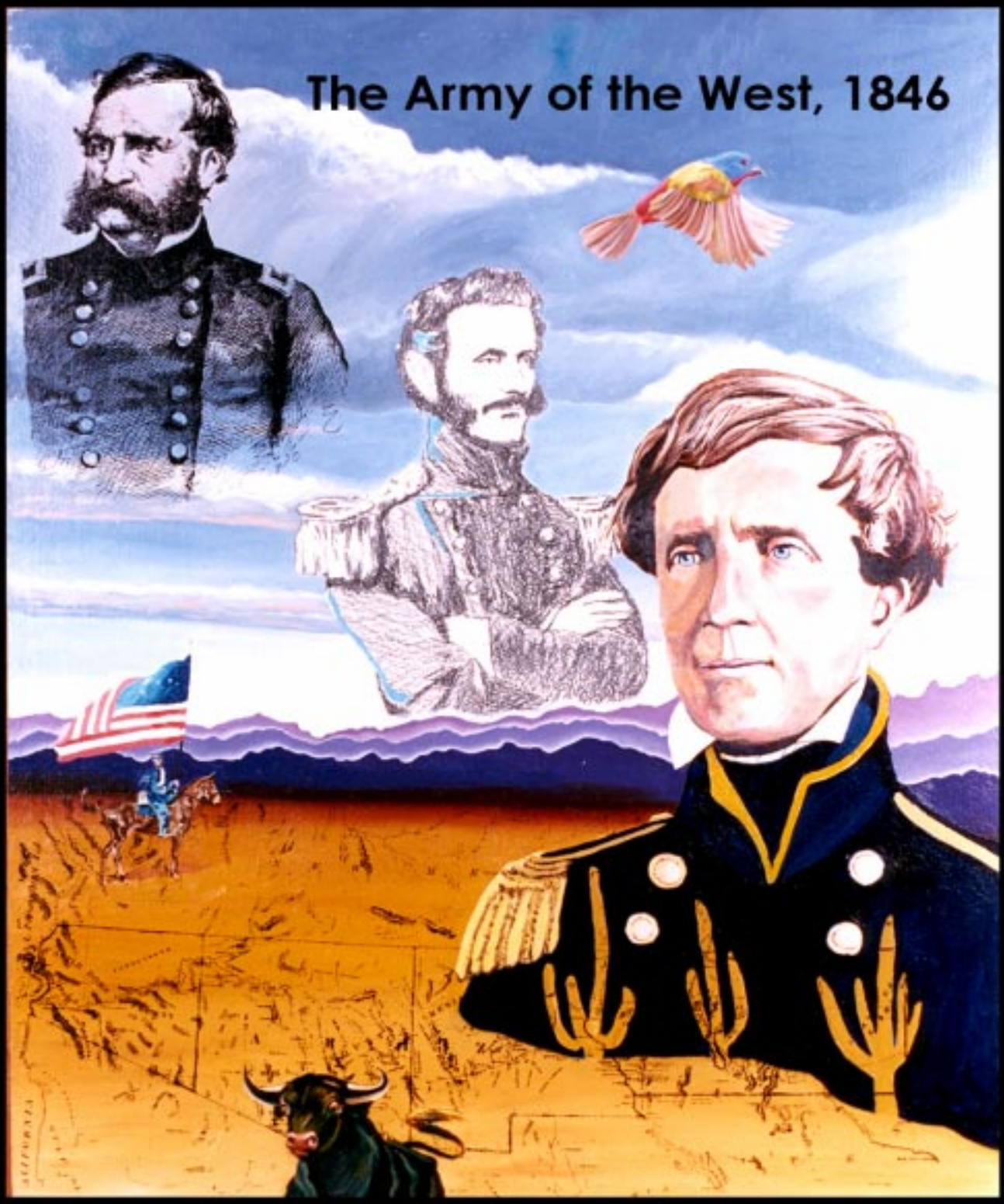
Volume 5, 1999

A Magazine of the Fort Huachuca Museum

Huachuca Illustrated



Contents

The Army of the West: "A State of War Exists"

The opening chapter in the U.S. military history of the Southwest begins, like most military histories, with the coming of an Army into the land. It was called "The Army of the West" and it had been charged by President James K. Polk with conquering for the United States the Mexican provinces of New Mexico (which then included Arizona north of the Gila River) and California. The year was 1846 and the United States was at war with Mexico over some territorial disputes in Texas.

On May 11 the president sent a message to Congress announcing that "The cup of forbearance has been exhausted. After reiterated menaces, Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States, has invaded our territory and shed American blood upon American soil." Two days later Congress declared, "By act of the Republic of Mexico, a state of war exists between that Government and the United States," and appropriated $10 million to fight it.

The Europeans were betting on Mexico to win this one. The standing Army of the United States was too pitifully small, only 7,500 men. It would have to depend on untrained volunteers. The Mexicans were confident as well. One officer bragged his cavalry could break through American lines with nothing more than a lasso.

The Army of the West was part of a grander strategy. While Texans under the militarily incompetent but bold Zachary Taylor slashed into Mexico's northern provinces from Texas; and while the military genius of Winfield Scott planned and executed a landing at Vera Cruz and a drive toward the capital of Mexico City; the Army of the West would take and hold that vast northern flank from Santa Fe to the Pacific coast, and, if possible, cooperate with General John E. Wool, who had been charged with the objective of Chihuahua province south of New Mexico and West Texas.

Polk instructed that it be a bloodless conquest, if at all possible, because he believed the ill-governed citizens of northern Mexico were ready to embrace an American deliverance from the weight of taxation.

The President, and indeed the nation, had their eyes on this wilderness. It would be needed for the inexorable westward expansion of the United States of America, a country that was destined to stretch from sea to shining sea.

The Secretary of War's instructions to the commander of the Army of the West, dated June 3, 1846, were explicit:

> *It has been decided by the President to be of the greatest importance, in the pending War with Mexico, to take the earliest possession of Upper California. An expedition with that view is hereby ordered, and you are designated to command it. To enable you to be in sufficient force to conduct it successfully, this additional force of a thousand mounted men [from Missouri] has been provided, to follow you in the direction of Santa Fe, to be under your orders, or the officer you may leave in command in Santa Fe.*
>
> * * *
>
> *…When you arrive at Santa Fe…and shall have taken possession of it, you find yourself in a condition to garrison it with a small part of your command, (as the additional force will soon be at that place,) and with the remainder press forward to California…. It will be*

important to provide for retaining safe possession of [New Mexico].

