

FORT SELDEN MILITARY RESERVATION

Prehistory

R. H. McKay recalled in 1918 that while serving as the post surgeon at Fort Selden, he and a group of officers standing on the parade ground discovered a human skull just under the surface. The post commander had the flexed burial unearthed, “but the bones crumbled upon being exposed to air” (R. H. McKay, quoted in Caperton 1975:74). Thomas J. Caperton, former Director of the New Mexico State Monuments (NMSM), speculates the individual discovered was associated with the Jornada (A.D. 800–1300) or Mimbres (A.D. 1000–1300) branch of the Mogollon, based on the existence of a Mogollon site on the fort grounds north of the corrals and east of the officers’ quarters (Caperton 1975:74; see also Cordell 1997:360–361). Prehistoric ceramics recovered from an area near the present visitor center suggest to archaeologist David T. Kirkpatrick (1988:20) that Mesilla phase individuals occupied the area, followed by Doña Ana and El Paso phase occupations.

During the early 1970s excavations, archaeologists recovered numerous potsherds, lithics, and remnants of at least one pit house north of the corrals. Since the focus of these excavations was the United States occupation of the fort, however, the archaeologists paid little attention to the prehistoric occupation (Michael R. Taylor, personal communication 2001).

Spanish Contact

The first written account definitely pertaining to the area later occupied by the Fort Selden Military Reservation comes from Juan de Oñate’s settlement expedition into Nuevo México in 1598. Even earlier Coronado’s scouts came to the present-day Mesilla Valley in the 1540s, and fray Agustín Rodríguez and Capt. Francisco Sánchez Chamuscado could have passed this way in the early 1580s. Juan de Morlete apparently earlier had traveled parts of Oñate’s route and is the first Spaniard recorded

to have crossed the Jornada del Muerto, in 1591 (Riley 1999:32–34, 45–47).

Oñate began his expedition from Santa Bárbara, Chihuahua, México, on January 26, 1598, traveling with as many as 560 persons. A number of the soldiers brought their families as well as their servants and slaves. Most of the soldiers were young men, and the 3 oldest were around 60 years old. Oñate was in his mid to late 40s. At least one soldier was a mulatto, and among the servants and slaves were Indians, mestizos, and blacks (Riley 1999:43–44). Also accompanying Oñate were a group of Tlascalcan Indians, a woman native of Pant-ham-ba Pueblo (near Galisteo) called Doña Inés, and 12 Franciscans. The soldiers carried a banner with an image of Our Lady of the Remedies (Gutiérrez 1991:48).

Oñate’s enormous entourage included perhaps 1,200 horses, 1,500 cattle, and thousands of sheep and goats. The soldiers’ personal weapons included harquebuses and swords, and they brought armor for themselves as well as their horses. The expedition traveled with quantities of a variety of goods including iron tools, some 13,500 nails, clothing and rolls of cloth, grinding stones, an assortment of food, medicines and medicinal supplies, mining equipment, blacksmithing equipment, gunpowder, sheet lead for ammunition, and artillery. The trade goods included rosaries and 80,000 trade beads. Their equipment was transported in 80 wagons and carts drawn mostly by oxen and some by mules. The people, animals, and vehicles spread over 2 miles and must have impacted the terrain terrifically; Oñate himself noted wagon ruts still prominent from Morlete’s expedition 7 years earlier (Riley 1999:44–47).

Traveling from Santa Bárbara up the Río Conchos in Chihuahua, Oñate reached the Río Grande on April 20. On April 30 he took formal possession of Nuevo México for Felipe II and Spain (Riley 1999:47). According to Gutiérrez (1991), Oñate literally played out dramas to

teach the Indians they encountered “the meaning of their own defeat, of Spanish sovereignty, and of the social hierarchies that would prevail under Christian rule” (Gutiérrez 1991:47). Oñate had a chapel constructed on April 30, where the Spanish celebrated Solemn High Mass, and the soldiers then enacted the arrival of and greeting by Hernán Cortés of 12 Franciscans in Mexico City in 1524. Oñate presented himself as Cortés, knelt before and kissed the hands and hems of the friars, and ordered the Indian caciques to do the same. After the drama Oñate again fell to his knees and prayed for the conversion of the Indians as well as peaceful occupation of Nuevo México. The soldiers fired harquebuses, and Oñate erected a cross (Gutiérrez 1991:48–49).

Oñate named the site of their Río Grande crossing “el paso del río del norte” (Timmons 1990:14). While the Spaniards still were camped on the river before crossing on May 4, 40 Indians entered their camp. Oñate called them “mansos,” which sounded like their first utterances to him (Riley 1999:55). Alonso de Benavides 32 years later said the name manso derived from a Spanish word meaning “tame” or “peaceable” (Hickerson 1994:87). Oñate described these Indians as having “long hair cut to resemble little Milan caps, headgear made to hold down the hair and colored with blood or paint.” They carried Turkish bows and made the sign of the cross with their thumbs. Oñate clothed the Indians and presented them with other gifts, and the Mansos in turn helped the Spaniards cross their sheep to the Río Grande’s north side (Riley 1999:55).

Sent ahead of the main expedition to scout the Piro area, Capt. Pablo de Aguilar Inojosa in mid-May, against Oñate’s orders, entered the first Piro village he encountered. Oñate so wanted the expedition to proceed in secrecy, because Indians had fled with their food supplies from previous expeditions into Nuevo México, that he almost had Aguilar executed (Riley 1999:47).

On May 13 the main expedition reached the Organ Mountains, which Oñate called the “Sierra del Olvido.” A child died on May 17, and on May 21, one day after Aguilar returned from his unfortunate scout, 60-year-old Pedro Robledo died and was buried at his place of

death. The officer Robledo, a native of Maqueda, near Madrid and Toledo, Spain, was accompanied by his wife Catalina López, his daughters, and 5 sons (Riley 1999:47; Jaskolski 2000:199, 200). The campground or paraje where he was buried became known as La Cruz de Robledo because of the cross marking his grave. The name later was shortened to Paraje Robledo or simply Robledo. Another campground 1 league to the south was called variously Robledo el Chico, Robledito, or Robledillo. Robledo would become the Camino Real’s south entrance to the Jornada del Muerto (Julyan 1996:301).

On May 22 Oñate, 2 Franciscan friars, and about 60 men moved ahead of the expedition to contact the nearest Piro town on the Río Grande. The expedition finally reached the north end of the Jornada del Muerto on May 27. Oñate eventually would select a region 250 miles to the north at the mouth of the Chama River for settlement, and in August his settlers began to move into some house blocks of the Tewa pueblo of Okeh (Riley 1999:47–49, 75).

Manso Indians

Beckett and Corbett estimate the Manso occupied an area stretching from south of El Paso, Texas, to as far north as Hatch, New Mexico (Hammond and Rey 1953:661 in Beckett and Corbett 1992:2), placing the Fort Selden site well within their territory. Mansos presumably lived in the Organ Mountains, which became known as the Sierra de los Mansos (Rivera 1945:69 and Kinnaird 1958:84 in Beckett and Corbett 1992:2). By 1667 a ranchería was as far west as the Florida Mountains near Deming (Forbes 1959:118 in Beckett and Corbett 1992:2). The Jano and Jcome, relatives of the Manso, lived to their west and southwest; the Suma lived to the south; and the Piro lived along the Río Grande in the area of present-day Socorro and San Marcial. Apaches, relative newcomers, lived in adjacent areas (Benavides 1945:12–17 in Beckett and Corbett 1992:2).

Hickerson identifies the Manso with the Tanpachos, encountered by Antonio de Espejo in 1582 in marshy areas near El Paso del Norte

(Hickerson 1994:38). Luxán describes the Tanpachos as being

of the same blood and type as the Otomoacos, and of the same dress, except that the men tie their privy parts with a small ribbon. Their mode of fighting is with Turkish bows and arrows, and bludgeons as much as half a yard in length, made of tornilla wood, which is very strong and flexible. We all made stocks for our harquebuses from this tornillo wood because it was very suitable for the purpose [Luxan in Hammond and Rey 1966:169, quoted in Hickerson 1994:40].

In his revised memorial of 1634, fray Alonzo de Benavides describes the Manso as “a robust people, tall, and with good features, although they take pride in bedaubing themselves with powder of different colors which makes them look very ferocious” (Benavides 1945:52–2 in Beckett and Corbett 1992:30). Apparently hunters and gatherers, the Manso ate raw fish from the Río Grande in addition to the animals they hunted. Their wickiup shelters may have replaced earlier, more permanent housing (Beckett and Corbett 1992:30).

The Spanish established a mission for the Manso at El Paso del Norte (present-day Juárez, Chihuahua) in 1656 that lasted only two years, but Mission Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de los Mansos del Paso del Norte was permanently founded in 1659. According to Timmons the little church completed in 1668 became a way station for all travelers between Parral and Santa Fe and between Casas Grandes and Santa Fe. The mission also attracted some Spanish settlers, Jumanos, Sumas, Tanos, and Apaches (Timmons 1990:15, 17; see also Hickerson 1994:123–124).

By 1683 the Mansos, Sumas, and Janos joined the Pueblo nations of New Mexico in rebelling against the Spanish. They soon were joined by other Indian groups in the El Paso district, Nueva Vizcaya, and Sonora (Moorhead 1991:20–21; Hadley et al. 1997:13).

Several Manso rancherías are known in southern Nuevo México in 1691. The Mission of San Francisco de los Mansos, occupied from 1691 to 1693, and its associated ranchería were near La Unión. Other rancherías were near Doña Ana and present-day Las Cruces and in the Florida Mountains (Beckett and Corbett 1992:12, 46). In 1692 don Diego de Vargas referred to an abandoned ranchería at Doña Ana (Espinosa 1942:110 in Beckett and Corbett 1992:2). Because of the bad road, Vargas’s wagons and crews spent the night of October 18, 1692, at Yerba del Manso, located by Kessell and others 10 km south of Robledo and described by Vargas as “a league and a half from the outpost of Robledito” (Vargas 1995:388). Beckett and Corbett speculate a ranchería reported by Pedro Rivera at a paraje 21 leagues north of Paso del Norte was the Ranchería Grande shown on Miera y Pacheco’s Map (Rivera 1945:69 and Adams and Chavez 1956:268 in Beckett and Corbett 1992:2–3).

In a journal written in 1695 during a campaign against the Pimas, Capt. Juan Fernández de la Fuente from Janos notes

how the Janos, Jocomes, Mansos, Sumas, Chinarras, and Apaches have united. We have seen their great numbers and how they always travel together and how they never leave the rugged sierras where they always have their habitations. From the mountain peaks they are able to do whatever they wish, and the Spaniards are unable to punish them because the rebels have united for this purpose on these frontiers and those of Sonora. We have seen the pride of these tribes... [Naylor and Polzer 1986:585–586].

Beckett and Corbett’s research indicates the last colonial reference to the Manso as an independent group occurred in 1711. On November 16 the Manso and the Jano of El Paso del Norte fled to the Organ Mountains but by November 27 were persuaded to return. Later history merges the Manso with the other Indians of the El Paso Guadalupe mission, but some 1751 Spanish records list them as a distinct

ethnic group at El Paso del Norte (Beckett and Corbett 1992:12–13). By 1766 the Organ Mountains were the domain of the Apaches, when Joseph de Urrutia notes on his “Map of Presidio and Pueblo of El Paso del Norte” that “a league to the north is the so-called Sierra de la Otra Banda, or Sierra de los Organos, along the foot of which runs the Río Grande del Norte and which is inhabited by the Apache Indians under the denominations of Natagés, Carlanas, and Faraones” (in Moorhead 1991:150).

Settlement of Doña Ana

The settlement of Doña Ana may have been established by 1680. Gov. Antonio de Otermín visited Doña Ana during his unsuccessful attempt to reconquer Nuevo México in 1682. In 1693 don Gabriel del Castillo reports Indians killed three Spaniards in the region of the Organ Mountains, “the raiders then going on to a place called Las Cruces, and stealing stock also at Mesilla, then raiding the ranch of Doña Ana María, Niña de Córdoba” (Castillo, quoted in Julyan 1996:112).

Apaches

By 1799 the Spanish knew as independent Apache nations the Tontos or Coyoteros, Chiricagüi (Chiricahuas), Gileños, Mimbrenos, Faraones, Mescaleros, Llaneros, Lipanes, and Navajos. All except the Navajos were nomadic and preferred to live among rugged hills and mountains, considering the sites most difficult to access as the best located. Two Apache groups, the Chiricahuas and the Mescaleros, later figure in the areas protected by the Fort Selden Military Reservation. In 1799, Cortés y de Olarte identifies the Chiricagüi name as derived from the principal mountains they inhabited. At that time the Chiricahua were bounded by the Tontos and Moguinos on the north, the Gileños on the east, and the Province of Sonora on the south and west. The Mescalero occupied the mountains adjacent to both sides of the Pecos River extending south to the mountains at the top of the Bolsón de Mapimí [probably the Chisos Mountains in present-day Big Bend National Park in Texas]. The Mescaleros were bounded on the west by the Faraones, on the north by the Cumanchería, on the east by the

Lipanes, and on the south by the Province of Coahuila. Cortés y de Olarte describes Mescalero clothing as made from finely cured chamois skins, with good breeches made “to perfection,” and head adornments with “attractive plumage” worn by some. In general, the Apache women also dressed in skins, with short skirts tied at the waist and fringes at the knees. They wore short shirts or jackets that hung to the waist and were open on the sides. Both sexes wore similar shoes, but the women wore no head coverings. Apache women adorned “their throats and arms with strings of deer and pronghorn hooves, as well as shells, fish spines, and roots of fragrant flowers.” The Apache already had adopted firearms, particularly valued by the Mescalero (Cortés y de Olarte 1989 [1799]:49–60).

Of the three groups identified in the Organ Mountains on the 1766 map, Opler conjectures the Faraones merged with the Mescaleros. Between 1720 and 1726 the Spanish applied the name Faraón to all Apaches living between the Río Pecos and the Río Grande from Santa Fe south to the Río Conchos in Mexico (Opler 1983a:390). Cortés y de Olarte in 1799 says the Faraones “constitute a very large group and are believed to be a branch of the Xicarillas. They inhabit the mountains between the Río Grande del Norte and the Pecos” (Cortés y de Olarte 1989 [1799]:52). They were bounded on the north and west by the Province of New Mexico, on the east by the Mescaleros, and on the south by Nueva Vizcaya (Cortés y de Olarte 1989 [1799]:52). The name Faraón was replaced by Mescalero by 1814, although it shows up on maps until 1858 (Opler 1983a:390).

The Natagés in 1745 consisted of the Mescaleros in the El Paso and Organ Mountain region and the Salineros in the Río Salado area. In the mid to late 1700s, the Spanish used the names Natagés and Mescaleros interchangeably. Mescalero replaces Natagé after that, although Natagé occurs on 1820 maps. Interestingly, Opler identifies the Carlanas as a Plains group that lived in the Raton Mesa area. Another group, the Apaches de Chilmo, lived west of the Río Grande and north of the Mansos, and probably are forerunners of the Warm Spring Apaches (Opler 1983a:392).

Griffen (1988) describes the unique relationship the Spanish established with the Apache, a relationship that would change forever the lifestyle of the Apache and their relationships with government entities, communities, and individual settlers. After 1786 the Spanish government persuaded many Apaches to settle at the chain of forts along its northern frontier. The administrative units, usually called *establecimientos de paz* (peace establishments), were unique in that the military and not the church administered to the Apache (Griffen 1988:9). Unfortunately, historians largely have ignored the significance of the symbiotic relationship that developed from these peace establishments and the impact of the establishments on the Apache.

By May 1793 the Spanish had established 8 reservations for the Apache, 6 sheltered by presidios. In all, about 2,000 Apaches settled at the reservations, which stretched from Sonora to the area of the Texas Big Bend. In Nuevo México 226 Gilas lived near Sabinal (Moorhead 1991:261). The Spanish were to issue rations every Monday to only those Apaches living at peace either within the walls of a presidio or within 10 miles of it. Apaches camped farther away were to receive whatever the commissioners considered necessary for their existence and to assure their good conduct (Moorhead 1991:264). Moorhead itemizes the rations provided:

Each adult woman was to receive weekly a sixth of a bushel of corn or wheat, four boxes of cigars, one loaf of brown sugar, half a handful of salt, and, when it was available, one thirty-second of a beef. Each other adult in a family would receive a half portion of these rations, and each child a quarter portion. No weekly rations were to be allotted for infants, and no cigars issued to children under seven years of age. A chief would receive, in addition to the rations for an adult, one loaf of brown sugar and two boxes of cigars. On first presenting himself in peace each chief and his favorite wife, as well as each prominent warrior, was to receive clothing and saddlery, as also were

those who distinguished themselves in battle as auxiliaries. However, the commandant of the presidio was to exercise economy in presenting these gifts, artfully providing goods which the Apaches esteemed highly but which were of little value [to the Spanish] [Moorhead 1991:263].

Apaches who served with the troops were to be given “cigars and the kind of food to which they were accustomed, in amounts sufficient for the duration of the sorty or campaign, but a strict accounting was to be made of all supplies that were issued to any of the tribesmen” (Moorhead 1991:264). Each commissioner was to take a detailed monthly census of the Apaches under his supervision, gathering information about each person’s sex, age, and marital status, the number of horses or mules each person owned, and the number of Indians absent on hunting-and-gathering expeditions and where they went. The census also was to collect information about the land occupied by each band: its potential to support these inhabitants and its distance from the area’s military post (Moorhead 1991:264).

Only one year later, in 1794 Spanish officials determined administrative costs of having so many Apaches dependent upon their administration were too high. They began reducing the numbers directly administered at the reservations as well as the rations issued to those who remained. The Spanish intended to make the changes so gradually the Apaches would not realize they were occurring. Confident those Apaches who returned to the hinterland would remain at peace, the military nevertheless continued patrols to search for and destroy recalcitrants (Griffen 1988:10–11).

For the next 40 years, the levels of Apache depredations failed to increase, even though Spanish and Mexican forces in the area declined. Griffen speculates the Apaches who remained at the peace reserves shared their rations with their relatives in the hinterland, helping to maintain the peace. This relative calm ended after Mexican independence in 1821, when the Mexicans terminated rations to the Apaches. Most Apaches left the presidios, and subsequent

attempts by the Mexican military failed to coerce them back. Peace was not regained until 1842, when Mexico again instituted regular allotments (Griffen 1988:11–12).

The Apaches, whom the Spanish and Mexican governments had made dependent on them for food, increasingly turned to theft to survive. They also committed various depredations on the European and Mexican populations who had invaded their territory. Travelers along the Camino Real in the 1830s particularly dreaded venturing through the Jornada del Muerto, not only because of the lack of water but also because of the danger of Apache attacks. Especially dangerous was the trail to the Ojo del Muerto or Dead Man's Spring, where travelers often had to detour to water their animals (Gregg 1967 [1844]:240–241).

To counteract the Apaches' hostilities, the Mexican government contracted with mercenaries to kill Apaches and present their scalps for money. John Johnson and Santiago Kirker were two renowned scalp hunters who operated in Nuevo México. In 1838 Kirker attacked a rancharía on the upper Gila River, where he reportedly took 55 scalps, 9 prisoners, and 400 head of livestock, which he disposed of in Socorro. This feat led the Chihuahuan government to contract with Kirker to hunt for Apache scalps (Griffen 1988:54).

Typical of the times, many historical accounts in the Fort Selden area refer only to "Indians" or "Apaches." Although few bands or individuals are named, enough accounts exist to begin to identify persons and to piece together recognizable groups. Much more research is needed to develop a comprehensive history of the historic groups that occupied the area including the Fort Selden Military Reservation. From the current project's limited research, some reasons for the vacillating relationships between the Apache and Mexico and between the Apache and the United States are evident. These relationships are key to the history of the establishment of military forts in present-day southern New Mexico.

Sweeney names three prominent Chiricahua Apache chiefs for the nineteenth century. Their names and periods of dominance are Pisago

Cabezón, 1831 to 1840; Mangas Coloradas, about 1840 until early 1860s; and Cochise, early 1860s to early 1870s. Cochise was a son-in-law of Mangas Coloradas. Sweeney notes the Chiricahua consisted of "four autonomous bands, further divided into local groups and extended family groups. Each band and group had its own leaders" (Sweeney 1998:3–4). When the bands came together, as in times of crisis, the most respected chief provided leadership. Chiricahua legends and myths record the Chiricahua lived near Ojo Caliente or Warm Springs. The Chihenne band remained, and the other three bands moved south and west. Known to the Chiricahua as the Nednhis or "enemy people," the southernmost band was called by Mexicans and Americans the Janeros and other names. This band lived primarily in the Mexican state of Chihuahua but ranged occasionally into southern New Mexico and Arizona. A third band, the Central Chiricahuas, lived in southeast Arizona and northern Sonora and Chihuahua. Pisago Cabezón and Cochise were members of this band, known to the Apaches as the Chokonens. Probably the smallest band, the Bedonkohe lived along the Gila River and Mogollon Mountains. Mangas Coloradas probably belonged to this band, and he married into the Chihenne. The Chihenne, the most numerous band, occupied a territory in present-day New Mexico west of the Río Grande. The mountain ranges they occupied include the Black, Mimbres, Pinos Altos, and Florida. They are called various names by Mexicans and Americans: Gila, Copper Mine, Mimbres, Mogollon, and Warm Springs. Nineteenth-century Chihenne leaders also include Cuchillo Negro, Itán, Ponce, Delgadito, and Victorio (Opler 1983b:401; Sweeney 1998:4–7).

The Mescalero Apache occupied the area of southern New Mexico east of the Río Grande. Opler's research indicates the Mescalero from the seventeenth century until the third quarter of the nineteenth century continuously occupied a territory extending from the Río Grande on the west to the Río Pecos on the east (though they ranged farther east to hunt) and from the 34 degree latitude on the north to northwest Texas and northern Chihuahua and Coahuila to the south. Opler believes the Apaches de Perillo identified by fray Alonso de Benavides in the

Jornada del Muerto in the early seventeenth century were Mescalero (Hodge 1895:234 in Opler 1983c:420). When Gov. Antonio de Otermín invaded the Organ Mountains in 1682, he saw evidences of Mescalero occupation (Hackett 1942 in Opler 1983c:420).

Within the Chiricahua and the Mescalero, tribal-wide relationships were maintained through social dances, puberty rites, and intermarriages, although marriage outside one's band was uncommon before 1830. Custom required the man to live with his wife's people after marriage. Grandparents, particularly on the mother's side, were important educators and disciplinarians. Apacheans basically were hunters and gatherers, although the Chiricahua and Mescalero practiced some farming. Apacheans distinguished between raiding and warfare, with raids undertaken to acquire horses and booty and war undertaken to avenge previous Apache casualties (Opler 1983a; 1983b; 1983c).

In 1842 Mescalero chiefs José María María and two others requested armistice with the state of Chihuahua. Nuevo México sent a document from Santa Fe listing four conditions negotiated with the Apaches. These conditions included provision of 5,000 pesos annually plus restoration of rations as previously given; freedom for those captives who fled the Apaches and those that the Apaches had exchanged to the Mexicans; and issuance to the Apaches of a special brand for their livestock so they could sell them to whomever they wished. Chihuahua renegotiated the agreement somewhat, and José María María, now given the title General, accepted the changes. Another Mescalero chief, General Espejo, visited Chihuahua City in May. A local newspaper describes his group:

The athletic figures and the new use of moustaches by the men...and the delicate features of some of their wives and sisters, not less than the uniqueness of their adornments and the various designs painted on their faces, has generally attracted the attention of the people who have followed them through the streets with a singular curiosity because, although many times Indians

have been seen in Chihuahua City, there is no doubt that this time they have come with greater finery and display [La Luna, quoted in Griffen 1988:71].

By August, Mescaleros in the vicinity of El Paso del Norte were living peacefully. Every two weeks they went into town to receive rations, mingling with the Mexicans and often getting drunk (Griffen 1988:71). At Doña Ana the 261 new Mexican settlers who arrived in 1843, however, enjoyed no such peace. Apaches repeatedly marauded their community. In 1844 many of the new settlers returned to El Paso, but by 1847 those that remained were reported to be "thriving" (Noble 1994:171).

In the summer of 1843, the Chihuahuan government hired Jim Kirker, with a small army of Shawnee, Delaware, and Anglo mercenaries, to punish Apaches responsible for an attack on a merchant train near Ciudad Chihuahua and to take scalps. To augment their take, Kirker, still operating in southern New Mexico, suggested a raid on an Apache village in northwest Chihuahua. Cochise, present during the massacre, recognized Kirker and vowed never again to believe in a white man (McGaw 1972:138–143).

Two years later, about February 1845, Apaches camped near Doña Ana increased their assaults under the leadership of El Flaco, Parankita, El Sahuano, El Sierra, Togusle (Tubule), and a captive named Jesús (Griffen 1988:97). In June Chief Vueltas and other Apaches went to El Paso to warn Mexican authorities that 500 to 600 warriors were traveling to a large reunion upriver from Doña Ana. Griffen refers to the Apache's dependence on rations: "Interestingly, the prefect at El Paso was not so worried about immediate hostilities as he was that with the shortage of resources it would be impossible to give rations to such a large group; in that case they might well turn to hostile acts. Until this time, thirty to fifty Apaches were receiving rations twice a month" (Griffen 1988:97). Restless Apaches created problems around El Paso throughout the summer (Griffen 1988:97–98). Mexican authorities determined that José María María was the leader of rebels in northern

Chihuahua, who all may have been Mescaleros and operated primarily around the towns of Doña Ana and El Paso. By early October Chihuahua was at war against both the Apaches and the Comanches (Griffen 1988:94).

In the fall of 1845, a Mexican ensign encountered an Apache warrior who reluctantly revealed that he belonged to a local group under Itán, who had remained in the Mogollons with Mangas Coloradas. This group recently had opened a new market at Socorro, New Mexico, where they traded their loot for arms and powder (Sweeney 1998:131).

During the Mexican War, in 1845 Frank S. Edwards traveled through the Jornada del Muerto with the Doniphan Campaign. Edwards enumerates each camp along the route and the distances between each stop. From the north and approaching Robledo, from Camp Sierrita to Alemán was 24 miles; Alemán to Camp San

Diego, 24 miles; San Diego to Robledo on the Rio Grande, 12 miles; and Robledo to Campos de Doña Ana, 12 miles (Edwards 1996 [1847]:130). Doniphan's troops reached "the new and rich town of Doña Ana" in December (Edwards 1996 [1847]:50–51). While the troops were camped there, Apaches stole 50 mules from the artillery, but the Americans made up their losses by stealing from the Mexicans (Griffen 1988:120), a pattern that may have been well established with Apaches often being blamed for infractions by Anglos.

Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo

Under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which officially ended the Mexican War in 1848, the New Mexico Territory became part of the United States (Taylor 1995:4). Many Doña Ana residents did not wish to be United States citizens and thus moved to La Mesilla (Noble 1994:172), which at the time was on the west side of the Río Grande. The present community of Las Cruces also was laid out in 1848, although over 100 people already were living in the area (Julyan 1996:198).

Little changed in the Mexican-Apache relations after the Mexican War. Desperate Mexican authorities again paid money for Apache scalps,

and a May 1849 law authorized a schedule of payments that soon financially burdened the state government and caused increased retaliations by the Apaches (Griffen 1988:121).

Capt. Enoch Steen was stationed at Doña Ana with a company of dragoons in 1849. In August they skirmished with Apaches near Santa Rita del Cobre, when an officer was killed and three enlisted men were wounded. Steen was wounded by a shot from "Apache Jack" Gordon (Peter Worthington), a white man married to a Chihenne woman and leading the Apaches in this encounter (Adjutant General's Office 1979 [1891]:13; Sweeney 1998:177).

En route from Santa Rita del Cobre to Doña Ana in January 1850 to begin negotiations with Captain Steen, the Chihenne Itán and a group of Apaches along the way encountered troops or civilians who killed several of their party. In response Miguel Narbona, a Chokonen, raided Doña Ana with 56 men, killing 1 and wounding 3 men and driving off all the stock. Steen quickly rounded up a force and crossed the Jornada del Muerto to intercept the Indians. At least 3 Indians and 1 soldier were wounded. This encounter prompted Steen to suggest the military relocate the garrison from Doña Ana to Santa Rita del Cobre in an effort to convince the Apaches to make peace. The war faction of the Apaches—the Bedonkohes, some Chokonens, and Mangas Coloradas's Chihennes—resumed raiding in Sonora (Sweeney 1998:189–191).

By June 1850 six Chiricahua—Ponce, Delgadito, and Itán of the Chihenne, and Coletto Amarillo, Láceres, and Arvizu of the Nednhis—agreed to nine articles of peace. One of the men said Coletto Amarillo was their "general." Mangas Coloradas, who may have been planting crops, did not attend but perhaps sent Aguirre as his delegate (Sweeney 1998:204).

On December 27, 1849, Delgadito had captured two boys from an influential Doña Ana family: Teófilo and Mateo Jaramillo. In August 1850 Captain Steen left Doña Ana with 60 dragoons to visit Santa Rita del Cobre in an attempt to negotiate a treaty and to recover the Jaramillo boys. Steen met with Mangas Coloradas and Josécito, who claimed the boys had been sold in Sonora (Sweeney 1998:189, 205–206). Steen

expresses Mangas's sentiments toward the two governments in his report of the conversation with the two men:

they replied that they were very desirous of being and remaining at peace with the Americans—but at the same time would swear eternal hatred to the Mexicans; that while the Americans could pass where they wished through their country, and could eat and sleep with them as safely as if he was by his own friends; with the Mexicans it was and ever would be “War to the Knife” [Sweeney 1998:206].

Captain Steen returned to Doña Ana on August 21, and on September 2 José María Ponce, Itán, and Cuchillo Negro came to Doña Ana, soon followed by Josécito and about 30 men and women, all seeking friendship with the Americans. Mangas Coloradas, in the meantime, led 300 warriors on another incursion into Sonora. Other prominent leaders of this party were Miguel Narbona, Cochise, and Esquinaline. Mexican troops chased Mangas Coloradas's successful raiding party to the Chiricahua Mountains but turned back at U.S. territory (Sweeney 1998:206–207).

By the early 1850s traffic along the Camino Real had declined as shorter routes through Texas connected the Mexican markets with Santa Fe (Noble 1994:297). Capt. Louis S. Craig arrived at Santa Rita del Cobre in 1851 to establish a depot for the U.S. Boundary Commission under John R. Bartlett. Craig met with Delgadito and Mangas Coloradas, who reiterated his friendship with the Americans and his hatred of the Mexicans (Sweeney 1998:214–215). In March the new Sonoran commander, Col. José María Carrasco, set out to punish the Apaches and invaded Janos, reportedly killing the mother, wife, and three children of Geronimo, along with numbers of other Apaches. Mangas Coloradas was in the vicinity and returned to his home in southern New Mexico (Sweeney 1998:215, 219). By late August when Bartlett decided to abandon Santa Rita del Cobre to move farther west, Mangas Coloradas was disillusioned with the Americans

and sought peace with Janos (Sweeney 1998:240).



Figure A4.1. Map showing locations in New Mexico

1850s Forts in New Mexico Territory

The new Secretary of War Charles M. Conrad proposed in July 1851 to guard the frontier with a line of fortifications rather than with the existing garrisons in frontier towns. The War Department sent Col. Edwin Vose Sumner to implement Conrad's plan (Mozer 1967:6). At the same time, Maj. Electus Backus recommended removing the troops from Coon's Ranch [El Paso] (Timmons 1990:111–112). That month Colonel Sumner ordered the posts at Doña Ana, El Paso, and San Elizario abandoned. The Coon's Ranch troops and those from Doña Ana moved to new Fort Fillmore, which became headquarters of the 3rd U.S. Infantry and consisted of three infantry companies and two dragoon companies. The troops immediately began constructing buildings (Mozer 1967:6–7; Timmons 1990:112). Undeterred by this new military presence, in late 1851 Apaches killed several men along the Rio Grande. Apaches, perhaps Chiricahuas led by Mangas Coloradas, killed a teamster and captured 51 mules between Fort Fillmore and El Paso (Sweeney 1998:244).

In 1852 Doña Ana County was created with the town of Doña Ana as its seat. A year later the county seat was moved to Las Cruces (Julyan

1996:113). In considering the protection the forts provided the territory's citizens, New Mexico Gov. James S. Calhoun in 1852 said the ill-equipped U.S. troops were "totally useless" against the well-mounted Indians (Calhoun, quoted in Mozer 1967:9). For its part, Fort Fillmore protected travelers, settlers, and mail carriers, in addition to guarding U.S. Army surveying parties. The United States authorities continued to focus on pacifying the Apaches (Mozer 1967:9–10). In addition to Fort Fillmore, military posts protecting New Mexico in the 1850s were Forts Conrad, Craig, Marcy, Stanton, Thorn, Union, Webster, and Wingate as well as Los Lunas and Camp Ojo Caliente. Fort Bliss was established in present-day El Paso, Texas (See Figure A4.1).

Fort Marcy. Gen. Stephen W. Kearny built Fort Marcy in 1846 northeast of the Palace of the Governors in Santa Fe. Said by Julyan (1996) to be large enough to accommodate 1,000 soldiers, the fort was never needed (Billington 1991:206; Julyan 1996:134).

Fort Wingate. Fort Wingate originally was established as a military outpost about 1849 at Seboyeta. The military then moved it near Ojo del Gallo to a Hispanic community now known as San Rafael. The fort was named Fort Wingate in 1862 (Julyan 1996:137).

Fort Fillmore. Col. Edwin V. Sumner established Fort Fillmore (Figure A4.2) across the Rio Grande from La Mesilla on September 23, 1851, to protect travelers from Indian attacks (Julyan 1996:134). Sumner instructed each post to cultivate a farm to feed its soldiers, but the Fort Fillmore farm was only partially successful. Although the fort was described in February 1853 as "Most dreary and uninviting...The stiff line of shabby adobe quarters on three sides of a perfectly bare parade ground suggested neither beauty nor comfort" (Mozer 1967:8), Joseph Mansfield the same year regarded the quarters for both officers and men "the best in the Territory" (Mansfield 1963:56). The fort had a good hospital, magazine, and storehouses. Mansfield also reported the post had a good garden and bakery attached and a farm was cultivated. In October 1853 four companies were stationed at the fort, commanded by Major E.

Backus (Mansfield 1963:54–57). An 1855 visitor to Fort Fillmore also had a favorable impression, describing the fort as "large and pleasant." Built in a square, the fort enclosed an open space on three sides with the side toward the Rio Grande open. The adobe buildings were comfortable, and the post had a good library. The farm had been discontinued. Still commanded by Major Backus, three companies then were garrisoned at Fort Fillmore (Davis 1982 [1857]:379). Opinions of the fort's condition would become most unfavorable by the early 1860s.

Fort Conrad. Colonel Sumner established Fort Conrad in 1851, 35 miles south of Socorro, on the west bank of the Rio Grande. Although designed to protect the lower Rio Grande Valley, it later became primarily a hay camp for **Fort Fort Craig**. This badly situated, poorly constructed fort existed only three years. In 1854 Fort Conrad was abandoned and the troops were moved 9 miles south to Fort Craig (Julyan 1996:133–134).

Fort Union. Colonel Sumner established Fort Union about 24 miles northeast of Las Vegas in July 1851. The fort was intended to deter Jicarillas and Utes, protect the Santa Fe Trail, and serve as a supply depot (Billington 1991:203; Julyan 1996:136–137).

Fort Webster. In April 1851 the U.S.–Mexican Boundary Commission occupied an old private fort built by Francisco Elguea to protect the Santa Rita copper mines. The Commission called the post Cantonment Dawson.



Figure A4.2. Rio Grande Valley from Santa Fe to El Paso, Texas, 1857. Courtesy of Museum of New Mexico, Negative No. 15067

When the U.S. Army occupied the post in October, they renamed it Fort Webster. In 1852 the military moved the post to the Mimbres River (Julyan 1996:137). An early 1852 observer described the men at the post “frightened out of their wits” after encounters with the Chihennes. The men had barricaded the fort with “old wagons, logs, barrels, rocks, and other articles...making it almost impossible to get to it” (Sweeney 1998:249). In December 1852 Indian Agent Edward H. Wingfield found half the soldiers living in tents and the rest cramped in log and mud buildings (Sweeney 1998:268). The troops transferred to Fort Thorn after Fort Webster was abandoned in 1853 (Julyan 1996:137).

Los Lunas. In 1851 Colonel Sumner ordered Capt. Richard S. Ewell, 1st Dragoons, to establish a post on the Rio Grande at either Sabinal or Los Lunas. Ewell was to select the site with the better winter quarters and with

reasonably priced forage. Ewell chose Los Lunas, where he rented quarters and land. The post, never officially a fort, was garrisoned until 1860 (Julyan 1996:134).

Fort Thorn. Colonel Sumner established Fort Thorn in 1853 at a site previously known as Santa Barbara. The nearby town of Hatch was named after Fort Thorn’s commander, Gen. Edward Hatch. Established to protect settlers and travelers against Apaches and outlaws, the post’s location proved unhealthy. Michael Steck continued to maintain the Apache agency there, however, after the military abandoned the post in March 1859 (Sweeney 1992:12–13; Julyan 1996:136).

Fort Craig. Fort Craig was built on the west bank of the Rio Grande del Norte, at the north end of the Jornada del Muerto, about four miles south of the present site of San Marcial. Construction began in late 1853, and troops from Fort Conrad moved there early the next year. Two companies were stationed there mainly to protect travelers through the Jornada del Muerto, and they also patrolled an area west of the Rio Grande (Headquarters Military Division of the Missouri 1969 [1876]:149; Billington 1991:203; Noble 1994:239).

Fort Bliss. A military post was established at Magoffinsville in January 1854, with four companies of the 8th Infantry. In March this post, housed in buildings owned by James Magoffin, was named Fort Bliss (Timmons 1990:131).

