate the troublesome Indian bands; they had gone far to the south.⁵⁵ He had, however, secured valuable information about the country and its people.

For four years after Carleton's expedition, there was a lull in official exploring activity in the Department of New Mexico. Then the movement was revived with considerable vigor. In the fall of 1857 and winter of 1858, Lieutenant Edward Fitzgerald Beale led an exploring expedition from Fort Defiance to eastern California for the purpose of opening a wagon road. Beale's expedition was a phase of the government's elaborate Pacific Wagon Road program. Congress, by acts approved July 22, 1856, February 17, and March 3, 1857, appropriated more than one-half million dollars for the construction of western wagon roads. Of this amount, \$300,000 was to be spent for the construction of a road from Fort Ridgley through Fort Kearny, and South Pass to a point near Honey Lake, eastern California; \$200,000 for a road from El Paso to Fort Yuma; \$50,000 for a road from Fort Defiance, New Mexico Territory, to the Colorado River. Beale was entrusted with the survey and construction of the Fort Defiance-Colorado River road.⁵⁶ Camels were used as an experiment.⁵⁷

55. *Sen. Misc. Docs.*, 33 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 24, p. 298, 315.

56. United States, *Statutes at Large*, X, 689, XI, 162-168.

57. For an account of the camel experiment in the United States, see Davis to Wayne, May 10, 1855, July 5, 1856, Davis to Porter, May 16, 1855, Davis to Palmer, February 23, 1857. Ms., Letter Books, Secretary of War, Old Records Section, Adjutant General's Office, Washington; Stephen Bonsal, *Edward Fitzgerald Beale: A Pioneer in the Path of Empire, 1822-1903* (New York, 1912). May Humphreys Stacey, *Uncle Sam's Camels. The Journal of May Humphreys Stacey Supplemented by the Report of Edward F. Beale, 1857-1858* (Cambridge, 1929, L. B. Lesley, ed.), 3-18, 119-136; Fred S. Perrine, "Uncle Sam's Camel Corps," in *New Mexico Historical Review*, I, 434-444.

Beale's caravan, consisting of twenty-five camels accompanied by their attendants, Turks, Greeks, and Armenians—a total of fifty-six men—left San Antonio on June 25. Eight heavy wagons and two ambulances carried the supplies and equipment.⁵⁸ Moving along the southern route to El Paso, Beale travelled up the Rio Grande valley to Albuquerque. From there he dispatched his pack train to Zuñi by a direct route westward from the Gallo River, while he proceeded by way of Fort Defiance.⁵⁹

Beale reached Zuñi on August 29, and two days later the exploring expedition proper began. The caravan now comprised mules, camels, and a drove of 350 sheep.⁶⁰ A company of twenty men under Sergeant Armstrong served as an escort. The route westward was mainly along the 35th parallel. For the most part Beale followed the route of Sitgreaves' and Whipple's surveys.⁶¹

His line of march was south of the San Francisco Mountains as Whipple's survey had been. Sitgreaves had passed north. After a week's travel over a comparatively level tableland, Beale forded the little Colorado. The explorers were now in a rich game country; elk, antelopes, and deer, besides beavers and coyotes, were seen in large numbers. Instead of continuing the march westward, Beale was compelled to shift his course some thirty miles to the north because of the Cañon Diablo.⁶² By September 11,

58. In the latter part of September, when Beale reached Bill William's Mountains, four of the wagons and twelve of the escort were sent back to Albuquerque. Stacey, *opus cit.*, 48-105.

59. Fort Defiance was established in 1852 as a protection against the Navaho Indians. The post was in the heart of the Navaho country, about 190 miles west of Albuquerque. It was very strategically located, being near the mouth of the Cañon Bonita, a favorite resort of the Navaho, and near fertile valleys and good water. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 96, pp. 425-426; *H. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 124, pp. 15-34.

60. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 124, pp. 2. 38.

61. Between July, 1853, and March, 1854, Lieutenant A. W. Whipple, Topographical Engineers, made a survey for a railroad route to the Pacific. The terminal points were Fort Smith and Los Angeles. The route was along the Canadian, across the Panhandle of Texas and New Mexico, and westward to the Great Colorado, across the Mojave valley and the California desert. George L. Albright, *Official Explorations for Pacific Railroads* (Berkeley, 1921), 105-117.