* * *

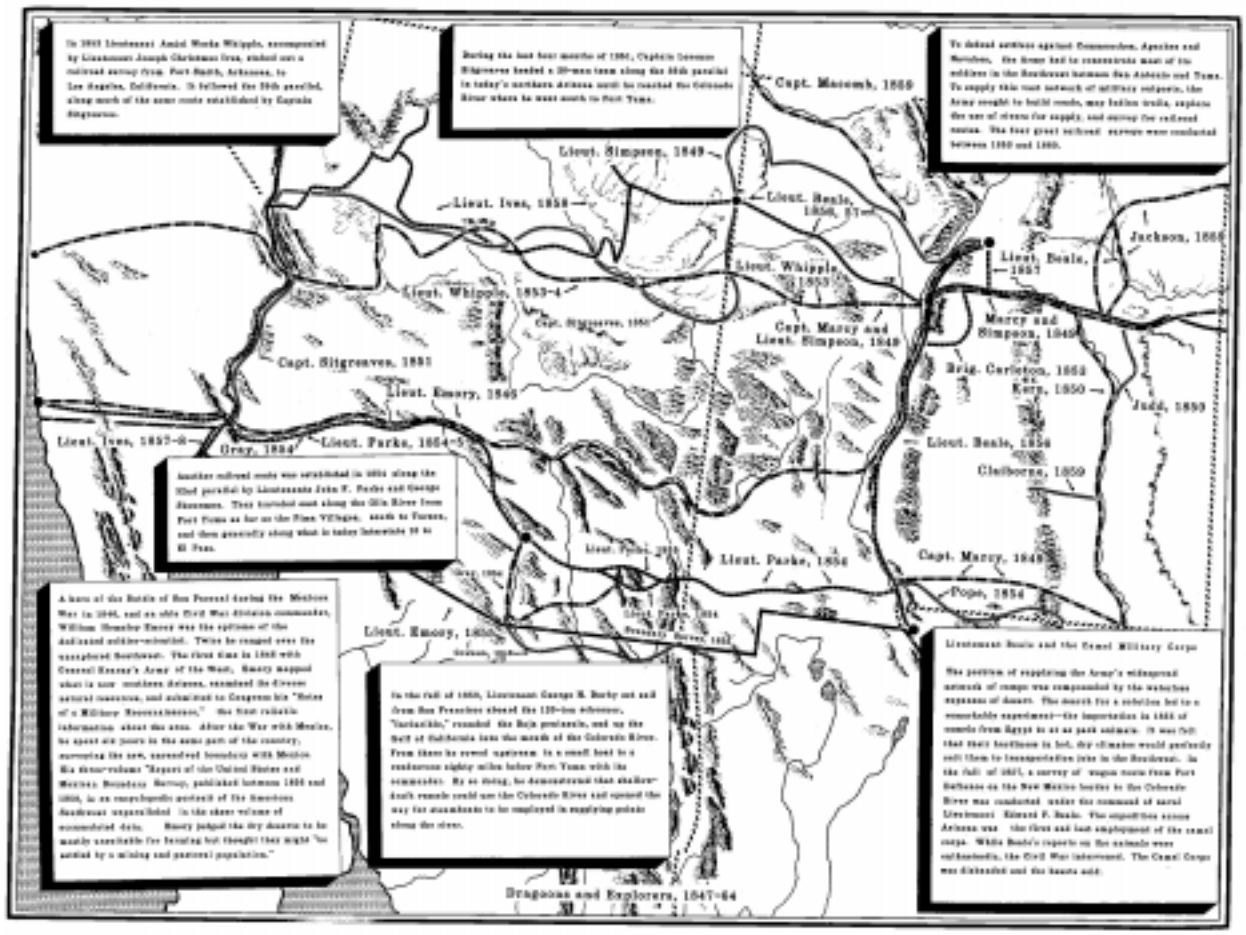
Should you conquer and take possession of New Mexico and Upper California, or considerable places in either, you will establish temporary civil governments therein; abolishing all arbitrary restrictions that may exist, so far as it may be done with safety. In performing this duty, it would be wise and prudent to continue in their employment all such of the existing officers as are known to be friendly to the United States, and will take the oath of allegiance to them.…

* * *

In your whole conduct you will act in such a manner as best to conciliate the inhabitants, and render them friendly to the United States.

* * *

I am directed by the President to say, that the rank of Brevet Brigadier General will be conferred on you as soon as you commence your movement towards California.…



The United States in the Northern Theater of Operations During the War With Mexico.

Roll Call: Brig. Gen. Stephen Watts Kearny

At the head of the Army of the West, the president had placed a 52-year old colonel of the 1st Dragoons, and he had bestowed upon him a brigadier generalcy which would catch up with him in Santa Fe. He was described as "tall, straight, bronzed, lean as a sea cusk." Unlike the impulsive Taylor and the egomaniacal Scott, he had no presidential ambition nor intrigues to mastermind. He was a soldier pure and simple and a good one. He was Stephen Watts Kearny, a Kentuckian about whom Bernard DeVoto has written:

> *Kearny was not only a practised frontier commander but one of the most skillful and dependable officers in the Army. In the vaudeville show of swollen egoism, treachery, incompetence, rhetoric, stupidity, and electioneering which the general officers during the Mexican War display to the pensive mind, Kearny stands out as a gentleman, a soldier, a commander, a diplomat, a statesman, and master of his job, whose only superior was Winfield Scott. He did the jobs assigned him.*[3]

Kearny was a veteran of the War of 1812, serving with the 13th Infantry and playing an important part in the Battle of Queenston Heights. He began his Western career in 1819 when he joined Col. Henry Atkinson's Yellowstone Expedition. He would also take part in the Second Yellowstone Expedition up the Missouri River in 1824-25. His service took him to many frontier garrisons, some of which he commanded. In 1833 he was promoted to lieutenant colonel and assigned to the newly-created 1st Dragoon Regiment at Jefferson Barracks, and became colonel of the regiment in 1836. There he wrote *Carbine Manual, or Rule, for the Exercise and Manoeuvers for the U.S. Dragoons*. He led several expeditions into Indian territory to quell wars between and within tribes. In 1845 he led his Dragoons on a march along the Oregon Trail, from Missouri to South Pass in Wyoming, and returned through the Colorado Plains and along the Santa Fe Trail, a journey that was a dress rehearsal for the major wartime excursion to come.