Fort Stanton. Fort Stanton was built originally on the Rio Bonito in the Sacramento Mountains in 1855 to control the Mescalero and White Mountain Apaches. The fort was named for Capt. Henry W. Stanton, killed by Indians in these mountains in January 1855 (Headquarters Military Division of the Missouri 1969 [1876]:150; Julyan 1996:135).

Camp Ojo Caliente. Camp Ojo Caliente, established in 1859 on the Alamosa River near the San Mateo Mountains, also was never officially a fort. It was an advance picket post for Fort Craig established to control the Navajos (Billington 1991:204).

In January 1852 Captain Richardson without provocation attacked Apaches at Fort Webster. The Chihennes retaliated three days later, driving off the post's oxen and cattle herd and killing three soldiers. They soon stole an entire train at Cooke's Spring from a Doña Ana resident returning from a delivery to Fort Webster (Sweeney 1998:246–247). In February Colonel Sumner ordered a one-month campaign from Fort Conrad, hoping to strike Mangas Coloradas. The Indians along the border were reported to be “in an actual state of war” (Sweeney 1998:249). Tensions increased between Sumner and Governor Calhoun, who had hoped to make a treaty with Mangas Coloradas and other Apache leaders. Maj. Marshall Saxe Howe, in charge of Sumner's expedition, proved an ineffective leader, and most of the Indians already had left the area. Under attack in northern Sonora, Delgadito's band suffered heavy losses and Delgadito may have been seriously wounded. Remnants of his band returned to the Chiricahua Mountains where they united with Miguel Narbona and Cochise (Sweeney 1998:247–251).

Apparently Mexican incursions against the Apaches convinced them to return to the United States and make peace. On June 15, 1852, Ponce, Itán, Josécito, and Cuchillo Negro appeared at Fort Webster seeking a permanent treaty. Ponce offered to bring Mangas Coloradas to Santa Fe for the treaty, and on July 11 Mangas met with Sumner at Ácoma pueblo. Mangas would continue to respect the treaty he signed except for a prohibition from raiding into Mexico (Sweeney 1998:253–255).

In August Lt. Col. Dixon Stansbury Miles, then commanding Fort Fillmore, reported to Sumner that several officers at Fort Webster, including the commanding officer, were trading contraband with the Indians. Private Matson recorded in his diary that officers supplied the Indians whiskey in exchange for stolen mules (Sweeney 1998:264–265).

In September New Mexico's new governor, William Carr Lane, clashed with Sumner, going so far as to challenge him to a duel (Sumner declined). At this time Mangas Coloradas was living peacefully in the Burro Mountains while

his people hunted and gathered food for the winter. Mangas had distanced himself from Delgadito, who led 45 Apaches on a raid near Doña Ana on September 22 (Sweeney 1998:265–266).

In January 1853 Ponce and Negrito were back at Fort Webster seeking peace. Capt. Enoch Steen, then commander, said the Indians were “very poor and badly clad” and predicted they “must steal or starve” (Steen, quoted in Sweeney 1998:269). In fact, the next day a few young warriors from Ponce's group stole some stock at Los Lunas. Pursued by Capt. Richard S. Ewell, they headed for La Mesilla but turned west into the Mimbres Mountains. Importantly, Ewell halted because Mangas Coloradas had agreed to recover stolen property and because the raiders had stolen the stock because they were starving. According to Sweeney, both Ewell and Steen understood that the Chiricahuas distinguished between war and raiding (Sweeney 1998:269–270).

By 1853 La Mesilla's population had grown to about 2,000 (Timmons 1990:126). A group of Mexicans known as the Mesilla Guard killed 14 to 15 peaceful Mescaleros near Doña Ana in early February. Sweeney calls this incident “one of the most fearful atrocities in the history of southern New Mexican relations between Apaches and whites” (Sweeney 1998:271–272, quote on p. 272). That same month Governor Lane traveled to La Mesilla to investigate recent Apache depredations as well as the disputed area that would be purchased as part of the Gadsden Treaty (Sweeney 1998:271; see also Timmons 1990:129). Lane remained at Doña Ana a week hoping to meet with the Mescaleros, who were “up in arms over recent events.” From Doña Ana Lane traveled to Fort Webster, where he met with several chiefs and explained the articles of his proposed compact. Chihenne leaders Ponce, Cuchillo Negro, José Nuevo, Veinte Reales, Riñón, and Corrosero signed the compact, which among other things required the Indians to give up “their predatory way of life, build permanent dwellings, begin cultivating the earth, make laws..., choose a head chief who could speak for the tribe, and return all stolen property.” Lane in turn promised to furnish the Indians corn and beef for two years and a “reasonable amount of

food” for three more years (Sweeney 1998:271–272). While Governor Lane was on this trip, President Franklin Pierce appointed George Manypenny the new Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Former commissioner Luke Lea had been sympathetic to the Indians’ plight and recognized the government’s responsibilities to them, but Manypenny quickly vetoed Lane’s compact with the Indians without informing him (Sweeney 1998:274).

On August 21 Chihenne groups under Cuchillo Negro and Josécito entered La Mesilla requesting a treaty so they could trade with the town’s citizens. They asked to be allowed to stay 10 days to conduct trading. Three times the prefect, Domingo Cubero, turned them away. Despite his posted notices that he would fine people who violated the law prohibiting sales of liquor to the Apaches, Francis Fletcher gave whiskey to Ratón, a member of Delgadito’s local group. Ratón got drunk and killed his two wives and his brother-in-law (Sweeney 1998:289–290).

Also, following the conditions of the 1853 agreement, Cuentas Azules settled at Fort Fillmore and later at Doña Ana. Someone lured him from his camp and beat out his brains; the murderer was never charged (Mozer 1967:10).

Gadsden Purchase

On December 30, 1853, the bankrupt Mexican government agreed to sell 9,000 square miles to the United States for \$10 million. This agreement, the Gadsden Purchase, became effective in June 1854 and ceded the west side of the Mesilla Valley to the United States (Timmons 1990:129, 131). Over 5,000 additional Indians now lived in the United States (Mozer 1967:10).

Indian agent James Smith died of natural causes at Doña Ana on December 15, 1853, and was replaced by Edmund Graves, son-in-law of Governor Meriwether. Graves arrived at Doña Ana on January 23, 1854, but had little contact with the Indians and gave them little help with farming. These conditions, in addition to a suspension of rations by the United States, contributed to a deterioration in relations (Sweeney 1998:303).

Pres. Franklin Pierce reappointed Michael Steck as New Mexico’s Indian agent, and Governor Meriwether ordered him to the Chihenne and Mescalero agency at Doña Ana to succeed Graves. Meriwether also directed Steck to move the agency to Fort Thorn. Steck quickly began collecting information about the Indians. Only two days after arriving at Doña Ana, on July 6 he reported that Ponce had been “killed by one of his own people in a drunken frolic” and the Indians also had destroyed a cornfield during this escapade (Sweeney 1998:303–304; Steck quotation on p. 304). In the same month, the granddaughter of scalp hunter Jim Kirker was baptized at the Catholic Church at La Mesilla (McGaw 1972:1, n. 10).

Four days after Steck arrived at Fort Thorn in August 1854, Cuchillo Negro and Josécito, who strongly professed their desires of friendship, visited him. Steck went with the two men to Apache villages on the Mimbres to ascertain the Indians were friendly and were farming. Some Mexicans attempted to persuade him the Apache chiefs were avoiding him; at the same time they told the Indians Steck was spying for American troops who were planning to campaign against them. In fact, the Chihenne leaders had not avoided Steck but were in La Mesilla attempting to get permission to come in to trade. Many important leaders were at La Mesilla, except Mangas Coloradas, who was in Arizona. A small delegation from Delgadito’s group told Domingo Cubero that Delgadito wanted a peace treaty and a license to trade in La Mesilla. A few days later Itán, Cuchillo Negro, Josécito, Poncito, Riñón, Costales, and 50 women and children came to La Mesilla. Although Itán said Delgadito was too ill to travel, Sweeney believes Delgadito distrusted Cubero, who openly opposed the Apaches. The Apaches strongly expressed their desire for peace, saying they had proven themselves by refraining from depredations near La Mesilla and blaming the Mescaleros for any recent raids. The Mesillans refused to trade, however, and told Cubero to send away the Indians. Delgadito stole some horses at La Mesilla, and the Apaches went to Fort Thorn to see Steck (Sweeney 1998:304–305).

By October 1854, when Steck again traveled into Chihenne country, the Indians were peaceful

but almost destitute. Steck warned Governor Meriwether that if the government did not live up to its promises, the Apaches would have to begin raiding to survive. Game was becoming scarce, and turning the Indians into farmers left them with “half their food supply.” The government should furnish the other half. Steck declared, “Reverse our positions, place the white man in a starving condition and I doubt whether he would consult the right to property more than the Indian. He too would steal and justify himself by declaring that self preservation is the first law of Nature” (Steck, quoted in Sweeney 1998:305). Chihenne chiefs that went to Fort Thorn in late October for rations from Steck included Cuchillo Negro, Josécito, and Sergento. Steck met Mangas Coloradas for the first time. Governor Meriwether traveled to Fort Thorn in November and met with Chihenne leaders Mangas Coloradas, Delgadito, Itán, and Josécito. Because Fort Thorn was inconveniently located for most Chiricahua groups, Steck often took their rations to a central distribution point such as Santa Rita del Cobre (Sweeney 1998:306, 309).

Conflicts between Indians friendly to and hostile to the American troops took a toll. In 1855 the friendly Costales was murdered and scalped in his sleep at San Diego Crossing north of Fort Fillmore (Mozer 1967:10). That same year the U.S. military established Fort Stanton near present-day Lincoln (Noble 1994:254).

In the mid-1850s William W. H. Davis traveled by stage through the Jornada del Muerto, which he said was “formerly the range of the Mescalero Apaches” (Davis 1982 [1857]:372). His party halted at Robledo until four in the afternoon before proceeding to Doña Ana. Because Doña Ana had no public accommodations, the stage travelers slept with the mules. Davis describes Doña Ana as “a modern-built Mexican town, with a population of some five hundred; the river bottom here is broad and fertile, and well watered and cultivated” (Davis 1982 [1857]:373). Davis traveled on with the stage to Las Cruces and El Paso and then by horseback to Fort Fillmore (Davis 1982 [1857]:374).

Steck issued rations of corn, mutton, and beef to the Chihenne leaders in January 1855. Although the Indians preferred the meat of beef, Steck could distribute only a few head. The next month Steck, who believed the Apaches’ survival depended upon their conversion to farmers, told Governor Meriwether that all that was necessary to maintain friendly relations was for the government to keep its promises the next spring about planting (Sweeney 1998:309–310).

In March Steck asked Governor Meriwether about holding a treaty with the Apaches and inquired about the presents Meriwether had promised the Indians during his visit the previous November. The Apaches “have been promised assistance now for three years. To put them off again another year would be to destroy confidence and add new difficulties in the management of the tribe. They recollect the promises you gave them and are confidently looking for it” (Steck, quoted in Sweeney 1998:311). Meriwether informed Steck that Washington had given no authority for a treaty (Sweeney 1998:311).

Mangas Coloradas, by then in his mid-60s, was relying on government rations. After Miguel Narbona died in 1856 or 1857, Cochise became the Chokonen’s dominant leader (Sweeney 1992:9, 307).

The 1857 Fort Fillmore post returns record 7 Mescaleros fired on a herder camped at Robledo. The 16 soldiers sent in pursuit killed 6 of the Indians while they were stopped to eat a stolen mule (Mozer 1967:10). In March 1859 the military abandoned Fort Thorn (Sweeney 1992:13).

With the discovery of gold, miners increasingly encroached on Apache territories (Utley 1984:65–66). By the fall of 1860, the mining camp at Pinos Altos had 700 miners. They were in Mangas Coloradas’s territory, and he hoped to persuade them to go elsewhere. The Anglos bound him to a tree and lashed him until he had deep cuts on his back (Ball 1970:47 in Utley 1984:66). In December James Tevis and a “group of hooligan miners” without cause attacked Chihennes near Fort Webster, killing 4 and capturing 13 women and children (Sweeney 1992:13).

The following February, 1861, a group of soldiers sought out Cochise to talk. In Lt. George N. Bascom's tent, Bascom accused Cochise of a raid near Fort Buchanan. Cochise explained Coyoteros and not Chiricahuas did the raid. The officer placed Cochise under arrest, but Cochise slashed his way out of the tent and escaped. The soldiers then captured five of his relatives waiting outside the tent. Cochise seized a Butterfield station attendant and two travelers on the road through Apache Pass and attempted to exchange them for his relatives. The officer refused, so Cochise massacred the drovers of a small freight train going through the pass and attacked soldiers watering stock. After a standoff Cochise headed for Mexico, and the soldiers hanged their hostages, leaving the bodies dangling from trees for months (Utley 1984:66).

Civil War Years

The escalation of the Civil War pushed the Indian problems to the background. In January 1861 Texas seceded from the Union. In March at a secession convention at La Mesilla, New Mexico and Arizona also decided to secede and apply for territory status from the Confederate States. Fort Fillmore was now in a vulnerable position. Although the garrison was reinforced in April, the officers reportedly were pro-South (Mozer 1967:12–13). In El Paso the Mexican-Americans, who made up the majority of the population, had little interest in the southern cause, but the Anglos were strongly pro-South, probably because of Jefferson Davis's identification with the southern transcontinental railroad route through El Paso. Texas' Union commander ordered all posts to surrender to the Confederates, and the soldiers evacuated Fort Bliss. Lt. Col. John R. Baylor occupied Fort Bliss in July 1861 and the Mesilla Valley in late July (Timmons 1990:147–148).

The 500 to 700 soldiers at Fort Fillmore retreated toward Fort Stanton but were quickly overtaken by the Confederates at San Agustín Springs and made prisoners. With Fort Stanton now vulnerable, its troops evacuated and attempted to burn the buildings, but a rainstorm soon extinguished the fire (Mozer 1967:14, 16; Noble 1994:255; Taylor 1995:12). In September and October the Confederate unit that captured

Fort Fillmore set up a small camp for a few weeks at Robledo, where 15 to 20 soldiers mustered into the Confederate Army (Cohrs n.d.:1–2).

Jefferson Davis decided in late 1861 to bring Arizona and all of New Mexico under Confederate control. Davis sent Col. Henry H. Sibley to Fort Bliss in command of the Army of New Mexico, and in early 1862 Sibley began an offensive into New Mexico. Confederates defeated Union commander Lt. Col. Edward R. S. Canby at Valverde and occupied Albuquerque and Santa Fe. Sibley was heavily defeated at Glorieta Pass in late March 1862, however, and retreated to El Paso, passing quickly through La Mesilla (Timmons 1990:148–149).

In the meantime, in mid-summer 1861 Mangas Coloradas and Cochise ambushed and killed as many whites as possible near Cooke's Peak. The miners at Pinos Altos became even more isolated from the settlements along the Rio Grande with the Indians guarding the route through Cooke's Canyon to and from Pinos Altos. On September 27 Cochise and Mangas Coloradas attacked the town of Pinos Altos, and both sides suffered heavy casualties (Sweeney 1992:13; 1998:413).

Gen. George C. Wright, commanding the Department of the Pacific, ordered Col. James H. Carleton to organize an expedition to march from California to expel the Confederates (Figure A4.3) from New Mexico. California Volunteers marched through Arizona and reached Hatch, New Mexico, in May 1862. Cochise and Mangas Coloradas ambushed an advance party of the volunteers at Apache Pass in mid-July, which resulted in the military establishing Fort Bowie. By the time the California Column reached the Rio Grande, Lieutenant Colonel Canby had repulsed the Confederates. The Confederates abandoned La Mesilla, and Union forces reoccupied Fort Fillmore in August (Miller 1982:4–5; Timmons 1990:149; Sweeney 1992:14, 1998:429–444). Carleton noted the "dilapidated condition" of Fort Fillmore (Mozer 1967:37). Union forces also took possession of Fort Bliss in August and remained there until February 1865 (Timmons 1990:150; Altshuler 1991:209–210).



Figure A4.3. Map of the Operational Area of the Army of New Mexico, Civil War, 1862. Courtesy of Museum of New Mexico, Negative No. 49369.

The first Union soldiers to arrive at Fort Fillmore were California Volunteers under Capt. William McCleave. McCleave was born in Ireland about 1823. When he enlisted at New York in 1850, he was described as 5 feet 8 inches tall with brown hair and blue eyes. He married the Irish Elizabeth Wilson at New York on February 17, 1857, but she died at Fort Yuma on June 3, 1858, while they were en route to California. McCleave served as a camel master for a few months before becoming captain of Company A, 1st California Cavalry, on August 23, 1861. McCleave was captured by Confederates at Tucson and taken to the Rio Grande,

where he was sent to Fort Craig to arrange his own exchange. McCleave later would serve in the 8th Cavalry in Nevada, Arizona, and New Mexico. On leave in New York, he married Mary Crooke on May 22, 1872. He retired to Berkeley, California, in March 1879 and served four years as commandant of the Veterans' Home to support his six children. McCleave was regarded with respect throughout his career (Altshuler 1991:209–210).

For the remainder of the Civil War, the California Volunteers served at garrisons to protect travelers and settlers against Indian attacks and a Confederate reinvasion. Many of these men later became important settlers in the Mesilla Valley and surrounding areas (Miller 1982:4–5). Both California and New Mexico volunteers as well as remnants of the 5th U.S. Infantry now protected the Mesilla Valley. General Carleton established a subordinate command for southern New Mexico and Arizona under Col. Joseph Rodman West, who headquartered first at Mesilla, then at Hart's Mill (present-day El Paso), and finally at Prescott, Arizona (Holmes 1990:8; Altshuler 1991:358).

The 40-year-old West was born in New Orleans on September 19, 1822. He grew up in Philadelphia and graduated from the University of Pennsylvania. West served in the Mexican War and went to California with the volunteers, who nicknamed him "Dandy." West commanded the California Column that entered Arizona in April 1862. He occupied Tucson and established a military post there. When Carleton was promoted, West became colonel of the Tucson regiment until he was promoted to brigadier general of the volunteers on October 25, 1862, while commanding the District of Arizona with headquarters at Mesilla. West tended to resolve matters with force and had been charged with assault while in California. He sometimes disobeyed orders, and accused Carleton of subverting his authority (Altshuler 1991:358).

On October 10, 1862, the Fort Fillmore troops were ordered to withdraw to La Mesilla, and the post officially was abandoned on November 13, 1862 (Mozer 1967:16). Fort Cummings was built in 1863 at a precarious location near Cooke's Spring, at the southern end of Cooke's Canyon (Noble 1994:242). Fort Sumner was established in late 1862, and within a few weeks 450 Mescalero Apaches were brought there (Noble 1994:259).

Carleton called for the establishment of Fort West near the headwaters of the Gila River, and planned a winter attack on Mangas Coloradas (Sweeney 1992:14–15, 1998:447). On January 17, 1863, Jack Swilling tricked Mangas into being captured at Pinos Altos. With Mangas

were at least one of his sons as well as Victorio. Mangas Coloradas proudly declared he was “the chief of the Bedonkohes and Chihennes.” Swilling turned Mangas over to Brigadier General West at Fort McLane. West placed Mangas in the only adobe room at the post; Indians had burned the rest of the fort after the military abandoned it in 1861. West apparently instructed the soldiers to see that Mangas did not survive the night. The soldiers harassed Mangas and finally shot him dead, then decapitated and mutilated his body. An hour after Mangas was killed, West sent two patrols against the Indians before they could learn of Mangas’s death. Unaware of the tragedy Mangas’s local group peacefully approached Pinos Altos, where Captain McCleave ordered his men to attack. They killed 11 and wounded 1; one of the fatalities was a son of Mangas Coloradas (Sweeney 1998:448–461).

The next day Capt. Edmund D. Shirland and 50 cavalymen surprised a Chihenne ranchería, probably that of Victorio, killing 9 or more and wounding several others. Both patrols returned to La Mesilla with scalps and other war trophies “dangling from their saddles” (quoted in Sweeney 1998:460). The extreme sorrow of the Apaches over the treatment of their unarmed chief, who had sought peace and went to war only reluctantly “in self-defense,” is expressed by James Kaywaykla of Victorio’s band, quoted in Sweeney: “The killing of an unarmed man who has gone to an enemy under truce was an incomprehensible act, but infinitely worse was the mutilation of his body.” He continues, “To an Apache the mutilation of the body is much worse than death, because the body must go through eternity in the mutilated condition. Little did the White Eyes know what they were starting when they mutilated Mangas Coloradas. While there was little mutilation previously, it was nothing compared to what was to follow” (Kaywaykla, quoted in Sweeney 1998:462). Sweeney blames previous mutilations on Cochise’s Chokonens, who avenged the death of his brother Coyuntura, and claims Mangas lived in peace with the Americans for 16 of the 18 years after 1846. Carleton was elated about Mangas’s death and highly exaggerated his own involvement. In a statement that applies to many Americans of the time, Sweeney says Carleton,

“clearly misunderstood Apaches and never seemed to appreciate that the Indians were driven to fight by the same principles—love of their land, defense of their way of life, and protection of their families—that the Union espoused in fighting against the rebels” (Sweeney 1998:462). Because of Mangas’s importance, avenging his death “became a tribal matter” (Sweeney 1998:462).

Carleton planned to subdue the Indians one tribe at a time. He sent Col. Christopher (Kit) Carson and his New Mexico volunteers to reoccupy Fort Stanton, build Fort Sumner, and subdue the Mescaleros. He then sent forces to El Paso and La Mesilla to pacify the Mimbres (Chihennes) (Holmes 1990:9). In February 1863 he sent four cavalry companies to establish Fort West to protect Pinos Altos. While Sweeney says no permanent quarters were built but the men lived in Sibley tents and “wicker or basket houses” (1992:16), Holmes claims Fort West “was completed in 1863 using the vigas, frames, and lumber from Fort Fillmore” (1990:9–10). Fort West only prompted the Chihennes to move elsewhere. By February 1 Carleton declared the Mescaleros “are completely subdued” and proposed to punish the Navajos (Holmes 1990:10). By mid-March Carleton demanded entire subjugation or destruction of Mangas’s band (Sweeney 1992:17).

By June the Chiricahuas were allied and showing their enemies no mercy. A large war party led by Cochise, Victorio, and Luis, who may have been a son of Mangas, attacked Americans along the Rio Grande and at Cooke’s Canyon. After an attack on military troops opposite San Diego Crossing in the Jornada del Muerto, they decapitated and mutilated Lt. L. A. Bargie in imitation of what soldiers had done to Mangas Coloradas (Sweeney 1992:18; 1998:463). West instructed McCleave at Fort West to exterminate this group “to a man” (West, quoted in Sweeney 1992:18).

Michael Steck returned as superintendent of Indian affairs in the summer of 1863, but he and Carleton disagreed over policy (Sweeney 1998:463–464). In late summer 1863 Carson proceeded with Carleton’s plan to bring the Navajos to Bosque Redondo or extinction. By

January 1864 the first groups were marching toward the gathering point at Fort Wingate (Noble 1994:259). On October 2, 1863, California Volunteers established Fort Cummings at the mouth of Cooke's Canyon, said to be littered with "human bones and graves" (Sweeney 1998:413). In the meantime, Carleton continued to worry about the possibility of another Confederate invasion of New Mexico (Holmes 1990:8-9).

Establishment of Fort Selden Military Reservation

The most comprehensive study of the Fort Selden Military Reservation to date is a master's thesis written by Allan Holmes in 1990. Much of the following information is derived from that report, and the reader is referred to the thesis for additional information.

In November 1863 Bvt. Lt. Col. Nelson H. Davis arrived in New Mexico as Inspector General. In addition to his responsibilities of inspecting posts, troops, and equipment, Carleton assigned Davis to select sites for new forts. Carleton had promised to build a fort near Las Cruces or La Mesilla as soon as soldiers were available (Holmes 1990:11-12). Carleton also ordered Davis in December to investigate reports that West was attempting to turn Mesilla Valley residents against him (Miller 1984:141). Throughout 1864 citizens expressed sentiments against both Carleton and the army, claiming Carleton was too busy to protect Mesilla Valley residents from Indian depredations (Holmes 1990:10-11).

Lt. Col. Nelson Henry Davis was 43 years old in 1865. Born in Massachusetts, Davis graduated 49th out of 59 from the Military Academy. He distinguished himself in battles in Mexico in 1847 and was a colonel with the Massachusetts Infantry in 1861 before joining the Inspector General's Department on November 12 of that year. He fought in several Civil War battles and earned a brevet at Gettysburg. After becoming Inspector General for Carleton in 1863, he made several trips to Arizona and led a scout for Indians from Fort Bowie in the spring of 1864 (Altshuler 1991:97).

In early 1865 Davis reconnoitered for a fort site near Las Cruces (Holmes 1990:12). He arrived at Robledo on April 5 and examined an area along the river several miles above Robledo as well as below Robledo to Doña Ana. Davis reported on April 8 that he had selected a locality "on a mesa flat, being a point of land projecting southwest toward a bend in the Rio Grande to the south and east, some fifteen feet above the lower river bottom, and about one mile and a quarter above the first camp of Robledo's" (N. H. Davis, Inspector General's Department, letter to Ben C. Cutler, Las Cruces, April 8, 1865, copy of typescript in Fort Selden miscellaneous research files, NMSM, Santa Fe). Davis located wooded areas, noting "on the opposite side of the river, between this point and Robledo...a bottom containing a good bosque of cottonwood" with similar growths of timber one to three miles above. Several bottoms were well wooded toward Doña Ana, mostly on the west side of the Rio Grande. Opposite the site selected "and just above the high hills or mountains opposite Robledo, the range of hills is much lower and offers a practicable wagon road westwardly..." Davis had received reports of roads over this range of hills as well as to Rough and Ready (Davis to Cutler, April 8, 1865, NMSM).

The military generally spaced posts based on the distance a cavalry or mounted infantry unit could move in a day. To facilitate combining forces of the small posts when necessary, the posts were placed approximately 50 miles apart (Holmes 1990:16). According to Wooster,

The military introduced few strategic innovations after 1865. Army forts were located with more regard to domestic politics than to Indian policy. A post meant jobs, money, and increased safety. A thin line of bluecoats manned these frontier positions, but without formalized, consistent doctrine, flailed away wildly at their Indian foes. Cavalry seemed of particular value, although even the mounted men rarely caught hostile tribesmen. And given the federal government's limited size and budget, the army never had enough cavalrymen to patrol every exposed

area. Reservations and international boundary lines further shielded Indian raiders, who, after committing a depredation, often fled to the safety offered by such havens [Wooster 1990:178].

Holmes studied Fort Selden's location and concludes,

it is easy to understand why Davis selected this particular site. It is located on a small ridge of high ground or bluff about one-half mile from the river with mountains on both the east and west. The small bluff provides a panoramic view of the Mesilla Valley to the south. The Robledo Mountains, across the river to the west, overshadow the post, and with the Doña Ana Mountains on the east, form a narrow passage way from the Jornada del Muerto into the Mesilla Valley [Holmes 1990:13].

In addition, the site afforded an adequate water supply, it was on high ground, and it provided good observation of the area, especially with a lookout on the Robledo Mountains. Also, the site had easy access to the area's roads. Fort Selden was on the only north-south transportation route, and Carleton later built a road to the west. On August 14, 1865, Carleton wrote that the site was

an important point for the protection of travellers as well as to protect flocks and herds of the people living along the Rio Grande in what is called the Mesilla Valley. A ferry, and a new road will be opened to Goodnight Station on the main stage route of the old Overland Line from Mesilla to California [General Carleton, letter to Gen. Lorenzo Thomas, August 14, 1865, quoted in Holmes 1990:15].

Lieutenant Colonel Davis thought an acequia easily could be constructed above the site to irrigate land for cultivation. He recommended constructing the fort of adobes, with timber corrals if sufficient suitable wood was located. Davis also had a report of a man offering to

deliver good peeled pine logs from Tularosa for vigas at \$1 per log. Davis staked a 60-foot-wide street running north and south between the quarters and the corrals. He suggested placing the officers' quarters opposite the side shown on the plan and placing the troops on the lower side and nearer the river. He recommended the reserve follow the Rio Grande for three miles with one mile back, and that the United States claim and hold the timber for a greater distance. He wanted a company sent to the post at once to establish a permanent camp and to open the acequia for a water supply to the post and for making adobes. He preferred Captain Cook's company in Albuquerque for this duty because it was one of the largest in the department and the men were experienced at making adobes (Davis to Cutler, April 8, 1865, NMSM).

Special Orders No. 12 issued on April 25, 1865, ordered that a military post to be known as Fort Selden "to perpetuate the memory of the late lamented Col. Henry R. Selden, will at once be established at Roblero [sic], N.Mex., on the site already selected by Lieut. Col. Nelson H. Davis" (Special Orders No. 12, by command of Brigadier General Carleton, April 25, 1865, copy of typescript in miscellaneous research files, Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM). The post was named for Henry Raymond Selden, born in Vermont about 1821. Selden graduated 31st out of 39 from the Military Academy and in 1847 fought at Monterrey and Vera Cruz, Mexico. He served in the Seminole War and the Utah expedition before commanding Fort Defiance in 1860. Selden helped defend Fort Craig in 1862 and commanded a regiment at Valverde, Pigeon's Ranch, and Peralta during the Civil War (Altshuler 1991:298). Selden died on February 2, 1865, from complications of a cold while in command of Fort Union (Taylor 1995:110).

Fort Selden was intended "to provide for the better protection of the Mesilla Valley, and to lessen the perils of the Jornada del Muerto." The fort was to be built of adobes with a "capacity for a company of infantry and a company of cavalry with sixty horses." The plan and construction of the fort as well as "all necessary employees, funds, tools, means of transportation and supplies...to have the post completed at the

earliest practicable day” would be provided by Col. John C. McFerran, U.S. Army, Chief quartermaster of the department. Troops were to “assist in the work as far as possible” (Special Orders No. 12, April 25, 1865, NMSM).

By Special Orders No. 13, Company F, 1st Infantry, New Mexico Volunteers were ordered to proceed from Albuquerque to “Robledo, at the foot of the Jornada del Muerto” to serve as part of the garrison of Fort Selden (Special Orders No. 13, by command of Brigadier General Carleton, April 15, 1865, copy of typescript in miscellaneous research files, Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM). Ten days later Carleton ordered that Capt. James H. Whitlock’s Company C, 1st Veteran Infantry, California Volunteers, and Captain Cook’s Company F, 1st Infantry, New Mexico Volunteers garrison the post. Captain Whitlock would be commanding officer and Capt. Rufus C. Vose quartermaster and commissary (Special Orders No. 12, April 25, 1865, NMSM).

These troops served from May 1865 through June 1866. Company I served from June 1866 through August 1866. These companies were armed with Springfield Model 1842 muskets (Holmes 1990:27; Friends of Fort Selden Newsletter, July 1999). In the fort’s first combat mission in June 1865, Carleton directed mounted men to Fort Craig to help capture Navajos who had broken out of Bosque Redondo. Some 20 troops from Selden marched to Fort Craig, but the Navajos already had returned to the reservation (Holmes 1990:55).

The 35-year-old Capt. James Henry Whitlock, formerly a county surveyor in California, had raised a company of California infantry at Quincy and served as its captain. He commanded Fort Bowie in 1863 before coming to Fort Selden, where he was promoted to major on June 22, 1865 (Altshuler 1991:364–365). Whitlock was commanding the quartermaster depot and troops in Las Cruces when he was ordered to establish Fort Selden in April 1865 (Holmes 1990:17).

Despite his recommendation for its configuration, Davis was ordered to lay out the military reservation four miles square, with the fort structures, and specifically a point on the

parade ground near the flagstaff, in the center (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:2–3; Figure A4.4). Carleton was not happy with the fort’s progress when he issued an order to Captain Whitlock on May 23 on the organization of labor. He blamed quartermaster Capt. Rufus Vose for providing insufficient tools and for a general lack of interest. To motivate the troops, he offered a gill of whiskey per diem to those actually on the job and working (Holmes 1990:18, 20). In December the Santa Fe New Mexican (December 19, 1865, in Holmes 1990:20) lamented the soldiers were doing all the construction work at Fort Selden. Lumber was brought from a sawmill at Tularosa (Holmes 1990:20–21). A post office was established in 1865 at the trader’s store (Holmes 1990:64).

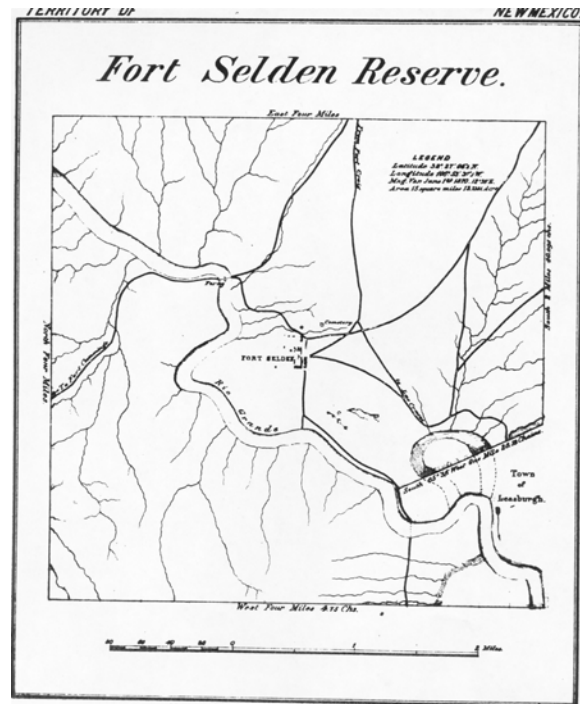


Figure A4.4. Territory of Fort Selden Reserve.

Carleton attempted to distance the soldiers from vices, probably of La Mesilla. West had noted in 1862 that the California Volunteers were “somewhat demoralized by desertion, and remaining in a town [La Mesilla] where whisky, gambling and women were plentiful” (Miller 1982:29). Nevertheless, the community of Leasburg appeared while the fort was under construction, and actually was situated on the military reservation (see Figure A4.4). Adolphe

Lea, a respected Las Cruces merchant, filed homestead claim to the land while Davis was surveying the reservation (Holmes 1990:16, 120–121). Following an inspection of Fort Selden by Lt. Col. Nelson H. Davis, Carleton told Capt. Whitlock in October 1865 discipline was “reported to be lax and loose,” military duty was disregarded, and men visited “their concubines or courtesans to gamble and indulge in whiskey drinking at a collection of jacals just off the reservation.” He instructed Whitlock and his officers to “see to it” (Carleton to Captain Whitlock, October 25, 1865, quoted in Holmes 1990:33). By 1866 Leasburg had 4 dance hall saloons and a population of 40, although the population increased near payday. During its existence at least 6 soldiers from Fort Selden were killed at Leasburg in addition to those who died from diseases contracted there (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:14). In November 1870 President U. S. Grant approved the reserve’s new boundary, excluding Leasburg and leaving the site of the military reservation 15 square miles instead of the original 16 (Holmes 1990:16).

The fort experienced other deaths just a few months after troops arrived to establish the post, when two California volunteers committed suicide. William Hofedank, a quartermaster’s clerk, shot himself in September during an investigation into the illegal sale of commissary supplies in Las Cruces and La Mesilla. In October William Kline of La Mesilla shot himself a few days after being discharged from the service (Miller 1982:36).

In its first year Fort Selden assisted locals by providing food to a Mesilla woman whose leg was amputated after she was accidentally shot during a changing of the Mesilla guard, and issued food and seed to residents in 1865 and 1866 after flooding was followed by destruction of crops by hail and grasshoppers. At Carleton’s request, the officers provided relief to the area’s destitute in the form of corn, seed, and flour. In addition, the fort supported local ranchers by purchasing beef locally during the fort’s duration, as well as keeping their own cattle herd from 1865 to 1877. In June 1865 the military forced a Las Cruces resident to release an indentured servant. The soldiers also provided escort for people, freight, and cattle moving

through the area. Soldiers on escort duty especially enjoyed trips to El Paso, Las Cruces, Albuquerque, and Santa Fe (Holmes 1990:58–59, 86, 114–115, 118).

From 1865 until 1878 two companies manned the post and for a time both were cavalry (Holmes 1990:2). Capt. James H. Whitlock and Company C, 1st Cavalry, California and Company F, 1st Infantry, New Mexico remained at Fort Selden until October 1865. The commander and troops from October 1865 to February 1866 were Capt. William Brady and Company F, 1st Infantry, New Mexico and Companies A and H, 1st Cavalry, New Mexico (Holmes 1990:143). Holmes calculates Selden’s soldiers patrolled approximately 16,500 square miles, from “the Florida Mountains on the west, to the Sacramento and Guadalupe mountains on the east, north to Canada Alamosa, and south to the Mexican border” (Holmes 1990:3).

Commanders and troops at Selden changed frequently. From 1865 through July 1878, when the post first was abandoned, Holmes lists 30 different commanders at Fort Selden, with an average length of command of 4.87 months (Holmes 1990:143–144). Exceptions were Capt. Joseph G. Tilford, who served from December 1866 through May 1868, and Maj. David R. Clendenin, who served from January 1872 through June 1873, each serving 17 months (Holmes 1990:143). Rapid rotations of units were designed to break the monotony of routine, but Holmes laments the problems created by commanders and soldiers who scarcely had time to learn the terrain and “the enemy” before being transferred (Holmes 1990:27–28).

The number of horses and mules also varied from month to month and year to year, depending on whether cavalry or infantry units were stationed at the post. The corrals and stables, built to accommodate 200 animals in 1866, would have been overcrowded when 2 cavalry troops were at Fort Selden. Because the reservation lacked sufficient grazing land for the large number of animals supporting the post, the military had to buy corn, hay, and other fodder (Holmes 1990:95–96).