62. Beale's guide, Saavedra, described this chasm as a "rent in the plain about 100 yards across with precipitous sides of white rock." It extended due north and south from thirty to forty miles. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 124, p. 46.

Beale reached the base of the San Francisco Mountains. Striking out over a picturesque country of open forest and mountain valley, the expedition moved in a general westerly course for about a month. The Great Colorado was reached on October 18;⁶³ the crossing was made in an India-rubber boat near the present Mohave City, Arizona, some 200 miles above Fort Yuma. Four days were spent in transporting the supplies to the west bank of the river. To Beale's great relief, the camels swam boldly and without mishap across the rapidly flowing stream. Ten mules and two horses, however, were drowned. Following the United States surveyor's trail from the river to Los Angeles, the train moved on to Fort Tejón to secure provisions.⁶⁴

On New Year's Day, 1858, Beale started homeward on the winter journey. The Colorado was again reached on January 23, about twelve miles above Whipple's Crossing. This time the entire command was transported to the east side on the *General Jesup*, Captain George A. Johnson in command. Lieutenant James L. White with fifteen soldiers and as many "rugged mountain men" served as an escort. Upon recrossing the Colorado, Beale found that his wagons had clearly defined the road he had explored the previous summer. Indians had already commenced to follow the broad, well beaten trail; horse, mule, moccasin, and bare-footed tracks were in great evidence.⁶⁵ The return trip was essentially over the outward bound trail. On February 21 Beale reached Ojo del Gallo, the main road to Fort Defiance, the end of the Trail.⁶⁶ Beale had travelled about 4,000 miles; his journey extended through a wilderness of forest, plain,

63. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-76.

64. Bancroft committed several errors in connection with this expedition. He stated that Beale reached the Colorado in January, 1858. According to Beale's journal the expedition reached the Colorado on October 18. Bancroft also conveys the impression that Beale returned eastward immediately upon reaching the river whereas the exploring party crossed the river and moved to Los Angeles and Fort Tejón for supplies. Beale did reach the Colorado on January 23, but he was then on his homeward journey. Bancroft, *opus cit.*, 494-495; *H. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 124, p. 76; Stacey, *opus cit.*, 113-115.

65. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 124, pp. 77-78.

66. *Ibid.*, pp. 76-87.

and desert. He had tested the value of camels and marked a new route to the Pacific. The practicability of a wagon route along the 35th parallel was now thoroughly established.

Beale's trip was rather uneventful. Until arriving at the Colorado, the expedition did not meet more than a dozen Indians, and these were of a timid and inoffensive character. In the Mohave Villages, Beale found a "fine-looking, comfortable, fat, and merry set." These Indians surrounded his camp and were eager to trade melons, beans, and corn for old wornout shirts and handkerchiefs." Upon crossing the Colorado in October, Beale prepared his report for the Secretary of War. His description, as contained in his journal, coincided with that of Sitgreaves and Whipple. From Fort Defiance to the divide of Bill Williams's Mountains, the country was fertile; after that the aspect was barren.⁶⁷ Beale described his route as the shortest from the western frontier by 300 miles, the most level, well watered, and well grassed.⁶⁸ He believed that this road would ultimately become the great immigrant route to California, as well as that by which stock from New Mexico would reach the states. To relieve the California immigrants and stock drivers, Beale recommended that water dams, military posts, and bridges be constructed. He asked for an appropriation of \$100,000 to carry out these improvements. He considered such an investment a step in the direction of economy since it would protect one line instead of a dozen different routes.⁶⁹ These recommendations were partially fulfilled. By an act approved June 14, 1858, Congress appropriated \$50,000 for the construction of bridges and the improvement of crossings of streams along the road between Fort Smith and Albuquerque. The same act provided that \$100,000 be spent in completing the connected sections

67. *Ibid.*, p. 76; Bonsal, *opus cit.* 214.