Kearny was the complete soldier, a respected leader, and a designer of both horse equipments and strategy. He had proposed that large flying squadrons headquartered at a few major outposts in the West be employed to solve the Indian problem there rather than the ineffective policy that was to stand for decades of garrisoning the frontier with tiny forces scattered about hundreds of small posts. He felt that large columns sweeping the country regularly would appear more formidable to the Indians who could easily overwhelm and outmaneuver the smaller patrols. His ideas would never be adopted owing to the demand of each frontier settlement for the presence of the Army, and the fact that the larger forces could not adequately cover the immense territories that the Indians roamed.

At a time when Regular Army officers were too often petty martinets, he showed the ability to harmonize strict discipline with democratic good sense and command a force of men that made up the crack regiment of the Regular Army, the 1st Dragoons, organized in 1833, 300-strong; a regiment of raw and untrained volunteers, the 1st Missouri Mounted Volunteers, 8 companies of 856 men altogether; and a battalion of volunteers from a religious sect that had been persecuted and driven westward in search of their own promised land, the Mormon Battalion of more than 500 men.

These incidents may have set General Kearny reflecting on the state of discipline among his volunteers. Two days later he issued this order:

The General commanding has much regretted to see such a want of discipline & insubordination as exists in most companies of the Mo. Mounted Vols. From this time a change for the better should be effected, & all officers, particularly company commanders, should more closely attend to their duties, & see that the men under them properly perform what is expected from soldiers in the service of the U. States. Officers must not think that the object of the Government in sending them into the field is to make interest with those under their command so that they may secure their votes either at home or abroad, but that they are commissioned to perform certain high duties for the advancement of the glory of our country; & such duties can only be performed by exacting rigid discipline & subordination from all under their command. An army is a mob of the worst kind, unless properly governed and restrained.

So successful was Kearny in leading his small army across this largely uninhabited wilderness that the Spanish called *despoblado* that the trip was made without the kind of crisis that marks better-remembered failures. As Bernard de Voto has put it, "He did the job so well that it has never had much comment by anyone. . . . What is remarkable in Kearny's march . . . is only the absence of remarkable events. Good management of expeditions, we are told, forestalls adventures. Kearny was a master of frontier craft and he had his own Dragoons, not only professional soldiers but veterans of the West. His one hard problem was how to maintain them as cavalry."

Most of the Dragoons would rather have been in on the fighting to the south, in Mexico, where glory was to be won. Instead they were laboring in obscurity. Here is Captain Cooke's lament:

Nothing is heard of the war in Mexico; our position here has been unfortunate, irksome, disheartening—so far from the "sabre clash" of the sunny South! Truly there is a "Fortune of War"; and the pedestal of the goddess is Opportunity! That a soldier should pass through a war without distinction I used to think—and does not the world?—is to be set down to his fault or want of merit. But how near were some of us to being excluded from all action, and in spite of our vehement applications; and how much resignation to the consciousness of mere duty performed, is the only support of our obscure lot, in this field of war's drudgery!

* * *

. . . Working in this obscurity, our most faithful, venturous, long-continued labors, amid all privations and exposures, fruitful though they prove to be in the annexation of imperial extents of territory; conquering Nature itself in its most naked and forbidding shapes, shall be ignorantly accepted—placed in the appendix, as it were, of history.

* * *

…We traveled many days without seeing a spear of grass, and no vegetation excepting a species of Fremontia, and the mesquite tree, something like our thorn and which our mules eat, thorn and branches to keep them alive.

* * *

We gained a victory over the enemy, but paid most dearly for it. …The loss of our killed is deeply felt by all, particularly by myself who very much miss my aide Johnston who was a most excellent & talented soldier & Capt. Moore who displayed great courage & chivalry in the fight, as did Lieut. Hammond.…

Kearny moved north in January 1847 to retake Los Angeles, and by January 10 the Americans were once more in possession of the pueblo and California was secure.

Here in California, the struggles across the *jornadas* and the fight at San Pascual behind him, Kearny would confront another battle. It would be with his American glory-seeking subor-

dinates, particularly Fremont, whose refusal to accept Kearny's presidentially-granted authority was termed by Captain Turner as "outrageous." The adjutant held "the most contemptuous opinion" of Stockton. "He is a low, trifling, truckling politician, regarded with as much contempt by the officers of the Navy, as by those of the Army." By exercising his characteristic good sense and an enviable self-control, Kearny was able to forestall disaster in governing California. But he would have to endure the wrath, a wrath unlike any other, of Fremont's father-in-law, Senator Thomas Hart Benton, who would spend his energies excoriating Kearny and clouding the luster of his achievements.

A subordinate, Philip St. George Cooke, later summed up Kearny's military achievement in accomplishing the mission entrusted to him in the year 1846.

The "Army of the West" marched from Bent's Fort with only rations calculated to last, by *uninterrupted and most rapid marches, until it should arrive at Santa Fe. Is this war? Tested by the rules of the science, this expedition is anomalous, not to say Quixotic. A colonel's command, called an army, marches eight hundred miles beyond its base, its communication liable to be cut off by the slightest effort of the enemy—mostly through a desert—the whole distance almost totally destitute of resources, to conquer a territory of 250,000 square miles; without a military chest, the people of this territory are declared citizens of the United States, and the invaders are thus debarred from the rights of war to seize needful supplies; they arrive without food before the capital city—a city of two hundred and forty years old, habitually garrisoned by regular troops! I much doubt if any officer of rank, but Stephen Watts Kearny, would have undertaken the enterprise; or, if induced to do so, would have accomplished it successfully.*

From California, Kearny would go to Mexico, first to serve as the governor of Vera Cruz and then Mexico City. He contracted a fever at Vera Cruz that would send him home and soon kill him. His enemy, Senator Benton, was unrelenting in his denunciation of Kearny. When a bill came to the Senate floor that proposed a brevet major generalcy for Kearny, Benton was, according to President Polk, "violent beyond what is usual even for him." In spite of the senator's thunderous opposition, the bill passed and Kearny became a major general.