Discipline proved to be a problem from the fort’s beginning, and apparently some soldiers

decided they just didn't want to be in the military. By July of its first year of existence, men were deserting Fort Selden, taking their horses and gear with them. The next year, 1866, a soldier left with a wagon and its six-mule team and another took the same along with his family (Holmes 1990:35). In September 1866 some troops from Company K, 38th Infantry, sold their uniforms and equipment including weapons (General Carleton to Major Whitlock, September 25, 1866, in Holmes 1990:95). In January 1866 two privates of Troop K, 3rd Cavalry, were ordered to stand trial for murder, and in March two troopers from the 3rd Cavalry got into a fight at a fandango in Leasburg, leaving one stabbed to death (Holmes 1990:36).

Black Troops Arrive in New Mexico

The 125th Infantry was organized in Kentucky in 1865. In August 1866 eight companies of the 125th transferred to New Mexico. They went to Forts Bascom, Bayard, Craig, Cummings, Selden, Stanton, and Union. The 125th left New Mexico in October 1867 and were replaced by the 38th Infantry (Billington 1991:3-5).

The first black troops to serve at Fort Selden, four companies of the 125th, arrived in August 1866. The next month three of the companies moved on to Forts Bayard, Craig, and Stanton, leaving Company F at Fort Selden (Billington 1987:67-68). Company F served with white soldiers of Troop K, 3rd Cavalry, until September 1867 (Holmes, 1990:27, 143).

The 125th Infantry was replaced by the 38th Infantry in New Mexico between September and December 1867 (Billington 1991:5). About 90 men of Company K, 38th Infantry, arrived at Fort Selden in September 1867. The 125th soon left for Fort Riley, Kansas, where they were discharged (Billington 1987:68). The 38th Infantry served in New Mexico until September and October 1869, when they were transferred to Fort McKavett in Texas (Billington 1991:5). Fort McKavett, begun in 1851, now is a state historic site administered by the Texas Parks and Wildlife Department (TPWD 1975).

Early Military Life at Fort Selden

Recently, the Fort Selden State Monument acquired copies of letters written by James H. [Harry] Storey, who arrived at Fort Selden with the 125th in 1866 and remained until October 7, 1867. Storey's letters provide valuable information about life at Fort Selden during its important early period. Storey, a white lieutenant in the 125th United States Colored Troops (U.S.C.T.), left Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, on May 3, 1866, for Fort Union, New Mexico. He was assigned Officer of the Guard, with 15 prisoners traveling in irons. Seven women, wives of officers, traveled with the regiment, and Storey messed with two of them. Each night the troops pitched their wall and A tents (Lt. James H. Storey, letter to Father, May 7, 1866, private collection of Mrs. Richard E. Maulsby [Storey Letters], copy of typescript at Fort Selden State Monument [FSSM]). The wagon trains traveled with a herd of 900 horses. Storey believed his knowledge of Spanish gave him an advantage over the other officers for advancement in the military (Lt. James H. Storey, letter to Annie [Cheshire], June 7, 1866, Storey Letters, FSSM).

On a September 8 through 15, 1866, scout for Mescalero Apaches in the Organ Mountains, Storey reports discovery of a mine near San Andreas Canyon, which he believed had good prospects for silver (2nd Lt. J. Henry Storey, letter to Brvt. Major C. H. DeForrest, Santa Fe, September 18, 1866, Storey Letters, FSSM). Storey wrote his girlfriend the following October 3 that he had "an interest in a silver mine in the San Andreas or Organ Mountains." He promised to send her a piece of quartz from his claim (Harry [Storey], letter to Annie Cheshire, October 3, 1866, Storey Letters, FSSM). Miller reports that in the fall of 1866 "at least eight California veterans, as well as Gen. Carleton, joined other prospectors in locating gold and silver claims" 35 miles northeast of Doña Ana, in the San Andrés Mountains, one of the least productive mineral districts (Miller 1982:54).

Storey talks of having the "blues," a popular complaint of the soldiers, but says there is "Nothing like a ten or fifteen days scout for that

complaint” (Harry [Storey], letter to Annie Cheshire, October 3, 1866, Storey Letters, FSSM). In the same letter he writes that the soldiers went “on a spree day before yesterday and had not recovered from the effects today, all inside, sick” (Harry [Storey], letter to Annie Cheshire, October 3, 1866, Storey Letters, FSSM). Two weeks later he writes, “some of the fellows...are bound to have a time tonight” (Harry [Storey], letter to Annie Cheshire, Brooklyn, New York, October 18, 1866, Storey Letters, FSSM). Just a few days later, on October 22, two lieutenants shot and killed each other over one’s affair with the other’s wife (Harry [Storey], letter to Annie Cheshire, Brooklyn, New York, October 23, 1866, Storey Letters, FSSM).

While stationed at Fort Selden, Storey shared quarters with Lt. O’Connor and his wife. O’Connor, an Irishman, was with the 3rd U.S. Cavalry (Harry [Storey], letter to Annie Cheshire, Brooklyn, New York, October 18, 1866, Storey Letters, FSSM).

Storey left Fort Selden on October 7, but when he arrived at Fort Craig, he was ordered to take command of the deserted Fort McRae. He expected to be relieved before November 1 ([Lt. James Henry] Storey, Fort McRae, letter to Annie Cheshire, Brooklyn, New York, October 13, 1867, Storey Letters, FSSM). Information from Storey’s letters, as well as photographs in his collection, will make valuable contributions to reinterpretation of Fort Selden’s significant early history and new interpretation of its black soldiers.

For three months in the summer of 1868, Fort Selden was commanded by Cuvier Grover, who had graduated at the top of his class (4 of 44) at the Military Academy in 1850, an unusual academic achievement for officers who served at Fort Selden. Grover was born on July 29, 1828, in Bethel, Maine, and served in New Mexico after the Utah expedition of 1857–1858. He distinguished himself with brevets in the Civil War, mustering out of the volunteers in 1865 and reverting to major, 3rd Infantry of the regular army. In August 1865 he married Susie Willard Flint of New York. On July 28, 1866, he became lieutenant colonel of the 38th Infantry. He also

served as commander of Fort Craig. His military career later would include assignments in Arizona, Wyoming, and Idaho. The election of his cousin Grover Cleveland as president in 1884 brought speculation that Cuvier would become a brigadier general, but he died suddenly on June 6, 1885 (Altshuler 1991:148).

In 1868 Adolph Lea’s business partner, A. H. Hackney, caused false affidavits to be filed alleging that the post trader kept prostitutes in his store (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:15; Holmes 1990:125). The post trader did frequently “run afoul” with the commanding officer, however, and several times was accused of buying military equipment and stores. On January 3, 1868, a private in Company K, 38th Infantry, was found guilty of selling his military clothing to buy a dozen eggs (Holmes 1990:125). In March 1868 Capt. Joseph G. Tilford wrote that “old sinner Hackney poisoned first their stomachs with bad whiskey then their minds with...still worse advice” (Captain Tilford to AAG, March 3, 1868, quoted in Holmes 1990:37–38). On July 9, 1868, a private reported that he had seen Captain Tilford hand John Martin a new army Spencer carbine, which later was in the possession of a civilian employee of the stage company. On July 15, 1868, Tilford wrote to the post trader that 10 shucks delivered to his clerk had been stolen from the post corral (Holmes 1990:125).

Maj. William B. Lane and his wife Lydia returned to New Mexico in March 1869 and received orders to report to Fort Selden. Lydia described the post as “a quiet, rather unattractive place, garrisoned by one company of colored infantry and one of white cavalry. The commanding officer’s quarters were not nearly finished. I believe there were only four rooms ready when we arrived, but they were larger and better than a tent, and we were not long getting into them.” “There were four ladies there, none of whom are now in the army. They were not friendly with each other, but I, coming as a stranger among them, was kindly received, and we lived most harmoniously together as long as we remained. It was, indeed, a dull little place.” Although the Lanes owned horses, mules, and various vehicles, it was unsafe to ride a mile from the post because of the danger of Indians

(Lane 1964 [1893]:170–171). Only four months later, in July, Lane’s health had failed such that the doctor recommended he leave New Mexico immediately. Lydia said they left Fort Selden “with not one pang of regret, and dry-eyed” (Lane 1964 [1893]:177). Typical of other commanding officers of Fort Selden, the Lanes “never lived more than six months at one post, and three or four in the same place gave us the feeling of old inhabitants. We made nine moves in eighteen months in New Mexico” (Lane 1964 [1893]:190).

Lydia remembered captains Russell and Elting at Fort Selden at the same time as the Lanes. One of the physicians, Dr. Seguin, delighted in experimenting with different poisons on toads and ravens. Lydia said, “the place was swarming with [toads], so that I disliked going out of doors at night, at which time they took possession of every walk and road about the place. You were sure, almost, if you stepped outside your door, to feel a soft, wriggling mass under your foot. With a screech you jumped to the other side, only to land on a second toad...” (Lane 1964 [1893]:177).

On March 5, 1869, 25 Indians attacked the fort’s wood train on the military reservation, and another attack on the wood train was reported on March 29 (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:12–13; Holmes 1990:60). In April 1869 six companies of the 38th Infantry arrived at Fort Selden to launch an expedition against Mescalero Apaches in the Guadalupe Mountains in Texas. About half of Selden’s Company K participated in this expedition, which returned in June without locating the Indians (Billington 1987:69–70, 1991:19–20).

By the end of July 1869, as the Lanes prepared to leave Fort Selden, they auctioned their personal belongings, retaining only what was absolutely necessary (Lane 1964 [1893]:176). A record of this and other auctions at the fort, if located, will provide invaluable interpretive information. Lt. Col. Edward Bloodgood again was commanding officer after Lane departed (Holmes 1990:143).

In August the Apache leader Loco received word that Lt. Charles E. Drew at Fort McRae wished to talk peace, and Loco rode into the post with

four men and three women. The Indians negotiated to again plant corn, to hunt, and for protection from “bad whites.” The soldier-agent said he must get approval from the “Great Father” before he could make any promises. At the next meeting, Loco brought 40 followers, and Victorio also attended. They said the Mimbres, Mogollon, and Gila all were ready to settle on a reservation, and they must have food and clothing. Peaceful negotiations continued, but Drew was unable to get an answer from Washington (Utley 1984:134–138; see also Wallace 1975:237).

The 38th Infantry left New Mexico in September and October 1869, headed for Fort McKavett, Texas, where they would combine with the 41st to form the 24th Infantry. Before Lt. Col. Edward Bloodgood and his Company K, 38th Infantry, departed Fort Selden, two black privates from Company A killed a Hispanic teamster from the 15th Infantry and dumped his body in the Rio Grande. Companies A, D, and H from Forts Bayard, Craig, and McRae and a detachment of Company I, 38th Infantry passed through Fort Selden in October 1869, where they picked up Company K on their way to Texas. With the departure of the 38th Infantry, New Mexico would be without black soldiers for the next six years (Billington 1987:35, 71; 1991:5, 43).

Lt. Col. Frank Stanwood and Troop H, 3rd Cavalry replaced the 38th at Fort Selden. Troop K, 3rd Cavalry remained (Holmes 1990:143); however, on October 11 Lt. Oscar Elting wrote that Troop K had “only 13 privates present for duty” (Lieutenant Elting to AAG, October 11, 1869, quoted in Holmes 1990:32). Frank Stanwood, born in Maine, was 28 years old. John Gregory Bourke of the 3rd Cavalry described Stanwood as “physically a man far above the average, of good education and intellectual powers; he was amiable in manner and of a very witty mind and good-humored disposition” (quoted in Altshuler 1991:315). Unfortunately, Stanwood would die of tuberculosis only two years later at his father’s home in Massachusetts. The men of his company passed resolutions stating, “He was never known to hurt the feelings of a man by an untimely word or act....His name will ever be

remembered with love and respect” (quoted in Altshuler 1991:315). The white 3rd Cavalry left New Mexico in 1870 to be replaced by 12 companies of the 8th Cavalry (Billington 1991:43).

On November 19, 1869, Stanwood requested permission to hire a guide, Juan Arroyez, for a scout from Fort Selden (Lieutenant Colonel Stanwood to AAG, November 19, 1869, in Holmes 1990:43). Preparations also soon were underway for a scout from Fort Stanton. In late December Lieutenant Cushing of Fort Stanton attacked a village of nearly 50 Mescalero lodges in the Guadalupe Mountains, just over the Texas line. Four days later they attacked a second time (Wallace 1975:244–245). In the meantime, Lt. Charles E. Drew, growing exasperated from the government’s failure to act on his proposed Peace Policy, apparently sought solace in alcohol (Wallace 1975:237; Utley 1984:138). Fort Selden troops would stage a “grueling summer campaign” in the 1870s against the arms trade between Mexico and the hostile Indians of the southern plains (Noble 1994:251).

Fort Selden in the 1870s

The 1870 census of the Garrison of Fort Selden was enumerated on July 30. Peter Ott, born in Wisconsin, was “keeping hotel.” He had a 24-year-old Mexican wife and a 6-year-old daughter, born in New Mexico. Also residing in the hotel were the female Mexican cook and a Hispanic male hostler. Charles Styer, surgeon, lived in the hotel as did officer Edmund G. Fechet; Owen L. Scott, quartermaster’s clerk; John O. Buss, post trader; and Alexander H. Moosehead, store clerk. The post butcher lived in separate housing on the post with his family, a 17-year-old Hispanic male cattle herder, and a 30-year-old Hispanic female domestic servant. James Milson, the blacksmith, lived with his wife and three children, also in separate housing on the post. Since 40-year-old Maj. David R. Clendenin was commanding officer at the time, he most likely was living in the commanding officer’s quarters, with his 35-year-old wife Sophia, two sons ages 13 and 11, a 17-year-old German male domestic servant, and a 30-year-old Mexican female domestic servant. Listed as “detached families” were (1) James M.

Williams, 36, and Mary E., 30; (2) Michael Ellington, 43, and his Irish wife Mary, 45, the company laundress; (3) Gemye Yager, 35, his wife Ida, 25, and a female child Idia, 6; (4) John Urback, 36, his wife Trylely[?], 27, who was the hospital matron, and four sons ages 8, 5, 4, and 1 (the three younger children were born in California); (5) Juana Martinez, 38, company laundress; and (6) Robert W. Bourly, 33, his English wife Rosanna, 33, and three sons ages 7, 7, and 2 (all born in California). The hospital housed the hospital steward, nurse, and cook, all males, and two 23-year-old Irish male soldiers. The post troops were G and I Troops, 8th Cavalry.

Twelve dwellings were listed, in the census taken on July 31, for the town of Leasburg, but residents were enumerated for only nine with the others left blank. Adolph Lea, 45, lived with Mexican-born Teresa, 30, perhaps his second wife, and four young females surnamed Lea ages 16, 12, 7, and 1, as well as Robert, 3. The 16-year-old female, born in New York, was attending school. The other children all were born in New Mexico.

The Ranch of San Augustine Springs was enumerated on September 9. Residing in the one dwelling were two owners of the stock ranch: Warner F. Shedd, 41, born in New York, and George Blake, 32, born in Massachusetts. Jasper Jones Jr., 34, was keeping books. Also residing in the all-male dwelling were a 32-year-old laborer, a 24-year-old cattle herder, a 24-year-old housekeeper, and a 15-year-old domestic servant.

Fort Selden’s commanding officer, David Ramsay Clendenin, was born January 24, 1830, in Little Britain, Pennsylvania. He attended college and taught school before joining the army in Illinois. He married Sophia Ford in 1855. Before coming to Fort Selden, he served in Arizona. The Inspector General charged that Clendenin “gambled, did not maintain good discipline, and was unfit to command” (Altshuler 1991:71). A “benzine board” (so-called after a popular cleaning fluid) heard testimony from officers in New Mexico, perhaps Fort Selden, who thought his gambling was “occasional”; Clendenin was returned to duty.

Clendenin later would be cited for problems with alcohol (Altshuler 1991:71–72).

Edmund Gustave Fechét, living in the Fort Selden Hotel in 1870, was born at Port Huron, Michigan, on July 11, 1844. This career military man received a brevet during the Civil War at Antietam, where he was shot through a lung. He was commissioned a second lieutenant of the 8th Cavalry on July 28, 1866. Prior to his arrival at Fort Selden, Fechét served at Fort Whipple, Arizona. After promotion to first lieutenant, he commanded Company I. He was made captain on May 23, 1870. He married Rachel Forsythe (Altshuler 1991:127), perhaps after serving at Fort Selden; she is not enumerated in the 1870 census.

The army underwent a drastic reduction in 1870, and Congress looked for further cuts. Civilian entrepreneurs meanwhile were prospering (Wallace 1975:250). The “benzine board” decided which officers to discharge in the 1870 army reduction (Altshuler 1991:252). General Pope in his annual report recommended that troops be concentrated at Forts Union, Garland, and Selden, with a new post on the Mimbres River to replace Forts Bayard and Cummings.

He considered Forts Craig, Stanton, and Wingate unnecessary. The army disregarded his recommendations and continued to expend money on those New Mexico posts Pope considered unnecessary (Miller 1989:234).

By 1870 a number of California Column veterans had become prominent residents of Doña Ana County. Among them was John D. Barncastle, a former sergeant of Company E, 5th California Infantry. Barncastle eventually would have extensive commercial enterprises, including a merchandise store in Doña Ana, a flour mill, and a profitable farm. His vineyards became renowned as the “finest in the territory.” He also planted pecan and pomegranate trees and experimented with raising tea. Adjacent to his farm was a tract of land he rented to Fort Selden soldiers for a company garden (Miller 1982:110). A description of Fort Selden published in 1876 said, “The company gardens are at Dona Ana twelve miles, there being no land suitable for cultivation on the reservation”

(Headquarters Military Division of the Missouri 1969 [1876]:167).

An 1870 map of the Military Reservation of Fort Selden (Figure A4.5) shows the road to the hay camp heading northeast off the reservation. Most roads appear to come in to the northeast corner of the post, probably near the north end of the corrals (Headquarters Military Division of the Missouri 1969 [1876]:166).

Apparently irregularities were discovered in the accounts of several New Mexico forts. Lt. Col. Thomas C. Devin was sent to New Mexico with the 8th Cavalry in the spring of 1870. He was to “pull together the demoralized garrison of” Fort Bayard, and he also had authority over Forts Craig, Cummings, McRae, Selden, Stanton, and Tularosa (Altshuler 1991:102). On November 22, 1870, a Fort Selden officer wrote in regard to an official letter he had received containing “allegations against my integrity as an officer and a gentleman and also as charges have been made against me for alleged acts as an A. A. Q. M....” The officer asked that a Court of Inquiry make a “close and rigid examination of my conduct as an officer in every particular” (Capt. 8th Cav., to AAG, November 22, 1870, typescript in miscellaneous research file, Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM). Maj. David R. Clendenin, commanding officer of Fort Selden at the time, apparently was replaced in December 1870 by Lt. Colonel Devin, who served in that capacity until October 1871 (Holmes 1990:143).

Born on December 10, 1832, in New York, Thomas Casimer Devin was 37 years old when he arrived in New Mexico in 1870. “Old Tommy” had distinguished himself with a number of brevets in the Civil War after recruiting his own volunteer cavalry company. Devin assumed command of the District of Arizona from September 1868 until July 1869. He then commanded the Subdistrict of Southern Arizona, headquartered at Tucson, prior to his assignment to New Mexico. Gen. John Pope would credit Devin with successfully moving Indians from Cañada Alamosa to the Tularosa Reservation in 1872. Devin was made colonel of the 3rd Cavalry on July 25, 1877, but went on sick leave the following February and died on

April 4, 1878. The officers of the 8th Cavalry paid tribute to “his soldierly qualities and kindness, his self-sacrificing devotion to his regiment and his duty, his honesty and straightforwardness of purpose, and his noble and untiring efforts to instill, foster and preserve in his regiment a code of honor, truth, and fellowship...” (Altshuler 1991:102–103).

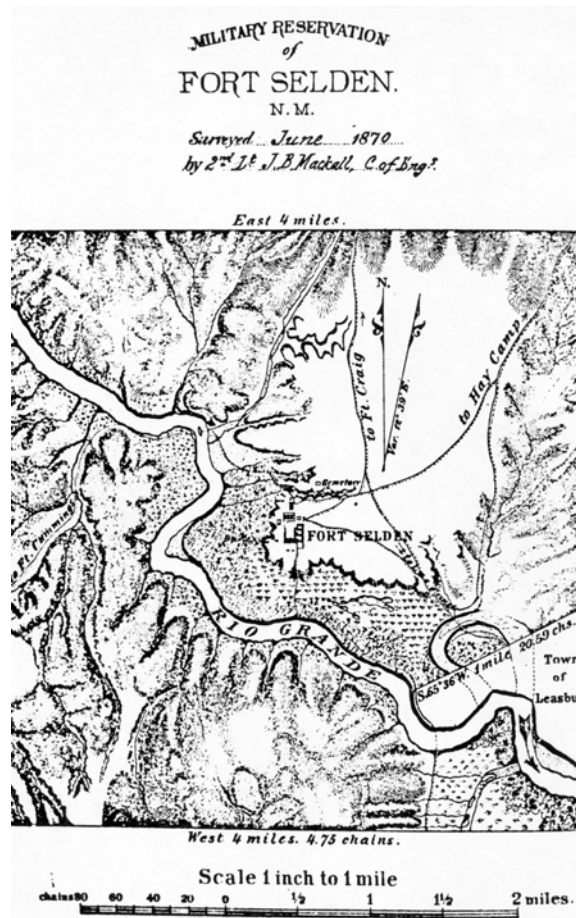


Figure A4.5. Military reservation of Fort Selden, New Mexico

Lt. Colonel Devin and his officers formed a temperance lodge at Fort Selden in 1871. By March the lodge, intended to keep the soldiers “out of trouble on payday,” had 43 members (Holmes 1990:38). Devin appears to have been closely examining conditions and expenditures at the post (Holmes 1990:43, 84, 86–87, 95, 97).

Capt. John M. Williams and Troop I, 8th Cavalry, left Fort Selden on March 21, 1871

(Notes in miscellaneous research file, Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM). Two days later Lt. Colonel Devin, in requesting more funds for the fort, complained about the lack of civilian personnel (Holmes 1990:43). In addition, Troop C, 8th Cavalry, at Fort Selden from March 1871 until December 1874, in 1872 averaged 57 assigned personnel and only 44 men present for duty. The infantry units were even smaller (Holmes 1990:30).

In April 1871 a group of Tucson citizens attacked a sleeping camp of Pinal and Aravaipa Apaches on a reservation near Camp Grant. They killed, raped, and mutilated many of the Indians and took 29 children slaves. New Mexico mining towns threatened to take similar action (Utley 1984:139). The following November citizens of Tularosa called upon Fort Selden for protection after Cadetta, a Mescalero chief, was murdered near the town. Thirty men from Company G, 8th Cavalry, went to Tularosa, where a joint Indian-white investigation resulted in a peaceful settlement (George R. Adams, National Register Nomination, Fort Selden, 1974:17; Cohrs and Caperton 1983:14).

In August 1871 Fort Selden made nine reports of deserters and their punishments (Holmes 1990:305). The same month, the fort was called upon to quell a riot in La Mesilla resulting from political rallies there. Six civilians died and many others were wounded (Holmes 1990:118–120).

In 1872 Pres. Ulysses S. Grant initiated a “Peace Policy” for dealing with the Indians. He sent Gen. Oliver Otis Howard to visit the Indians of Arizona and New Mexico to attempt negotiations. Unable to reach Cochise, Howard was advised by the White Mountain Apaches to go to Tularosa, where he would find members of the band Cochise had married into. Several thousand Mescaleros, collected at Tularosa against their will, were on the verge of outbreak because they were unhealthy, underfed, and unclothed. Among the Indians present were Victorio (described as “quite an old man”); Chie or Mangas, son of Mangas Coloradas; Geronimo; and Na-chise or Natchez, youngest son of Cochise (Sladen 1997:29–32, 98). Sladen

describes the Apaches as “a very cleanly people” (Sladen 1997:98–99).

Sladen also praises these Indians for their generosity with each other in sharing food, but he laments the condition of their clothing. The men usually were naked “except as to the breech cloth, moccasins, and a band around the hair, and an occasional one had a blanket wrapped around him as [a] garment by day and a bed covering by night” (Sladen 1997:100). They also wore many articles of white men’s clothing, such as a shirt “worn like a blouse,” and Geronimo wore a vest stripped of buttons and hanging open. Children went naked until they were 8 to 10 years old, when the girls dressed as the women and the boys “simply tied a string about their waist and added a narrow strip of cloth for a breech cloth, the ends passing under the belt before and behind, with long loose ends that flew in the breeze as they ran about their play” (Sladen 1997:100). The women, although “more decently dressed,” often had little more than rags to wear (Sladen 1997:101).

Capt. George W. Chilson was commanding officer of Fort Selden from June to August 1873. Born in Michigan, Chilson served in the Civil War. He was the first commander at Camp Reno, where he attempted to maintain friendly relations with the Apaches. He made several successful scouts into New Mexico in 1873. He married Sarah Cotharin, who died in 1875, and he remarried in 1879. Chilson committed suicide at Fort Duncan, Texas, on January 18, 1881 (Altshuler 1991:68–69). In July 1873 Captain Chilson, 3rd Cavalry, and commanding Fort Selden, reported chasing Indians who had stolen horses from Shedd’s Ranch. After catching up to the Indians west of Cañada Alamosa four and a half days later, a corporal and three Indians were killed, but the stock was recovered (Captain Chilson to Major Price, July 17, 1873, quoted in Holmes 1990:53).

The New Mexico forts in the mid-1870s would accommodate one company at Fort McRae, two companies at Forts Craig and Selden, and four companies at forts Bayard, Stanton, Union, and Wingate. Fort Selden had officers’ quarters of two double and two single buildings; a hospital with a capacity for 10 beds; laundresses’

quarters; guardhouse; offices; storehouses; workshops; magazine; backhouse; and four corrals. All were built of adobe and were “generally in good condition, but somewhat in need of repair. The magazine and the laundresses’ quarters are in a very dilapidated condition.” The post had its own post office, but the nearest telegraph station was 263 miles away in Santa Fe (Headquarters Military Division of the Missouri 1969 [1876]:164).

In January 1874, 50-year-old Maj. John Sanford Mason became commanding officer of Fort Selden for two months. Then Capt. Chambers McKibbin was in charge (Holmes 1990:143). On April 18, 1874, the *Mesilla News* reported that “Cochise and his band of Apache Indians that have so long been a terror and a scourge to our frontier, are to be removed to the Cañada Alamosa reservation” (*Mesilla News*, April 18, 1874, microfilm, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives [SRC], Santa Fe). A week later the paper reported the Apaches were “fast becoming subdued, and are submitting themselves to the law” (*Mesilla News*, April 25, 1874, microfilm, SRC). By 1875 scouting parties from Fort Selden were becoming rare; the fort reported no scouts that year (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:16).

Fort Selden’s commanding officer, 1st Lt. Casper A. Conrad, on January 18, 1876, wrote a detailed description of Fort Selden. The fort was built “upon an irregular crescent inclosed at the south and east side by the Rio Grande,” which was about 450 yards away at the closest point. The nearest towns, to the south, were Doña Ana, 12 miles, Las Cruces, 18 miles, and La Mesilla, 20 miles. The nearest posts were the abandoned Fort Cummings, 53 miles away, and Fort McRae, 58 miles. Mail, received daily from both north and south, arrived by “coach on Monday and Thursday, by buckboard on Tuesday and Saturday, and on horseback on all other days.” The nearest telegraph office was in Santa Fe, 263 miles away, but the New Mexico Military Telegraph line was under construction and was expected to reach Fort Selden by March 1, 1877. The closest railroad station was 549 miles away at Las Animas, Colorado. A good rope ferry “owned by the Government” crossed the Rio Grande. Conrad’s descriptions of the buildings

are given in the Architectural Summary below (Description of Fort Selden, January 18, 1876, 1st Lt. Conrad, to Headquarters of the Military Division of Missouri, typescript copy in miscellaneous research file, Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM).

Conrad reported the nearest Indian reservation was “at the Ojo Caliente, about 68 miles north of the Post.” The Indians there were Mimbres Apaches who formerly were at the Tularosa Reservation. They numbered “about 800, but it is believed that not more than half that number draw rations at the agency.” They often committed petty depredations near the San Agustín Pass and into Sonora. They did not interfere with travelers, however, and the roads “are now considered perfectly safe.” Conrad could not insure the continuation of this condition if Fort Selden were abandoned (Description of Fort Selden, January 18, 1876, 1st Lt. Conrad, to Headquarters of the Military Division of Missouri, typescript copy in miscellaneous research file, Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM).

Black Troops Return to New Mexico

In 1875 the black 9th Cavalry began moving into New Mexico from Texas, and in November three companies stopped at Fort Selden on their way to Forts Bayard, McRae, and Stanton. By early 1876 the remaining companies had moved into New Mexico (Billington 1987:72).

On March 24, 1876, Maj. Albert P. Morrow and four companies of the 9th Cavalry arrived at Fort Selden. Company F, led by Capt. Henry Carroll, remained at Selden, while the other companies moved on to Forts Bayard, Stanton, and Union. Company F remained at Fort Selden until February 1877, when it, too, went to Fort Bayard (Billington 1987:72). Organizational returns in April showed companies of the 9th Cavalry at the following posts: A and C at Bayard, B at McRae, D at Union, E and I at Wingate, F at Selden, G at Garland, and H, L, and M at Stanton. The men in the 9th Cavalry totaled 456 (Leckie 1967:176 n. 13).

Company F arrived armed with the new .45 caliber First Model Smith and Wesson Schofield revolvers and the relatively new Springfield

carbines (Friends of Fort Selden Newsletter, October 1999, January 2000). Company F served at Fort Selden with white troops of Company G, 15th Cavalry (Billington 1987:72). Racial problems developed soon after the black troops arrived. After less than two weeks, the Mesilla News reported three enlisted men of Company F were killed in a shootout in a saloon in La Mesilla (Mesilla News, April 8, 1876, in Billington 1987:74). After the telegraph reached Fort Selden in March 1876 (Holmes 1990:65), in June the telegraph operator returned drunk to Selden and refused to respond to the black soldier on guard, calling him a “nigger” and asserting “his superiority as a white man” (Captain Carroll to AAG, June 14, 1876, quoted in Holmes 1990:41–42).

Concerned that the Apaches on the Ojo Caliente Reservation were stirring up and aiding the Chiricahuas, Colonel Hatch traveled to the reservation in April 1876 to talk with the Indian leaders, including Victorio. The Indians were said to be armed with “late-model weapons,” including the same weapons carried by Selden’s Company F. The Indians were not receptive to Hatch’s requests to stop depredating, saying the government had acted in bad faith. They had received no meat in a month, and they preferred going to war to starving. Hatch ordered constant patrolling in that area of New Mexico (Billington 1991:47–48). Holmes reports the Mimbres Apaches were moved to the San Carlos reservation in May (Holmes 1990:61).

Capt. Henry Carroll with both black and white soldiers from Fort Selden scouted the Sacramento Mountains and surrounding countryside between June 28 and July 8, 1876. They were searching for Mescaleros who had left the Fort Stanton reservation and were committing depredations. They found no Indians but did find good water and grazing (Billington 1987:72).

In September 1876 Victorio complained that some soldiers entered the Ojo Caliente Reservation and without provocation caused his people to flee. Lt. Henry H. Wright burned the entire camp and destroyed the provisions and cornfields. The incident worsened relations, and in addition, some Anglos made a raid on the

reservation a month later (Billington 1991:49–50).

Fort Selden Discontinued, 1877 to 1880

A Santa Fe newspaper reporter in early 1877 spent nine weeks touring the state by stage and wagon, arriving at Fort Selden about January 2. At Fort Selden the travelers stayed at the post trader's residence, formerly the Fort Selden Hotel. He describes the military post:

Fort Selden is situated on the east bank of the Rio Grande a short distance from the river on a second bench of sand and gravel, under the shadows cast by a short lone range of mountains which rise up on the east side of the river. The Fort is 4,250 feet above the level of the sea and latitude 32° 32' north, and longitude 107° west. It is a two company post, substantially built, and is in the south what Fort Craig is to the north of the Jornada, a great protection to the sparsely settled country around. The Fort is on a U.S. military reservation four miles square. Here we first saw the mesquit root piled in long rows which is the principal fuel used at the post as well as along the river south where it is found in large quantities, and when dried makes a hot and lasting fire. Twenty-five miles west are the Organ mountains, which loom up in the distance and assume that peculiar shape of organ tubes which poetically gave rise to their name; on a nearer approach however, this idea is dispelled. At the distance named, looking through a field glass in the frosty atmosphere of a January morning we could almost imagine that we heard the weird music played by unseen hands or majestic keys whose tubes were playing hide-and-seek with the fleecy clouds that had settled low down on their points—a grand, gray instrument, fitted for the winds and hurricanes which break in soft or sonorous tones where the footsteps of man have never found a resting place.

The officers at this post are Capt. Henry Carroll, commanding; Lieut. W. Goodwin, Lieut. Wm. O. Cory, A. A. Q. M., and Dr. Lewis Kennon, formerly of Santa Fe [“From Fort Selden to Dona Ana, Las Cruces and Mesilla,” Daily New Mexican, Santa Fe, January 15, 1877:1, microfilm, SRC].

The community of Doña Ana had “sadly fallen into decay since the settlement of Las Cruces and Mesilla in 1830, and many are the wrecks of buildings which denoted its former prosperity.” The reporter defines the Mesilla Valley, “termed the garden spot of New Mexico,” as beginning at the home of John D. Barncastle, a mile south of Doña Ana (“From Fort Selden to Dona Ana, Las Cruces and Mesilla,” Daily New Mexican, Santa Fe, January 15, 1877:1, microfilm, SRC).

During January and February 1877, Fort Selden's Company F conducted at least 6 scouts for Indians. In February, however, the army ordered most of Fort Selden's force to other posts, and most of Company F went to Fort Stanton, leaving Selden again without black troops. By March only a first lieutenant and 12 enlisted men, 9th Cavalry, remained at Fort Selden (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:16; Billington 1987:73–74). Fort Selden was discontinued as a military post, and the equipage and supplies were forwarded to Forts Bayard and Stanton by early April (Weekly New Mexican, Santa Fe, April 3, 1877:1, col. 2, in miscellaneous research file, Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM). Excess stores were removed to Fort Bliss in December 1877 (Lieutenant Corey to AAG, December 30, 1877, in Holmes 1990:100).

During Fort Selden's inactive phase, from 1877 or 1878 to 1880, the walls and roofs deteriorated badly from the weather and from effects of salvage operations (Holmes 1990:2). Fort Craig also was abandoned, from 1878 to 1880 (Noble 1994:239).

In May 1877 the Mimbres were moved to the San Carlos reservation in Arizona, but Victorio and his followers left the San Carlos in September. Although Selden was discontinued, Holmes says units from Fort Selden and other posts chased the Indians over the southwestern

desert. Victorio, Nana, and Loco ended up on the Mescalero reservation. Pope decided to reopen the Ojo Caliente and allow the Mimbres to return to their homeland, but his decision was too late to prevent Victorio from going to war (Holmes 1990:61).

In February 1878 Victorio and a few followers surrendered at Ojo Caliente. They were willing to stay at their old homes but refused to return to San Carlos. They also were unhappy with the decision to send them to join the Apaches at Mescalero, and they fled again to the mountains. In June the Warm Springs Apaches reappeared at the Mescalero agency, and their families soon were brought from San Carlos to join them there (Leckie 1967:185). Throughout the summer of 1878, Hatch and detachments of the 9th Cavalry from Forts Bayard, Bliss, Stanton, and Wingate searched the Guadalupe and Sacramento Mountains for the Warm Springs and Chiricahua Apaches (Leckie 1967:191–192).

The lieutenant in charge of a small detachment of men at Fort Selden in June 1878 complained that he was unable to properly care for the ordinance stores and recommended they be transferred elsewhere (Caperton 1975:77). Mesilla Valley citizens were concerned about the closure of both Selden and McRae, closed in 1876 and never reopened as a military post, because of the “depredations of Mexican banditi” (quoted in Cohrs and Caperton 1983:16). By late 1878 detachments of the 9th Cavalry were continuing to assist civil authorities in chasing desperadoes in Lincoln and Doña Ana counties. Hatch protested this work exposed the troops to dislike from the community (Leckie 1967:205), despite the concern voiced from the Mesilla Valley.

Fort Bliss’s commanding officer received a telegram in June 1879 directing him to dismantle materials at abandoned Forts Craig, McRae, and Selden (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:16–17). A soldier in New Mexico in 1880 said MacRae’s dwellings had “fallen to pieces,” and at Fort Craig the “woodwork of the doors and windows was torn off and the fresh autumn wind had free access to our den, but [we] fastened blankets in the openings”; by morning they were covered with a foot of snow (Bode 1994:165–166).

In August 1879 Victorio and the Warm Springs Apaches fled the Mescalero Reservation with about 40 of his band. For the next year they raided throughout southern New Mexico, West Texas, and northern Chihuahua (Dinges 1987:81). In a raid on Ojo Caliente in September, Victorio’s band killed 5 soldiers and 3 civilian herd guards and captured nearly all the horses of Company E, 9th Cavalry. Men of his company blamed the company’s captain, Ambrose E. Hooker, for the men’s deaths. They claimed Hooker had been warned of a possible attack, but because of serious racial prejudices he had not properly armed the men (Billington 1991:192–197).

In late January 1880 J. B. Price, president of the National Mail and Transportation Company of Santa Fe, was given approval to establish a mail station at Fort Selden. “[H]e must, however, vacate Selden at Demand of General of Dept.” (Info Relating to Stage Lines Passing through Selden, typescript in miscellaneous research file, Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM). Thus, some part of the post remained in operational condition.

Victorio was killed at Tres Castillos on October 14, 1880 (Leckie 1967:230). After his death the Apache threat essentially was over, particularly for Fort Selden. Capt. Henry Carroll and Troop F, 9th Cavalry, served in the field with Col. Albert P. Morrow in chasing Victorio (Holmes 1990:62).