68. Annie E. Whittaker, "The Frontier Policy of the United States in the Mexican Cession, 1845-1860" (M. A. Thesis, University of Texas, 1927), 116.

69. Bonsal, *opus cit.*, p. 218.

70. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 124, pp. 2-3.

from Albuquerque to the Colorado River. Thus the basis was laid for a through route from Fort Smith to California. In 1858 the Secretary of War reported that Beale's route was being used daily by immigrants and cattle.⁷¹ Due to Indian disturbances, the road was not entirely completed by June, 1860.⁷²

To test the practicability of the route along the 35th parallel in the winter season, Beale conducted an elaborate expedition from Fort Smith, Arkansas, to the Colorado River. The survey commenced in the fall of 1858 and lasted nine months. In addition to Indian guides, hunters and engineers, Beale had the services of a military escort of 130 men and two pieces of artillery.⁷³

The expedition left Fort Smith on October 28. With the exception of the stretch between North Fork and Walnut Creek, the course, as far as Hatch's Ranch, was mainly along the south bank of the Canadian. This was essentially Marcy's route of 1849. Hatch's Ranch, about twelve miles above Anton Chico, was reached on December 28; there the exploring party went into winter quarters. While the command was encamped at this point, Beale, with a party of ten men, examined the country between the rancho and the Canadian on a line due east and found it highly satisfactory.⁷⁴

On February 26 the march was resumed. Crossing the Pecos about five miles above Anton Chico, the expedition passed through Cañon Blanco. Skirting along the base of the Sandía Mountains, Beale reached Albuquerque on March 3. The remainder of the journey to the Colorado was mainly along the route followed by Beale on his previous expedition across the Gallo River, through Zuñi, the Little Colorado, and the base of the San Francisco Mountains. The exploring party made a number of improvements along

71. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 109, p. 484; *United States, Statutes at Large*, XI, 336.

72. *H. Misc. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 98, pp. 1-2.

73. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 42, pp. 8, 16, 53.

74. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

the road. Beale arrived at the Colorado on May 1 and was met by a detachment of federal troops under Brevet Major L. A. Armistead.⁷⁵ After spending about seven weeks in the settlements of eastern California, the expedition returned to Albuquerque, arriving on July 29, 1859.⁷⁶

In his report to Secretary of War Floyd, December 15, 1859, Beale again spoke of the road along the 35th parallel in the highest terms. The country between Fort Smith and Albuquerque was very attractive. The wide and level bottom of the Canadian offered a general line of travel all the way from the last settlements of Arkansas to the first settlements of New Mexico territory. This region was plentifully supplied with grass, wood, and water. Beale's findings of the region between Albuquerque and the Colorado coincided with the report of his previous expeditions. His survey of 1858-1859 again proved the practicability of a wagon route along this line and showed that the winter season offered no obstacles to the passage of men and wagons, or to travel of any description.

Beale's surveys, supplemented by improvements of the road between Fort Smith and Albuquerque and the construction of a road between Albuquerque and the Colorado River, laid the basis for a through route from the Arkansas frontier to California. A direct artery of travel and commerce to the Pacific was thus being established under the authority and direction of the federal government.⁷⁷

The year 1859 was marked by intense exploring activity in various parts of the Department of New Mexico. In the summer of that year Captain John N. Macomb, Topographical Engineer, who had been active in surveys along the Great Lakes since 1843,⁷⁸ led an exploring expedition from the settlements of New Mexico to those of Southern

75. These troops had operated against the Mohave, who had been on the war path. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

76. *Ibid.*, pp. 34-53.

77. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 109, p. 484; *Ibid.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 42, pp. 1-2; United States, *Statutes at Large*, XI, 336.