But if Kearny had a formidable enemy in Benton, he also had a more eloquent ally in historian Bernard De Voto, who claimed that, because of Benton, Kearny has never received his due. De Voto presents the case for Kearny:

Besides the malice, prejudice, and blind rage in Benton's attack there were innumerable deliberate misstatements, misrepresentations, and misinterpretations. They were immoral acts of revenge and historians should contrive to get beyond them to the facts. Kearny's service to the United States at a decisive turning point in history is great—was itself decisive. He did the jobs assigned him, quietly, competently, authoritatively. He took New Mexico and organized it. He completed the conquest and began the organization of California. In that packed year his job was rich with possibilities of failure—with just such possibilities as we have seen fulfilled by the stupidity, arrogance, carelessness, or egotism of other men. He succeeded at everything he set out to do: he was an expert. He kept his temper and held his tongue. He wrote no letter to politicians or the press. He conducted no intrigues and was not interested in politics. Few of those in high places we have had to deal with were capable of putting the republic before themselves. Kearny served it without trying to serve himself. He was a man, a gentleman, and a soldier. The enmity of an adventurer's father-in-law should not be

permitted to obscure his achievement any longer.[4]

Just as Lieutenant Colonel Cooke thought Kearny's march to California was doomed to be relegated to the "appendix . . . of history," Captain Turner likewise thought that their mission was a thankless one that would be overlooked by future generations.

What difficulties do we have to encounter, we who perform marches over such a country; how little do those who sit in their easy chairs in Washington think or know of the privations, the difficulties we are daily, hourly subjected to. Even our anxious friends at home can form no idea of the trials & fatigues that we undergo each hour in the day—wading streams, clambering over rocky, precipitous mountains, or laboring through the valleys of streams where the loose earth or sand cause our animals to sink up to their knees at almost every step—then, our frugal meals, hard bed, & perhaps a wet blanket. This is soldiers' fare, but I am sick of it, & have power no longer to endure it willingly, particularly when we get no credit for it. Unless we are fortunate enough to get into a fight before reaching California, and be successful in to too, our laborious service in marching over this country will never be appreciated. I hope, however, to get the approbation of my own conscience & the satisfaction resulting therefrom, viz: the happy reflection of having performed all my duties faithfully.

To many Americans, the conquest of New Mexico and California by Kearny's Army of the West was simply the completing of a providential design bringing to the unhappy Mexicans of the northern provinces the American way of life, an expansionist juggernaut that one editor called "Manifest Destiny."

About the meaning of that conquest for the Spanish citizens, Bernard DeVoto has remarked: "Stephen W. Kearny and Alexander Doniphan brought more safety, stability, and hope to the New Mexicans in two months than Spain had found for them in two centuries, or Mexico after Spain. The annexation of Texas was a tragedy to some Mexicans but it was not a tragedy for Mexico. It was the last episode in the erosion of an empire."

Stephen Watts Kearny

Conquest: The Battle of the Bulls

After negotiating Guadalupe Pass, the Mormon Battalion, led by Lt. Col. Philip St. George Cooke, headed due west, picked up the San Pedro River, and with the imposing Huachuca Mountains on their left, followed it north. It was here along the San Pedro, near present-day Fairbanks, that they fought their first and only battle.

But the foe were not Mexican militia or Apache horsemen, but bulls. These cattle probably belonged to the Elias brothers who had begun ranching at the San Ignacio del Babocomari land grant to the west in 1832, or were part of some Apache plunder. The wild bulls charged the

column on December 11 and wreaked havoc until they were brought down or driven off. Several soldiers were wounded and some mules gored. The enemy casualties were barbecued. One gastronomique declared the meat to be "fat & tender the best beef I ever eat."

In his journal, Colonel Cooke described the fray.

There was quite an engagement with bulls, and I had to direct the men to load their muskets to defend themselves. The animals attacked in some instances without provocation, and tall grass in some places made the danger greater; one ran on a man, caught him in the thigh, and three him clear over his body lengthwise; then it charged on a team, ran its head under the first mule and tore out the entrails of the one beyond. Another ran against a sergeant, who escaped with severe bruises, as the horns passed at each side of him; one ran at a horse tied behind a wagon, and as it escaped, the bull struck the wagon with a momentum that forced the hind part of it out of the road. I saw one rush at some pack mules, and kill one of them. I was very near Corporal Frost, when an immense coal-black bull came charging at us, a hundred yards. Frost aimed his musket, flint lock, very deliberately, and only fired when the beast was within six paces; it fell headlong, almost at our feet. One man, charged on, threw himself flat, and the bull jumped over him and passed on.

A bull, after receiving two balls through its heart, and two through the lungs, ran on a man. I have seen the heart. Lieut. Stoneman was accidentally wounded in the thumb. We crossed a pretty stream which I have named "Bull Run."

For a private soldier's view of the Battle of the Bulls, read the journal entry of Private Guy M. Keysor.

Those in the Mormon Battalion who had yaugers [popular name for the U.S. Army Model 1841 muzzle-loading, flintlock, .54 caliber rifle with which some of the battalion were equipped for hunting purposes. Most carried older models] were permitted to go a hunting this morning. Shortly after we started, two wounded bulls came jumping into our marching column. One of them knocked down and run over Sergeant Albert Smith, bruising him severely; as soon as they passed the column, they received a volley which brought them to the ground. The Sergeant was put into a wagon and the command marched; soon descending to the river bottom we halted to water our teams, where another couple of bulls raging and foaming with madness, charged upon us. One of them tossed Amos Cox of Company D into the air, and knocked down a span of mules, goring one of them till his entrails hung out, which soon died; Cox's wound was four inches long and three deep. While these two bulls were performing thus, others stood a few rods off seemingly unable to determine whether they should charge or await the issue; they chose the latter course; meantime, the two bulls retreated, closely pursued. Then our attention was turned to the bulls that were looking on. Some officers shouted 'shoot them,' others cried, 'let them alone;' amid this confusion the wagons and part of the command moved on. The battle was renewed on our side and in a few minutes the enemy lay weltering in their blood. After advancing about half a mile another bull came rushing out of the muskeet thicket, and charged upon the hind end of a wagon, lifting it partly around, and knocking down a mule, but his career was short for all the command now had their muskets loaded, and soon greeted our fierce opponent with a shower of bullets. These bulls were very hard to kill; they would run off with half a dozen balls in them unless they were shot in the heart. The Indians apparently had killed off the cows.