Fort Selden Reactivated, 1880

On October 28, 1880, army commander Gen. W. T. Sherman requested Gen. P. H. Sheridan to cause a thorough examination of the place where the Southern Pacific Railroad and the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad were to cross at Deming, New Mexico. Sheridan was to choose a place for “a post and depot like that at Cheyenne at least a mile square,” and as “near the actual intersection as possible for military purposes” (quoted in Cohrs and Caperton 1983:23).

With the railroads, troops could move rapidly in many directions, and the military would change its position on the frontier in relation to the location of the railroads. Units now could be consolidated, eliminating the need for small one-

and two-company posts (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:22). The railroad also brought the opportunity for soldiers to leave New Mexico for cities, civilian clothes, and better-paying jobs, although apparently not many did so (Rickey 1966:341).

By November 1880 rails were laid south to the Alemán Station but were not yet operative. Military officials decided to reactivate Fort Selden (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:17). In late December 1880 Company K, 15th Infantry, arrived to be joined on Christmas Day by Capt. L. H. Rucker and 58 men of Company M, 9th Cavalry (Billington 1987:75).

The Fort Selden buildings were seriously deteriorated, and only the post trader's store was habitable. The woodwork had been stripped from most other buildings when the post was abandoned, seriously contributing to deterioration of the adobe structures. Some structures and parts of others apparently had to be razed, such as the commanding officer's quarters, the second story of the headquarters building, and the headquarters building's long south wing. The magazine was a total loss, the post bakery was in ruins, and the corrals were in bad condition (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:18–19).

Some confusion of the feasibility of restoring the fort resulted because Fort Selden was re-established only as a post, and the men were considered “in the field” (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:10). After reoccupation and through Fort Selden's final phase, 1881 to 1891, the post normally had only one infantry company (Holmes 1990:3). The trader's store served as hospital, officers' quarters, and employees' quarters until other buildings could be repaired. Several post buildings never were restored. The commanding officer eventually moved into two restored rooms in one of the double houses of the old officers' quarters. The sally port was not rebuilt (Caperton 1975:61).

White troops performed most of the post's rehabilitation. Forty-eight men of Company M went to Deming Station in February to protect the Southern Pacific Railroad's construction crews. Also, from April through October the majority of Fort Selden's black cavalymen were

on detached service in Colorado's Ute country (Billington 1987:75–76).

For some unknown reason, Adophe Lea was made post trader in 1881. The problems of alcohol, prostitution, and gambling thus moved from Leasburg onto the post (Holmes 1990:122). Lea also was operating the ferry.

Fort Selden maintained a picket at Alemán's Station until the railroad arrived in 1881, but the post maintained a picket at Shedd's Ranch until 1883 (Holmes 1990:58). The branch of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad that ran from Rincón through Alemán Station was extended across the Fort Selden military reservation toward El Paso in 1881 (Figure A4.6). A small siding accommodating one car at a time was built for the fort (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:19–20).



Figure A4.6. Territory of New Mexico, southwest corner. Photo by C. Roeser, 1882. Courtesy of Museum of New Mexico, Negative No. 155009.

The military now was debating between Fort Selden and Fort Bliss as the site of a new regimental post for 12 companies. Gen. Phillip H. Sheridan said Fort Selden's site was “a superb one for a post of any size. Troops can easily be sent by rail to Fort Wingate and by connecting rail to many other points” (General Sheridan to General Drum, February 8, 1881, quoted in Holmes 1990:134). Gen. William T. Sherman's aide-de-camp, Col. Orlando Poe, also reconnoitered the area and recommended Selden in availability but Bliss in its location near El

Paso's four railroads and its proximity to the border with Mexico. By June the Las Cruces Borderer reported that Fort Selden had been selected (Holmes 1990:134–135).

The army drew up detailed plans in January 1882 for a post to be established at Fort Selden at an estimated cost of over \$250,000. All other posts within 200 miles were to be abandoned, thus eliminating Forts Craig, Cummings, McRae, and Thorn (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:24–25). Several new buildings were proposed for Fort Selden, of course, to accommodate the 12 companies, and construction would be of brick or stone. Later in the spring, however, General Sherman became convinced Fort Bliss indeed was the better choice. Although Fort Selden continued in service for 9 more years, it served as a supply depot and a subpost of Fort Bayard (Holmes 1990:5, 135–136).

Company B, 13th Infantry, under Capt. Gustavus M. Bascom, was Fort Selden's force from October 1881. In 1882 Company B averaged 41 men assigned and 34 present for duty (Holmes 1990:30–31). From December 1880 until December 1882, Fort Selden had 5 different commanders, with Captain Bascom serving the longest, from October 1881 until September 1882 (Holmes 1990:144).

In February 1882 the New Mexico Volunteer Militia was called upon to operate against "banditti" and "rustlers." They camped five miles above Fort Selden, and on February 20 they searched a passenger train at Randall Siding [Radium Springs]. They removed some rustlers from the train and "searched all the houses in that vicinity" (Eugene Van Patten, commanding, Record of Actions, Pay Roll of Company A, First Regiment, February 12–March 13, 1883, in Eugene Van Patten file, Adjutant General Collection, Muster Roll—Independent County, 1868–1869, Serial #10828, Box 20, SRC).

In October 1882 Captain Bascom reported Fort Selden's ferry was out of service (Holmes 1990:104). The next month, November 1882, the U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey set up a theodolite on the highest peak in the Robledo Mountains, to provide a transit of Venus to assist

in mapmaking (Holmes 1990:100–101, 111 n. 85).

Fort Selden's former hospital served as a barracks in 1883 when a second cavalry company spent four months at the post. Because of the ruinous conditions of the buildings, the visiting company lived in tents (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:17, 19). Apparently most of the buildings still were in poor condition. The center of the west officers' quarters was in ruins, although the other rooms were in good repair. The front two rooms of the center quarters were in good condition, but the roof on the rear rooms was bad. The west front room of the east quarters was "habitable," but the next two rooms were only partially repaired and had bad roofs. The commanding officer's quarters was in ruins (Caperton 1975:61, 63, 72).

In 1878 the War Department had ordered all posts, garrisons, and permanent camps to establish schools for enlisted men. Schools previously had been optional except at forts with black regiments, where chaplains were required to maintain educational programs. The Quartermaster's Department now was made responsible for constructing classrooms, libraries, reading rooms, and chapels and was to supply them furnishings and heat. The schools were to be maintained by funds provided by a 10 cent tax levied monthly on the post trader for every officer or enlisted man serving at that post. The order, however, did not provide for compulsory education of uneducated enlisted men or for hiring trained teachers (Fowler 1996:100–101).

The saddler's wife taught Fort Selden's first formally organized school in early 1884. She taught 13 children during the day and illiterate soldiers in the evening (Captain MacArthur to AG, February 14, 1883 [sic], in Holmes 1990:44). At an unknown date after the post's reoccupation, a schoolhouse was built for the fort on property that does not now belong to the State.

Capt. Arthur MacArthur arrived at Fort Selden from Fort Wingate in 1884, when his son Douglas was four years old (Noble 1994:251, 253). Apparently MacArthur spent his command putting the post back into physical order. An

amusement and reading room were built in the barracks ruins, and billiards tables were set up for the enlisted men (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:21). By March 1884 MacArthur was able to say, “the barrack is perhaps the best in the district, certainly far better than any I have yet seen” (MacArthur, quoted in Caperton 1975:25). By April the hospital was in good condition except for its roof and the mess hall and kitchen were repaired. The partially repaired officers’ quarters still were inadequate, however (Caperton 1975:17, 25, 63).

By 1885 the fort’s rehabilitation for one company was nearly complete (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:19). The second story and south wing of the administration building had been completely demolished, and the north wing and sally port served as headquarters (Caperton 1975:40). MacArthur obtained the flagpole from Fort Cummings, now closed, and furniture from Fort McRae (Captain MacArthur to AAG, September 4, 1884, in Holmes 1990:22–23).

Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad

Fort Selden also served as a stage stop, with the office and stable for the Southern Overland Express located somewhere on the reservation, perhaps at the trader’s store. The stage company and the post trader had continued to occupy the reservation during its temporary abandonment. By May 1884, however, the stage must not have been operational; MacArthur reported the railroad provided the only transportation to the post. The railroad’s loading platform was expanded in 1884. Randall Station, in the military reservation’s northwest quarter, eventually would become the Radium Springs Station. Because of its location on the railroad line, Fort Selden served as a supply point for Forts Bliss, Cummings, Craig, and Stanton, as well as other points (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:20; Holmes 1990:104–105).

In January 1885 AT&SF crews began digging rock on the reservation to repair some washed out track, but MacArthur ordered the work stopped until he received approval from military headquarters. In early 1885 a man named Morgan opened a bar and gambling saloon near the quarry at Randall Station, hoping to attract

railroad employees working at the quarry as well as soldiers. After being informed his saloon was on the military reservation, Morgan moved his business north onto land belonging to Van Patten, then sheriff of Doña Ana County. The 1870 boundary markers had disappeared, and property lines were in question. In the meantime, Morgan’s saloon flourished until the quarry closed (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:22; Holmes 1990:122–123).

A diphtheria epidemic swept Fort Selden in 1886, and Lt. and Mrs. William N. Hughes, 13th Infantry, lost two children. Captain MacArthur and his son Douglas were extremely sick but recovered. MacArthur and his family left the post in September of that year (Holmes 1990:45, 144).

Capt. Gregory Barrett, 10th Infantry, reminded Adolphe Lea, still the post trader in 1887, “Selling beer, whiskey, or wine by the bottle is strictly prohibited. None of these spirits will be sold to a drunk soldier. Sell by glass only—an ordinary drink in a glass to be drunk at your counter” (Captain Barrett to Adolphe Lea, May 28, 1887, quoted in Holmes 1990:126). Captain Barrett wrote to Lea again in early March 1888, saying Lea had disobeyed his order: “why do you sell whiskey of the vilest character?” (Captain Barrett to Adolphe Lea, March 8 and 10, 1888, quoted in Holmes 1990:126).

In fact, Fowler reports that an army-wide abstinence policy had been introduced near the end of Pres. Rutherford B. Hayes’s administration, but the policy was relaxed in the mid-1880s to allow beer and light wine to be sold by the post traders. The sale or consumption of hard liquor, however, was not allowed on posts (Fowler 1996:83).

Final Abandonment of Fort Selden

The final abandonment of Fort Selden began in 1887, and the military recommended no further expenditures be made on repairs or construction at the post (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:25). In May 1888 the last full company of white troops left Fort Selden. Selden became a subpost of Fort Bayard (Billington 1987:76) and was manned from May to August 1888 by a detachment of the 10th Infantry (Holmes

1990:144). Bayard, although then overcrowded, was reported to be in the best condition of the forts. At Gen. Philip H. Sheridan's recommendation, the 24th Infantry replaced the 13th Infantry in May and June 1888, and Fort Bayard became headquarters of the 24th Infantry. The men at Bayard also suffered an increased propensity to drink, even occasionally drinking in the barracks, though strictly forbidden by army regulations (Billington 1987:76; Fowler 1996:81–84).

In August 1888, 10 men from the 24th Infantry (USCT) at Fort Bayard were sent to permanently close down Fort Selden. 1st Lt. James E. Brett and the detachment remained at Fort Selden until November 1888. The already seriously deteriorated buildings received heavy damage from nearly 24 inches of rain that fell in the Mesilla Valley during October and November that year. Apparently during these rains the troops erected tents in the quarters to protect themselves and their property. They also covered the ordinance stores in the magazine with tarpaulins. From November 1888 until April 1889, 1st Lt. Henry W. Hovey and a detachment of the 24th Infantry remained at Fort Selden (Caperton 1975:1, 77; Billington 1987:76; Holmes 1990:144).

In March 1889 Lieutenant Brett received word that Fort Selden was to close and be turned over to the Department of the Interior (Lieutenant Brett to AG, Department of Arizona, March 12, 1889, in Holmes 1990:123). Two weeks later Brett reported a group of citizens with the Mesilla Valley Land and Irrigation Company already were digging a ditch across the military reservation to carry water to the northern portion of the valley. Brett informed the company no digging would be permitted until the post officially was turned over to the Department of the Interior. In June Brett wrote H. H. Llewellyn of Las Cruces that he had forwarded his request to dig the irrigation ditch across the post (Lieutenant Brett to H. Llewellyn, June 1, 1889, quoted in Holmes 1990:124). By December the company had received approval, and work resumed with 80 teams scraping and digging. Brett expected the irrigation ditch to encourage settlement in the Mesilla Valley and to enhance property values. But in January 1890 the War

Department decided work must stop, and the ditch was not dug until after the post closed (Holmes 1990:124).

In June 1889 fire consumed Fort Selden's corral, destroying 7 mules, 5 horses, 1 Doherty wagon, 1 Red Cross ambulance, 1 army wagon, 2 escort wagons, 3 carts, 11 sets of harness, and a quantity of timber and wagon fixtures. The men were left with 1 mule, 2 horses, 1 escort wagon, 2 water wagons, and 1 buckboard. Lieutenant Brett obtained 3 animals from the post trader for temporary use. Brett said the adobe corral had a brush roof partially covered with adobe "which burnt like cotton" (Post letter, June 8, 1889, in Caperton 1975:53–54). After the fire the Rio Grande Republican said Fort Selden's force was too small to take care of the government property. The army soon sent 7 men on temporary duty from Company H, 24th Infantry, Fort Bayard, to join the men at Fort Selden (Billington 1987:77–78).

The soldiers' final mission from Fort Selden occurred in October 1889, when Lieutenant Brett sent a combat patrol into the San Andrés Mountains against a small Apache band (Holmes 1990:56–57). In November 1889 a bathhouse was built at the hot springs north of the post (Holmes 1990:23), no doubt providing welcome summertime relief and entertainment to the soldiers remaining at Selden.

Fort Selden was turned over to the Department of the Interior as a useless and abandoned military reservation on February 27, 1890 (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:27). A proposal in March that the reservation be used for an Indian industrial school eventually fell through. A Mr. Stewart soon was given a contract to remove all of the soldiers' bodies from the cemetery to the National Cemetery. According to Trumbo, Stewart was to receive the wooden portions of the buildings in payment (Trumbo 1946:41). What wood he actually received, if any, is not known.

A skeleton force remained at Fort Selden until January 20, 1891. Repairs continued at the post, apparently those necessary to keep some portions habitable for the small crew. Parts of the barracks were painted and whitewashed and

its roof was partially repaired in March 1890 (Caperton 1975:29).

Apparently bored, the black soldiers remaining at the post frequently got into trouble. In April 1890 two privates were charged with stealing and killing a calf. Brett recommended both men be discharged from military service because of their history of arrests and their poor moral character. To compound problems of isolation, the post surgeon imposed a quarantine from April to July 1890 during a smallpox epidemic in Las Cruces and Doña Ana. Although gambling was prohibited, the black enlisted men frequently gambled. In September 1890 after receiving paychecks for two months, the majority of the men began to gamble “in an old house behind the main barracks.” A private lost most of his money, and a sergeant won about \$80. The two men argued, and the sergeant struck the private with a stick of wood, fracturing his skull. Private John Hobson died later that day, and Sergeant J. W. Scott was still in jail in Las Cruces when Fort Selden finally closed (Billington 1987:78–79).

The hospital corps detachment was reassigned to Fort Bayard in October 1890. On January 20, 1891, Lieutenant Brett filed the last post return from Fort Selden. He left a noncommissioned officer and three privates to guard the post’s buildings until the Department of the Interior could take over. The men aided in crating and shipping to Fort Bayard all serviceable property, using lumber torn from the old buildings to pack the items for shipment. They shipped to Bayard all usable doors, windows, and window frames. Items not needed by Fort Bayard were auctioned, sold, taken to other posts, or destroyed. The detail departed in early February 1892. On March 30, 1892, the Fort Selden Military Reservation was transferred to the Department of the Interior (Billington 1987:79–80; Wilson and Caperton 1994:24).

Between 1889 and 1891, Forts Cummings, Marcy, and Union were abandoned in addition to Fort Selden (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:27). Legislation was passed in 1890 for construction of a new and larger Fort Bliss. Bliss would remain primarily an infantry garrison until the Mexican Revolution (Timmons 1990:180). The

10th Infantry marched out of Fort Union on February 21, 1891 (Zhu 1994:1), one month after Selden was abandoned. Fort Craig was abandoned in 1894 and sold to the Valverde Land and Irrigation Company (Taylor 1995:111). Fort Stanton was decommissioned in 1896, and in 1899 the post became the Fort Stanton Marine Hospital dedicated to the treatment of seamen with tuberculosis. In 1899 Fort Bayard also was abandoned and later was converted to a general hospital and sanitarium for soldiers with tuberculosis (Noble 1994:230, 256).

An 1896 inventory of Fort Selden said the woodwork had been removed from all buildings. Nothing remained but “parts of walls and piles of dried mud, all of which is worthless” (Fort Selden Abandoned Military Reservation, Folder #1, typescript in miscellaneous research file, Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM).

FORT SELDEN AFTER THE MILITARY

Felipe Duran homesteaded a portion of the section containing the fort buildings, and on March 22, 1909, the southwest quarter of the northwest quarter of Section 14 was patented to him, along with parts of Section 11. After six months Duran sold the properties to Charles Cole for \$500. Six months later, Cole sold the properties to Ida M. Llewellyn, on March 30, 1910. On November 13, 1914, Ida M. Llewellyn sold the property to Fort Selden Hot Springs Resort National Spa and Improvement Company, which held it for six and a half years. On May 3, 1921, the company sold the property to Francis L. Llewellyn. Some land in lots from blocks in an area designated as the Fort Selden Townsite, filed September 17, 1913, were excluded from this sale. On March 22, 1923, Frances and Charles Stanley Llewellyn sold the property to R. P. Pankey, who on May 4, 1925, sold to E. E. McIntyre. The McIntyres owned the property for almost 20 years, selling to H. H. Bailey of Radium Springs on September 9, 1944 (List of Fort Selden Owners, in miscellaneous research file, Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM).

A hermit reportedly lived in two small rooms at the northeast corner of the company quarters, perhaps in the 1940s, and vandals and relic hunters looted the site (Trumbo 1946:20–21; Cohrs and Caperton 1983:28; Wilson and Caperton 1994:42). Some Las Cruces residents are said also to have dug in the ruins, about 1950 (Wilson and Caperton 1994:27–28). The adobe remains of the trader's store were razed in the 1960s to make way for a house trailer (Guzman et al. 1988). Other than allowing locals to visit and picnic among the ruins, the uses made and attitudes of the various owners of the ruins and reservation as a whole are not documented.

Fort Selden State Park

Harry H. Bailey died in 1962, and his son, Harry Newton Bailey, donated a small portion of the property to the State of New Mexico in 1963. The site was placed under the New Mexico Parks and Recreation Commission (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:29). Senate Bill 302 designated Fort Selden a New Mexico State Park. For tax

purposes Bailey donated 7 acres in 1 1/6-acre increments to the commission from 1963 to 1969 (Guzman et al. 1988). Bailey reserved an easement for an underground water-carrying pipeline from west to east across the property. The line was not to pass closer than 10 feet to any of the original fort buildings or ruins. The purpose of the easement was for the “construction, inspection, maintenance and removal or replacement of said pipeline as may be necessary” (Warranty Deed, December 19, 1967, in Fort Selden deeds file, NMSM). Bailey donated 3 more acres in 1970, and the State Parks and Recreation Commission purchased 2 additional acres. Bailey agreed to donate 4 more parcels of land to bring the total acreage to approximately 19.35 acres. Excluded from the donation was a 1.758-acre strip of land west of and adjacent to the site, which contains the remains of the post bakery and the commanding officer's quarters. The parcel also contains a water well installed by Bailey. Bailey gave the State Parks first right to purchase or lease this parcel. The park thus did not receive the trader's store, post bakery, or commanding officer's quarters (Guzman et al. 1988). The State's shortsighted acceptance of this tiny portion of the military reservation thwarts preservation and interpretive efforts to this day. In addition, the highly significant remains of the trader's store would be lost for all time.

A July 9, 1971, meeting in Las Cruces attempted to bring together the efforts of the Parks and Recreation Department, the citizens of Las Cruces, and the State Planning Office. Participants agreed on five points: (1) the State Parks and Recreation must establish some immediate priorities for development within the overall plan described in “Historic Preservation, a Plan for New Mexico”; (2) the philosophy of preservation for the project should include minor restoration of one or two rooms; (3) clearing, testing, stabilization, and trails should be the first priorities of the project; (4) some measures should be taken to ensure the protection of the property while the project was in progress; and (5) every effort should be made to aid the State Parks and Recreation in obtaining money for the park's operation. The Cultural Properties Review Committee (CPRC) clarified that they would be funding the Fort Selden preservation

project through the State Planning Office but their function and responsibility did not include involvement in the park's operation and maintenance. Funding from the National Park Service's Preservation Grant Program would be matched with severance tax bond funds. The total monies available for the project was anticipated to be \$137,230.40, which would be administered by the State Planning Office based upon decisions by the CPRC. No money could be released, however, until Parks and Recreation furnished the State Planning Office with a specific plan for the immediate development of Fort Selden (Keith M. Dotson, Director, State Planning Office, and Brad L. Hays, Planning Technician, memorandum to James L. Dillard, Director, Parks and Recreation, August 5, 1971, copy in Fort Selden deeds file, NMSM). A State Planning Office representative hoped that "in the future, the defensive attitude of State Parks can be removed and some real progress can be made at Ft. Seldon [sic]" (Brad L. Hays, memorandum to David W. King, Acting Deputy State Planning Officer, July 20, 1971, copy in Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM).

At their November 1971 meeting, the CPRC reviewed and approved "A Plan for the Preservation of the Ruins of Fort Selden," compiled by Charlie Steen (David W. King, Deputy Director, State Planning Office, to James L. Dillard, Director, State Parks and Recreation Commission, November 19, 1971, copy in Fort Selden deeds file, NMSM). The State hired Pacheco and Graham, Architects, Albuquerque, to prepare documents for the work at the fort. Channell Graham of the firm outlined his understanding of their project on December 28, 1971: (1) prepare a ground plan of the existing ruins; (2) study and prepare a development study for the park in conjunction with Charlie Steen, to include research into the site's potential uses and an evaluation of its development potential; (3) prepare working drawings and specifications for force account construction work, the exact scope and detail of which would be determined as preliminary excavation work proceeded and original construction methods were determined; mechanical, electrical, and landscape consultants would be retained as required; and (4) update and revise the ground plan to include information revealed during excavation and

stabilization (Channell Graham, letter to James Dillard, State Parks and Recreation Commission, December 28, 1971, copy in Fort Selden deeds file, NMSM).

Fort Selden State Monument

On January 1, 1972, the Museum of New Mexico (MNM) received custody of Fort Selden from the State Parks and Recreation Commission through a Memorandum of Agreement between the two agencies (Guzman et al. 1988). Soon after, the CPRC accepted Charlie R. Steen's plan for preservation of Fort Selden's ruins (J. Robert Beauvais, State Planning Office, memorandum to Richard W. Mutz, January 18, 1972, copy in Fort Selden deeds files, NMSM). A few days later Albert Schroeder, CPRC, and J. Robert Beauvais, State Planning Office, visited Fort Selden and three other sites on the National Register of Historic Places (J. Robert Beauvais, memorandum to David W. King, January 25, 1972, copy in Fort Selden correspondence file, Historic Preservation Division [HPD], Office of Cultural Affairs, Santa Fe).

Richard W. Mutz, Director of the State Park and Recreation Commission on January 26, 1972, recommended to the State Park and Recreation Commissioners that Fort Selden be transferred to the State Monument program, since the commissioners viewed state park or recreation sites as areas with concentrated "availability of recreation and park-related facilities." Fort Selden's value obviously lay in its historic significance. The State Planning Office, Historic Sites Division, volunteered to draft legislation for consideration during the current session (Richard W. Mutz, memorandum to State Park and Recreation Commissioners, January 26, 1972, copy in Fort Selden deeds files, NMSM). The commissioners concurred with the recommendation for transfer (Mutz, memorandum to Gary W. Easton, Acting Director, Division of Outdoor Recreation, January 31, 1972, copy in Fort Selden deeds files, NMSM).

1970s Preservation Efforts

The site's first preservation work was done in 1972. A National Park Service (NPS) Historic

Preservation Grant matched by State of New Mexico severance tax bond revenues (Guzman et al. 1988) funded the work. The New Mexico State Planning Office administered the grant, and the Museum of New Mexico directed the fieldwork, done in the spring and summer of 1972. Workers excavated in the hospital complex, the headquarters building, the west portion of the company quarters, and portions of the corrals. They stabilized the headquarters building, hospital, and part of the company quarters. Workers uncovered a small rectangular stone structure just over 3 feet from the quartermaster corral's west wall. Caperton speculates this structure, which measures 8 feet 3 inches by 11 feet on the inside, with 2-foot-thick walls, was not in use after the quartermaster corral was constructed. Caperton suggests the structure served as a temporary prison until the permanent prison was built. The corrals were partially excavated but not stabilized (Caperton 1975:3, 7, 48, 50). Standing walls of the officers' quarters were stabilized, but no excavation was conducted (Wilson and Caperton 1994:17).

Stabilization included capping wall tops with adobe bricks amended with a synthetic resin (Pencapsula). Inclined wall edges were coated with an amended adobe plaster, and some eroded wall bases were filled with amended mud bricks. The west company quarters was excavated and repaired by the above methods, plus low walls were built up with as many as five new brick courses covered with stabilized plaster. The corner fireplaces in the hospital were stabilized with stabilized bricks and plaster to prevent deterioration, and a large hole at the base of the west wall between two rooms was filled with stabilized bricks and adobe; this opening later proved to be a doorway (Caperton 1975:7, 20, 29). The project was fraught with problems arising from "the use of prison labor, poor administrative control, inappropriate preservation techniques, and fiscal irregularities" (Guzman et al. 1988).

In 1973 the state legislature provided funds to construct a visitor center, which opened on August 25, 1974 (Caperton 1975:3). In 1973 Timothy Cohrs, a volunteer student from Beloit College, conducted research into Fort Selden's

history, which resulted in publication of *Fort Selden, New Mexico* (Guzman et al. 1988).

By February 1973 the General Accounting Office, National Park Service, was investigating the Fort Selden Development Project, Phase I, as well as the Quarai Development Project, Phase I. The NPS was concerned particularly about deficiencies in the management of these two projects (S. Sydney Bradford, Chief, Plans and Grants Branch, National Register, U.S. Department of the Interior [USDI], NPS, Washington, D.C., letter to David W. King, Santa Fe, February 26[?], 1973, copy in Fort Selden correspondence file, HPD). David W. King informed Gov. Bruce King that the excavation and stabilization efforts of the past year had experienced "unforeseen and unfortunate circumstances, causing a minor delay in the completion" of the project. Governor King stated that he placed "an extremely high priority on the preservation of the historic past, the expansion of tourism, and the construction of educational facilities in the State." Because the Fort Selden project played a strong part in all three of these philosophies, Governor King encouraged Carlos Nagel, Director of the Museum of New Mexico, to complete the preservation project as quickly as possible. The MNM and the State Planning Office were to formulate an action plan to ensure the construction phase would take place in the summer (Gov. Bruce King, letter to Carlos Nagel, February 27, 1973, copy in Fort Selden correspondence file, HPD).

Governor King then wrote David W. King, State Planning Officer, that he would like to see excavation and stabilization efforts at Fort Selden resumed as soon as possible, with all work completed in 1973, including construction of the visitor center. The NPS had frozen all federal funds for Fort Selden pending the outcome of the audit underway on the historic preservation program. The governor instructed David King to assign Brad Hays official liaison to the Keeper of the National Register, with whom he was to have constant communication, and report back to the governor's office and the state planning office (Gov. Bruce King, letter to David W. King, March 20, 1973, in Fort Selden correspondence file, HPD). A release of the

federal funds was possible “provided all interested parties would agree to an ‘oral briefing’ and be satisfied with its results”; the briefing was to be held in May (Gov. Bruce King, letter to Sen. Joseph M. Montoya, Washington, D.C., April 16, 1973, in Fort Selden correspondence file, HPD).

On March 29 Carlos Nagel reported a conversation with Larry Wells, who was requesting assignment to head up the Fort Selden project. Apparently as a temporary employee Wells was responsible for drawing the attention of the Museum’s Board of Regents to the cost overruns and other problems with the Fort Selden project (Carlos Nagel, memorandum to W. J. Keller, President, Board of Regents, March 29, 1973, in Fort Selden compliance file, HPD; see also Sen. Joseph M. Montoya, letter to Gov. Bruce King, May 22, 1973, in Fort Selden correspondence file, HPD). On May 2 Governor King informed Nagel that Lawrence C. Wells had been employed by the State Planning Office to assist the Division of Recreation and Historic Preservation. “I feel his employment will be an asset to the historic preservation program in New Mexico. Among other duties David has specifically assigned Mr. Wells to monitor the expenditures and progress on the Fort Selden and Quarai projects in line with the commitments the State Planning Office has made to the National Park Service regarding the administration of the grants-in-aid for the historic preservation program, and the recent audits by the Department of the Interior and General Accounting Office.” Governor King expressed his confidence in the project’s successful outcome (Gov. Bruce King, letter to Carlos Nagel, Director of MNM, May 2, 1973, in Fort Selden correspondence file, HPD).

In March 1973 Tom Caperton, Superintendent of the State Monument Program, devised the naive “Interpretive Formulas for New Mexico State Monuments.” Fort Sumner’s theme was “The Indian’s War,” and Fort Selden’s theme was “Soldier Blue.” His interpretation for Fort Selden was

The military culture and establishment. An overview of the establishment of the “Frontier” military posts. The

soldiers['] life as experienced by the soldier [sic]. Make use of period quotes on life in the west. Describe the frustrations, routine as well as the gayer moments of life at a military post. Include the fact that black soldiers practically won the west [Tom Caperton, Superintendent, State Monument Program, MNM, draft in Fort Selden compliance file, HPD].

In May 1973 Pacheco and Graham, Architects, agreed to “an investigation of the immediate site topography as a part of our schematic phase work on the contract.” The services of a registered land surveyor were not required (Channell Graham, letter to Donald J. Ortiz, Museum Accountant, MNM, May 2, 1973, in Fort Selden outgoing 1973–1974 files, NMSM). Jim Drum of the MNM exhibits department designed exhibits for the visitor center (Thomas J. Caperton, letter to Channell Graham, May 4, 1973, in Fort Selden outgoing 1973–1974 files, NMSM).

Robert Beauvais, planner with Recreation and Historic Preservation, State Planning Office, responded to problems with employment of prisoners at Fort Selden. He explained that the use of prisoners from the state penitentiary in developing historic preservation projects was conceived originally as a model work release program. Such a program to provide vocational rehabilitation for released prisoners was devised for stabilization of the adobe ruins at Fort Selden. The prisoners were to be on site 14 weeks, to make up not more than 50 percent of the work force, and to be paid comparable salaries to their civilian counterparts (J. Robert Beauvais, memorandum to David W. King, May 16, 1973, in Fort Selden correspondence file, HPD).

U.S. Sen. Joseph M. Montoya intervened to negotiate with the NPS to restore federal funding for the Fort Selden project. In mid-May Montoya held a meeting in his office with representatives of the General Accounting Office (GAO), the NPS, and Congressman Manuel Lujan. The GAO gave a “verbal report of their audit findings following their investigation of

the various allegations made by Mr. Lawrence Wells concerning [the Fort Selden and Quarai] projects.” Montoya urged the NPS to get an oral report of their in-house audits, resolve any remaining problems, and make decisions regarding the funding as soon as possible (Sen. Joseph M. Montoya, letter to Gov. Bruce King, May 22, 1973, copy in correspondence file, HPD).

The funds had not been released by early June, but apparently the NPS had given the State Planning Office verbal instructions to submit grant applications for both Fort Selden and Quarai, which Larry Wells was preparing (Chris, State Planning Office, memorandum, copy in Fort Selden correspondence file, HPD). By mid-June Tom Caperton expected the visitor center to be completed in late summer, stabilization to be accomplished after that with completion about December, and after that completion of trail construction, trail signage, and historic landscaping (Thomas J. Caperton, letter to Kris Kraeling, Deputy Director, Division of Recreation and Historic Preservation, State Planning Office, June 14, 1973, copy in Fort Selden outgoing 1973–1974 files, NMSM).

Fort Selden State Monument

On July 2, 1973, Gov. Bruce King proclaimed Fort Selden a state monument. The proclamation states that Fort Selden “is now a hauntingly beautiful ruin administered by the Museum of New Mexico for the public benefit” (Proclamation, copy in Fort Selden compliance file, HPD). The groundbreaking ceremony was held July 4, 1973 (Program, Fort Selden State Monument Groundbreaking Ceremony, July 4, 1973, in Fort Selden outgoing 1973–1974 files, NMSM).

Apparently as an afterthought, Tom Caperton reported on possible archaeological disturbance to the director of the MNM and the State Archaeologist on October 30, 1973. Caperton had examined the construction trenches but “did not notice any evidence of disturbance of archeological features in the foundation excavations.” Herb Hearon, the contractor, promised to notify Caperton’s office when the locations for the sewage system and utility lines

were determined. The architect, Chan Graham, reported the contractor had been potting a historic feature at the job site. Caperton “contacted the contractor by phone and told him to cease.” Caperton’s inspection revealed the contractor had been digging in the magazine. “However, he did not damage any wall features. The feature had been subjected to ‘potting’ in the past. Hearon went down about five feet with a small hole and did not reach bottom. The magazine appears to have been purposely filled as there was no trash in the fill.” Hearon informed Caperton that he had gotten a positive reading from a metal detector in the hole. Caperton told him he probably was detecting tin cans and horseshoes. Caperton instructed Hearon “not to dig anywhere else” and “to back fill the magazine” (Thomas J. Caperton, memorandum to George Ewing, Director of MNM, and Stewart Peckham, State Archaeologist, October 30, 1973, in Fort Selden outgoing 1973–1974 files, NMSM).

The state archaeologist visited Fort Selden on November 6, 1973, to determine the location for the utility right-of-way. He concluded the electric company’s proposed right-of-way would “not interfere with any apparent historic or pre-historic features at the site.” The proposed site for the sewage leaching field, however, would have disturbed a historic trash area, so it was moved about 70 feet west of its proposed location (Stewart Peckham, memorandum to Thomas J. Caperton, November 7, 1973, in Fort Selden outgoing 1973–1974 files, NMSM).

In December, Caperton reported on problems with Wells’s documentation. Wells had no records of the excavations of the pit houses or the commanding officer’s quarters, and the notes on other structures were “scanty at best” (Thomas J. Caperton, letter to Stanley Bussey, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, New Mexico State University, Las Cruces, December 19, 1973, Fort Selden outgoing 1973–1974 files, NMSM).

George R. Adams prepared a nomination to the National Register for Fort Selden in 1974 (National Register Nomination, HPD). In February 1974 Caperton reported on the visitor center progress. Construction completion was

scheduled for March 22, and the exhibits would be installed in the spring. Actual opening of the visitor center and monument, however, depended on completion of the preservation and trail work. Caperton expressed his satisfaction with the work of the architect, Chan Graham (Thomas J. Caperton, letter to David W. King, February 27, 1974, in Fort Selden correspondence file, HPD).

In March 1974 the National Park Service responded to the proposal for stabilization of Fort Selden's adobe ruins. Unresolved questions clouding NPS's approval of the proposal involved drainage and maintenance of the site and the adobe. The NPS hoped to narrow the choice of materials and methods and to get a clearer definition of the scope of work (Mark Velsey, architect, Grants Division, NPS, telephone report, March 20, 1974; and Jerry L. Rogers, Chief, Division of Grants, NPS, letter to Dan Riley, March 25[?], 1974, copies of both in Fort Selden correspondence file, HPD).

On June 12, 1974, Thomas J. Caperton in consultation with David Battle, NPS regional architect, made proposals to the NPS regarding the drainage and adobe "restoration." Caperton intended to slope the dirt at the bases of walls with and without rock foundations away from the walls and to compact the dirt to provide drainage. The parade ground would be taken "to its historic level, or close to it." The road between the administration building and the corrals would be contoured approximately to the original surface for drainage away from those structures. Interiors of some rooms would be contoured and compacted to carry water out and away from the rooms through doorways or areas with no existing walls. In areas with no such openings, the water would be directed to the center of the room and carried away through installation of ceramic drainage tiles. A continuous maintenance program would maintain all new contours. Caperton felt, however, that severe sandstorms blasting the walls might have more deleterious effects than water. The Monuments Division planned to plant 85 cottonwood trees "in their original positions around the parade ground and on the avenues" to cut down on the wind action on the ruins. The trees would be irrigated by an underground

system and would be far enough away from the ruins not to present a groundwater problem. The previous capping and changes to the existing profiles of the walls was "unsightly and of dubious stabilization value" and would not be repeated. A wood adobe form would be used to duplicate the original size of the adobes for new adobes to be used in stabilization efforts. Chemical compounds previously used to stabilize the adobes had accelerated deterioration, and no chemicals would be used (Thomas J. Caperton, letter to Jerry L. Rogers, USDI, June 12, 1974, copy in Fort Selden correspondence file, HPD).

Caperton hired Glen Stephens of Radium Springs as the first manager for Fort Selden State Monument (Thomas J. Caperton, letter to Glen Stephens, Radium Springs, March 26, 1974, Fort Selden outgoing 1973–1974 files, NMSM). Stephens became ill almost immediately, and his wife substituted for him using "Steve's" name (Thomas J. Caperton, letter to Mrs. Olin Stephens, April 8, 1974, Fort Selden outgoing 1973–1974 files, NMSM).

The flagpole was to be delivered in April 1974. Caperton had expected the monument to be completed already, "But like most things nowadays it got fouled up" (Caperton, letter to Mrs. Olin Stephens, April 8, 1974, NMSM). Caperton requested the architect provide a bronze plaque to commemorate the donation of Fort Selden to the State of New Mexico "by Harry Bailey in memory of his father" (Thomas J. Caperton, letter to Chan Graham, Albuquerque, April 30, 1974, in Fort Selden outgoing 1973–1974 files, NMSM). Caperton also set about acquiring artifacts for the exhibits and merchandise for sales (Caperton, various letters in Fort Selden outgoing 1973–1974 files, NMSM).