78. Abert to Cooper, June 29, 1854, Ms. L. B., C. T. E., O. R. S., O. C. E.

Utah. Macomb was to determine the practicability of opening a wagon road in the neighborhood of San Juan River between Santa Fé and the southern settlements of Utah. Twenty thousand dollars was set aside to defray the expenses of this expedition.⁷⁹

Macomb received his instructions on May 28, but because of difficulties in procuring transportation, he did not take the field until July 12. The expedition was accompanied by a detachment of infantry under Lieutenant Milton Cogswell, Doctor J. S. Newberry, geologist, and several assistants to the commanding officer.⁸⁰ Setting out from Santa Fé, Macomb followed for a considerable distance almost the same trail that Fathers Escalante and Domínguez had travelled eighty-three years before.⁸¹ He marched northwestward, crossing the Rio Grande at the old Indian pueblo of San Juan, and following up the valley of the Rio Chama to a point about fifty-five miles above Abiquiú. At Laguna de los Caballos, the explorers crossed the dividing ridge between the waters of the Gulf of Mexico and those of California and struck the headwaters of the San Juan River. Macomb crossed the San Juan in latitude 37° 14' 48" north and longitude 107° 2' 27" west and followed a westerly course for about seventy miles over a rugged country intersected by rapid mountain streams. Continuing the laborious march for some 120 miles over a gloomy and barren country, Macomb came to Ojo Verde.⁸² Thus far, the

79. A. A. Humphreys to Macomb, April 6, 1859. Ms., L. R. A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, p. 146.

80. F. P. Fisher served as assistant astronomer, C. H. Dimmock, civil engineer, made a sketch of the route, and Messrs Dorsey and Vail took care of the instruments and kept daily records. *Ibid.*, p. 151; J. N. Macomb, *Report of Exploring Expedition from Santa Fé, New Mexico to the Junction of Grand and Green Rivers of the Great Colorado of the West, 1859* (Washington, 1876), 7.

81. J. H. Simpson, *Report of Explorations Across the Great Basin of the Territory of Utah for a Direct Wagon Route from Camp Floyd to Genoa in Carson Valley in 1859* (Washington, 1876), 13-14, 489-495; H. E. Bolton and T. M. Marshall, *Colonization of North America, 1492-1783* (New York, 1911), 392; F. S. Dellenbaugh, *Romance of the Colorado River* (New York, 1902), 170-171.

82. Ojo Verde was about 840 miles from Santa Fé. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, p. 140.

greater part of the march from Abiquiú was along the old Spanish Trail.⁸³

Macomb left the main body encamped at Ojo Verde Spring and with a party of nine men proceeded westward for about thirty miles. After considerable toil he succeeded in forcing his way to within about six miles of the junction of the Grand and Green Rivers. There he was completely baffled and compelled to turn back.⁸⁴ The last thirty miles were extremely rough and dangerous. Macomb considered that stretch of country absolutely worthless and impracticable. Returning to Ojo Verde, the reunited party travelled southward for about seventy miles until it struck the San Juan river in latitude 37° 16' 27" and longitude 109° 24' 43". On September 2, Macomb reached the San Juan and followed along its right bank until he came opposite Cañon Largo, in latitude 36° 43' 28" and longitude 107° 43' 29". In the course of the march the explorers observed many ruins of houses and found many fragments of pottery, signifying that the valley had once been occupied by a race kindred to the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico.⁸⁵ The San Juan was forded on September 15 opposite the Cañon Largo. The march was continued southwestward to San José Spring. From there the expedition moved down the valley of the Puerco for about forty miles, crossed the southern spur of the Nacimiento Mountains, passed through Jemez, and arrived at Santa Fé in October.⁸⁶

Macomb's exploration showed that no practicable route existed between the New Mexican settlements and those of Utah, between the Spanish Trail on the north and the wagon route along the 35th parallel on the south. The ex-

83. Macomb stated that heretofore this trail had not been accurately laid out upon any map. While it had been the commercial route between California and New Mexico in the days of Spanish and Mexican rule, in the American period it had been superseded by routes to the north and south. *Ibid.*, pp. 149-150; Macomb, *opus cit.*, 5-6.

84. Dellenbaugh, *opus cit.*, 171.

85. For an account of the ruins of northern New Mexico, see Bandelier, *opus cit.*, p. 2, pp. 87-86.

86. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 86 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pp. 150-151.

pedition not only settled the question of practicable wagon routes across that belt of country but also contributed valuable geographical and scientific knowledge.⁸⁷ Macomb's report was accompanied by an excellent map.