Private Bigler recounted the heroism of Frost: "There was one man by the name of Lafayette Frost whose gun was loaded when one of those enraged animals made a charge for him

the Col. seeing it hallowed, 'run, run, god dam you, run!' Frost raising his gun fired down dropted the Bull dead in his tracks the Col. turned round and swore that man was a Soldier."

The fight was immortalized in song:

O, Cox, from one bull's horns was thrown
Ten feet in air: when he came down,
A gaping flesh-wound met his eye—
The vicious beast had gored his thigh.

The Colonel and his staff were there,
Mounted, and witnessing the war:
A bull, one hundred yards away,
Eyed Colonel Cooke as easy prey.

But Corp'ral Frost stood bravely by,
And watch'd the bull with steady eye;
The brute approach'd near and more near,
But Frost betray'd no sign of fear.

The Colonel ordered him to run—
Unmov'd he stood with loaded gun;
The bull came up with daring tread,
When near his feet, Frost shot him dead.

Military Intelligence in the American Southwest: Civilian Scouts

Ever since the U.S. Army first appeared in the Southwest, there has been a reliance on human intelligence (HUMINT). During the Mexican War in 1846, Brig. Gen. Stephen Watts Kearny, commanding the Army of the West, hired a scout company made up of American frontiersmen. Commanded by William Bent, these traders and Mexicans were all long-time inhabitants of the alien land into which Kearny was striking. These scouts had the job of riding toward Santa Fe, gathering intelligence, and taking back prisoners for interrogation. Mexicans pulled in by William Bent's scouts told stories about massive armys of as many as 12,000 men being mobilized; others said the province appeared defenseless. So Kearny proceeded cautiously, depending on reconnaissance patrols. In this way, Kearny was able to get his first reliable information on enemy strengths and intentions.

Conquest: Philip St. George Cooke and the Mormon Battalion

Leading a unique contingent of the Army of the West in 1846, Lieutenant Colonel Cooke blazed a wagon trail through Arizona to San Diego. His Mormon soldiers, who were hoping to finance the move of their church members to Utah with the Army pay, endured untold hardships

in their 3-month trek. Cooke wrote in his official report that "marching half naked and half fed, and living upon wild animals, we have discovered and made a road of great value to our country." The road they opened proved to be valuable to the men who streamed to California's gold fields in 1849.

They walked west from Guadalupe Pass in the southeastern most corner of Arizona to the San Pedro River, and then north. In his journal Colonel Cooke described his march from the Mule Mountains, near present-day Bisbee, toward the Huachuca Mountains.

As we approached the broken ground with a long black streak of mesquite, etc., where we imagined we should find the San Pedro, we were much disappointed. …I finally concluded we had passed too far south for the river, or that this was the head of it; the guides had all become doubtful themselves. Troops of wild horses, and cattle, and antelopes seemed to invite attention, little of which was given. Leaving the great valley of the dry branch, we passed all appearances of broken ground, mesquite, or timber. Beyond, toward the mountain towering before us white with snow, from which a northwester cut us to the bone, we had seen only a smooth slope of prairie. My anxiety became very great and I pushed on at a fast gait to the guides, and after ascending a hill saw a valley indeed, but no other appearance of a stream than a few ash trees in the midst; but they, with the numerous cattle paths, gave every promise of water. On we pushed, and finally, when twenty paces off, saw a fine bold stream! There was the San Pedro we had so long and anxiously pursued.

The western mountains being more distant than the eastern and the ground smoother, I crossed the stream without difficulty and at twelve o'clock moved on down it."

It was here, along the San Pedro near present-day Fairbanks, that they fought their first and only battle. But the foe were not Mexican militia or Apache horsemen, but bulls, wild ones. Apparently the remnants of Spanish herdsmen or Apache plunder, these wild cattle charged the column on December 11 and wreaked havoc until they were brought down or driven off. Several soldiers were wounded and some mules gored. The enemy casualties were barbecued.

One of the chief tasks given by President Polk to the Army of the West was the establishment of a wagon road that could take settlers to populate the new United States' acquisitions. Kearny had sought to accomplish this at the same time that he set out with his Dragoons to take California, but learned from Kit Carson that the mountainous Gila Trail would by no means admit to wagon travel. So he sent his wagons back to Santa Fe with orders for Lt. Col. Philip St. George Cooke, newly promoted from captain and given command of the Mormon Battalion, to find that southerly wagon trail for the president and the expected waves of emigrants.

Cooke's reaction to his new assignment was concisely stated: "An express has arrived from Santa Fe; Colonel Price reports his arrival; he confirms the death of Colonel Allen of the Mormon Volunteers. And now, at night, I have been selected to succeed him; which, of course, must turn my face to Santa Fe tomorrow. That is turning a very sharp corner indeed; it is very military (but it is said to be a manoeuvre not unknown to another profession)."

He had his work cut out for him.

Everything conspired to discourage the extraordinary undertaking of marching this battalion eleven hundred miles, for the much greater part through an unknown wilderness without road or trail, and with a wagon train.

It was enlisted too much by families; some were too old some feeble, and some too young; it was embarrassed by many women; it was undisciplined; it was much worn by travelling on foot, and marching from Nauvoo, Illinois; their clothing was very scant; there was no money

to pay them, or clothing to issue; their mules were utterly broken down; the Quartermaster Department was without funds, and its credit bad; and mules were scarce. Those procured were very inferior, and were deteriorating every hour for lack of forage or grazing.

* * *

With every effort the Quartermaster could only undertake to furnish rations for sixty days; and in fact full rations of only flour, sugar, coffee, and salt; salt pork for only thirty days, and soap for twenty. To venture without pack saddles would be grossly imprudent, and so that burden was added.