In June 1974 the visitor center was well underway, "in spite of the contractor going broke" (Thomas J. Caperton, letter to David King, June 10, 1974, Fort Selden outgoing 1973–1974 files, NMSM). On June 6, 1974, Caperton recommended the state property control office issue a certificate of substantial completion for the visitor center (Thomas J. Caperton, memorandum to Carl Sedillo, June 6,

1974, Fort Selden outgoing 1973–1974 files, NMSM).

1974–1975 Preservation Efforts

The next preservation effort after that in 1972 was in the fall and winter of 1974–1975 (Guzman et al. 1988). The 1972 work had resulted in the new wall caps separating from the original walls, deterioration of walls beneath the caps, and changes in original profiles from leveling the wall tops. In addition, removal of fill from the west company quarters created drainage problems (Caperton 1975:29). The wall caps extended out slightly from the tops of the walls and tended to trap moisture underneath the edges, causing deterioration and separation of the caps from the walls. The mud plaster on those walls simply plastered did not adhere to the original wall. Partial reconstructions of some walls, particularly the east side of the hospital wing, were a different width and texture than the existing wall remnants (Caperton 1975:20).

Federal funds finally were available again for stabilization of the ruins by September 1974, a year later than anticipated. The MNM could not fund the project in advance, and the State Historic Preservation Officer asked for an advance from the NPS. Caperton was concerned that the project's delayed start would push work into the winter months. Also, the Stephen Dorsey Mansion project starting the following spring would take much of Caperton's time (Thomas J. Caperton, memorandum to George Ewing, Director of MNM, September 25, 1974, copy in Fort Selden outgoing 1974–1975 files, NMSM).

Caperton arrived at Fort Selden on October 10 to begin the project, spending 10 days photodocumenting the ruins. Heavy equipment work began on October 28. A road grader, backhoe, compactor, dump truck, and water truck were used to clear brush, remove upper fill from rooms, backfill, contour, construct berms, and make the interpretive trail. Caperton reports the "use of equipment did in no way disturb historic features of the fort" (1975:7). A trench was run along the entire west side of the hospital wing and the features to the south to expose the historic foundation. About 450 adobe bricks

were manufactured for stabilization. Soil to make the adobes was obtained about 100 yards east of the visitor center from an area having good clay content. A large depression in the same area might indicate the soil source for the original adobes (Caperton 1975:12).

When freezing weather set in at the end of November, workers salvaged adobes from a house being demolished in the neighborhood by Evanisto Girón. Workers inserted these adobes into walls exhibiting "advanced deterioration." Rectangular-shaped holes were chopped and the new adobes were laid to align with the existing walls. The used adobes produced the best results because their rounded corners blended better with the original surfaces. Workers used layers of adobe plaster to repair moderately deteriorated areas. Small holes and eroded areas in wall faces were filled with adobe plaster level with the existing adobe. Caperton noted that the variation in color and texture of the original adobes throughout the post was particularly evident in the barracks, where layers were easily discernible. The original adobes had "a substantial amount of native grass" and contained "such things as prehistoric pottery, bits of cloth, historic glass, and metal fragments." Wall caps applied in 1972 were removed (Caperton 1975:12).

Sixty-five cottonwood trees were planted in rows replicating tree locations from the late 1860s, except they were placed on 30-foot centers instead of the original 15- to 25-foot centers. An installed underground watering system would cause the trees to grow much more rapidly than they would have originally. Invasive salt cedars were planted in clumps along the north boundary east of the roadway and west of the hospital to provide visual barriers and windbreaks. An interpretive trail paved with crusher fines was installed with metal photo-interpretive trail signs explaining historic features. The trail was prepared by ripping the surface with a grader and laying the fines with a dump truck. A front-end loader spread the fines to make trails about 5 feet wide and 4 inches thick, and a compactor then was used. The new interpretive trail ran from the visitor center west to the roadway and then south along the east side of the administration building

to the sally port, with a spur to the quartermaster corral. The trail ran through the sally port, then south to the company quarters and along the company quarters' north side to the post hospital, then north to the officers' quarters and along the length of the officers' quarters to connect with the beginning of the trail. A replica flagpole erected on the parade ground would fly a replica 37-star flag. Areas disturbed by the stabilization efforts were seeded with blue grama, sideoats grama, and Lehman's Love Grass to prevent erosion and the growth of unwanted vegetation (Stephens, Monthly Narrative Reports, October–December 1974, in Monthly Report 1974–1975 Fort Selden file, NMSM; Caperton 1975:7–8, 12, 15–16, 20).

Because no office furniture was to be supplied to the monument, the staff purchased materials to build two desk tables, a worktable, and shelving in the office and work area. A small cannon arrived from Fort Sumner on October 29, to be repaired for display in the museum. Dorothy Stephens was hired in November to allow Stephens and Jeff Lehmann to work on the stabilization project (Stephens, Monthly Narrative Reports, October–December 1974, in Fort Selden Monthly Report 1974–1975 file, NMSM).

Workers at Selden spent the first part of 1975 completing the stabilization work. They set out trees and completed the irrigation system. The enlisted men's and officers' latrines were excavated, and artifacts were cleaned and catalogued. The magazine was excavated to ground level, but few cultural materials were found (Michael R. Taylor, personal communication 2001). A backhoe then was used to "clean up" and backfill the magazine and to fill the officers' quarters latrine. Display cases arrived (Glen Stephens, Monthly Reports, January 31 and February 28, 1975, in Fort Selden Monthly Report 1974–1975 file, NMSM). The CPRC made no comments on the completion report other than the chairman's statement that he was "very impressed with the quality of the work and the thoroughness of the report" (Albert H. Schroeder, letter to Thomas J. Caperton, September 12, 1977, copy in Fort Selden correspondence file, HPD). The magazine and additional latrines were excavated

in 1976 (Guzman et al. 1988; Wilson and Caperton 1994:29).

By June 1975 problems with the visitor center were evident. Water ran into the museum from the porches, the roof leaked in a number of places, the chimney on the north side and the service yard wall were separating from the building, and the plywood on the yard gates was coming loose (Thomas J. Caperton, letter to Carl Sedillo, Property Control Division, June 25, 1975, copy in Fort Selden 1974–1975 outgoing files, NMSM).

Acquisition and Development

Harry N. Bailey responded to Caperton in January 1976 about a possible state purchase of Tract D. As always, Bailey was concerned about his tax benefits, in addition to a well on Tract D that he intended to use to support land across the road, using his easement through the fort. Bailey claimed people wanting to use the land for a motel and other commercial development incompatible with the historic fort had approached him. Several years earlier Bailey also had been approached by the New Mexico Park Commission about the possibility of swapping this tract for an acre or so of state land on the other side of the road next to the canal and suitable for drilling a well; he suggested further discussion of this possibility (Harry N. Bailey, letter to Thomas J. Caperton, January 7, 1976, in Fort Selden correspondence file, HPD). The New Mexico Land Office and the state's general counsel said such a swap was illegal, but a three-way swap could be accomplished with the Bureau of Land Management (Harry N. Bailey, Mission Viejo, California, Summary of Meeting dated October 6, 1976, copy in Fort Selden correspondence file, HPD).

In May 1976 the Cultural Properties Review Committee raised issue with the MNM about a large house trailer parked next to the visitor center. The CPRC asked if the trailer, apparently used for staff housing, could be moved to the adjacent state park (Albert H. Schroeder, letter to George Ewing, May 19, 1976, in Fort Selden correspondence file, HPD).

The state legislature provided funding in 1984 for remedial stabilization work and a controlled

experiment on adobe degradation. The stabilization was similar to that done in 1974 and 1975. Workers repaired eroded wall bases by inserting adobe bricks and layers of adobe plaster, and capped walls with mud. They placed strips of colored plastic under the mud caps to assist in monitoring erosion. Two 65-foot-long test walls marked in 5-foot sections and 12 separate adobe panels were constructed about 150 yards northeast of the visitor center, of bricks made in Mexico, to evaluate capillary rise, the suitability of wall caps, and the preservation value of various chemical amendments in conjunction with mud plaster. Monitors were placed inside the walls to provide information about moisture levels. The walls were designed by Paul G. McHenry, Corrales, and constructed by Rio Abajo Archaeological Services, Polvadera. This project was intended to last 10 years. Mexico-made bricks also were used in stabilizing the ruins (Bill Diven, "Test Seeks Cure for Ailing Adobe," *Albuquerque Journal*, November 24, 1985:C1 and C3, in Fort Selden files, HPD; Guzman et al. 1988; Oliver 2000).

In 1984 Norman W. Spaulding again was promoting Fort Selden as a national monument to black soldiers who served on the western frontier after the Civil War. The NPS responded that Fort Selden had been denied National Historic Landmark status in 1961 and thus was not suitable for inclusion in the National Park system. Further, buffalo soldiers already were interpreted within the system at Fort Davis National Historic Site in Fort Davis, Texas, and military contributions by blacks also were interpreted at Perry's Victory and International Peace Memorial, Ohio, and Petersburg National Battlefield and Richmond National Battlefield Park in Virginia (Bennie C. Keel, letter to U.S. Sen. Pete V. Domenici, September 18[?], 1984, copy in Fort Selden correspondence file, HPD).

In 1986 the J. Paul Getty Conservation Institute (GCI), Marina del Rey, California, undertook the testing and evaluation of preservatives and chemical systems in adobe preservation, in collaboration with NMSM and preservation architect Paul G. McHenry. New test walls were constructed at Selden adjacent to the existing test wall plot to "include the evaluation of

chemical preservatives, construction of site shelters, installation of drainage systems and synthetic fiber reinforcing elements, and accelerated weathering tests" (Guzman et al. 1988). A 1986 CPRC site inspection resulted in a report that the ruins were in good condition after the recent stabilization project (Site Inspection Form, August 15, 1986, Fort Selden compliance file, HPD).

By 1987 the visitor center had a new roof and the staff had developed a cactus garden adjacent to the visitor center (Guzman et al. 1988). Caperton complained to the state Laboratory of Anthropology that the Fort Selden archaeological collections transferred to Santa Fe two years previously had been stored in the basement of the old St. Vincent's Hospital. Although Caperton had brought to the attention of Liz King problems of the laboratory staff piling metates on boxes of artifacts marked "fragile" and workers pillaging the artifacts, no corrective action had been taken. Caperton requested the laboratory staff inventory the artifacts and return them to Fort Selden (Tom Caperton, memorandum to John Ware, July 27, 1987, copy in Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM).

Fort Selden visitation dropped in 1986 after admission fees were implemented (Guzman et al. 1988). To counteract the effect of the entrance charges, the staff placed brochures at the New Mexico Welcome Center east of Las Cruces; in the Chambers of Commerce at Las Cruces, Deming, Silver City, and Alamogordo; at major hotels and motels in Las Cruces; at the U.S. Border Patrol Museum in El Paso, Texas; and at Carlsbad National Park and Fort Union National Monument. In addition, they presented programs to Las Cruces civic organizations. Articles on the fort appeared in newspapers, magazines, and journals. A living history program was presented on weekends from June through September and to other groups upon request. Caperton suggested adding highway signs and possibly billboards, especially on Interstate 25. In addition, the 12-year-old exhibits needed updating. Visitation figures show fluctuations from year to year, but they never reached the peak in the opening year of 15,466; the next highest year, 1979, had 10,850

annual visitors (Tom Caperton, memorandum to Beverly Becker, Public Information, October 8, 1987, copy in Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM).

The GCI provided over \$40,000 to fund a second phase of adobe test walls. In October 1987 David T. Kirkpatrick directed a crew from Human Systems Research, Tularosa, in surveying, surface collecting, and test excavating the proposed locations for the phase II test walls west of the previous test walls. The area in question included a 150 by 200 foot rectangle and a 300-foot-long by 5-foot-wide water line right-of-way. The proposed work for the test walls would blade the area level before constructing the adobe walls. The archaeologists collected and analyzed over 3,000 artifacts. They discovered an adobe structure (possibly a latrine) and a small Fort Selden-era trash scatter while testing. They also found a 25-foot-wide, shallow historic road running 175 feet through the study area. Along both sides of the road were low berms with mostly glass artifacts probably mixed in during preparation of the road. A prehistoric pot drop was discovered during trenching for the water line, and a prehistoric hearth was exposed in a side wall of a backhoe excavation to connect the new water line to an existing line. The archaeologists determined the mixed artifact assemblage in the study area represents prehistoric Jornada Mogollon, historic U.S. Army, and other historic and modern use. Results of the survey indicate more features are possible in the fort area than those shown on historic documents. Despite discovery of the historic road and possible latrine, archaeologists gave clearance to the area for the test walls and water line right-of-way (Kirkpatrick 1988:1, 6, 8, 10–11, 21).

Fort Selden State Monument was closed for several weeks beginning January 1, 1988, for the installation of new exhibits. The exhibit features the life of the soldiers, officers, and women who lived at desert outposts on the American frontier (News release, December 15, 1987, copy in Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM; Joan Morris, “State Opens Exhibit at Fort Selden,” *El Paso Times*, March 11, 1988, in Fort Selden files, HPD). Included in the exhibit are a large collection of nineteenth-century photographs,

artifacts recovered from excavations at the monument, and military items from the MNM collection (Guzman et al. 1988). The visitor center was scheduled to reopen March 12, 1988 (Guzman et al. 1988). MNM director Tom Livesay approved funding to bus students to the monument but denied a request for highway billboards, asking instead for more creative ideas. Caperton responded with a proposal to find landowners who would allow the NMSM to install billboards funded by NMSM (Tom Caperton, memorandum to Joe Guzman, FSSM, December 29, 1987, copy in Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM).

In 1989 Kevin McDougall and John Jensen of the University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia, studied historic and current photographs of the ruins to determine if photogrammetry could be used to determine the erosion rate of the cultural resources. The pair concluded that data could be extracted to determine the deterioration range of adobe buildings (Caperton 1990a:210–211). The GCI-sponsored adobe test walls at Fort Selden apparently were intended for a larger audience and client than the fort (Julie Aicher, “At Historic Fort, Mud Is Name of the Game,” *Santa Fe New Mexican*, February 5, 1989:B-6, in Fort Selden file, HPD).

In June 1989 Harry N. Bailey, again appearing more concerned about his personal finances than preservation of the historic fort scene, responded to a proposed donation of a land parcel on the west side of Fort Selden SM. “For estate planning purposes this year I am supposed to convert certain land parcels into liquid assets, and this is one parcel in that category, unless donated. To justify a donation I am advised the appraised value would have to be at least \$50,000.00.” In August 1982 Bailey had sold a 4.667-acre parcel of undeveloped land across the road from the monument for \$7,000 per acre. Bailey also stipulated that the State extend their fence around the area donated; the well would remain in Bailey’s ownership along with easements for access, pipe, and power lines; and a space would be provided for a pump house or enclosure. “Also it would be nice if my father, a true New Mexico Pioneer, from whom I acquired this property, were included in the

Museum's list of 'Remembered New Mexicans'" (Harry N. Bailey, Mission Viejo, California, letter to Thomas J. Caperton, June 30, 1989, copy in Fort Selden Bailey land file, NMSM). By November Bailey was prepared to deed the property provided the MNM agree to the stipulations (Harry N. Bailey, letter to Robert Baca, November 7, 1989, in Fort Selden Bailey land file, NMSM). MNM director Tom Livesay agreed to donation of the approximately 5.683 acres with stipulations if Bailey concurred that fence construction could take two to three years (Tom Livesay, memorandum to Rob Baca, November 17, 1989, and Thomas A. Livesay, letter to Harry N. Bailey, November 27, 1989, both in Fort Selden Bailey land file, NMSM).

In 1989 the Southern New Mexico Genealogical Society began a joint effort with Fort Selden SM to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the abandonment of the post. As part of the effort, the two groups compiled a roster of men who served at the post during the years 1865 to 1891 (Bern Gantner and Lou Armijo, "Action Line," Albuquerque Journal, September 3, 1989:2-F, in Fort Selden files, HPD). At the ceremony held on November 10, 1991, the Southwest New Mexico Genealogical Society presented José Guzman with a "wall of names" representing every officer and enlisted man who served at Fort Selden documented by their research. In addition, Fort Selden was included with Fort Bayard and five other early military posts in New Mexico in the national "Boots and Saddles" legislation to establish a historic trail linking the sites and providing funds for research and preservation (Silver City Daily Press, November 19, 1991, in Fort Selden files, HPD).

The Friends of Fort Selden group was organizing actively at the end of May 1990 ("Fort Selden Group to Meet," Las Cruces Sun-News, May 25, 1990, in Fort Selden files, HPD). In July they solicited local assistance in outfitting volunteers for living history demonstrations and asked for donations of photographs of the fort from private collections (Bobby Jakcsy, "Help Needed for Ft. Selden," Alamogordo Daily News, July 23, 1990, and "Friends Try to Save Army Post," El Paso Times, March 11, 1988:1A and 3A, both in Fort Selden files, HPD).

In a 1990 presentation Tom Caperton concludes that the various preservation techniques attempted on the Fort Selden ruins at best had extended their life expectancy "and hopefully have not had a deleterious effect upon the resource." The original fabric of cultural resources often are exploited for public programming, while "the most effective preservation technique for earthen ruins is burial." Thus, Caperton recommends directing research "toward the burial of sites, alternative methods of presentation and interpretation, and the investigation of erosion rates" (Caperton 1990a:211).

Bailey responded that he was "disappointed to hear that no one has yet come up with a viable preservation method for these old ruins, other than to 'bury' them. I was counting on you to come up with some sort of 'enbalming' [sic] not burial. The answer must be out there some place and I hope you and others don't give up the search for a more immortal solution" (Harry N. Bailey, letter to Tom Caperton, November 7, 1990, in Fort Selden Bailey land file, NMSM). Caperton replied that a "magic 'embalming' fluid for adobe" had yet to be found, and of course, burial at Fort Selden "is out of the question." Instead the NMSM would continue searching for ways to extend the life expectancy of the ruins (Thomas J. Caperton, letter to Harry N. Bailey, November 19, 1990, copy in Fort Selden Bailey land file, NMSM, Santa Fe).

In December Caperton approached Bailey about donating 32 acres immediately south of Fort Selden SM. With the rapid growth north of Las Cruces, Caperton feared the area would be developed and subdivided. The donation would provide a buffer against further encroachment on the fort site, a buffer that would be appreciated even more in the future (Thomas J. Caperton, letter to Harry N. Bailey, December 13, 1990, copy in Fort Selden Bailey land file, NMSM). Bailey's consideration of the donation again hinged on tax and water rights considerations (Harry N. Bailey, letter to Tom Caperton, January 1, 1991, and copy of Thomas J. Caperton, letter to Harry N. Bailey, January 11, 1991, both in Fort Selden Bailey land file, NMSM).

The issue of the water rights brought an end to any possibility of a donation. In 1984 Bailey had hired Larry Thompson, architect, Santa Barbara, California, to draw plans for development of the land in question. Bailey applied to change the location of his well from Fort Selden SM to this land. Thompson's design included a stable complex, recreation center, and housing project in a style that was "a blend of Santa Barbara and Santa Fe architecture" (Harry N. Bailey, letter to John B. Nixon, State Engineering Office, Las Cruces, January 19, 1991, copy in Bailey land file, NMSM). Rather than assisting another state agency in acquiring this valuable parcel of land, Nixon determined that the well on the Fort Selden state property was capped and unused, indicating a marginal intent to use the water for the proposed subdivision. Nixon recommended denial of the application to relocate the well based on "failure of the applicant to pursue his claimed intent" (J. B. Nixon, State Engineer Office, District 4, memorandum, copy in Fort Selden Bailey land file, NMSM).

Surprised by the finding, Bailey proposed requesting a hearing, but Caperton discouraged "getting lawyers involved etc" and hoped to find some other way to resolve the problem (Harry N. Bailey, letter to Eluid L. Martinez, State Engineer, Santa Fe, July 1, 1991; and Tom [Caperton], handwritten letter to Harry N. Bailey, copies of both in Fort Selden Bailey land file, NMSM). Caperton appealed to State Representative Bill Porter and the Friends of Fort Selden for assistance (Thomas J. Caperton, letter to Rep. Bill Porter, Las Cruces, July 12, 1991, copy in Bailey land file, NMSM). Porter and Caperton met with Kent W. Breese, Engineer, Water Rights Division of the State Engineer Office, regarding the water rights transfer, but Breese provided no encouragement (Thomas A. Livesay, letter to Sarah Alley, March 22, 1992, copy in Bailey land file, NMSM). At the end of February 1992, Bailey stood ready to donate the land if the State agreed to Bailey's ownership of the water rights. Bailey intended to donate a portion of the water rights to the State (Harry N. Bailey, letter to Thomas J. Caperton, February 28, 1992, in Bailey land file, NMSM). A month later Tom Livesay wrote the State Assistant Attorney General appealing for her assistance in acquiring the land, which he

pointed out was the historic Fort Selden rifle range (Thomas A. Livesay, letter to Sarah Alley, March 22, 1992, copy in Bailey land file, NMSM).

In the meantime, Allan Holmes wrote a master's thesis at New Mexico State University on Fort Selden. A retired U.S. Army colonel, Holmes researched many primary documents (Art Osgoode, "Fort Selden Hosts Only Memories," Las Cruces Sun-News, November 12, 1990, in Fort Selden files, HPD).

A major stabilization project in 1991 included patching the 1985 shelter coats and repairing walls with unamended soil shelter coats. Additional repairs were made and amended plaster-coat test panels were applied to an historic wall in 1992. In 1993 many low walls of the corrals were covered with geotextiles and backfilled with crusher fines. Several walls in the officers' quarters may have been backfilled at the same time, but researchers found no written records. Also about 1993 the GCI conducted a series of experiments to find a chemical consolidation system for long-term adobe preservation. They applied several chemical systems and other experiments to the historic adobe walls of the company officer's quarters (Oliver and Hartzler 1997:51, 58, 60).

From 1993 to 1996 black aerotextiles were used to protect many of the historic adobe walls. Workers wrapped the fabric directly around 20 walls and "tented" or attached it to wooden frames constructed around 15 other walls. The fabric was removed at any time during the 3 years when the textiles failed or damaged the wall, and all fabric was removed by the end of 1996. In the summer of 1995, the local Youth Conservation Corps repaired erosion at the bases of two features. Other repairs during the same year were mortar repointing on the stone walls of the jail and removal of the Pencapsula cap from the low interior adobe wall between the two features. This wall was covered with a soil membrane and backfilled (Oliver and Hartzler 1997:64, 67). In February 1996 the monument staff notified the contractor that the mortar on the jail portion of the ruins had not set up and asked that it be rectified (Nathan Stone, letter to Bruce McHenry, copy in Fort Selden permanent

files, NMSM). McHenry responded to Rob Baca, new Director of the Monuments Division, that he expected the lime-sand mortar, used to simulate the original, would set up with more time but he would visit the site in mid-March (Bruce K. McHenry, Albuquerque, letter to Rob [Baca], March 6, 1996, in Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM).

In 1995 William Porter donated a bronze sculpture of a buffalo soldier (Figure A4.7) to the monument. Porter retained copyright so he could market copies of the sculpture (Charles Bennett, MNM, letter to William Porter, May 2, 1995, copy in Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM).

In July 1995 the GCI began a 15-month reburial study at Fort Selden SM. On the existing adobe test wall plot, wood, cloth, bronze, and 20 earthen objects were buried in eight 2-foot pits, four 4-foot pits, and five surface experiments. Oxygen sensors, moisture monitors, and thermocouples were installed. A water spray system was installed over 7 of the experiments. Two types of fill were used, local soil and pure sand, as were 3 separators, bentonite clay, a geotextile permeable to both liquid water and water vapor, and a geotextile permeable only to water vapor (Charles Selwitz, Scientific Program, GCI, memorandum to William Ginell, July 27, 1995, copy in reburial studies file, Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM).

Doña Ana County notified the Fort Selden SM in May 1996 of Francis Bailey's application to develop a 30.91-acre subdivision called Soldier Ridge Estates. The property would be subdivided into 36 lots sized .75 to .9 acres. The proposed Radium Springs subdivision was southeast of Highway 157 and west of Robledo Vista Road (Janine Divyak, senior planner, Doña Ana County, letter to Property Owner, May 21, 1996, in Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM).

Reassessment of the State Monument

At the end of May 1996, Mike Taylor, deputy director of State Monuments, wrote a memorandum to the director of the MNM with recommendations for reassessing the conditions at Fort Selden SM. Taylor proposed starting the process with a master plan. The proposed



Figure A4.7. "Buffalo Soldier" by Reynaldo "Sony" Rivera. Ft. Selden State Monument, Radium Springs, New Mexico. Photograph by Charles Bennett, February 17, 1996. Courtesy of Museum of New Mexico, Negative No. 164823.

"master plan" would assess erosion rates and past stabilization efforts, and evaluate deterioration of the walls if the status quo was maintained. Also included would be recommendations for preservation treatments of the adobe ruins, computer modeling of the fort with various schemes for constructing shelters, preliminary architectural designs and interpretive schemes for an addition to the visitor center, landscaping and kiosk construction concepts, potential land acquisitions, and an analysis of Las Cruces visitors with potential increased visitation to Fort Selden SM. Taylor also suggested placing two billboards advertising the monument on Interstate Highway 25, identifying potential land acquisition for buffers from encroaching development, augmenting the site interpretation by also interpreting the Mogollon pit house village and the Robledo paraje on the Camino Real, and building an addition to the visitor center. Reconstruction of portions of the fort could not be considered when it would necessitate destruction of existing walls to construct new walls; however, reconstruction of the commanding officer's quarters (now only its stone foundations remain) might be considered

with proper documentation of its original appearance and construction. In addition, Taylor proposed building three shelters spanning groups of rooms in ruin. The three areas proposed were the company quarters, the hospital, and the officers' quarters. Shelters would consist of space frames for roofs with translucent coverings, supported only at the perimeters. Facsimile windows and doors would be suspended from the roofs, and refurnished rooms in the roofed areas would have public access. Taylor already had discussed these ideas with Rep. William Porter and planned to meet with him and possibly other legislators on site to plan the implementation of his proposal (Mike Taylor, memorandum to Tom Livesay, May 29, 1996, copy in outgoing correspondence file, Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM).

In 1998 the state legislature passed House Bill 28 introduced by William E. Porter to make an appropriation to design an addition and exhibits to the museum honoring the buffalo soldiers and to plan for the preservation and interpretation of the ruins (House Bill 28, 43rd Legislature, 2nd Session, 1998, copy in legislative bill file, Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM). In early 1999 the deputy director of the MNM suggested some changes to the approach to the project. Among her suggestions was a recommendation for preparation of a site master plan, which would precede other plans for the monument. The master plan should include an archaeological management plan compiling past work and recommending future preservation, interpretation, and maintenance of the cultural resources (Marsha Jackson, letter to Mike Taylor, January 27, 1999, incoming correspondence file, Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM).

In 1997 Anne Oliver and Robert Hartzler had prepared a "Preservation Plan for Fort Selden State Monument, New Mexico: First Phase, Volume 1." The "preservation plan," however, addresses only the adobe ruins and not the integrity of the site. Oliver and Hartzler found that the 1985 repairs were in good condition but were easily distinguished from the original. Also, erosion gave the 1985 shelter coats "a brain-like appearance" (Oliver and Hartzler 1997:48).

OTHER NEW MEXICO MILITARY POSTS

Fort Bascom

Fort Bascom was established in 1863 by Brig. Gen. James H. Carleton to protect settlers and to control the comanchero trade. The post was closed in 1870 and the troops transferred to Fort Union. Col. Ranald S. Mackenzie used Fort Bascom as a supply base during his campaign against the Comanches. Today little remains of the sandstone and adobe buildings. The site is 12 miles north of Tucumcari (Fugate and Fugate 1989:354–356; Julyan 1996:133).

Fort Bayard

Fort Bayard was established in 1866 in a small valley near the Santa Rita Mountains to protect miners and prospectors in the Pinos Altos area. The reservation covered 15 square miles and 520 acres. The post had quarters for 4 companies, with structures of adobe and logs built by the troops, except the officers' quarters were built by contract. The magazine and bakery were built of stone. The fort was an important base during campaigns against Mangas Coloradas, Victorio, and Geronimo. The post, located 10 miles east of present-day Silver City, was active until 1900. It became an Army hospital in 1900 and now is used by the New Mexico Department of Public Welfare. Little remains of the original fort (Headquarters Military Division of the Missouri 1969 [1876]:158, 161; Fugate and Fugate 1989:428–429; Julyan 1996:133).

On a trip through southern New Mexico in early 1877, a Santa Fe newspaper reporter describes Fort Bayard as

certainly the most handsome military post we have met on our route. It is situated in a small valley between the Sierra Madre and Santa Rita ranges of mountains... Quarters are here for four companies, neatly and comfortably put up, and under Capt. Beyer's administration have been supplied with water barrels and axes for use in case of fire; the post also has a well drilled fire brigade. Bayard is an important location as regards Indians, and scouts

are always out scouring the country looking for Indians from any of the reservations, with instructions to spare none thus found; this policy is giving great confidence to the resident population as well as those traveling through the country ("Fort Bayard and Silver City," Daily New Mexican, Santa Fe, January 25, 1877:1, microfilm, SRC).

Fort Conrad

Col. Edwin V. Sumner established Fort Conrad in 1851 to protect the lower Rio Grande Valley. Fort Conrad was abandoned in 1854 and the troops moved to Fort Craig. The site is on the west bank of the Rio Grande, 35 miles south of Socorro (Fugate and Fugate 1989:60; Julyan 1996:133–134). John Wilson and Pat Beckett surveyed the site in 1971 and recorded stone foundations for three buildings in an area of about 100 square meters. Floods might have obscured other building foundations (Wilson et al. 1989:78).

Fort Craig

Fort Craig was established on the west bank of the Río Grande del Norte in 1853 and deactivated in 1885. The reservation was about 38 square miles. The post had quarters for two companies, and all buildings were reported in 1876 to be constructed of adobes. The post also had a government ferry, about six miles below the post (Headquarters Military Division of the Missouri 1969 [1876]:149–150; Fugate and Fugate 1989:60–61; Julyan 1996:134).

Lt. John G. Bourke described Fort Craig in 1869 as surrounded by an earthen rampart with a ditch and five bastions. "There wasn't much to do; the post was a lonesome sort of a hole maintained at the north end of the 'Jornada del Muerto' for the protection of travellers against prowling Apaches" (Bourke, quoted in Wilson et al. 1989:79). A Santa Fe newspaper reporter in 1877 reported the enclosed area was 1,050 by 600 feet. The buildings were all one story and

faced the parade ground. The officers' quarters were "ornamented with railed porches." Storerooms were "large and bomb proof" ("Down South—Fort Craig," *Daily New Mexican*, Santa Fe, January 6, 1877:1, microfilm, SRC).

Fort Craig is listed on the National Register of Historic Places and is preserved by the Bureau of Land Management as a historic site. Adobe walls of structures were stabilized in the 1980s (Wilson et al. 1989:79).

Fort Cummings

Gen. James H. Carleton ordered a fort built in 1863 at Cook's Spring, along the stage route in Cook's Canyon. The fort is 53 miles west of the Rio Grande and 20 east of the Río Mimbres, the nearest water after leaving the fort. The reservation was only two miles square, and its adobe buildings accommodated one company. Fort Cummings was abandoned in 1873 but reopened in 1880. Its final abandonment was in November 1891, and today a historical marker marks the site, which is partially on private land and partially open to the public by the Bureau of Land Management. Adobe and rock ruins remain today (Headquarters Military Division of the Missouri 1969 [1876]:161, 164; Fugate and Fugate 1989:406–408; Julyan 1996:134; Hartley 2000:6–7).

A Santa Fe newspaper reporter described Fort Cummings in early January 1877:

Entering the mouth of Cook's Cañon the first object that strikes our attention is a large walled enclosure containing the remains of citizens and soldiers slain by Indians. Here there are long rows of graves with the inscription boards down, and in many cases destroyed, denoting that this spot is rich in memories of the times when the Indian marauders contested every foot of ground in this canon with soldiers, citizens and travelers....

The old fort is located on high ground enclosed in a walled square with an

*arched entrance, and the flag staff is still standing. It has been abandoned by the government for about three years, and is fast going to decay. ...It...was established in 1864 for the purpose of protecting trains going to Arizona. There is a fine well of water at Mr. Lyon's residence, and a large spring some 60 or 70 feet across a few hundred yards sway; this spring is really an oasis in this waterless region, and is approached with delight by the weary travelers. Mr. Lyon was the post trader here until the discontinuance of the post, and still continues his store and hotel; he has also established a dairy with over 200 cows, making large quantities of butter, which he sells in the mines ["From Mesilla to old Ft. Cummings," *Daily New Mexican*, Santa Fe, January 20, 1877:1, microfilm, SRC].*

Fort Fillmore

Fort Fillmore was established in 1851 by Col. Edwin V. Sumner to protect travelers. The post was abandoned in 1862 (Fugate and Fugate 1989:32–34; Julyan 1996:134).

In 1966 John Salopek of Las Cruces permitted the Museum of New Mexico to conduct archaeological investigations on his property containing Fort Fillmore, which he wished to level for agricultural purposes after July 1. The NPS provided a \$2,000 grant to the MNM to initiate excavations, and the Hanes Corporation of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, provided another \$1,000. Paid workers were supplemented by volunteer prisoners from La Tuna Federal Correctional Institution at Anthony, Texas. Workers excavated one building in the officers' quarters and a latrine behind it, and half of a barracks, and extensively sampled four refuse areas. Two test trenches were inconclusive. The post cemetery was on another landowner's property and was not investigated at that time (Wilson 1967:37), but recently has been investigated by the New Mexico State University (Michael R. Taylor, personal communication 2001). Nothing remains to mark the site, located six miles south of Las Cruces

(Fugate and Fugate 1989:34; Julyan 1996:134). Despite its loss of historic fabric, the site of Fort Fillmore was placed on the State Register of Cultural Properties in 1969 and the National Register of Historic Places in 1974 (Wilson et al. 1989:80).

Fort McLane

Fort McLane, located four miles south of present-day Hurley, was only a few log buildings. When it was abandoned in 1861, the troops moved to Fort Fillmore. Mangas Coloradas was killed here in 1863. Nothing marks the site (Fugate and Fugate 1989:427–428; Julyan 1996:134–135).

Fort McRae

Fort McRae was built in 1863 to protect travelers on the Jornada del Muerto and to oversee the ford over the Rio Grande to the Palomas hot springs. It is at the Ojo del Muerto, which provided the only water between Fort Selden and Paraje, a 90-mile stretch, except in rainy seasons. The fort is 3 miles west of the Rio Grande, 7 miles from Alamosa, 18 miles from Alemán, and 43 miles from Ojo Caliente. The reservation was 4 miles square, as was that of Fort Selden, but the fort had quarters for only one company. All buildings were of adobe. Wagon roads ran from Fort McRae to Forts Craig and Selden. Decommissioned in 1876, the post remained open until 1884 for travelers to use. Its ruins are at the edge of Elephant Butte Reservoir. Sometimes apparently erroneously spelled “McRea,” the official 1876 report spells the fort’s name “McRae” (Headquarters Military Division of the Missouri 1969 [1876]:155, 158; Fugate and Fugate 1989:53; Julyan 1996:135).

A Santa Fe newspaper reporter visited Fort McRae, arriving on December 31, 1876:

In obedience to an order of the war department issued some two months since, the company of cavalry stationed at M’Rae had been transferred to Fort Craig. As we drove up three teams were loading with Lieut. Humphrey’s goods, (the last of the moveables except the haystack,) which were to start in the

morning for Fort Union where his company is.

*M’Rae appeared to us as a well built inland village, and was established to protect the pais we have spoken of, which is quite a highway for the country west and south across the river; it is three miles from the Rio Grande, on the line dividing Doña Ana and Socorro counties...In the neat walled cemetery, a little east of the post we saw a brown stone monument erected by the comrades of Wm. J. Runlett, R. S. Johnson, Geo. S. Dickey and Charles M. O’Brien of the 1st California Infantry volunteers, who were killed near the large spring in the canon by Apaches in 1863; also a plain board slab erected over the grave of Mrs. Pfeiffer wife of Major Pfeiffer of the New Mexico volunteers, who was killed by the Apaches while bathing, August 25th, 1862. A squad of six men of Capt. Steelhammer’s volunteers is stationed here to take care of the vacant buildings. The design of breaking up M’Rae as a military post was, as we understand it, to economize the troops in New Mexico, and concentrating three companies at Fort Craig to make the scouting parties from there larger and more effective. ...The reservation is two miles square, with no important settlements within twenty miles [“From Fort Craig to Paraje and Fort M’Rae,” *Daily New Mexican*, Santa Fe, January 10, 1877:1, microfilm, SRC].*

John Wilson (1985) wrote a historical summary of Fort McRae, with building descriptions. Wilson also prepared a MNM Archeological Survey Report of the fort site, which he rerecorded in 1971. He located stone foundations of six adobe buildings. In 1984 Lekson prepared a site map of the fort site, on file at the Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fe (Wilson et al. 1989:79).

Fort Marcy

Situated in the city of Santa Fe, Fort Marcy was established by Gen. Stephen W. Kearny in 1849. Lt. Col. Edwin V. Sumner moved most of Marcy's troops to Fort Union in 1851, to remove them from the vices of Santa Fe. Abandoned in 1867, the fort was reestablished in 1875. The reservation then covered about 17 acres and had quarters for one company as well as buildings for the district headquarters. Most buildings were adobe. The fort was abandoned finally in 1894. Townhouses have been built on the site of the fort (Headquarters Military Division of the Missouri 1969 [1876]:167, 169; Fugate and Fugate 1989:122–123; Julyan 1996:134).