While Macomb was moving northwest from Santa Fé, Colonel B. L. E. Bonneville, commander of the Department of New Mexico, sent out a series of exploring expeditions to examine the condition of the roads, to note eligible sites for military posts, and to overawe the Indians. In the summer of 1859, Lieutenant Alexander E. Steen, Third Infantry, made a reconnaissance from Fort Garland⁸⁸ eastward to Bent's Fort on the Arkansas and then westward to the Rio Grande and up that stream to the San Juan Mountains. Steen left Fort Garland on June 15 with a detachment of forty men to reconnoiter for wagon roads. In moving eastward, he followed the permanent water courses and found wood and grass in great abundance. For about one-half the distance the road was well defined and without obstacles. The return route was somewhat more direct and fertile, but lacking in water supply. On the outward trip, Steen made an examination of three passes over the Culebra Mountain range east of the post and found the one that was being used was the most practicable except during the winter months.

Returning to Fort Garland, Steen explored the country westward to the Rio Grande and the San Juan Mountains. On leaving the post he followed the base of the White Mountains and the Moscho range to the Cañon or Punche Pass at the northern end of the San Luís Valley. Then turning westward and leaving the valley, he crossed a spur of the Sierra Madre and entered the Tunache Pass. Crossing it, he continued westward, following the base of the Sierra Madre to the Rio Grande Cañon. He struck the Rio Grande near the junction of the north and south forks and continued

87. *Ibid.*, p. 146; Macomb, *opus cit.*, 1.

88. Fort Garland, situated in the Utah country, about eighty-five miles north of Taos, was established in 1858 as a protection against the Apache and Utah. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 3, p. 778.

eastward to Fort Garland. Steen had found practicable wagon roads.⁸⁹

In the southern part of the department, Captain Thomas Claiborne, Mounted Rifles, led a large reconnoitering party, in an attempt to find a pass through the Sierra Blanca Mountains. With 120 men he proceeded eastward from Fort Stanton⁹⁰ to the Pecos. The course was generally southeast along the Rio Bonito and Hondo. From the Pecos, Claiborne struck out northward and moved along the west bank of the stream till he came to Hatch's Ranch, where the reconnaissance ended. The command had been on the march from June 9 to July 3. The attempt to find a pass through the Sierra Blanca Mountains to the plains as far as the Pecos proved a failure. Claiborne reported that the region explored was impracticable for a wagon road. The only practicable route eastward to the Pecos would be to follow the valley of the Rio Bonito as far as the junction with the Ruidoso.⁹¹

Several exploring parties also operated from Anton Chico in the interest of better roads. Lieutenant W. H. Jackson, Mounted Rifles, made a survey from Anton Chico northeastward to the main road from Independence. The purpose of the survey was to find a wagon road from Anton Chico to the Point of Rocks or to a point between it and Rabbit Ear Creek⁹² on the Santa Fé trail. With a command of fifty-four Mounted Rifles, Jackson left Hatch's

89. Steen to Wilkins, August 10, 1859, Ms. L. R., A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong. 1 Sess., No. 2, pt. 2, pp. 295, 313, 330-331.

90. Fort Stanton, established in May, 1855, was named after Captain H. W. Stanton, who had lost his life in an engagement with the Mescalero Apache. The post was favorably situated on the Bonita River, about twenty miles east of the White Mountains, and served as a salutary influence in keeping the Indians of the neighboring region in check. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, p. 70; John S. Billings, *Report on Barracks and Hospitals with Descriptions of Military Posts* (Washington, 1870), 248; Sylvester Mowry, *Arizona and Sonora: The Geography, History and Resources of the Silver Region of North America* (New York, 1864), 22.

91. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 2, pt. 2, pp. 313, 328-330; Claiborne to Wilkins, August 9, 1859. Ms., L. R., A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.

92. This stream is at the head of the north fork of the Canadian, about thirteen miles within New Mexico, on the Santa Fé road. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 103, p. 2; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 36 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 2, pt. 2, p. 313.