The battalion have never been drilled, and, though obedient, have little discipline; they exhibit great heedlessness and ignorance, and some obstinacy. I have brought road tools and have determined to take through my wagons; but the experiment is not a fair one, as the mules are nearly broken down at the outset. The only good ones, about twenty which I bought near Albuquerque, were taken for the express for Fremont's mail, the general's order requiring "the twenty-one best in Santa Fe."

Cooke's first priority in getting the battalion ready for the march ahead of them was to strip the aged and disabled from its ranks. From Santa Fe he sent back to Pueblo 58 men he thought too infirm to stand up to the trip and 20 wives. Five wives, or "laundresses," remained with the column, three married to officers and two spouses of NCOs. When the battalion was hit with an epidemic of influenza after leaving Santa Fe, he further reduced the command by 55 more of the "sick and least efficient men." There were 486 soldiers in the battalion on October 13 when he too over, and, by the time they took to the trail on October 19, there were 373.

Among them was surgeon George Sanderson, or "Captain Death;" the former commander, Lt. A.J. Smith, now an assistant commissary officer; and Lt. George Stoneman, fresh out of the U.S. Military Academy and headed for a full career which was to include a stint as governor of California and as a renowned Civil War leader, under whom Cooke would serve in 1862. Guiding the column were the well-known mountain men Antoine Leroux, Pauline Weaver, and Baptiste Charbonneau. Leroux was a French Canadian by birth but by the 1820s had settled in Taos, New Mexico with his Mexican wife, Juana Vigil Leroux. He trapped extensively in New Mexico and Arizona and became a Mexican citizen.

Like all military excursions in this far-flung outback, they were underequipped and poorly supplied. They had no greatcoats for the freezing elevations of southern Arizona. Cooke was able to buy herds of mules from Indians who would accept his paper promises from the U.S. government to reimburse them. These replaced the less hardy and slow-moving oxen which were sent back or butchered for food. Sergeant Daniel Tyler explained,

When one of the was slaughtered the second day out, the colonel gave positive orders that no more of them should be killed, as they must be used as work animals, and only such killed for beef as were unable from sheer weakness and exhaustion to work. From that time on it was the custom to kill the work animals as they gave out and issue the carcasses as rations. Nor was any portion of the animal thrown away that could possibly be utilized for food. Even to the hides, tripe, and entrails, all were eagerly devoured, and that, too, in many cases without water to wash them in. The marrow bones were considered a luxury, and were issued in turns to the various messes.

Food was a sometimes thing. Cooke was always on the lookout for cattle or sheep to supplement his meager ration of cereal and salt pork. But the people of New Mexico were poor and lost what little livestock they had to the raiding Indians. Southern Arizona had plentiful game

and even some wild cattle reportedly abandoned there by the Spanish.

Cooke had to instill some discipline and establish some order, ingredients of military life always railed at by volunteers. He issued these orders before leaving Santa Fe:

. . . The commanders of companies will select a non-commissioned officer from each company. He will be reported on daily duty, whose duty it will be to issue rations and superintend the loading of the wagons and the care of the mules. They will have immediate command of the teamsters and assistants. Commanders of companies will be held strictly responsible that the issue of rations is made carefully as now ordered. The welfare and safety of the battalion may depend on it.

Hereafter, no musket or knapsacks will be carried in a public wagon or on a public mule without orders or express permission of the commanding officer, and no one will leave his company a quarter of a mile without permission, and no musket will be fired in camp. The officer of the day will attend to the execution of these regulations and confine under guard anyone who disobeys them. At reveille all will turn out under arms. The company commanders will order turns of guard or confine those who fail. After roll call the ranks will be opened and an officer will pass down each rank and see that all are fully armed and equipped. Immediately after roll call, breakfast will be disposed of and everything packed in the wagons by a sufficient number of each mess under the Acting Quartermaster Sergeants of the company, as provided for in the order. All this will be done without waiting for signals or the loss of a moment. The teams will be hitched up as the teamsters get their breakfast. Morning reports will be handed in to the Adjutant ten minutes after. Every teamster must have one or more buckets or camp kettles with which to water his team. The teams will not stop to water unless ordered by the commanding officers, as everything depends on our animals. I call all the officers and the Quartermaster Sergeants of companies and the teamsters and the assistants to do the best for them possible. The order will be read twice at the head of each company by its commanders.

Sergeant Tyler seemed to approve of Cooke's leadership style:

His theory was that officers should obey first, and set the example to the men. The first breach of the regulations was by an officer, and it was promptly punished.

Capt. Jesse D. Hunter, of Company B, was put under arrest on the morning of the 21st of October and made to march in the rear of his company during the day, for remaining overnight in Santa Fe without the knowledge or consent of the commanding officer. By this move the battalion learned that if their new commander was strict in his discipline, he was impartial, as officers would be held to the same accountability as soldiers. Smith's [Lieutenant A. J., the former commander] policy was just the reverse of this, for while privates were punished by him for the merest trifles, officers could go where and do what they pleased, without any notice being taken of them.

Because of the military ineptitude of the battalion, Cooke felt that he had to pay too much attention to detail.

I assembled the captains this morning at reveille, and earnestly exhorted them to lend me more efficient assistance in requiring the mules to be properly grazed and fed; or else the expedition must soon fall through. They made excellent promises. . . . The mules are now turned loose and herded while in camp.

All the vexations and troubles of any other three days of my life have not equalled those of the last twenty-four hours. . . . My attention is constantly on the stretch for the smallest things.

I have to order, and then see that it is done.

On November 9 Cooke further reduced his numbers

. . . There are still in the battalion men old, weakly, and trifling; besides all this, the rations are insufficient.

I have determined and ordered that fifty-five of the sick and least efficient men shall return to Santa Fe; that they shall take rations for twenty-six days, but of flour only ten ounces to the ration, and of pork, eight. I shall thus be relieved of one thousand eight hundred pounds weight of rations, and by means of what they leave of the rations provided for them, particularly livestock, make an important increase of rations for the remainder.

Hauling the wagons up and down the mountains and gorges was backbreaking work for men as well as teams. Tyler of C Company cast a cold eye on his commander, who was a stern taskmaster.

We had to leave the river for a time, and have twenty men to each wagon with long ropes to help the teams pull the wagons over the sand hills. The commander perched himself on one of the hills, like a hawk on a fence post, sending down his orders with the sharpness of—well, to the battalion, it is enough to say—Colonel Cooke.