Fort Stanton

Fort Stanton was built on the Río Bonito southeast of present-day Capitan in 1855 to encourage settlement and to control the Mescalero Apaches. The fort was abandoned in 1861 and reestablished in 1868. The reservation was 144 square miles in 1859 but was reduced in 1872 to 16 square miles, in an area 8 miles long and 1 mile from each bank of the Río Bonito. The quarters in the 1870s could accommodate 200 men. Most structures were stone with shingle roofs, while the bakery, laundress's quarters, and other ancillary structures were adobe. In the 1870s wagon roads led to Santa Fe, Las Vegas, Fort Union, Fort Selden, San Augustín Pass, Fort Bliss, and Las Cruces. Fort Stanton was finally deactivated in 1896. In 1899 it became a military hospital, and the post was turned over to the state for a public hospital and school in 1953. By 1989 little archaeology had been done at the fort site. The fort is listed on both the State and National Registers (Headquarters Military Division of the Missouri 1969 [1876]:150, 155; Fugate and Fugate 1989:312–313; Wilson et al. 1989:80; Julyan 1996:135).

Fort Sumner

Gen. James H. Carleton ordered a fort built in the Bosque Redondo in 1862 to supervise Navajos and Apaches to be brought to a reservation there. The fort was deactivated in 1868, and in 1875 Lucien Maxwell bought the fort and buildings. Fort Sumner is a New

Mexico State Monument (Fugate and Fugate 1989:371; Julyan 1996:135–136). No aboveground ruins exist, and the Pecos River has washed out the north portion of the fort remains (Michael R. Taylor, personal communication 2001).

Fort Thorn

Col. Edwin V. Sumner established Fort Thorn in 1853, at a site previously known as Santa Bárbara, to protect settlers and travelers. Abandoned in 1859, the post was occupied briefly by Confederate as well as Union troops during the Civil War. Flooding has ravaged the site, on the west bank of the Rio Grande north of present-day Hatch, and almost nothing remains of the fort's adobe structures. A BLM Antiquities Site Inventory report is on file at the Laboratory of Anthropology, Santa Fe (Fugate and Fugate 1989:48–49; Wilson et al. 1989:79; Julyan 1996:136).

Fort Tularosa

Fort Tularosa was established in 1872 to protect the agency of the new Warm Springs Apache Reservation, but the Apaches fled and the agency was moved to Horse Springs. In 1874 the post was abandoned. Nothing survives of the fort (Fugate and Fugate 1989:397–398; Julyan 1996:136).

Fort Union

Fort Union (Figure A4.8), eight miles north of present-day Watrous, was established in 1861 and served as the Army headquarters for the Northern Military District of New Mexico and was an important commissary depot. The fort is 26 miles north of Las Vegas, New Mexico. The reservation covered 53 square miles and about 500 acres. In the 1870s the post could accommodate 4 companies and 350 animals. Buildings mostly were adobe with stone foundations. By the 1870s Fort Union's storehouses were not being used and funds were appropriated to alter the storehouses to accommodate another 2 companies. Abandoned in 1891, the post was subject to scavengers and quickly deteriorated (Headquarters Military Division of the Missouri 1969 [1876]:143, 146;

Fugate and Fugate 1989:156–159; Julyan 1996:136–137).

Two Masonic Lodges were started at Fort Union, and in 1929 Masons in Las Vegas attempted to have Fort Union declared a national monument. They succeeded in persuading the state legislature to pass Joint Resolution 12, 1929, petitioning the U.S. Congress to set aside Fort Union as a National Monument. In January 1940 the acting secretary of the Interior asked President Roosevelt and the administrator of the Federal Works Agency to establish Fort Union National Monument under the supervision of the WPA. Funds were not available to acquire and improve the site, but by July President Roosevelt gave his approval for acquisition of the site as a national monument provided maintenance costs would not exceed fees collected. In 1953 the New Mexico legislature made a third attempt to have Fort Union created a national monument. Finally, on April 4, 1956, the Secretary of the Interior signed the order to establish Fort Union National Monument (Zhu 1994:1–14).

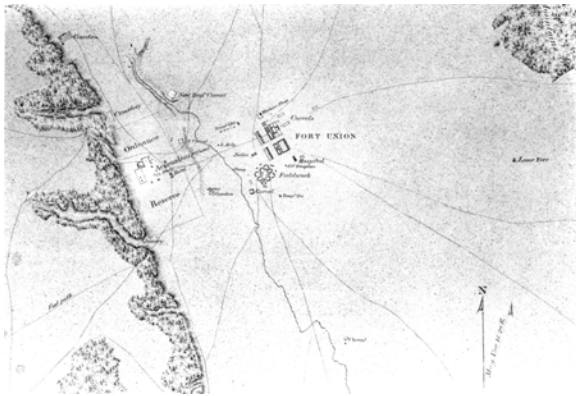


Figure A4.8. Map of the Military Reservation at Ft. Union, New Mexico, 1866. Courtesy of Museum of New Mexico, Negative No. 180967.

Fort Webster

Fort Webster was established in 1851 to control the Apaches and to protect the U.S.–Mexican Boundary Commission. The post was moved to the Mimbres River in 1852 and abandoned in 1853, when its troops transferred to Fort Thorn. Rubble remains mark the post today (Fugate and Fugate 1989:438–439; Julyan 1996:137).

Fort West

Gen. Joseph West established Fort West northwest of present-day Silver City in 1863 to protect the miners at Pinos Altos. Julyan (1996) claims the Indians burned the post when the troops left a year later, but the Fugates (1989) say many of the post's buildings were salvaged to build a nearby ranch headquarters (Fugate and Fugate 1989:451–452; Julyan 1996:137).

Fort Wingate

An Army outpost was established about 1849 at Seboyeta. It moved near Ojo del Gallo and was called a Hay Camp on an 1850 map. In 1862 the fort was named Fort Wingate. In 1868 the fort moved to its present location 12 miles east of Gallup, to the former Fort Fauntleroy (1860–1862) and Fort Lyon (1862–1868). The site is on the south side of a small valley at the headwaters of the Río Puerco of the West, near Ojo del Oso (Bear Spring). The reservation was 100 square miles, and the post accommodated four companies. Structures were of pine lumber and adobe. Unusual to the New Mexico forts, timber and good quality building stone were abundant and the valleys provided well-watered soil for farming. Active much longer than most frontier forts, the post was used for munitions storage from 1918 until it closed in 1992 (Headquarters Military Division of the Missouri 1969 [1876]:146, 149; Fugate and Fugate 1989:371–372).

By Noble's (1994) account, Fort Wingate was the best-preserved frontier post in New Mexico until many of its buildings were razed in the 1960s. A Bureau of Indian Affairs elementary school for Navajo children uses the site today (Noble 1994:270).

ROBLEDO

The Robledo paraje or campground was established in May 1598 during the Juan de Oñate colonizing expedition to Nuevo México. On May 13, 1598, the Oñate expedition reached the Organ Mountains. A child on the expedition died on May 17, and on May 21 Pedro Robledo, a 60-year-old officer on the expedition, died and was buried at the camp where he died. Robledo, a native of Maqueda, Spain, was accompanied by his wife Catalina López, his daughters, and 5 sons (Riley 1999:47; Jaskolski 2000:199, 200). The paraje became known as La Cruz de Robledo because of the cross marking his grave. The name later was shortened to Paraje Robledo or simply Robledo. Another campground one league to the south was called Robledo el Chico, Robledito, or Robledillo. Robledo would become the Camino Real's south entrance to the Jornada del Muerto (Julyan 1996:301).

By 1630, 32 years after Oñate's expedition, a caravan service through El Paso supplied Nuevo México; no doubt most of the traffic camped at or at least passed through Robledo (Beckett and Corbett 1992:30). On October 18, 1692, the wagons and crews of don Diego de Vargas spent the night at Yerba del Manso, located by Kessell and others (Vargas 1995) 10 km south of Robledo. Vargas describes it as "a league and a half from the outpost of Robledito" (Vargas 1995:388). On October 20 Vargas arrived at Robledo, which he designated "the plaza de armas" (Vargas 1995:389).

Although an inspection of the Spanish northern frontier in 1765 resulted in the recommendation that a presidio of 30 soldiers be established at the Robledo ford, the presidio was never established (Christiansen 1964:32 in Cohrs n.d.:1–2). Rubí also recommended a garrison at Robledo. In his 1768 recommendations for the northern presidios in Article 1, appended to the Reglamento of 1772, Rubí recommended that Santa Fe and San Antonio have their garrisons increased and that each maintain a detached garrison. Rubí wanted Santa Fe to station a few troops at the Robledo campsite (Moorhead 1991:65; see also Hadley et al. 1997:233).

Trumbo claims the Spanish government did establish a presidio at the foot of Mount Robledo, a "diminutive fort [that] accommodated sixty volunteer soldiers, thirty each from Santa Fé and El Paso del Norte." Trumbo goes on to say this fort soon was abandoned but was reestablished shortly after the Gadsden Purchase in 1853, when it again was abandoned shortly (Trumbo 1946:41).

In describing his 1839 trip across the Jornada del Muerto, Josiah Gregg talks about the dangerous travel through that country. He and his companions were relieved to reach the abundant wood and water at the Robledo campsite. Here, Gregg says, "We now found ourselves within the department of Chihuahua, as the boundary betwixt it and New Mexico passes not far north of Robledo." Gregg said the Sierra Blanca and Los Organos (Organ Mountains), which he described as "picturesque," were strongholds of the "much-dreaded Apaches." The remainder of the road to El Paso del Norte below Robledo passed down the river valley and surrounding low hills (Gregg 1967 [1844]:240–241; quotes on p. 241).

During the Mexican War, in 1845 Frank S. Edwards also traveled through the Jornada del Muerto, with the Doniphan Campaign. Edwards enumerates each camp along the route and the distances between each stop. From the north and approaching Robledo, from Camp Sierrita to Alemán was 24 miles; Alemán to Camp San Diego, 24 miles; San Diego to Robledo on the Rio Grande, 12 miles; and Robledo to Campos de Doña Ana, 12 miles (Edwards 1996 [1847]:130).

William W. H. Davis traveled by stage through the Jornada del Muerto in the mid-1850s. His party halted at Robledo until four one afternoon before proceeding to Doña Ana (Davis 1982 [1857]:372–373). Mescalero hostilities recorded in the 1857 Fort Fillmore post returns include the story of 16 men sent to pursue 7 Mescaleros who fired on a herder camped at Robledo. The soldiers killed 6 of the Indians while they were stopped to eat a stolen mule (Mozer 1967:10).

In September and October 1861, the Confederate unit that captured Fort Fillmore set up a small camp for a few weeks at Robledo, where 15 to 20 soldiers mustered into the Confederate Army (Cohrs n.d.:1–2). Almost 5 years later, in July 1866 a California veteran employed as constable at Robledo was killed while attempting an arrest in La Mesilla (Miller 1982:36).

Robledo played a significant role in the siting of the fort to be named Fort Selden. Nelson H. Davis recorded his arrival at Robledo on April 5, 1865, as well as his reconnaissance along the river for several miles above and below Robledo. On April 8 Davis reported the site selected was “about one mile and a quarter above the first camp of Robledo’s” (N. H. Davis, Inspector General’s Department, letter to Ben C. Cutler, Las Cruces, April 8, 1865, copy of typescript in miscellaneous research file, Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM). Wooded areas spotted by Davis included, “on the opposite side of the river, between this point and Robledo...a bottom containing a good bosque of cottonwood.” Opposite the site selected for the fort “and just above the high hills or mountains opposite Robledo, the range of hills is much lower and offers a practicable wagon road westwardly” (Davis to Cutler, April 8, 1865, NMSM). Carleton noted that a lookout on the Robledo Mountains would provide good observation of the area (General Carleton, letter to General Lorenzo Thomas, August 14, 1865, quoted in Holmes 1990:15).

A rope ferry across the Rio Grande at the Robledo ford was built and operated by the soldiers while the fort was under construction. By December 1866 the ferry service was leased to John Martin, a civilian (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:6) who soon settled with his wife at Alemán on the Jornada del Muerto (Miller 1982:117). The ferry was operational until perhaps 1882 (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:6).

The Bureau of Land Management has established a Wilderness Study Area in the limestone Robledo Mountains. An 11 1/2-mile strenuous trail to Lookout Peak begins in Faulkner Canyon. The lookout provides “one of the best views of the river and Mesilla Valley available in the county” (Magee 1994:16).

For almost 300 years Paraje Robledo and the Robledo ford were known to and intensively used by travelers. This important Camino Real campsite and crossing of the Rio Grande merits extensive research and documentation, not only for interpretation of Fort Selden but also for interpreting the Camino Real.

FERRY

A ferry existed at the Robledo ford on the Rio Grande for most of Fort Selden's existence, from 1865 until possibly 1882. Fort Selden soldiers built and operated the rope ferry while the fort was under construction. The military leased the ferry service by December 1866 to John Martin, a civilian (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:6). Martin was born in New York in 1829 and served as a drummer boy in the Mexican War. He mustered into Company D, 1st California Infantry on August 29, 1861, at San Francisco. He commanded his company at Fort Goodwin, Arizona, and on August 31, 1864, they were ordered to Las Cruces, New Mexico, to muster out. Martin married Esther C. Wordsworth in Las Cruces, and in 1867 they settled at Alemán on the Jornada del Muerto (Miller 1982:117).

General Carleton apparently intended the ferry to be part of a new road to be opened to Goodnight Station on the stage route from Mesilla to California (General Carleton, letter to General Lorenzo Thomas, August 14, 1865, quoted in Holmes 1990:15). At any rate, the ferry was extremely important to the access to Fort Selden, especially when floods and high water made crossing the Rio Grande otherwise impossible. In fact, the river often caused the ferry to be under water or in the process of being rebuilt (Holmes 1990:102–103).

In 1869 Maj. William B. Lane borrowed tar from Fort Craig to rebuild the ferry. In February 1871 the ferry was sunk and filled with sand (Holmes 1990:103). Maj. David R. Clendenin annulled the ferry contract in June 1872 because the ferry again was sunk. Because of the contractor's "indolence" and "carelessness," the patrol was unable to cross the Rio Grande for two days. Clendenin gave the contract "to two soldiers recently discharged from Fort Selden of good character" (Major Clendenin to AAG, June 10, 1872, quoted in Holmes 1990:103). Yet very soon afterward, in September 1872, high waters sank the ferryboat and carried away the cable. The ferry was damaged again in early 1874 requiring it to be rebuilt (Holmes 1990:103). In July 1874 a Mr. Herring ran the ferry, when the Las Cruces Borderer said, "all trains going west are compelled to cross at that point" (Las Cruces

Borderer, July 11, 1874, quoted in Holmes 1990:103). Two days later N. W. Osbourne issued rations to Mexican workers repairing the ferry cable (Holmes 1990:114).

In March 1875 two six-mule teams went to Blazer's Mill to pick up "lumber to repair the ferry" (Captain McKibbin to AAG, March 24, 1875, quoted in Holmes 1990:100). A description of Fort Selden published in 1876 refers to "government ferry at the post." The Rio Grande rose and overflowed its banks in June and remained "so during the greater part of the summer; it is fordable during low water, but generally dangerous on account of quick-sand" (Headquarters Military Division of the Missouri 1969 [1876]:167). Another 1876 description of Fort Selden reports, "There is a good rope-ferry owned by the Government, 1 1/2 north, across the river" (Description of Fort Selden, January 18, 1876, 1st Lt. Conrad, to Headquarters of the Military Division of Missouri, typescript copy in miscellaneous research file, Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM).

An 1877 advertisement in the Mesilla Valley Independent said the Fort Selden ferry would give speedy passage across the river to passengers, animals, and trains (Holmes 1990:103–104). In June Lt. William Corey said the ferry again was open "after a long delay of low water and broken cable" (Lieutenant Corey to AAG, June 4, 1877, quoted in Holmes 1990:103).

The final rebuilding of the ferry occurred in 1879. Adolphe Lea was responsible for restretching the cable and rebuilding the ferry (Holmes 1990:103). Lea may have operated the ferry during Fort Selden's abandonment in 1879 and 1880. The ferry was described in 1880 as about 50 feet long, 14 1/2 feet wide, connected to each side of the river by a cable, and pulled by one to three men (Las Cruces Thirty-Four, June 2, 1880, in Holmes 1990:102). Adolphe Lea was operating the ferry in 1881, when he became post trader (Holmes 1990:122). By October 1882 Capt. Gustavus M. Bascom reported "the post had no ferry or flat boat" (Captain Bascom to George Davidson, October 8, 1882, quoted in Holmes 1990:104).

JORNADA DEL MUERTO

Juan de Morlete is the first Spaniard recorded to have crossed the Jornada del Muerto, in 1591, although the Rodríguez and Chamascado and Espejo entradas of 1581 and 1582 also might have crossed this barren land. Juan de Oñate and his colonizing expedition followed in 1598 (Hickerson 1994:40; Riley 1999:34, 47–48). Eventually merchants between Chihuahua City and Santa Fe dominated the traffic on the Camino Real.

By the 1830s travelers particularly dreaded venturing through the Jornada del Muerto, not only because of its lack of water but also because of the danger of Apache attacks. Especially dangerous was the trail to the Ojo del Muerto or Dead Man’s Spring, where travelers often had to detour to water their animals. Josiah Gregg describes the spring as being in a mountain ridge that required traveling through a narrow canyon where Apaches often attacked from the precipices above (Gregg 1967 [1844]:240–241).

Frank S. Edwards, campaigning with Colonel Doniphan in 1845 during the Mexican War, lists his route as Camp Fra Christobal to Camp Sierrita on Jornada del Muerto, 18 miles; Camp Sierrita to Aleman, 24 miles; Aleman to Camp San Diego, 24 miles; San Diego to “Roblero” on Rio Grande, 12 miles; Roblero to Campos de Dona Ana, 12 miles (Edwards 1996 [1847]:130). Edwards says La Jornada del Muerto “is usually called ninety, but, by the road we followed, it is really not more than sixty miles in length. Near to the middle of it is a large hollow in the ground, which, if rain has fallen lately, usually contains water.” Despite the scarcity of water, Edwards notes “the grass was finer and better than we had ever seen elsewhere” (Edwards 1996 [1847]:49). He describes the many uses of lechuguilla, which they encountered for the first time, as well as the Conestoga or Pennsylvania wagons driven by traders along the trail (Edwards 1996 [1847]:49–51).

James Josiah Webb recalled traveling through the Jornada del Muerto a year later, in 1846. He also says the 90-mile trip might have to be made without water, although water sometimes could

be found in a laguna. Socorro was the last settlement on the west side of the Rio Grande before reaching Doña Ana (Webb 1995:190). In recalling a mid-1850s trip by stage, William W. H. Davis said the Jornada del Muerto was “formerly the range of the Mescalero Apaches” (Davis 1982 [1857]:372).

John C. Cremony traveled the Jornada in the early 1850s, before Fort Craig was built. Cremony did not know why this stretch was called the Jornada del Muerto but supposed it was “on account of the very numerous massacres committed on it by the Apache Indians” (Cremony 1983 [1868]:73). The Apaches inhabited the Sierra Blanca and could view travelers from its heights. Because the plain of the Jornada offered no chance for ambush, the Apaches would sweep “upon the unsuspecting immigrant in more than usual numbers, and if successful in their attack, invariably destroy all of the party; for there is no possible chance of escape, and the Apaches never take any prisoners but women and young children, and they become captives for life” (Cremony 1983 [1868]:73–74). Cremony saw no Indians on this trip north through the Jornada, although they were “in a state of active hostility” (Cremony 1983 [1868]:74). His return trip south was not so fortunate.

I saved my noble beast all I could, frequently dismounting and leading him by the bridle, so as to retain his strength and speed in case of necessity. In this way we jogged on until about three o'clock in the afternoon, by which time we had accomplished about fifty miles, leaving some seventy-five yet to go. The sun was intensely oppressive, and glared like a shield of red-hot brass. A friendly bush, surrounded with fine grass, and standing about one hundred yards to the left of the hard and splendid natural road which runs through four-fifths of the Jornada, invited me to partake of its modest shade, and I turned my horse in that direction, but was surprised at noticing a column of dust to my left, in the direction of the Sierra Blanca, which had the appearance of being in violent motion,

and coming my way. Instinctively I felt that it was caused by Apaches; and I took the precaution to tighten my horse's girths, see that the saddle was properly placed and re-cap my four six-shooters, two of which were in my belt, and two in my holsters. I also untied a Mexican serape, or blanket, which was lashed to the after part of my saddle, and under my chin by a stout buckskin thong. By this time the character of the coming party was unmistakable, and they were evidently bent on cutting me off from the road. My gallant horse seemed to appreciate the condition of affairs almost as well as I, and bounded on like a bird. The pursuing party failed in their first attempt and entered the road about three hundred yards in my rear. Perceiving that my horse was infinitely superior in speed and power, I drew rein to save him all that I could, and allowed the Indians to come within fifty yards. There were some forty of them, and none with fire-arms, but mainly supplied with lances, only five or six of the number carrying bows and arrows. These last named projectiles commenced to whistle near me; but I paid no heed, keeping steadily on my course, until one penetrated my blanket; but the effect was completely destroyed by the fluttering of its heavy double folds, which were kept in a rattling motion by the speed at which we were going. Perceiving that the force of the arrow had been neutralized, I drew a heavy holster pistol, and wheeling half round in my saddle, pointed it at the savages. This caused them to fall back in some alarm, and I took advantage of that fact to redouble my speed for a mile or so, gaining some six hundred yards on my pursuers, when I again drew rein to save my horse. It required a long time for them to again recover shooting distance, but their yells and cries were perpetual. In this manner, alternately checking and speeding my horse, and presenting my pistol at the savages, we scoured over

many miles of that infernal Jornada. Several arrows were sticking in my blanket; one had grazed my right arm, just bringing blood, and the other had touched my left thigh. I then became convinced that my horse was the main object of their pursuit [Cremony 1983 (1868):75–76].

Where the road curved toward Doña Ana, Cremony noticed the Apaches had given up chasing him. Realizing they might have taken a short cut, Cremony dashed ahead, and soon the Apaches were again upon him. The chase lasted until about five miles before Doña Ana, where he arrived about midnight (Cremony 1983 [1868]:76–77).

In 1867 John and Esther Wordsworth Martin settled at Alemán, where Martins established the following year. Here the Martins established a hotel, stage station, and post office as well as running a herd of cattle (Altshuler 1991:221). The year after Martin located water, in July 1869 Lydia Spencer Lane remarked on the change that had taken place in the Jornada del Muerto since she first crossed it in July 1861. She said the artesian well, ranch, and accommodations for travelers provided “an oasis in the desert” (Lane 1964 [1893]:177–178).

A Santa Fe newspaper reporter on a tour of southern New Mexico in 1877 traveled the Jornada del Muerto, which he describes as

nothing more or less than a mountain park (very similar to South Park, Colorado except that it has no streams) averaging about 25 miles in width as far as Martin's...; the road is through the center over a succession of great basins covered with a rank growth of grasses, gigantic soapweed, mezquit and a small evergreen bush which has an odor something like spicewood, and all very abundant [“From Fort M’Rae to Aleman and Fort Selden,” Daily New Mexican, Santa Fe, January 12, 1877:1, microfilm, SRC].

A “Mr. Lea,” no doubt Adolpe Lea, had a watering place about 16 miles south of Martin’s Wells. Lea established the watering place about 1873 for government stock. He caught water in a large reservoir during rainy seasons (a 180-foot-deep well proved unsuccessful) and hauled water 15 miles from the river in dry weather. Lea had a one-story adobe structure that served as a residence and for grain storage (“From Fort M’Rae to Aleman and Fort Selden,” Daily New Mexican, Santa Fe, January 12, 1877:1, microfilm, SRC).

Tom Turney recalls a ranch belonging to his father, Charles Travis Turney, covered a large portion of the Jornada. The ranch originally was the Bar Cross and later was the Tee Hook, a brand brought to New Mexico by his father in 1900. The Tee Hook Ranch existed from 1900 to 1924, with 27,000 head of cattle running on it at one time. Turney describes the Jornada del Muerto as commencing at Fort Selden and extending to south of Socorro near the abandoned town of San Marcial. A line of mesquite trees distinguishes the Chihuahua Trail north of Fort Selden (Tom Turney, “Jornada del Muerto,” copy of typescript in miscellaneous research file, Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM).

ALEMÁN STATION

John Martin, a civilian, leased the Fort Selden ferry by December 1866 (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:6). Martin, born in New York in 1829, had served as a drummer boy in the Mexican War. He mustered into Company D, 1st Infantry, California Volunteers, on August 29, 1861, at San Francisco. He commanded his company at Fort Goodwin, Arizona. They were ordered to Las Cruces, New Mexico, to muster out on August 31, 1864. Martin married Esther Catherine Wordsworth in Las Cruces, and in 1867 they settled at Alemán on the Jornada del Muerto. The following year he found water at Alemán, and here he operated a hotel, stage station, and post office, as well as running about 200 head of cattle. In 1876 he moved to Santa Fe as owner of the Exchange Hotel, while retaining ownership of Alemán; he died only 8 months later (Altshuler 1991:221).

The name Alemán is said to derive from a German-born trader whose body was found on the Jornada del Muerto about 1670. Bernardo Gruber had been accused of witchcraft and was imprisoned in Santa Fe. While escaping down the Camino Real, he died or was killed at this place. Some believe the name Jornada del Muerto also comes from Gruber’s death. The paraje where his body was discovered became known as La Cruz del Alemán (Julyan 1996:12, 180).

In the late 1860s Fort Selden established two important outposts in particularly dangerous areas. By 1867 or 1869 an outpost was established at Alemán’s Station at the midpoint of the Jornada del Muerto and another was established at Shedd’s Ranch near San Agustín Pass in the Organ Mountains. The outposts usually were staffed with 1 noncommissioned officer and 7 to 10 privates. The men were mounted even if they were from an infantry unit. Holmes says the commanders “on several occasion...took away the men’s horses to prevent them from deserting. The men at outposts were replaced every month to reduce the desertion rate, but the outposts always led the post in numbers of deserters probably due to the lack of supervision and the availability of horses” (Holmes 1990:57). A picket of 10

privates from the 3rd Cavalry established by Fort Selden at Alemán Station on January 28, 1869, were to guard the Jornada and to pursue and report all Indian movements or depredations committed on the desert (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:11).

When Lydia Spencer Lane left Fort Selden and New Mexico in July 1869, she remarked on the “wonderful change” in the Jornada del Muerto since she first crossed it in July 1861:

About in the centre of it an artesian well had been sunk, and an abundance of good water was the result. A comfortable ranch was built, with a high stockade about it for protection, and strangers who desired to remain were given accommodations. It was really an oasis in the desert. All government animals and employés used the water without charge, but it was sold to citizen travellers [Lane 1964 (1893):178].

In June 1876 Sergeant Williams was instructed to go with four men to Alemán Station, where he was to report to “Mr. Tibetts” and proceed with him to the Sierra Soledad. They were to explore that portion of the Jornada del Muerto for a spring reported there, and Williams was to note any Indian signs (To Serg. Williams, June 26, 1876, typescript in miscellaneous research file, Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM). Tibbets or Tibbetts was a resident of Minnesota who had moved to La Mesilla with several other families about 1875. These new residents purchased ranches, farmed, and raised fruit. Tibbets had brought about 2,700 fruit trees into the Mesilla Valley by early 1877 (“From Fort M’Rae to Aleman and Fort Selden,” Daily New Mexican, Santa Fe, January 12, 1877:1, microfilm, SRC).

A newspaper reporter with the Santa Fe Daily New Mexican described the trip from Fort McRae to Fort Selden in January 1877. The building at Martin’s Wells was

of adobe, one story high, with a frontage of about 300 feet along the road, having the outhouses, corrals and stables in a square enclosure in the rear. The rooms are finished for hotel purposes with a

good class of furniture. This is also a stage station and post office, and will become a testing station (with a telegraph office) when Sergeant Frost returns, with Mr. Cline in charge...In addition to several reservoirs for catching water after rains there are two wells on the opposite side of the road and a modern tank with a holding capacity of about 7000 gallons. The main well is about 280 feet in depth, and was dug some five years since; in digging the well the crib work was built some distance down from the top, but the water flowing in unexpectedly to about 100 feet from the top caused it to remain unfinished; several large caves have since occurred, but as yet have not affected the quantity of water. The second well was commenced recently to tap the same vein of water in case of any disaster to the main well. Mr. John Martin, now proprietor of the popular Exchange Hotel of [Santa Fe], is also the proprietor of these wells and buildings, and on his removal to Santa Fe placed Mr. Nicolas Galles of La Mesilla in charge [“From Fort M’Rae to Aleman and Fort Selden,” Daily New Mexican, Santa Fe, January 12, 1877:1, microfilm, SRC].

John Martin required travelers to pay 20 cents a head to water their animals (“From Fort M’Rae to Aleman and Fort Selden,” Daily New Mexican, Santa Fe, January 12, 1877:1, microfilm, SRC).

In General Hatch’s 1880 campaign against Victorio, Captain McLellan and his command were to move from Aleman’s Well in April. General Hatch and his four troops also moved out from Aleman’s Well to the San Andrés Mountains. Years later Nana said the soldiers then had caused Victorio’s group to scatter, and the Indians stopped at two in the morning at Aleman’s Well, where they broke the padlocks on the troughs to water the horses and riders (Cruse 1987:72, 77).

By November 1880 the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad had laid tracks to San Marcial and on to Alemán Station, although the last stretch was not yet operative. Military officials decided to reactivate Fort Selden, and the fort maintained a picket at Alemán's Station until the railroad arrived. By 1882 the town of Engle was established near Alemán (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:17; Holmes 1990:58, 65–66). Engle also was known in the 1880s as Rogers Ranch after Alex Rogers, who opened a store there. Engle served as a supply center for miners and ranchers in the Black Range. The town grew rapidly during 1911 to 1916 with the construction of the Elephant Butte Dam, but declined afterwards (Julyan 1996:124–125).

Tom Turney recalls his father's ranch, originally the Bar Cross and later the Tee Hook, existed in the Jornada del Muerto until 1924. Present-day Alemán Ranch buildings incorporate a portion of the nineteenth-century stage stand in Martin's development (Tom Turney, "Jornada del Muerto," copy of typescript in miscellaneous research file, Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM).

SAN AUGUSTÍN PASS/SHEDD'S RANCH

By 1867 or 1869 Fort Selden had an outpost at Shedd's Ranch near San Agustín Pass (5,700 ft) in the Organ Mountains. This and the Alemán outpost usually were staffed with 1 noncommissioned officer and 7 to 10 privates (Holmes 1990:57).

Indians often attempted to steal animals from the ranches near San Agustín Springs (now Aguirre Springs, managed by the BLM). San Agustín Pass was a major mountain pass on the road into the Mesilla Valley from the east. Although several Fort Selden military parties scouted the area between September and December 1868, Indians drove a herd of horses and mules from a ranch near the pass (Billington 1987:70).

In January 1869 Indians killed two civilians at San Agustín Pass. Fort Selden established a temporary picket guard and escort composed of 1st Lt. Edwin A. Rigg and 11 men of Company K, 38th Infantry, at Shedd's Ranch (the Cox Ranch in 1987) near the eastern entrance to the pass. Soon after the force was relieved, Indians killed a traveler. Fort Selden reestablished the picket, and black infantrymen and white cavalrymen periodically guarded the area (Billington 1987:70, 1991:71).

Because he was short on troops, Maj. William B. Lane removed the picket from San Agustín Pass in early April 1869. After this resulted in an increased number of ambushes and citizen deaths in the Organ Mountains, Lane reestablished the outpost.

I have reestablished the picket at Shedd's ranch but it will do no good against...repeated acts of carelessness or foolhardiness, or stupidity of a portion of the people...Mr. Thomas who was killed, was travelling alone and on a mule over what is considered the worst Indian country in the vicinity [Major Lane to AAG, April 14, 1869, quoted in Holmes 1990:58].

On May 7, 1869, the Shedd's Ranch picket detail was escorting Perfecto Armijo, a Las

Cruces citizen, through San Agustín Pass when 30 to 50 Indians ambushed them. A corporal was killed, and Armijo, a corporal, and 2 horses were wounded (Billington 1987:70, 1991:17; Holmes 1990:58). On October 28, 1869, Brvt. Lt. Col. Frank Stanwood said, “Messrs Shedd and Blake want a picket established at San Augustine Springs...regarded by all as most dangerous area in this section of New Mexico.” While Stanwood thought the picket a good idea, Fort Selden did not have the manpower to spare (Capt. Stanwood to AAG, October 28, 1869, quoted in Holmes 1990:31).

The “Ranch of San Augustine Springs” was enumerated in the 1870 census on September 9. Residing in the one dwelling were two owners of the stock ranch: Warner F. Shedd, 41, born in New York, and George Blake, 32, born in Massachusetts. Jasper Jones Jr., 34, was keeping books. Also residing in the all-male dwelling were a 32-year-old laborer, a 24-year-old cattle herder, a 24-year-old housekeeper, and a 15-year-old domestic servant. During the years 1868 through 1870, Fort Selden purchased bacon from George “Clark” in San Agustín (Holmes 1990:88).

In June 1870 Maj. David Clendenin said a picket of 9 men were kept at San Augustine Pass, where they furnished “escorts through the pass and to Fort Stanton and for Post teams hauling lumber from the Saw Mills beyond.” The picket was necessary because men were 4 hours away and 12 people had been killed at the pass in the last 15 months (Clendenin to AAG, June 5, 1870, typescript in miscellaneous research file, Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM).

In July 1873 Capt. George W. Chilson, commanding officer at Fort Selden, reported chasing Indians who had stolen horses from Shedd’s Ranch. After catching up to the Indians west of Cañada Alamosa four and a half days later, a corporal and three Indians were killed, but the stock was recovered (Captain Chilson to Major Price, July 17, 1873, quoted in Holmes 1990:53).

Benjamin E. Davies, a veteran of the California Volunteers and post trader at Fort Selden in the early 1870s, entered a partnership with Morris Lesinsky to raise sheep at the San Agustín

Ranch. Davies crossed local ewes with Leicester or Merino bucks to improve the local stock. Davies also started perhaps the “first blooded and pedigreed cattle” in Doña Ana County when he purchased six Durham heifers in 1877 (Miller 1982:66–67). While post trader at Selden, he advertised general merchandise, dry goods, and clothing. “Travelers and others passing will find a good assortment and fair prices” (Advertisement, Silver City Tribune, August 30 and September 13, 1873, notes in miscellaneous research file, Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM).

In 1876 Fort Selden’s commanding officer, 1st Lt. Casper A. Conrad, reported the nearest Indian reservation to Fort Selden was “at the Ojo Caliente, about 68 miles north of the Post.” The Mimbres Apaches at this reservation often committed petty depredations near the San Agustín Pass and into Sonora. Conrad charged these Indians stole a large number of horses at the pass and drove them through Sonora to the Chiricahua Reservation at Camp Bowie, Arizona. Here they disposed of the horses and then returned to the Ojo Caliente. “They do not interfere with travellers however, and the roads are considered perfectly safe” (Description of Fort Selden, January 18, 1876, 1st Lt. Conrad, to Headquarters of the Military Division of Missouri, typescript copy in miscellaneous research file, Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM).

Fort Selden maintained a picket at Shedd’s Ranch until 1883. Capt. Joseph G. Haskell issued orders for the outpost’s last mission on April 30, 1883, to find the trail of Indians crossing the White Sands. The picket may not have carried out the mission because the outpost’s commander, the first sergeant of Troop B, 4th Cavalry, had deserted to El Paso. He was captured on July 23, 1883 (Holmes 1990:56, 58).

During a September 1866 scout for Mescalero Apaches in the Organ Mountains, 2nd Lt. J. Henry Storey reported the discovery near San Andreas Canyon of a mine, which he believed had good prospects for silver (2nd Lt. J. Henry Storey, letter to Brvt. Maj. C. H. DeForrest, Santa Fe, September 18, 1886, Storey Letters,

FSSM). Storey wrote his girlfriend the following October 3 that he had “an interest in a silver mine in the San Andreas or Organ Mountains” and promised to send her a piece of quartz from his claim (Harry [Storey], letter to Annie Cheshire, October 3, 1866, Storey Letters, FSSM). Miller reports that in the fall of 1866 “at least eight California veterans, as well as Gen. Carleton, joined other prospectors in locating gold and silver claims” 35 miles northeast of Doña Ana, in the San Andres Mountains, one of the least productive mineral districts (Miller 1982:54). By 1884 the small silver mining camp of San Agustín had 100 residents. The Stephenson-Bennett mine produced over a million dollars in silver and lead, but the miners left after the ore played out (Julyan 1996:310).

NATIVE AMERICANS IN THE AREA DURING THE FORT’S EXISTENCE

In his account of a trip across the Jornada del Muerto in 1839, Josiah Gregg says travelers often went five or six miles west off the main trail to the Ojo del Muerto or Dead Man’s Spring to water themselves and their animals. Unfortunately, the area of the spring was in a mountain ridge that required traveling through a narrow canyon where Apaches often attacked from the precipices above. The Sierra Blanca and Los Organos (Organ Mountains), which Gregg describes as “picturesque,” were strongholds of the “much-dreaded Apaches.” The road below Robledo to El Paso del Norte passed down the river valley and surrounding low hills, where Gregg noted several formerly prosperous settlements were in ruins because of marauding Apaches (Gregg 1967 [1844]:240–241; quotes on p. 241).

After arriving at Fort Cummings in 1866, Lt. James H. (Harry) Storey writes that “it is gloomy travelling in this country alone, especially during a heavy storm near the dreaded Cooks Canyon where every few rods a pile of stones mark the resting place of some poor fellow, a victim of the Apaches.” Storey was sympathetic to the Indians’ plight before he saw the “seven hundred graves in [Cook’s] Canyon...” “I love Indians like the Devil, [but] I have been kept awake for two nights with my Carbine and Revolver by my side...and my pocket full of Cartridges” (Lt. James H. Storey, letter to Annie [Cheshire], August 20, 1866, Storey Letters, FSSM).