Ranch on August 7. His course was generally northeastward. On the third day he reached the Canadian, and within two weeks he was back in Anton Chico, having travelled 155 miles to Rabbit Ear Creek. On the return march Jackson followed the Santa Fé trail westward to Fort Union⁹⁸ and Las Vegas and then struck out southward to Anton Chico. Jackson's report was favorable. The country travelled over was highly suitable for a wagon road, possessing an abundant supply of wood, water, and fine grass at all camping places and excellent shelter for animals during the winter season.⁹⁹

Lieutenant Henry M. Lazelle, Eighth Infantry, also made a reconnaissance from Anton Chico. As commander of the escort to the Texas-New Mexico Boundary Commission, his march extended eastward from Anton Chico to the Pecos and southward along the right bank of that stream as far as Fort Lancaster, Texas. The command, which was accompanied by a train of twenty-two wagons, carrying 57,000 pounds of freight,¹⁰⁰ was back in camp on July 8. The expedition had been twenty-one days on the march and had covered a distance of 279 miles. Lazelle found the route along the Pecos excellent, being plentifully supplied with water and good grass. By using this road, Lazelle pointed out about 200 miles would be saved between Santa Fé and Fort Lancaster.¹⁰¹

While army units were moving eastward to the Pecos, Brevet Major W. H. Gordon, Third Infantry, led a reconnoitering expedition westward to the Burro Mountains. The purpose of the reconnaissance was the selection of a site for

98. Fort Union, situated about 100 miles northeast of Santa Fé, was established in 1851, by Colonel E. V. Sumner as a check upon the northern Apache and Utah. *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 1, pt. 1, p. 208; Billings, *opus cit.* 280.

94. Jackson to Wilkins, September 8, 1859. Ms., L. R., A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.

95. Lazelle to Wilkins, July 10, 1859. Ms., L. R., A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.

96. The distance between Santa Fé and Fort Lancaster by way of the Pecos was 525 miles, while the distance between the same points via the Rio Grande was 725 miles. Bonneville to Thomas, August 31, 1859. Ms., L. R., A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.

a military post and to overawe the Apache. Gordon left Fort Fillmore⁹⁷ on June 27 with an organization of more than 100 men.⁹⁸ Assistant Surgeon George E. Cooper and Lieutenant T. W. Rowland were attached to the command. The course was mainly westward toward the Gila. On July 5, at the eastern base of the Burro Mountains, Gordon divided his command. Leaving Lieutenant Rowland with about one-half of his men at Ojo del Lucero, Gordon and Dr. Cooper with fifty mounted men and a guide advanced westward toward the valley of the Gila. After examining the different cañons, Gordon came upon Lobo Spring. He then retraced his steps eastward till he reached Ojo del Lucero and rejoined the rest of his command. Gordon made a careful examination of the ground, wood, water, and grass and was thoroughly convinced of its feasibility for a military post. Again leaving Lieutenant Rowland with a portion of the command, Gordon struck out northward to Santa Lucía. After visiting the camp of Mangus Colorado, where he was cordially received, Gordon moved down the Gila. On July 17 the expedition left Ojo del Lucero and ten days later was back at Fort Fillmore.⁹⁹

Between the opening of the Mexican and Civil wars, government officers and engineers made no less than fifteen official exploring expeditions within and across the territory of New Mexico, or the Ninth Military Department. The attempts of the official explorers to find better or shorter routes and eligible sites for military posts, and to impress the Indians with the power of the federal government added materially to the knowledge about portions of country hitherto unknown. Mountain cañon, desert, river, and water-

97. Fort Fillmore was located on the Brasito, on the east side of the Rio Grande, about forty miles north of El Paso. *H. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 2 Sess., No. 1, pt. 2, p. 58; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 32 Cong., 1 Sess., No. 1, pt. 1, p. 208.

98. Gordon's command composed of company D, First Dragoons, forty-eight men, Company H, Third Infantry, fifty-two men, and a portion of Company C, Mounted Rifles. Gordon to Bonneville, July 28, 1859. *Ms.*, L. R., A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.

99. Gordon to Bonneville, July 28, 1859. *Ms.*, L. R., A. G., O. F. S., E. D., A. G. O.

hole, as well as practicable and impracticable routes, were accurately charted. The frontier was broken up, and the Far West was being prepared for greater trade, travel, and settlement.

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