Like Kearny, they traveled south, making some 10 miles a day, along the Rio Grande and much-used Santa Fe Trail, leaving it on 10 November to veer southwesterly toward what is today the intersection of Arizona, New Mexico, and Chihuahua. Near Guadalupe Pass they swung into Arizona, the Pimeria Alta of the Spanish colonizers.

Around the end of November their interpreter made an important discovery.

About this time Doctor Foster, interpreter, accidentally found the intersection of an old wagon road with mine, and said he followed it back, and that it led to the verge of the plain about a mile from out point of descent. He says this is called the Pass of Guadalupe, and that it is the only one for many hundred miles to the south by which the broken descent from the great table-land of Mexico can be made by wagons, and rarely by pack mules.

In choosing the Guadalupe Pass crossing of the mountains, Cooke was taking a big gamble. Pvt. Henry W. Bigler observed, "I think no other man but Cooke would even attempted to cross such a place, but he seemed to have the spirit and energy of a Bonypart." But Cooke saw little alternative, according to Tyler's account.

The Colonel looked in the direction of the road, then to the southwest, then west, saying, "I don't want to get under General Wool, and lose my trip to California." He arose in his saddle and ordered a halt. He then said with firmness: "This is not my course. I was ordered to California; and," he added with an oath, "I will go there or die in the attempt!" Then, turning to the bugler, he said, "Blow the right."

Bigler recalled the change in course in more direct, if less grammatical, language.

The Col. was wrideing at the head of his command with his pilots when he made a Sudden halt and ordered his men to turn square to the right and swore he would be G-d damned if he was going all round the world to get to Cal. Now it had been his wish all the time to march west and cross the mountains and fall on to the head of the Gila River but the guides had never been through that route. They had been across the country north & South of our trail and knew enough of the geography of the country that if a pass could be found it would save a great many marches.

The San Pedro Valley was kind to their stomachs. Besides yielding up unexpected cattle, the area was teeming with wildlife and the river's currents provided as well some trout for their

supper. Henry Boyle said, "We catch all the beautiful speckled trout we can use. fishhooks are in great demand, bringing from $1 to $2 each." And the San Pedro presented some other surprising rewards. There was a Mexican-operated distillery in the vicinity. Some of the men managed to sneak away from the ranks to sample the still's output. They returned to camp to pronounce the mescal "poor stuff."

When the San Pedro started cutting its way through rock and the terrain took a grueling uphill turn, Cooke changed direction, heading westerly for the Spanish pueblo of Tucson. They went into camp on December 15, just sixteen miles outside of the Presidio of Tucson. Cooke's journal records their first encounter with the towering Sahuaros. "We also saw today another extraordinary variety of the cactus, a green fluted pillar thirty feet high and near two feet in diameter, very straight but sending out…about midway up, several similar columns, something like the branches of a candelabra." The Spanish mission of San Xavier del Bac also caught their eye. "We saw…far to the left, a very large stone church built by Jesuits; it is at a large Indian pueblo about ten miles above.

As replete with wonders as the terrain was, there could be resistance here. They had run into Mexicans who told them of a large garrison stationed at Tucson—a 100-man garrison and two cannon. The men were drilled, warned not to plunder, and formed for an attack. But their target practice was for naught; the village was undefended. Here they spent the night, replenishing their foodstuffs with some Mexican flour and smoking some Spanish cigars. Private Henry Standage, an English emigrant in Company E, tells about their day.

Early this morning the 5 Cos. were paraded and march'd at a quick pace to Touson. The Col determined to pass through. This Town is in the north of the District of Sonora in New Mexico. Many of the brethren travelled this 18 m. without either food or drink suffering much for want of water, having none last night or yesterday. When we arrived at the Town, we found fut a few of the Inhabitants, the Soldiery having fled with their Cannon and also having forced many of the people to leave also. We were kindly treated by the people of Touson who brought Flour, Meal, Tobacco, Quinces to the camp for sale and many of them giving such things to the Soldiers. We camp'd about 1/2 mile from Town. The Col suffered no private property to be touched, neither was it in the heart of any man to my knowledge to do so. 2,000 bushels of wheat belonging to the Spanish Government was found out which we were ordered to feed the animals but none was taken for food for the Soldiers as the teams were too weak to haul the same.

Cooke sent this letter on December 18 to the Commandante of the Presidio of Tucson:

Sir: Having received no orders, or entertained an intention to make war upon Sonora, I regret that circumstances have compelled my to break up your quarters at this post. Making forced marches for the want of watering places, and finding no grass or other forage here, I have found it necessary to use about thirty fanegas of wheat from the public granary. None has been wasted or destroyed, and no other public property has been seized. Herewith you will receive a letter for his excellency, the governor of Sonora, on the subject of my involuntary invasion of the state. I respectfully request that you send jit to him with your own dispatches. With high respect, your obedient servant, P. ST. GEO. COOKE, Lieutenant colonel, commanding battalion U.S. volunteers.

And on the same day, Cooke wrote to the Governor of Sonora:

Your Excellency: The undersigned, marching in command of a battalion of United States infantry from New Mexico to California, has found it convenient for the passage of his wagon

train to cross the frontier of Sonora. Having passed within fifteen miles of Fronteras, I have found it necessary to take this presidio in my route to the Gila. Be assured that I did not come as an enemy of the people whom you govern; they have received only kindness at my hands. Sonora refused to contribute to the support of the present war against my country, alleging the excellent reasons that all her resources were necessary to her defense from the incessant attacks of savages, [and] that the central government gave her no protection and was therefore entitled to no support. To this might have been added that Mexico supports a war upon Sonora. For I have seen New Mexicans within her jboundary trading for the spoil of her people, taken by murderous, cowardly Indians who attack only to lay waste, rob, and fly to the mountains; and I have certain information that this is the practice of many years. Thus one part of Mexico allies itself against another. The unity of Sonora with the states of the north, now her neighbors, is necessary effectually to subdue these Parthian Apache. Meanwhile I make a wagon road from the streams of the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean, through the valuable plains and mountains (rich with minerals) of Sonora. This, I trust, will prove useful to the citizens of either republic, who, if not more closely, may unite in the pursuits of a highly beneficial commerce. With sentiments of esteem and respect, I am, Your Excellency's most obedient servant, P. ST. GEO. COOKE, Lieutenant-colonel of United States forces.