Apparently the Anglos in the area scalped Native Americans: “Before me is the Scalp (used as a haversack) covered with thick long black hair, Bow, Quiver, and Lance of an Apache Brave killed by the Quartermaster of this post a short time ago. I intend to get the scalp if possible, to send to the L. I. Historical Soc.—but am afraid it would shock the ‘Lo the poor Indian’ fellows of the Society” (Lt. James H. Storey, letter to Annie [Cheshire], August 20, 1866, Storey Letters, FSSM).

According to Storey, “The Indians scarcely ever attack during the night. They are very

superstitious. They say, ‘At night, the Evil spirit is abroad.’ Their time for attack or surprise is just before dark or about daybreak” (Lt. James H. Storey, letter to Annie [Cheshire], August 20, 1866, Storey Letters, FSSM).

Indians killed a hay cutter and stole Fort Selden’s work oxen on September 8, 1866 (Holmes 1990:59–60). On a scout for Mescalero Apaches in the Organ Mountains four days later, 2nd Lieutenant Storey reported that on September 12, 1866, the soldiers “camped on the site of an abandoned Indian Rancheria.” The Mexican scouts returned after dark saying they had seen a party of 8 to 10 Indians and moccasin and horse tracks of a large party. “They brought with them several mats woven from Spanish bayonet. They were quite damp and had evidently been in use a few hours before” (2nd Lt. J. Henry Storey, letter to Brvt. Maj. C. H. DeForrest, Santa Fe, September 18, 1866, Storey Letters, FSSM).

In November 1867, 25 to 75 Apaches seized Fort Selden’s quartermaster herd of 13 horses and 30 mules. Soldiers from Company K, 3rd Cavalry, chased the Indians into the Doña Ana Mountains, where the soldiers killed 3 Indians and captured 8 or 10 Indian ponies and recovered most of their stolen stock. The Indians returned less than 3 weeks later and even later drove off a mule herd from the reservation (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:12; Billington 1987:71).

Continuous patrolling by Fort Selden’s 8th Cavalry during 1870 through 1872 resulted in a reduction of Indian raids (Holmes 1990:60). In November 1871 Tularosa citizens called upon Fort Selden for protection after Cadetta, a Mescalero Apache chief, was murdered near the town. Thirty men from Company G, 8th Cavalry, went to Tularosa, where a joint Indian-white investigation resulted in a peaceful settlement (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:14).

Territorial Superintendent for Indian Affairs Nathaniel Pope and Col. Gordon Granger, commander of the District of New Mexico, in 1872 began consolidating the Mimbres and southern Apache. The first combined reservation was in the Tularosa Mountains, about 80 miles west of Ojo Caliente, the homeland and current

reservation of the Mimbres Apaches. Soldiers were ordered to move all the associated Apaches to the new reservation in the Tularosa Valley. This effort lasted three years and was a “dismal failure” (Holmes 1990:61). As the forced move to Tularosa approached in the spring of 1872, Cochise and his people returned to Arizona (Utley 1984:139).

In 1872 Pres. U. S. Grant initiated a “Peace Policy” for dealing with the Indians. He sent General Howard to visit the Indians of Arizona and New Mexico to attempt negotiations. Several thousand Mescalero Apaches, collected at Tularosa against their will, were on the verge of outbreak because they were unhealthy, underfed, and unclothed. Among the Indians present were Victorio (described as “quite an old man”); Chie or Mangas, son of Mangas Coloradas; Geronimo; and Na-chise or Natchez, youngest son of Cochise (Sladen 1997:29–32, 98). Sladen describes the Apaches as “a very cleanly people”:

scrupulously clean, both sexes washing and bathing frequently. Not a day passed that the women and children did not spend hours in the stream near by, going in with all their clothes on, except their moccasins and leather wraps, frolicking and splashing, and shouting and having the greatest fun.

Both men and women spent a great deal of time in dressing their own or one another’s hair, and I frequently saw them using the marrow from bones as a hair dressing. I have seen the wife spend hours in dressing Cochise’s hair, combing it through her fingers, and smoothing and dressing it until it shone like a polished shoe.

These people were entirely free from vermin, and I neither found them myself, nor saw any evidence of them during the entire time I spent with them. In their relations with us they were thoroughly honest. ...

Another characteristic was the absence of licentiousness amongst them. The punishment to the woman for any violation was the loss of the nose. In other tribes I had seen instances of this distinguishing mark, but there was none in this band [Sladen 1997:98–99].

Sladen also praises these Indians for their generosity with each other in sharing food, but laments the condition of their clothing. The men usually were naked “except as to the breech cloth, moccasins, and a band around the hair, and an occasional one had a blanket wrapped around him as [a] garment by day and a bed covering by night” (Sladen 1997:100). They also wore many articles of white men’s clothing, such as a shirt “worn like a blouse,” and Geronimo wore a vest stripped of buttons and hanging open. Children went naked until the age of 8 to 10, when the girls dressed like the women and the boys “simply tied a string about their waist and added a narrow strip of cloth for a breech cloth, the ends passing under the belt before and behind, with long loose ends that flew in the breeze as they ran about their play” (Sladen 1997:100). The women, although “more decently dressed,” often had little more than rags to wear (Sladen 1997:101).

Despite their unfortunate living conditions, Sladen describes these Indians as “always cheerful, demonstratively happy, and talkative; inquisitive beyond endurance; brim full of fun and joking, and ready to laugh heartily at the most trivial thing” (Sladen 1997:101). Their “musical voices and their laughter” were “pleasant music to hear.” They were very fond of playing practical jokes. Their infrequent quarrels among themselves soon resolved without residual anger. Their open displays of affection extended to the soldiers, and they “were forever leaning upon us, or putting their arms around us, or feeling of our person or our hair, or examining our clothing, or getting into our pockets...” Although such behavior could become “exasperating,” Sladen says it “was only as they acted towards each other, and was without thought of annoyance” (Sladen 1997:102).

In 1873 the government decided to concentrate the eastern Arizona and western New Mexico Apaches “in one large reservation instead of several smaller ones.” The location selected was San Carlos, Arizona, “a desolate, excessively hot area on the upper Gila River that they detested and which was inhabited by Indian tribes with whom they were not friendly” (Billington 1991:44).

In July 1873 Capt. George W. Chilson, 3rd Cavalry, and commanding officer at Fort Selden, reported chasing Indians who had stolen horses from Shedd’s Ranch. After catching up to the Indians west of Cañada Alamosa four and a half days later, a corporal and three Indians were killed, but the stock was recovered (Captain Chilson to Major Price, July 17, 1873, quoted in Holmes 1990:53).

The Silver City Tribune on November 8, 1873, wrote a “Party of Indians, believed to be from Cachis’ reservation have been stealing horses between Fort Selden and El Paso” (Silver City Tribune, November 8, 1873, notes in miscellaneous research file, Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM). But on April 18, 1874, the Mesilla News reported that “Cochise and his band of Apache Indians that have so long been a terror and a scourge to our frontier, are to be removed to the Cañada Alamosa reservation” (Mesilla News, April 18, 1874, microfilm, SRC). A week later the paper reported

The Apaches about whom we have heard so much, and who have heretofore, in New Mexico and Arizona caused so much fear, loss and death, are fast becoming subdued, and are submitting themselves to the law. The San Carlos band, one of the worst, have lately received a severe castigation from the military for having left their Reservation; and the other Indians of the Territory are quiet. Cochise is peaceful, and is willing to remove to a small Reservation on the Rio Grande, near Fort McRae. The Mescaleros have all returned to Fort Stanton, and submitted to the orders of their Agent. Fear is rapidly leaving the minds of the people, and miners are extending the

area of their prospects; the herders are taking possession of new localities, and it will not be long before New Mexico, and Southern New Mexico in particular will take the position to which it is entitled as the best of stock rearing regions [Mesilla News, April 25, 1874, microfilm, SRC].

Patrols and scouts, most frequently used by the army to keep the Indians on reservations, usually were led from Fort Selden by a lieutenant and sometimes by the company commander. A noncommissioned officer and about 25 men accompanied the patrol leader. A civilian guide was hired when the route was unfamiliar to the men, and on several missions local Pueblo Indians were hired as scouts (Captain Carroll to Commanding Officer, Fort Wingate, November 28, 1876, in Holmes 1990:51). On the two scouts conducted in 1876, an Indian was killed on one and no Indian signs were seen on the other (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:16).

In a report published in 1876, the Indians nearest Fort Selden were “the Miembre, Gila, Mogollon and Mescalero Apaches, belonging to the Southern Apache Agency at Ojo Caliente. They number about 2000” (Headquarters Military Division of the Missouri 1969 [1876]:167). The nearest Indians to Fort Craig were at Ojo Caliente, 60 miles distant; “there are at present about 500 Miembres and Coyotero Apaches, under charge of an Indian agent” (Headquarters Military Division of the Missouri 1969 [1876]:150). The Indians nearest Fort McRae “are the Miembres Apaches, numbering about 800, with agency. Ojo Caliente, about 43 miles from the post” (Headquarters Military Division of the Missouri 1969 [1876]:158). No Indians were in the immediate vicinity of Fort Bayard or Fort Bliss (Headquarters Military Division of the Missouri 1969 [1876]:158, 207).

Commanding officer 1st Lt. Casper A. Conrad in 1876 reported Fort Selden’s nearest Indian reservation was “at the Ojo Caliente, about 68 miles north of the Post.” The Indians there were Mimbres Apaches who formerly were at the Tularosa Reservation. They numbered “about 800, but it is believed that not more than half

that number draw rations at the agency.” They often committed petty depredations near San Agustín Pass and into Sonora. Conrad claimed these Indians in August 1875 stole a large number of horses at the pass and drove them through Sonora to the Chiricahua Reservation at Camp Bowie, Arizona. Here they disposed of the horses and then returned to the Ojo Caliente. They did not interfere with travelers, however, and the roads “are now considered perfectly safe.” Conrad could not insure this condition would continue if Fort Selden were abandoned (Description of Fort Selden, January 18, 1876, 1st Lt. Conrad, to Headquarters of the Military Division of Missouri, typescript copy in miscellaneous research file, Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM).

The Ojo Caliente Reservation was in a large valley called Cañada Alamosa. It was bounded by the San Mateo Mountains, the Black Range, and the Rio Grande. In April 1876 Colonel Hatch traveled to the reservation to talk with the Apache leaders, including Victorio, because the Warm Springs Apaches were believed to be aiding the Chiricahuas, whose reservation was about to be abolished. The Indians were armed with late-model weapons and were said to be openly defiant to Hatch’s requests that they “stop depredating and cease stirring up the Chiricahuas.” They told Hatch the government had acted in bad faith, had issued them no meat for a month, and they would rather go to war than starve. The alarmed Hatch ordered constant patrolling in that area of New Mexico (Billington 1991:47–48).

In May 1877 the Mimbres were moved to the San Carlos reservation in Arizona, but Victorio and his followers left the San Carlos in September. They reportedly caused problems throughout the western portion of New Mexico and were chased by military units from Fort Selden and other posts. Victorio, Nana, and Loco ended up on the Mescalero reservation. Pope decided to reopen the Ojo Caliente and allow the Mimbres to return to their homeland, but his decision came too late for Victorio (Holmes 1991:61). On September 2, 1877, Victorio and 300 Warm Springs and Chiricahua followers fled the San Carlos reservation. Hatch immediately ordered every available man in his

district into the field in pursuit. Three companies of the 9th Cavalry searched out of Ojo Caliente. The Indians raided along the Upper Gila, killing a number of people and stealing horses and mules. The ill-prepared Apaches soon were in bad condition. Early in October nearly 300, including Victorio, surrendered at Fort Wingate. At their request the Indians were allowed to return to Warm Springs, but by the end of October they were back at San Carlos. Victorio and some 80 others escaped en route, many going to the Mescalero reservation where the agent permitted them to stay. Victorio was killed at Tres Castillos on October 14, 1880 (Leckie 1967:183–185, 230).

TROOP MOVEMENTS

Holmes estimates the territory patrolled by Fort Selden's soldiers encompassed approximately 16,500 square miles, from "the Florida Mountains on the west to the Sacramento and Guadalupe mountains on the east, north to Canada Alamosa, and south to the Mexican border" (Holmes 1990:3). No study has been undertaken of Fort Selden's patrols and escort duties, although Billington believes the black troops in particular spent most of their time away from the post (Billington 1987:75–76). The following chronological information about specific duties of the Fort Selden soldiers is gleaned from readily available resources. The information is not analyzed but is intended as a basis for future in-depth studies.

Selden's first combat mission occurred when Carleton on June 20, 1865, sent orders that a number of Navajos had broken out of the Bosque Redondo. Selden was to send "all mounted men to Fort Craig at once...[and] prevent their crossing of the Rio Grande" (General Carleton to Commanding Officer, Fort Selden, June 20, 1865, quoted in Holmes 1990:55). Some 20 mounted troops from Selden traveled the 90 miles toward Fort Craig, but the Navajos had returned to the reservation before the Selden troops arrived (Holmes 1990:55).

Almost a year later, in April 1866 Capt. William Brady, 1st Cavalry, New Mexico Volunteers, left Fort Selden with Lt. M. Carrigan and 25 enlisted men from Companies A and H. They scouted east to San Agustín Springs, north to San Nicholas Springs in the San Andrés Mountains, and returned to San Agustín Springs. They then moved south scouting toward Fort Bliss, where they rested their horses and mules. They traveled to the present site of Anthony, to Las Cruces, and back to Fort Selden. They made this 183-mile trek without seeing any signs of Indians (Captain Brady to Assistant Adjutant General, April 5, 1866, quoted in Holmes 1990:52).

From September 8 through 15, 1866, 2nd Lt. James Henry Storey and 12 men from Company I, 125th U.S.C.T., mounted on mules scouted a party of Mescaleros supposed to be in the vicinity of the San Andreas Mountains in the

Organs. Eight citizens from Doña Ana and La Mesilla joined the party on the second day. The soldiers traveled 257 miles and scouted San Agustín Springs, Padre Peak, the Mal Pais Trail, and the San Andreas. They saw a number of Indians but did not confront them because of the small size of the military party (2nd Lt. J. Henry Storey, letter to Brvt. Maj. C. H. DeForrest, Santa Fe, September 18, 1866, Storey Letters, FSSM). On October 3, 1866, Storey wrote that he expected to be part of a 60-day scout to the Sacramento River with the commanding officer and 100 men “to punish the Indians” apparently harassing the miners in that area (Harry [Storey], letter to Annie Cheshire, October 3, 1866, Storey Letters, FSSM).

Black troops regularly escorted civilians to Forts Craig and Bayard (Billington 1991:22–23). On February 27, 1867, 2nd Lt. J. Henry Storey, 125th U.S.C.T., and 1 noncommissioned officer and 10 privates of Company K, 3rd U.S. Cavalry, were ordered to leave Fort Selden the next day to escort 5 private citizens (4 in irons and 1 wounded) to Santa Fe to stand trial on charges of robbery and stealing horses, apparently from the military. Storey was to travel by way of Fort McRae to pick up horses of the 3rd Cavalry Band to transport them to Fort Marcy; he also was to confer with McRae’s commanding officer about witnesses for the prisoners’ trial. On arriving at Fort Craig, Storey was to turn over the prisoners and horses for the remainder of the trip to Santa Fe if Craig could provide a proper escort; otherwise, Storey was to continue on and perhaps serve as a witness (Special Order No. 30, Fort Selden, February 27, 1867, Storey Letters, FSSM).

In early October 1867 General Carleton ordered Capt. Joseph G. Tilford and Company K, 3rd Cavalry, to Dog Canyon in the Sacramento Mountains to assist units from Fort Union in chasing Mescalero Apaches. The combined forces chased the Indians into Texas where units from Fort Davis joined the chase (Holmes 1990:56).

In August 1868 a Fort Selden patrol with 20 men from Company K, 3rd Infantry; 20 men from Company K, 38th Infantry; a Hispanic guide; and an interpreter went in search of Indian

raiders. They crossed the Rio Grande 2 miles north of Fort Selden and continued north to Palomas. There they found a scouting detachment of 20 enlisted men of Company C, 38th Infantry, under William Ellis, a civilian quartermaster’s clerk from Fort McRae. Ellis reported having accidentally encountered more than 100 Apaches in a canyon 25 miles west of Palomas, where Ellis was badly wounded. Capt. Edward Bloodgood assumed temporary command of Ellis’s men, and they marched out of Palomas in search of the Apaches but lost their trail in a thunderstorm. One Selden man forgot his pistols where he was posted on guard away from the main body. He went to retrieve his guns but never returned and could not be found (Billington 1987:68–69, 1991:15–16; Holmes 1990:53).

In April 1869 six companies of the 38th Infantry arrived at Fort Selden to launch an expedition against Mescaleros in the Guadalupe Mountains in Texas. About half of Selden’s Company K participated in this expedition, which returned in June without locating the Indians (Billington 1987:69–70, 1991:19–20).

The army most frequently used patrols or scouts to keep Indians on reservations. In the 1870s Fort Selden patrols usually were led by a lieutenant and sometimes by the company commander. A noncommissioned officer and about 25 men assisted the patrol leader. A civilian guide was hired when the route was unfamiliar to the men. On several missions the military hired local Pueblo Indians as scouts (Captain Carroll to Commanding Officer, Fort Wingate, November 28, 1876, in Holmes 1990:51).

In November 1871 the citizens of Tularosa called upon Fort Selden for protection after Cadetta, a Mescalero Apache chief, was murdered near the town. Thirty men from Company G, 8th Cavalry, went to Tularosa, where a joint Indian-white investigation resulted in a peaceful settlement (George R. Adams, National Register Nomination, Fort Selden, 1974:17; Cohrs and Caperton 1983:14).

Capt. Henry Carroll with both black and white soldiers scouted the Sacramento Mountains and surrounding countryside between June 28 and

July 8, 1876. They were searching for Mescaleros who had left the Fort Stanton reservation and were committing depredations. They found no Indians but did find good water and grazing. During January and February 1877, Company F conducted at least six scouts for Indians (Billington 1987:72–73, 75–76).

BLACK TROOPS

In July 1865 the Union army had just over 123,000 black soldiers. The numbers of both white and black soldiers declined rapidly as men mustered out after the war. To provide a military force needed on the western frontier, the army began requiring Civil War personnel to complete their obligations, and in 1866 the army began recruiting in earnest (Billington 1991:3).

The black troops in the New Mexico Territory immediately after the war belonged to the 38th, 57th, and 125th infantry regiments. The 57th was organized in March 1864 from the 4th Arkansas Infantry (African Descent). The 57th troops served in Arkansas until 1866 when six companies went to New Mexico for brief service. Companies A, B, and D went to Fort Union, and Companies C, E, and G went to Fort Bascom. The Bascom companies joined those at Fort Union in early October, and the 57th troops transferred out of New Mexico in November 1866. The 57th Infantry was disbanded on December 31, 1866 (Billington 1991:4).

The 125th Infantry was organized in spring 1865 at Louisville, Kentucky. The soldiers were obligated to three years military service, and all served in Kentucky, Ohio, or Illinois. Eight companies were transferred in August 1866 to New Mexico Territory, where they served at seven forts. The companies gathered at Fort Union in October 1867 to move on, most to Fort Riley, Kansas, to be discharged from the military. The 125th was disbanded on December 20, 1867 (Billington 1991:4).

The 38th was organized in 1866 as part of the regular army. Some of the men were Civil War veterans and others were untrained recruits, some free men from the North and others former slaves from the South. Many apparently enlisted for economic security, free food, clothing, and shelter. The 38th companies were sent almost immediately to the western frontier (Billington 1991:4–5).

The United States Congress reorganized the peacetime regular army in the summer of 1866 and established two regiments of black cavalry with white officers, the 9th and 10th U.S. Cavalry, and six regiments of black infantry, also

with white officers (Reedstrom 1992:102; Odintz 1996:815). Congress required the white officers of the new regiments to have at least two years active service in the Civil War. Two-thirds of those ranked captain or above could be from the volunteer regiments and one-third from the regular army, while those ranked lower all were to be from the volunteer services. Chaplains were assigned directly to a black regiment and, in addition to their spiritual duties, were to educate the black soldiers in reading, writing, and arithmetic (Reedstrom 1992:102).

Reedstrom comments on the general attitudes white officers held of black soldiers:

Most white officers simply refused to serve with black units. It mattered little to them that the promotion cycle was greatly improved for those serving with black units on the frontier. There were a few good officers, however, who freely joined the black units, remaining for a substantial period of time. But there were others who, after a short tour with these units, were willing to swap their post for whatever was available with a few dollars thrown in to cover expenses [1992:102–103].

And on the reasons blacks joined the army:

Many young black men enlisted for the five years of service because the Army afforded an opportunity for social and economic betterment that was all but closed to them in civilian life. Thirteen dollars a month seemed meager pay, but it was more than a black man could expect as a civilian, and there was also the allotment for food, clothing, and shelter. His betterment and advancement seemed to be well assured [Reedstrom 1992:103].

According to Billington's (1987) research, between 1866 and 1900, black soldiers served at 10 of the nearly 24 forts in New Mexico Territory. The first black troops arrived in New Mexico in August 1866 and were stationed at Forts Bascom, Bayard, Cummings, McRae,

Selden, and Union (Billington 1987:67–68). Units of the 1st Cavalry, California Volunteers; 1st Infantry, California Volunteers; and the 1st Infantry, New Mexico Volunteers had manned Fort Selden from May 1865 to August 1866. In late 1866 these units mustered out, and the 125th Infantry Regiment and K troop, 3rd Cavalry Regiment, assumed responsibility for the post (Holmes 1990:27). Companies A, E, F, and I of the 125th Infantry arrived at Fort Selden in August 1866. The 174 black troops were accompanied by 13 commissioned officers, including Fort Selden's commander Lt. Col. Alexander Duncan. In September Company A left Selden for Fort Craig. Company E transferred to Fort Stanton in October, and Company I left for Fort Bayard in November (Billington 1987:67–68).

Between 1866 and 1891, a total of 400 black soldiers served at Fort Selden and another 600 passed through en route to new stations or to prepare for scouts. Billington believes the black troops' experiences at Fort Selden were "similar to those of other black regiments on the American frontier" (Billington 1987:68).

Most of New Mexico's forts had at least two companies, with white and black soldiers serving simultaneously (Billington 1991:6). During their early years at Fort Selden, the black soldiers spent some time scouting for Indians (Special Order No. 94, Fort Selden, September 8, 1866, Storey Letters, FSSM; Billington 1987:68) and some escorting government trains and cattle (Lt. James J. Billings, Fort Selden, letter to Lt. [James H.] Storey, August 16, 1866, Storey Letters, FSSM).

Company I left Fort Selden for Fort Bayard in November 1866, and Company F, about 50 enlisted men, remained at Fort Selden until September 1867 (Billington 1987:67–68; Holmes 1990:27). The 125th was replaced in New Mexico by 6 companies of the 38th Infantry between September and December 1867. On their march to New Mexico from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, many men of the 38th died from cholera (Billington 1991:5). Cholera had swept through England, France, and Germany in the summer of 1865 and reached New York by April 1866. At the time, cholera

still carried a stigma associated with poverty and the lower classes (Rosenberg 1962:175, 204, 216–232). The 38th transferred from New Mexico to Fort McKavett, Texas, in September and October 1869, where they combined with the 41st to form the new 24th Infantry (Billington 1991:5). After the 38th Infantry left New Mexico, the territory was without black soldiers for 6 years (Billington 1991:43).

The 9th Cavalry was one of 6 black regiments created by the army reorganization bill of 1866, and most of the men were former slaves (Wooster 1990:179, 181). The 9th Cavalry moved to New Mexico from Texas, and in November 1875, 3 companies stopped at Fort Selden on their way to Forts Bayard, McRae, and Stanton. The remaining companies moved into New Mexico by early 1876, under the command of Col. Edward Hatch (Billington 1987:72, 1991:45). All 12 regiments of the 9th Cavalry served in New Mexico between December 1875 and December 1881, although Billington calculates the number of black soldiers actually serving in the territory at a given time probably averaged 447 (Billington 1991:46). As part of the general army reductions in 1869, 4 of the 9th's units were consolidated into 2, and the 4 remaining units were the 9th and 10th Cavalry and the 24th and 25th Infantry (Wooster 1990:179).

On March 24, 1876, 4 companies of the 9th Cavalry arrived at Fort Selden. Company F remained, and companies A, D, and M continued to Forts Bayard, Union, and Stanton. White troops of Company G, 15th Infantry, served at Fort Selden with the approximately 40 men of Company F (Billington 1987:72). In February 1877 the army ordered most of Fort Selden's troops to other posts, and most of Company F went to Fort Stanton. Selden was again without black troops (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:16; Billington 1987:74).

After the military reactivated Fort Selden, Company M, 9th Cavalry, arrived on Christmas Day, 1880, a few days after Company K, 15th Infantry. This time the 9th spent little time at Fort Selden, instead guarding railroad construction crews on the Southern Pacific Railroad or serving detached duty in Colorado.

Company M was transferred to Fort Cummings in November 1881. No black soldiers were at Fort Selden until August 1888, when 10 men from companies A, D, and F, 24th Infantry, served temporary duty out of Fort Bayard to permanently close the fort. A skeleton force remained until January 20, 1891 (Billington 1987:75–79).

Attitudes in southern New Mexico toward the black soldiers seem to change through the years. While Billington believes antimilitary sentiment after the Civil War was particularly strong against the blacks (1991:182), the scant historical information collected for this project indicates anti-black prejudices in the Mesilla Valley and El Paso area were more vocal in the second half of Fort Selden's existence.

Letters of Lt. James H. [Harry] Storey, a young white officer from New York who served with the black troops during their first few months of service at Fort Selden, provide glimpses of his own attitudes toward the troops. While traveling to Fort Union in 1866, Lieutenant Storey refers to Company I's troops as "my sable warriors," using a contemporary term. He says, "colored soldiers are very quick on the 'fire' and might mistake me in the darkness for an 'Ingenie'" (Harry Storey, letter to Annie Cheshire, Brooklyn, New York, June 17, 1866, Storey Letters, FSSM). Later in the year, after two white soldiers shot each other over one man's affair with the other's wife, Storey reports to his girlfriend that he sat with Lt. Fred Hazelhurst until his death at 5 a.m. the next morning: "I could not see the poor fellow die without a white face around him" (Harry [Storey], letter to Annie Cheshire, Brooklyn, New York, October 18, 1866, Storey Letters, FSSM).

Storey's comments about Fort Selden's black troops, at least those available for review by this researcher, seem comparatively mild for the immediate post-Civil War period. Angry actions at Fort Selden in May 1867 by a white private in Troop K, 3rd Cavalry, against a black private in Company I, 125th Infantry, could have arisen toward a white soldier as well.

Private Henry Clark said, "You black son of a bitch I will split your brains out," and hit him with a shovel (Holmes 1990:42). Aside from the

reference to his color, similar violence occurred between white soldiers as well.

More evident prejudice occurred at some of the other southern New Mexico forts, however. For instance, a soldier named Kroger wrote Storey from Fort Stanton in early 1867 that the commander there “takes all possible opportunity to make it as uncomfortable as possible, hitting right & left at the volunteers, (especially colored)” (Kroger, letter to [Lt. James Henry] Storey, Fort Selden, February 4, 1867, Storey Letters, FSSM).

At Fort Cummings, most of the 101 enlisted men of Company A who replaced the 125th in October 1867 were former slaves, unhappy to be in the unfamiliar New Mexico desert. In addition, the men did not like military discipline, had little respect for their superiors, and disliked the company’s white lieutenants, Leggett and Sweet (Billington 1991:38). In late 1867 Pinos Altos citizens who were dissatisfied with the military protection and their relationships with the black soldiers and their officers succeeded in getting the post commander replaced. They also increased racial tensions (Billington 1991:12).

After 2nd Lt. Henry F. Leggett accused his black domestic servant of theft, and Lt. William E. Sweet ordered her searched and off the post, although no money was found, Fort Cummings’s black troops of Company A rebelled. The servant, Mattie Merritt, was a camp follower of Company A. Sweet punished the men for their sullen attitudes after the incident by making them stand on water kegs in the middle of the parade ground. The troops’ anger culminated in a mutiny, and the accused men were taken to Fort Selden for a general court-martial. Corp. Robert Davis was tried for mutiny at Fort Selden beginning on January 22, 1868, and the trial of the other men was held at Fort Bayard beginning July 27, 1868. Davis was charged with violating the 7th and 8th articles of war, each subject to the death penalty. His trial was based primarily on the words of white officers against black soldiers. Davis, the only soldier found guilty, was sentenced to reduction to the ranks, forfeiture of all pay and allowances, dishonorable discharge, and confinement in the

penitentiary at Jefferson, Missouri, for 10 years (Myers 1971:337–345).

Records of courts-martial for drunkenness at Fort Selden from 1867 to 1873 show similar rates of occurrence for both black and white soldiers. Both groups were punished for visiting Leasburg (Holmes 1990:38), although no studies have been done of that community’s attitude toward the black soldiers. Did white and black soldiers frequent the same establishments? Did white soldiers buy the services of the same prostitutes visited by black soldiers? While future studies may uncover no definitive information about Leasburg, information about similar communities at other forts of the time period, especially those with a Hispanic component, may provide a better understanding of the probable environment.

The relationships of all three groups—Anglo, Black, and Hispanic—at Fort Selden need to be explored. Before Lt. Col. Edward Bloodgood and his Company K, 38th Infantry, left Fort Selden with the exodus of the 38th Infantry from New Mexico in 1869, two black privates from Company A killed a Hispanic teamster from the 15th Infantry and dumped his body in the Rio Grande (Billington 1987:35; Holmes 1990:36). Did this and other events have racial overtones? Or was this tragedy an act of random violence?

Racial problems developed in the mid-1870s almost immediately after Company F arrived at Fort Selden. On April 8, 1876, the Mesilla News reported two black enlisted men had argued with three white men in a saloon in La Mesilla. The two troopers plus a third returned to town in the evening and found the three white men at a neighboring saloon. In a shootout among the six men, the three troopers were killed (Mesilla News, April 8, 1876, in Billington 1987:74). In June 1876, three months after the telegraph arrived at Fort Selden, the telegraph operator returned to the post drunk and refused to respond to the black guard, called him a “nigger,” and “asserted his superiority as a white man” (Captain Carroll to AAG, June 14, 1876, in Holmes 1990:41–42).

Yet the surrounding communities occasionally showed their appreciation of the black troops. A reporter for the Santa Fe Daily New Mexican on

February 10, 1877, after spending a few days at Forts Selden, Bayard, and Craig, remarked on “the neatness in dress and orderly conduct of the soldiers, both white and black, and notwithstanding there is considerable doubt existing about colored men making good soldiers from all that we can gather from their officers, and from our own observations, we can conscientiously give the colored boys credit for obedience, discipline and all soldierly qualities” (“From Silver City to Selden,” *Daily New Mexican*, Santa Fe, February 10, 1877:1, microfilm, SRC). His most interesting account of his stay at Fort Bayard in January gives a rare insight into the slavery background of the black troops there.

*Reaching Fort Bayard about sundown we were invited to Lieut. Wright's bachelor's quarters, a building renowned for the good cheer and the universal accomplishments of its courteous occupant. The evening was whiled away listening to a squad of Captain Beyer's colored troops, who are well up in plantation melodies as well as au fait in the jig and other dances [“Mimbres, Georgetown, Santa Rita and Fort Bayard,” *Daily New Mexican*, Santa Fe, January 24, 1877:1, microfilm, SRC].*

During the period of Fort Selden's temporary abandonment, serious allegations of racial bias were brought against Capt. Ambrose E. Hooker, Company E, 9th Cavalry, after an Indian attack at Camp Ojo Caliente in 1879. His men anonymously charged him with causing the deaths of five men and three civilians by not protecting the men properly after being warned of a possible attack. Billington details the allegations brought against Hooker by his men, including charges that he said “he wished all the men of his command had been killed and that he would try to get as many of them killed as possible” (Billington 1991:192). Almost all the men said Hooker cursed them regularly, frequently calling them “nigger” and also “dogs” and “baboons,” among other names. Hooker also physically abused his men (Billington 1991:192–197).

A soldier in New Mexico in 1880 said, “The negro troops in the forts were a success, but in the field lacked in endurance and did not fight as well as the whites. [In] the words of some, ‘I isn't goin to stay there and let them shoot at me “fo” thirteen dollars a month. No sir! I isn't going to do it!’” (Bode 1994:158). He also called the infantry “habitually lazy,” and said cavalry officers were “more cordial and intelligent [than infantry officers], and did not consider their West Point teachings supreme in a frontier campaign” (Bode 1994:165).

A Las Cruces reporter lamented that Maj. Albert P. Morrow, 9th Cavalry, while operating against Victorio had only 300 white soldiers and the rest black (Las Cruces Thirty-Four, February 11, 1880, quoted in Holmes 1990:41). Again in May, the paper voiced opinions against the black soldiers, saying, “The climate seems to be getting too hot for the 9th...I hope the 9th will be sent to Dakota to cool off” (Las Cruces Thirty-Four, May 18, 1880, quoted in Holmes 1990:41).

Apparently bored, the skeleton force of black troops remaining at Fort Selden until its closure in 1891 frequently got into trouble. Two were charged with theft, and the men often gambled. One killed a private after losing most of his money to him while gambling on the post (Billington 1987:78–79).

After Fort Selden's demise, Timmons notes racial problems at Fort Bliss in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (Timmons 1990:190). A 1900 military report states soldiers from Fort Bliss often were arrested “for infractions of the police regulations, or when intoxicated, or in the least degree noisy or disorderly, when white men committing the same offenses are not interfered with....A Negro soldier in uniform is frequently subjected to insult though behaving with perfect propriety for no other reason than his color” (quoted in Timmons 1990:190).

Unfavorable opinions frequently receive more attention than positive opinions. The black soldiers made significant contributions in a brief time to the efforts of settlers to wrest the lands from the Indians for their own purposes. The late-nineteenth-century frontier experience for

these soldiers came immediately after freedom from slavery, adding an even more dramatic change to their life experiences. Most of the black soldiers left New Mexico when their units were transferred elsewhere and did not return, thus leaving no lasting impact on the territory they served and to which some gave their lives. Hopefully, they took from the military at least some education and a changed view of the bigger world they lived in.

What did, and do, the Apaches think of the role of the black soldiers? A recent interview with Russell Means may reflect historic observations that black soldiers were doing the dirty work of the whites. In recalling Native American protests at the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C., in the early 1970s, Means says that to remove the protestors, “They amassed all these black Washington, D.C. and government cops, commanded by whites, Buffalo soldiers” (Russell Means, quoted in Roberto Cardo, “A Conversation with Russell Means,” *Eldorado Sun*, July 2000:37–38). Current efforts to obtain input from the Mescalero Tribe for interpretation at the fort thus far have met with failure.

In 1984 Norman W. Spaulding attempted to get Fort Selden established as a national monument to black soldiers who served on the western frontier after the Civil War. The National Park Service responded that although Fort Selden was listed on the National Register, it was not designated a National Historic Landmark, nor was it likely to be because of its state of preservation and its significance relative to other forts in the West. Furthermore, the contributions of black soldiers who served in the West are acknowledged at Fort Davis National Historic Site, Texas (Bennie C. Keel, USDI, NPS, Washington, D.C., letter to U.S. Sen. Pete V. Domenici, Las Cruces, September 18[?], 1984, copy in Fort Selden correspondence file, HPD).

At a November 10, 1991, ceremony marking the centennial of the decommissioning of Fort Selden, Jan Peterson of the Southwest New Mexico Genealogical Society spoke about her research into the lives and military careers of individual enlisted men who served at Fort Bayard with the 9th U.S. Cavalry regiment. Members of the Society presented to Fort Selden

SM a “wall of names” of every officer and enlisted man who served at Fort Selden (“SC Woman Speaks at Fort Selden Ceremony,” *Silver City Daily Press*, November 19, 1991, in Fort Selden files, HPD).

LEASBURG

The community of Leasburg appeared while Fort Selden was under construction, and actually was situated on the military reservation. Adolphe Lea, a respected Las Cruces merchant, filed homestead claim to the land while Nelson H. Davis was surveying the reservation. In November 1870 President U. S. Grant approved the reserve's new boundary, which excluded Leasburg and thus gave legitimacy to Lea's claim (Holmes 1990:16, 120–121).

Lt. Col. Nelson H. Davis reported to Gen. James H. Carleton after an October 1865 inspection of Fort Selden that the “men visit their concubines or courtesans to gamble and indulge in whiskey drinking at a collection of jacals just off the reservation” (General Carleton to Captain Whitlock, October 25, 1865, quoted in Holmes 1990:33). Leasburg's population apparently increased with payday at Fort Selden. In 1866 the settlement had 4 dance hall-saloons and a population of 40 people (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:14). Two troopers fought at a fandango in Leasburg in March 1866, resulting in one being stabbed to death (Holmes 1990:36).

On November 12, 1866, Lt. Col. Alexander Duncan, 125th Infantry Regiment (colored) wrote,

The inhabitants of this town or most of them have been a curse to this Post and the records of the Cemetery will show that some seven or eight of the soldiers of this Post have been murdered there, whether by the hands of thus respectable citizens or some of their comrades who were nearly crazy from the effects of the poisonous liquors sold them there I cannot say.

(At Leasburg are) established a few miserable buildings which are inhabited principally by liquor sellers, gamblers and prostitutes of the lowest class [Lt. Col. Duncan, November 12, 1866, quoted in Cohrs, n.d.:20].

Post records for 1867 to 1873 show that both whites and blacks were punished for going to Leasburg. The 1868 Fort Selden courts-martial every month charged seven or eight soldiers with absence without leave. The men usually were absent from taps in the evening to reveille the next morning, with 90 percent of them visiting Leasburg. The men usually were fined the maximum sentence: loss of one month's pay, hard labor for one month, and in the case of NCOs, reduction to the ranks (Holmes 1990:34, 38).

Fort Selden's commanding officers requested the reservation be resurveyed in 1866, 1868, and 1879, to determine if Leasburg was actually on the reservation and thus could be ordered dismantled. In 1868, however, Capt. J. G. Tilford wrote that he preferred to “leave things as they are now,” because when necessary he exercised jurisdiction over the town (Cohrs and Caperton:14–15). Yet at the same time he complained he could not insure discipline or preserve property because “the town of Leasburg is selling mean whiskey and purchasing government arms and equipments” (Captain Tilford to AAG, February 22, 1868, quoted in Holmes 1990:121).

In 1868 Adolph Lea's business partner, A. H. Hackney, created false accusations that the post trader kept prostitutes in his store (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:15; Holmes 1990:125). In March 1868 Capt. Joseph G. Tilford wrote that “old sinner Hackney poisoned first their stomachs with bad whiskey then their minds with...still worse advice” (Captain Tilford to AAG, March 3, 1868, quoted in Holmes 1990:37–38).

The post surgeon on October 12, 1869, blamed visits to the prostitutes at Leasburg for “All the venereal disease, which is by no means uncommon here.” He said, “prostitutes and bad characters” congregated at Leasburg when the troops had money (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:14).

An army engineer sent to resurvey the Fort Selden Military Reservation in early 1868 determined Lea's claim was valid, and he surveyed a line to cut off that portion of the

reservation. The boundary formally was changed in November 1870 (Holmes 1990:121–122). Maj. David Clendenin had written the previous June 18, “Mr. Lea in company with his attorney Judge Hackney called upon me some time ago and laid claim to the land upon which the Post is built.” Clendenin referred the matter to higher authority. Again he says,

Leasburg is a curse to the Post and should be broken up. It is a nest of thieves, harlots and whiskey venders, and I have been creditably informed that heretofore a number of soldiers have been murdered there. It is the cause of three fourths of the sickness of the Post, and if it was included in the reservation, the evil could be abated at once.

Parties make that place their resort for the purpose of stealing stock and other property from the Post [Major Clendenin to AAG, District of New Mexico, June 18, 1870, typescript in miscellaneous research file, Fort Selden permanent files, NMSM].

In the 1870 census, 12 dwellings are listed for the town of Leasburg, although residents are enumerated for only 9, with the others left blank. Adolph Lea, 45, lived with Mexican-born Teresa, 30, perhaps his second wife, and four young females surnamed Lea ages 16, 12, 7, and 1, as well as Robert, 3. The 16-year-old female, born in New York, was attending school. The other children were all born in New Mexico. Among other residents, Cesario Calderon, 42, a laborer, lived with María Luisa, 41, and Juan, 7, all born in Mexico. Dolores Bamba, 26, a female born in Mexico, lived alone and was keeping house.

Lt. Col. Thomas C. Devin was sent to New Mexico in the spring of 1870 to improve morale and correct problems at a number of New Mexico forts. He formed a temperance lodge at Fort Selden in 1871 to slow the drinking problems at the post. By March the lodge membership had increased to 43. The Las Cruces Borderer said the lodge’s purpose was “to keep them out of trouble on payday” (Las

Cruces Borderer, June 29, 1871, quoted in Holmes 1990:38).

A Santa Fe newspaper reporter visiting Fort Selden in 1877 made this interesting observation:

Three miles through a bottom overgrown with underbrush and cottonwood, brought us to Lea’s station. All that is left of a former village is the station where the mail changes animals, and that seems to be endangered by the gradual encroachments of the river [“From Fort Selden to Dona Ana, Las Cruces and Mesilla,” Daily New Mexican, Santa Fe, January 15, 1877:1, microfilm, SRC].

In 1881 Adophe Lea inexplicably was made post trader. The problems of alcohol, prostitution, and gambling followed Lea onto the post (Holmes 1990:122). In addition to the vices of Leasburg, similar opportunities for the soldiers were available in La Mesilla and Las Cruces (Fugate and Fugate 1989:42).

WOMEN

The roles women played at Fort Selden, as at most nineteenth-century frontier forts, are many-sided. Darlis A. Miller, Sandra L. Myres, and Glenda Riley, among others, have written about the female experience in the West, and Myres comments that “perhaps no single group of women has received more attention than army women” (1990:175). Myres defines the different groups of women associated with the nineteenth-century army as

officers’ wives and daughters; the families of enlisted men and non-commissioned officers; and women whose husbands’ business or their own brought them into close contact with military posts and garrisons. This last group included the families of post traders and sutlers or other civilian contract laborers, single women employed on the posts as servants and laundresses, prostitutes living marginal existences on the edges of military reservations and, if the records are to be believed, in at least one or two cases women who actually served in the ranks [1990:176].

Probably the most is known about officers’ wives, because they were more literate and some left written accounts of their experiences (Myres 1990:176–177).

We know...that, with few exceptions, these women came from “close-knit, staunchly religious middle-class famil(ies).” Only a few had grown up in the West and even they had spent some time in the East. Most had a finishing school or ladies’ seminary education, and several were members of prominent families. All were thoroughly inculcated with the virtues of “true womanhood” which decreed that women of their class should be “modest, submissive, educated in the genteel and domestic arts, supportive of (their) husband’s efforts, uncomplaining,” and “perfect” wives and mothers. Moreover, these

women brought these values to their new and unfamiliar life on the frontier; and, as Darlis Miller has pointed out, “lived in a highly regulated military society where they were expected to observe codes of conduct appropriate to their rank” and that of their husbands [Myres 1990:177].

Girlfriends

While very few women ever actually lived at Fort Selden, their presence and influence nevertheless was felt in many ways. Most of the soldiers were young men who probably had, or wished they had, girlfriends elsewhere. The letters of Lt. James H. (Harry) Storey written while stationed at Fort Cummings and Fort Selden tell of a young man with great uncertainty trying to hold together a long-distance relationship with Annie Cheshire in Brooklyn, New York.

I am sorry my remarks about “getting another fellow” caused you any uneasiness, but my Dear Darling little pet I’ll promise not to do so again. You need not trouble yourself in regard to any engagement or agreement we have made. As you say, Annie, you can go “Scot free.” You are young yet and have not seen much of the world. You may see some one that is better off and more worthy of you than I am. I am fitted for nothing but the Army. I may be obliged to remain in this country for years and this would truly be a miserable life for a woman [Lt. James H. Storey, Fort Cummings, letter to Annie, August 20, 1866, Storey Letters, FSSM].

The women of La Mesilla and Las Cruces also seemed to enjoy the soldiers’ attentions. Lieutenant Storey wrote in 1866 of the “balles” the Fort Selden soldiers attended in Las Cruces: “Our Balles are great institutions. The last one I attended I danced with my spurs on and unfortunately sadly damaged the dress of a Senorita” (Harry [Storey], letter to Annie Cheshire, Brooklyn, New York, October 18,

1866, Storey Letters, FSSM). Why Storey would make such a report to a woman he addresses as “my dear, darling Annie” and “my darling little Wife” is unclear.

Some men actually found wives among the local women. John Martin, a California Volunteer who remained in New Mexico, married Esther Catherine Wordsworth of Las Cruces. The couple moved to Fort Selden, where in 1866 John operated the rope ferry across the Rio Grande as well as furnishing meat under contract to Forts Cummings, McRae, and Selden. Esther “supervised the officers’ meals.” In 1867 John went to Alemán, where the couple established a hotel, stage station, post office, and small cattle ranch (Miller 1982:117). Edwin Augustus Rigg also arrived in New Mexico as a California Volunteer, with Company A. Rigg married Emma Antoinette Cooper, 17, on November 26, 1862, at La Mesilla. Emma was the daughter of the superintendent of Hart’s Mill near El Paso (Altshuler 1991:280).

Prostitutes

Especially in the earlier days at Fort Selden, prostitutes were the objects of many soldiers’ attentions. Certainly, because of their proximity and availability these women are the most important in the history of Fort Selden. The community of Leasburg sprang up in 1865 while the fort was under construction. In October of that year, Lt. Col. Nelson H. Davis reported to Gen. James H. Carleton that the men from Fort Selden “visit their concubines or courtesans to gamble and indulge in whiskey drinking at a collection of jacals just off the reservation” (General Carleton to Captain Whitlock, October 25, 1865, quoted in Holmes 1990:33). Apparently, a trip to Leasburg was well worth the price the soldiers paid, both in remuneration and in stiff penalties: of the seven or eight soldiers court-martialed every month for being absent without leave, 90 percent were visiting Leasburg. The men usually were absent from taps in the evening to reveille the next morning and received “the maximum sentence of forfeiture of pay for one month, confinement at hard labor for one month, and in the case of NCOs reduction to the ranks” (Holmes 1990:34).

The 1870 census of Leasburg attests to the Mexican make-up of its population. Surprisingly, Leasburg’s “respected” 45-year-old founder, Adolph Lea, lived in the settlement. Lea resided with Teresa, 30, born in Mexico and perhaps his second wife, and also apparently his children: Th[—]ia, 16; Estella, 12; Mary Anna, 7; and Teresa, 1; as well as Robert, 3. The 16-year-old female, born in New York and thus perhaps a daughter of a first wife, was attending school. The other children all were born in New Mexico. Other females enumerated at Leasburg include Guadalupe Zeemus[?], 50, born in Mexico, and living with perhaps her son, José María, 33. Dolores Bamba, 26, born in Mexico, lived alone and was “keeping house.” María Luisa Calderon, 42, lived with Cesario, 42, and probably her son Juan, 7; all were born in Mexico. Dolores Gonzales, 28, born in New Mexico, was keeping house with Juan Gonzales, 19. Entries beside several dwellings are blank. Little else is known of the women who lived in this community or the women at other nearby communities who prostituted themselves to the soldiers.

Certainly, Fort Selden’s soldiers visited prostitutes in La Mesilla and Las Cruces as well as in other small communities. These women and their influence on Fort Selden’s community need further research. Whether any offspring resulted from these liaisons is unknown.

Officers’ Wives

In October 1866 2nd Lt. James Henry Storey shared quarters at Fort Selden with Lieutenant O’Connor and his wife. O’Connor, an Irishman who had lived in Brooklyn, was with the 3rd U.S. Cavalry. Storey said he and O’Connor were “great friends,” and O’Connor’s wife “occasionally gives me some very good advice and repeatedly asserts that her husband will be my ruination.” Storey longed for the comforts of a wife himself, “just to make my bed and tie my cravat” (Harry [Storey], letter to Annie Cheshire, Brooklyn, New York, October 18, 1866, Storey Letters, FSSM).

Storey’s housemate apparently was Lawrence L. O’Connor, born in Ireland and joined the 5th New York Cavalry. Lawrence O’Connor was a

lieutenant in the 3rd Cavalry from February 23, 1866. A general court-martial in Santa Fe found him guilty of conduct unbecoming an officer in 1868. He was sentenced to dismissal but the findings and sentence were dismissed. He and his wife were said to be “great thorns in old Jerry’s [Capt. Gerald Russell’s] side. Mrs. O’C. was a bright woman, well-educated and able to write a good letter, but with a very creamy brogue. Her shrewdness and tact saved her husband from many a pit-fall and enabled him to defy the inquisitions of courts martial” (Bourke, quoted in Altshuler 1991:252). Her story would be an asset to Fort Selden’s interpretation.

Also in October 1866 Lieutenant Storey reported a tragedy at Fort Selden involving a love triangle. Lt. John Warner suspected that Lt. Fred Hazelhurst of Storey’s regiment was “too intimate with [Warner’s] wife.” Storey had taken meals with Mrs. Warner when they crossed the plains en route to New Mexico. After Warner watched his wife Julia and the other man, he determined his suspicions were correct. Therefore he had sent Julia to the States a week previously and filed for divorce. On October 22 Warner showed Storey three letters he had taken from the mail; the letters were from Hazelhurst and addressed to Warner’s wife. Hazelhurst wrote Julia of his plans to resign in January and meet her soon after. He also threatened to ruin Warner. About 12:30 that night, apparently Warner shot Hazelhurst, who then shot him; Warner died shortly thereafter, and Hazelhurst died at 5 the next morning (Harry [Storey], letter to Annie, October 23, 1866, Storey Letters, FSSM).

Apparently, Capt. Joseph G. Tilford’s wife also accompanied him to Fort Selden. “Mrs. Tilford” invited “Mr.” Storey for a “parting” social tea on October 8, 1867, before the 125th left Fort Selden (E. Tilford, note to [Lt. James Henry] Storey, October 8, 1867, Storey Letters, FSSM). Captain Tilford was Selden’s commanding officer from December 1866 until May 1868 (Holmes 1990:143). Because of their unusually long stay and the early dates of her husband’s command, E. Tilford deserves additional research.

Fort Selden’s next commander, from May to August 1868, was Cuvier Grover, a cousin of future president Grover Cleveland. Already a career officer in the military, Cuvier married Susie Willard Flint of New York in August 1865. He also was commanding officer at Fort Craig (Altshuler 1991:148). We can assume Susie was with Grover during his brief tenure at Fort Selden.

Probably more is known about Lydia Spencer Lane than any woman who lived at Fort Selden. In addition to residing at Fort Selden from March to July 1869, while her husband William B. Lane was post commander, Lydia lived with her husband at Forts Fillmore, Craig, Marcy, and Union. Her husband might have had a distinguished military career except for health problems that eventually required him to resign. Lydia’s memoirs have been published as a book, making them readily available for reference (Lane 1964 [1893]).

In February 1861 Lydia traveled to Fort Fillmore, where her husband was commanding officer. Although Lydia said she and the sutler’s wife were the only women at the post, they may not have enjoyed a friendship. Her husband actually placed Lydia in command of Fort Fillmore briefly while the soldiers went on a scout to Dog Canyon. The Lanes left Fort Fillmore for Fort Craig on July 24, 1861, just before Fillmore fell to the Confederates (Lane 1964 [1893]:108, 100–101, 112–113).

By the time Lydia returned to New Mexico in the summer of 1866, when her husband was assigned to Fort Marcy, she was a veteran traveler. She remarked that the six new brides also in the party from Fort Leavenworth soon dispensed of their “dainty costumes” and fashionable hoops (Lane 1964 [1893]:130–131, 140). Lydia later would lament that women with the army in the 1860s were “forced to travel with the command, sick or well” (Lane 1964 [1893]:134). On another of Lydia’s trips with the military, a young mother traveled 18 miles the day after giving birth. Lydia also knew of a young woman who gave birth “in a tent in the wilds of Texas” and became blinded from the sun’s glare on the tent’s white canvas walls; the

baby died (Lane 1964 [1893]:134–135). Lydia later said the 1860s military wife

liked pretty things and luxuries...but had very few of either, and she was quite...handsome and young...when she gave her heart and hand to the fascinating Second Lieutenant Buttons, who endowed her “with all his worldly goods,” which usually meant his monthly pay of from sixty-eight to ninety dollars a month, and some bills—tailor bills—for clothes, which helped to make him so irresistible. Her bridal tour was to a frontier post, a thousand miles from anywhere, and a journey of a month or six weeks between her and her old home [Lane 1964 (1893):135].

In January 1867 the army ordered Colonel Lane from Santa Fe to command Fort Union. Their quarters required shelving to hold china and other necessities, and Lydia said, “You may be sure the quartermaster’s life was a burden to him, pestered as he was from morning until night by every woman at the post, each one wanting something done, and ‘right away’” (Lane 1964 [1893]:142–143).

Colonel Lane’s health deteriorated, and at the doctor’s recommendation, the Lanes applied for leave to return East. Apparently, it was the usual practice for officers’ families to sell their goods when leaving a post and to acquire new furnishings at the next post. In this instance the Lanes realized a nice profit from the sale. “We needed all the money we could raise for the expensive journey before us. It required a great deal to travel to and from a country as far away as New Mexico, and to have such an expense twice in one year was a serious drain on our finances” (Lane 1964 [1893]:151–152; quote on p. 152). Her preparations to leave included diligently cleaning her home, to the point of hiring a man to daily “scrub and scour until everything shone. I was well aware how all the articles would be examined by my army sisters for spots and specks, and I was determined they should find neither” (Lane 1964 [1893]:151).

The Lanes returned to New Mexico in March 1869 and received orders to report to Fort

Selden. Lydia described the post as “a quiet, rather unattractive place, garrisoned by one company of colored infantry and one of white cavalry. The commanding officer’s quarters were not nearly finished. I believe there were only four rooms ready when we arrived, but they were larger and better than a tent, and we were not long getting into them.” “There were four ladies there, none of whom are now in the army. They were not friendly with each other, but I, coming as a stranger among them, was kindly received, and we lived most harmoniously together as long as we remained. It was, indeed, a dull little place” (Lane 1964 [1893]:171). In fact, the 1870 census lists at least 11 women at Fort Selden. Most likely those women Lydia “counted” were wives of officers and enlisted men, and not those of Mexican heritage or whose husbands were below her perceived rank.

While at Fort Selden Lydia raised chickens to eat and for eggs, and kept milk cows. She succeeded in making butter without ice or cool water. Her primitive churn was a large stone jar, which held about three gallons, with a rough top and dasher of pinewood made by a soldier-carpenter. Because of the heat, she says the butter “sometimes was like oil when freshly churned” (Lane 1964 [1893]:172). Her children became attached to the chickens, so they had to be killed without the children’s knowledge (Lane 1964 [1893]:175).

The Lanes’ house was finished room by room through the summer, but by July Colonel Lane’s health was so bad they once again had to leave New Mexico. The finished rooms gave them space for visitors, but Lydia lamented no one seemed to “have much business at Selden, for I only remember having two guests, Colonels Bridgeman and Cary, paymasters.” She “never objected to entertaining men; they were easily pleased, and willing to make due allowance for lack of variety of dainties in the larder.” Lydia was less comfortable entertaining the wives because of her lack of furnishings. Out of necessity the Lanes made a washstand and a table by turning hogsheads upside down, then tacking white muslin around them and placing white towels over them. She thought the washstand was attractive after she placed “pretty

toilet articles upon it” (Lane 1964 [1893]:175–176).

This time Colonel Lane’s health was so bad the doctor told him to leave Fort Selden and New Mexico immediately. Once again the Lanes disposed of their few furnishings, auctioning the things they did not care to keep and retaining only what was absolutely necessary. Lydia remarked, “The high prices realized at our sale were absurd, and I was actually ashamed when articles were bid up far beyond their value.” Their cook stove had cost \$45 and sold for \$80, and her sewing machine had cost less than \$40 and sold for \$100. Lydia attributed the high bids to the high cost of freighting goods from the States; the prices realized therefore were less than those charged by local merchants. Since the Lanes’ property had been hauled to Selden in government wagons, they had avoided freight charges (Lane 1964 [1893]:176).

Lydia recalled,

I had become so accustomed to change station every few months, I liked it, and was always ready and glad to go when an order came to move. We had never lived more than six months at one post, and three or four in the same place gave us the feeling of old inhabitants. We made nine moves in eighteen months in New Mexico, and I did not object at all. I soon fell into the habit of putting very few tacks in curtains and carpets, so that but little force was required to haul down one and pull up the other, and in a short time everything was packed and ready for a march [Lane 1964 (1893):190].

The wife of Maj. David R. Clendenin, Fort Selden’s commanding officer from May to December 1870, was the former Sophia Ford, born in New York about 1830. David Ramsay Clendenin was born January 24, 1830, at Little Britain, Pennsylvania. David and Sophia married on February 15, 1855. Before coming to Fort Selden, Clendenin served in Arizona (Holmes 1990:143; Altshuler 1991:71). In the 1870 census, the Clendenins have two sons, Charles F., 13, and Paul, 11, both born in Illinois. The

Clendenins also have two servants, 17-year-old Armola Carlos, a male, born in Hanover, and 30-year-old Cammeta[?] Gonzales, a female, born in Mexico.

Sophia’s life with her husband could not have been easy. The Inspector General brought charges against Clendenin in 1870 for gambling, not maintaining good discipline, and being unfit to command. Testimony from officers in New Mexico, probably at Fort Selden, said the gambling was “occasional,” and he was returned to duty. He later served again in Arizona. On duty in Texas in 1888, the department commander wanted Clendenin, promoted to colonel in late October, to be sent before a retirement board because he believed he suffered from “whiskey rheumatism.” The board said Clendenin’s appearance was older than his 59 years and was that of “a man who has indulged daily in the use of alcoholic stimulants.” His left arm was deformed from a break. The board nevertheless returned him to duty, but in 1891 he was found physically and mentally unfit and retired. He died on March 5, 1895 (Altshuler 1991:71–72).

Another officer’s wife in 1870 is Mary E. Williams, 30, born in Maryland, and wife of James M. Williams, 36, born in New York. No children are enumerated with this couple. Holmes lists Maj. John M. Williams as Fort Selden’s commanding officer during April and May 1870 (Holmes 1990:143).

Capt. George W. Chilson, commanding officer of Fort Selden from June to August 1873, was married to Sarah Cotharin. Although the date of their marriage is not known at present, Sarah died in 1875, and Chilson remarried in 1879. Chilson committed suicide at Fort Duncan, Texas, on January 18, 1881 (Altshuler 1991:68–69). Sarah Cotharin Chilson possibly lived at Fort Selden while George Chilson was commanding officer.

In the fall of 1876, an enlisted man and the wife of 1st Lt. M. P. Buffum, 15th Infantry, were involved in an affair. The commanding officer brought court-martial against Buffum on grounds that he was cohabitating with an adulteress (his wife) and that he was habitually drunk. Witnesses included two black enlisted

men of Company F, 9th Cavalry (Billington 1987:74).

In March 1884 Mary MacArthur accompanied her husband Capt. Arthur MacArthur to his new post as commander of Fort Selden, arriving with their two living sons, Arthur, 6, and Douglas, 2. The post still was being reconstructed. Because of the ruinous condition of the original commanding officer's quarters, the quarters had been moved to three rooms in one of the double officers' quarters. Captain MacArthur said "no families, or very small ones" had been at the post since it was reoccupied. MacArthur asked for "a few hundred dollars" to make the officer's quarters more suitable, and eventually the MacArthurs took over the second half of the double house in which they lived (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:21).

Wives of Enlisted Men and Noncommissioned Officers

In May 1869 Private John Walker, Company K, 38th Infantry, was found guilty of being AWOL. Confined to the hospital with an illness, he had walked to his wife's quarters. His wife was the company laundress and lived in quarters on the north end of the hospital. Walker was fined a month's pay (Holmes 1990:34–35).

In the 1870 census, Mary Ellington, 45, born in Ireland, was a company laundress, and her soldier husband Michael[?], 43, was born in Ohio. Trylely[?] Urback, 37, was the hospital matron. Born in Iowa, she was married to a 36-year-old soldier, John Urback, born in Hesse. Living with the Urbachs were four boys: John, 8, born in Iowa; William, 5, born in California; Franklin, 4, born in California; and James, 1, born in California. Rosanna Bourly, 33, was born in England. Her 33-year-old soldier husband, Robert W. Bourly, was born in Kentucky. Living with them are their three sons, all born in California: George and Thomas, both 7, and Louis, 2.

Wives of Post Traders, Sutlers, and Others

Lydia Spencer Lane lived at Fort Fillmore in February 1861, while her husband was post commander. Lydia recalls she and the sutler's

wife were the only women at the post (Lane 1964 [1893]:100–101).

In the 1870 census of Fort Selden, Tedosa[?] Ott, 24, was keeping house with Peter F. Ott, the garrison's hotelkeeper, born in Wisconsin. Tedosa was born in Mexico. Perhaps Mariana Gallegos, the hotel's 48-year-old cook, also born in Mexico, was her mother. In the household with Holbrook[?] Watts, 40, the post butcher, born in Maine, was Crescencia Watts, 20, keeping house, born in New Mexico. The blacksmith in the quartermaster department was James Milson, 33, born in Pennsylvania. His wife was Refugia, 28, born in Mexico. Living with the Milsons are three children: Mary, 8; Andrea, 4, and John, 2, all born in New Mexico. Juana Martinez, 38, born in Mexico and living alone, also is listed as a company laundress.

The saddler's wife taught the first formally organized school at Fort Selden, apparently in the 1880s while MacArthur was commanding officer. She taught 13 children during the day and illiterate soldiers in the evening (Captain MacArthur to AG, February 14, 1883, in Holmes 1990:44).

Women at Fort Selden in 1870

In the 1870 census of Fort Selden, at least 13 women are enumerated. Maj. David R. Clendenin was Fort Selden's commanding officer from May to December 1870 (Holmes 1990:143), and the census was taken on July 30. Clendenin's wife is listed as Sophia D., 35, born in New York. Their two sons are Charles F., 13, and Paul, 11, both born in Illinois. Cammeta[?] Gonzales, 30, born in Mexico, was a domestic servant in the Clendenins' household.

Mary E. Williams, 30, born in Maryland, also was an officer's wife in 1870. Her husband James W. Williams, 36, was born in New York. Holmes lists Maj. John M. Williams as commanding officer of Fort Selden during April and May 1870 (Holmes 1990:143). No children are listed in the census with this couple.

Wives of soldiers were Mary Ellington, 45, company laundress, born in Ireland; Ida Yager, 25, born in Pennsylvania; Trylely[?] Urback, 27, the hospital matron, born in Iowa; and Rosanna

Bourly, 33, born in England. Juana Martinez, 38, born in Mexico and living alone, also was a company laundress.

Tedosa[?] Ott, 24, born in Mexico, was the wife of Peter Ott, the garrison's hotelkeeper. Also living in the hotel was Mariana Gallegos, 48, the hotel's cook, born in Mexico. Crescencia Watts, 20, born in New Mexico, may have been the wife of the post butcher. Manelina Ten, 30, born in Mexico, was a domestic servant in the Watts household. Refugia Milson, 28, born in Mexico, was the wife of the blacksmith.

A total of 15 children, ranging in age from 1 to 13 years, lived on the post. Only 5 of the children were female. Apparently Fort Selden had no formally organized school until 1884, however (Captain MacArthur to AG, February 14, 1883 [sic], in Holmes 1990:44).

Wife with Abusive Husband

The 5th Infantry left Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in 1866, about the same time Lieutenant Storey was traveling to New Mexico. In this group were Josephine Clifford, accompanying her husband James, a member of the 3rd Cavalry, and Lydia Spencer Lane, who already had made four trips across the plains. Although Lane thought those traveling the route for the first time might find the trip "extremely wearisome," Josephine remarked on the landscape, geology, and wildlife and found aspects of the trip very enjoyable. Unfortunately, unknown to Josephine, her husband was a bigamist who had deserted his first wife. In addition, he was charged with theft and appeared before a court-martial after arriving at Fort Union in August 1866. Clifford would remain under arrest for various infractions for most of his 23-month term of service (Foote 1990:204–206).

The Cliffords arrived at Fort Bayard, not yet constructed, where Josephine was the only officer's wife present. James Clifford had started drinking heavily after arriving in New Mexico and began to "exhibit symptoms of paranoia" in fear that someone would discover he had killed a man in Texas some years earlier. Soon after arriving at Fort Bayard, Clifford, who was still under arrest and thus had no duties, made Josephine a virtual prisoner, inflicting her with

severe physical and emotional abuse (Foote 1990:207–208).

While Josephine was at Fort Bayard with her husband in 1866, the only other woman in camp was the company laundress, a woman beneath her station. Josephine's husband frequently threatened to kill her. In January 1867 Clifford determined to send Josephine to visit General Carleton in Santa Fe to seek "redress and reinstatement" for him. On this trip commanders at Forts Cummings, Selden, McRae, and Craig, all of whom had been informed of her abusive situation by the orderly who attended the family, assisted Josephine. Clifford became concerned she was going to abandon him, and he deserted Fort Bayard to catch up to her at San Antonio, New Mexico. Although military wives in Santa Fe who learned of her plight attempted to assist her, Carleton himself was "reluctant to interfere." He did, however, order Clifford to return to Fort Bayard, adding desertion to the charges against him, and said, "His wife is to be pitied" (Foote 1990:208–212).

Finally, during court-martial proceedings against Clifford at Fort Bayard in April 1867, Josephine again determined to leave her husband. Bayard's commander assigned a company to guard Clifford, and he wrote a letter to the commanding officer at Fort Selden enlisting his assistance in getting Josephine out of the country (J. Tilford to commanding officer, Fort Selden, April 19, 1867, quoted in Foote 1990:214). After reaching St. Louis, Josephine joined her brother and mother in California, where she filed for a divorce, granted in April 1869. Clifford was in fact James Ingram. His abandoned wife of 15 years, who had borne him 9 children, took him back in 1870 (Foote 1990:216–217).

Anglo Women's Relationships with Native Americans

Lydia Spencer Lane apparently always feared and distrusted Indians. The trip to Fort Selden in 1869 seemed particularly dangerous to her, because they traveled through San Antonio to Fort Bliss, Texas, passing through Fort Davis. At Wild Rose Pass near Fort Davis, she comments,

*I cannot now remember just how far
from the fort this dangerous pass was,*

but it had always been a noted hiding-place for Indians...Indeed, the whole road from Limpia Cañon to Fort Quitman had been the scene of repeated tragedies. Only a month before we passed over it, the stage, carrying a passenger and the United States mail, had been attacked by Indians, the driver killed, and Judge Hubbell, a man well known in Texas and New Mexico, either murdered or captured; the mail was cut to pieces and the coach destroyed... [Lane 1964 (1893):166].

She says, “The Indian rarely made war unless certain of victory, which he followed up with untold atrocities” (Lane 1964 [1893]:167). Lydia recounts that when they arrived at Fort Selden, they owned horses, mules, and various vehicles, but it was unsafe to ride a mile from the post because of the danger of Indians (Lane 1964 [1893]:170–171). Indeed, 25 Indians attacked the post’s wood train within the military reservation on March 5 of that year (Cohrs and Caperton 1983:12–13).

Women’s Relationships with Blacks

Women at frontier forts occasionally traveled with black troops and some lived at posts with black regiments. Myres quotes Eveline Alexander’s opinion while traveling to a New Mexico destination that, “These Negroes of the Fifty-seventh Regiment are indeed the most hideous blacks I have ever seen. There is hardly a mulatto among them; almost all are coal black, with frightfully bad (f)aces” (Alexander, quoted in Myres 1990:186).

While traveling to live at Fort Selden in 1869, Lydia Spencer Lane passed through Fort Quitman, Texas. “The troops stationed there were all colored, and as we passed the guard-house I noticed a sergeant in full dress, jumping rope! I felt rather shocked to see a soldier in uniform so disporting himself, but concluded if any one at Quitman could feel cheerful enough to enjoy so innocent a pastime he was to be congratulated” (Lane 1964 [1893]:168). The current research has no information directly

related to women’s attitudes to Fort Selden’s black troops.

Black Women

Remarkably, at least one black woman served in the military as a soldier. Cathay Williams, a former slave from Independence, Missouri, served for two years as Private William Cathay before she was discovered after becoming ill. She was discharged at Fort Bayard on October 14, 1868. Williams later opened a boarding house in Raton (“Female Buffalo Soldier: History Finally Takes Note of Her Story,” www.femalebuffalosoldier.org).

On December 1, 1867, white Lieutenant Leggett at Fort Cummings accused his black domestic servant Mattie Merritt of stealing money from his quarters. Although no money was found when she was searched, another white lieutenant ordered her from the post; however, this order was not carried out because of the Indian threat and because no facilities were available outside the post (Billington 1991:38). Resulting from the mutiny that followed this incident, a black soldier was tried and convicted at Fort Selden.

In early February 1869 when Lydia and William B. Lane were in San Antonio, Texas, on their way back to New Mexico where Lane would be commanding officer at Fort Selden, they advertised for servants to go with them. They hired a black man and a black woman, which they soon regretted (Lane 1964 [1893]:163). Lydia later surmised the two were lovers who wanted to “see the world.” The Lanes discharged the man before reaching Fort Selden and would have dismissed the maid except no other woman was available. “She was amiable, if she did break more than one of the commandments. We were obliged to overlook many vagaries and eccentricities of deportment, if we hoped to keep a maid on the frontier at that time” (Lane 1964 [1893]:173). If the maid, Mary, was involved with any of the black troops at Fort Selden can only be conjectured from Lydia’s dialogue. Nor does Lydia say where the woman went after she left their employ, apparently while at Fort Selden. No information has been found of any other black women directly or indirectly associated with Fort Selden.

Apache Women

Because the Fort Selden Military Reservation once was the territory of the Chiricahua and Mescalero Apaches, a description of 1870s Apache women seems appropriate. In 1872 Sladen describes the Apaches at the Tularosa reservation. The Indians were

scrupulously clean, both sexes washing and bathing frequently. Not a day passed that the women and children did not spend hours in the stream near by, going in with all their clothes on, except their moccasins and leather wraps, frolicking and splashing, and shouting and having the greatest fun.

Both men and women spent a great deal of time in dressing their own or one another's hair, and I frequently saw them using the marrow from bones as a hair dressing. I have seen the wife spend hours in dressing Cochise's hair, combing it through her fingers, and smoothing and dressing it until it shone like a polished shoe.

These people were entirely free from vermin, and I neither found them myself, nor saw any evidence of them during the entire time I spent with them. In their relations with us they were thoroughly honest....

Another characteristic was the absence of licentiousness amongst them. The punishment to the woman for any violation was the loss of the nose. In other tribes I had seen instances of this distinguishing mark, but there was none in this band [Sladen 1997:98–99].

Children went naked to the age of 8 to 10, when the girls dressed as the women and the boys “simply tied a string about their waist and added a narrow strip of cloth for a breech cloth” (Sladen 1997:100). The women, although “more decently dressed,” often had little more than rags

to wear. Their skirts were knee length, and they wore moccasins and leg wrappings of buckskin. “All displayed a great fondness for ornament, and nearly all except the old women wore strings of beads and colored stones about their necks, some of them wearing string upon string of those ornaments, until their added weight must have become burdensome.” Almost all the women painted their faces with colored clay and considered vermilion obtained from whites a “priceless rarity” to be used carefully and sparingly on their faces. Their hair usually was worn in long braids hanging down the back (Sladen 1997:101).

Sladen discusses at length the cheerful, inquisitive nature of these people. They were “brim full of fun and joking, and ready to laugh heartily at the most trivial thing,” and very fond of practical jokes (Sladen 1997:101–102). They were always generous in sharing food with each other. After a hunting trip, Cochise's wife reserved only “some choice parts for the chief's own use” before sharing the remainder of the antelope he procured among everyone present (Sladen 1997:100).

Servants

Josephine Clifford hired an “old army woman” to serve as cook on the trip from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, to Fort Union in 1866. The advantage was that the woman “knew what supplies to bring along and how to prepare meals on the trail” (Foote 1990:205). At Fort Bayard, enlisted men served as their cook and orderly (Foote 1990:208).

Lydia Spencer Lane talks of the great difficulty in finding servants for their return to New Mexico in the summer of 1866. They finally employed “a very homely middle-aged woman” and “a young English girl who was almost worthless,” hired as a nurse for their baby boy (Lane 1964 [1893]:130). The cook soon married a stonemason after their arrival at Fort Marcy. The woman “was old as well as ugly” and “a wretched cook.” Lane's efforts to train the nurse to cook were futile, so she undertook to teach their Irish male servant to cook (Lane 1964 [1893]:141).

After moving to Fort Union in January 1867, the Lanes employed a “young Mexican man and little Mexican girl.” The man “milked cows, brought wood and water, scrubbed floors, etc.,” but Lane does not describe the child’s duties, saying only she “was a fine playmate for the children.” The Lanes also retained their English maid (Lane 1964 [1893]:143–144). Lydia attests to the importance of the roles played by servants on military posts in her lengthy description:

Colonel Lane, as commanding officer, seemed to feel obliged to entertain everybody who came to the post; and as our servants were inefficient and there was no market at hand, it was very difficult to have things always to please us, and, I fear, to the satisfaction of our guests.

The cook was useless half the time with rheumatism, so that I had not only all the work to do, but her to attend to besides. I took José into training when the maid was laid up, and he helped me in many ways, washing dishes, preparing vegetables for cooking, etc.

His appearance in the kitchen would have been against him in the eyes of the fastidious. His lank black hair fell over his shoulders, and he was never without his hat, but I did not interfere. I could not cultivate manners and the culinary art at the same time in a savage, and just then the latter was more important to me than the former, and I said nothing....

The only cook I could find to replace my sick one was a colored woman whose right hand was deformed. I tried her, but that hand, with her lack of cleanliness, was too much for me, and I concluded I would prefer to do all the work than have her about me, and sent her off [Lane 1964 (1893):145–146].

In early February 1869 the Lanes were in San Antonio, Texas, on their way back to New

Mexico where Lane would be commanding officer at Fort Selden. While waiting there for the wagon train to arrive with their property, the Lanes advertised for servants to go with them to New Mexico. They hired a black man and woman, which they soon regretted (Lane 1964 [1893]:163). Lydia later surmised the two were lovers who seized an opportunity to “see the world.” The Lanes discharged the man for theft before reaching Fort Selden, and they would have dismissed the maid for the same reason except no other woman was available. “She was amiable, if she did break more than one of the commandments. We were obliged to overlook many vagaries and eccentricities of deportment, if we hoped to keep a maid on the frontier at that time. A woman of any kind was thought better than none” (Lane 1964 [1893]:173). While traveling from Texas to New Mexico, a white man asked permission to join the Lanes’ party. After they discharged the black man, they hired the stranger, Isaac Bloomfield, in his place. Bloomfield was an Englishman who had served in the British navy, and proved to be an exceptional hand. When the Lanes finally had to let the maid go, Bloomfield became cook and performed all the housework “except making the beds; if I had permitted it, he would have done that too.” He was a good cook, and the Lanes’ children became attached to him (Lane 1964 [1893]:174).

Only three domestic servants were enumerated at the Garrison of Fort Selden in the 1870 population census:

Carlos Armola, 17, male, born in Hanover, in the household of post commander David R. Clendenin

Cammeta[?] Gonzales, 30, female, born in Mexico, in the household of post commander David R. Clendenin

Manelina Ten, 30, female, born in New Mexico, in the household of Holbrook Watts, the post butcher.