After leaving Tucson, the battalion undertook a grueling march to the Pima villages, then along the Gila river where jerry-built rafts carrying many of their valuable supplies were lost to the river. By the time they reached the Colorado River, most of their footgear had given out.

The most demanding part of the journey was ahead of them, as they crossed the waterless expanses of southern California. Mules died, wagons were abandoned, the men, their feet wrapped in rawhide or old clothing, dropped from exhaustion and thirst.

At an oasis called Vallecito they pulled themselves together, held a dress parade, and rested up for the final push. Here Cooke received a dispatch from San Diego that informed him that Kearny had retaken Los Angeles and warning him that there might be hold-out Californians between him and San Diego. They moved on to Warner's Ranch, where they feasted on beef, and then on to San Diego without incident. This improbable military formation had completed their trek across the great American Southwest and its members were ecstatic about it. Private Bliss exclaimed, "We have endured one of the greatest journeys ever made by man," and them added a calmer qualification, "at least in America."

The battalion marched into San Diego over January 29 and 20, 103 days after leaving Santa Fe. Their colonel penned a general order extolling the achievements of the unit. He told his men:

The Lieutenant-Colonel commanding congratulates the battalion on their safe arrival on the shore of the Pacific Ocean, and the conclusion of their march of over two thousand miles. History may be searched in vain for an equal march of infantry. Half of it has been through a wilderness where nothing but savages and wild beasts are found, or deserts where, for want of water, there is no living creature. There, with almost hopeless labor we have dug deep wells, which the future traveler will enjoy. Without a guide who had traversed them, we have ventured into trackless table-lands where water was not found for several marches. With crowbar and pick and axe in hand, we have worked our way over mountains, which seemed to defy aught save the wild goat, and hewed a passage through a chasm of living rock more narrow than our wagons. To bring these first wagons to the Pacific, we have preserved the strength of our mules by herding them over large tracts, which you have laboriously guarded

without a loss. The garrison of four presidios of Sonora concentrated with the walls of Tucson gave us no pause. We drove them out, with their artillery, but our intercourse with the citizens was unmarked by a single act of injustice. Thus, marching half naked and half fed, and living upon wild animals, we have discovered and made a road of great value to our country.

Arrived at the first settlement of California, after a single day's rest, you cheerfully turned off from the route to this point of promised repose to enter upon a campaign and meet, as we supposed, the approach of the enemy; and this, too, without even salt to season your sole subsistence of fresh meat.

Lt. A.J. Smith and George Stoneman, of the 1st Dragoons, have shared and given valuable aid in all these labors.

Thus, Volunteers, you have exhibited some high and essential qualities of veterans. But much remains undone. Soon, you will turn your attention to the drill, to system and order, to forms also, which are all necessary to the soldier.

As for Gen. Stephen W. Kearny's view of the achievement, Pvt. Henry G. Boyle heard the general say at a review of the battalion, "This shows what men can do when they are obedient and determined. Bonaparte crossed the Alps but these men crossed a continent."

The Mormons returned their commander's respect. Wilford Woodruff wrote of Cooke, "He had a good, generous heart. He entertained great respect for the Mormon Battalion and he always spoke kindly of them before the government and all men. . . . May God bless Colonel Cooke; and may he bless the battalion and their posterity after them."

They had opened a useful road, one which would prove to be valuable to the men who streamed to California's gold fields in 1849, and would be ideal for railroad grades, an all-important southern transportation artery connecting the rest of the country to the Pacific Coast. Cooke's wagon route made the Gadsden Purchase seven years later a bargain.

But historian Bernard DeVoto did not think that the achievement matched Cooke's congratulatory prose, which he felt had been exaggerated by Mormon historians and diarists. He wrote:

. . . There is nothing notable about the march. The Mormons, who are accustomed to gild all their works with miracle, have celebrated it in prose and marble as the cruelest suffering and the most patriotic service on record anywhere. But there is nothing remarkable about thirst, exhaustion, or a successful passage of the desert. Even allowing for the detour to the south, the battalion did not make as good time as Kearny's Dragoons, and—despite Cooke's anxiety and the howls of his men—they had more to eat. But it was a difficult job, and the 350-odd who came down to San Diego had proved themselves tough, ready, and adaptable. They still simmered with resentment of wholly imaginary persecutions, they still consulted the priesthood rather than the military for orders, and they still stiffened their necks against Gentile authority with the awful righteousness of a people whose leading is on high. Nothing would give them discipline and the marvels of Heaven attended their slightest act, but they were soldiers and the desert had seasoned them.[5]

But clearly, the feat of crossing unknown terrain, land which was so demanding that it knocked the life out of most of their animals and only 5 of their 20 wagons survived the trip, where forage and resupply were the most uncertain of things, was deserving of more credit than DeVoto is willing to give. The fact that they were successful should not diminish the hard work and thoughtful leadership that led to their success. To appreciate the value of good leadership, organization, and march discipline, one needs only to look at the roster of expedi-

tions that were lost, stranded, and decimated by unmerciful nature. While the Mormon Battalion was confidently holding up to the crossing of the California desert, the Donner party was expiring one by one in the frozen mountain passes of northern California.

Of Cooke's leadership, DeVoto has written:

Cooke, the gourmet and romantic, was also a West Point precisian. At intervals his journal explodes over the "stolidity, ignorance, negligence, and obstinacy" of Israel's host, who began by both fearing and despising him. Sometimes, as at the crossing of the Colorado, the explosion attains a moving eloquence, and there must have been education in hearing Lt. Col. Philip St. George Cooke express himself. He had a gift of tongues which was little like that vouchsafed the faithful at fast meeting, but he must have reminded them of the prophet Brigham in a holy rage. He held them to the job and he slapped punishments on malingering and carelessness, but he also kept them fed and kept them going. And if holy obstinacy galled his nerves, he learned the boundless admiration for the spirit, good humor, and guts of his command. In their turn the Saints appreciated his fairness and came to admire his leadership. The colonel's counsel proved to be practically as inspired as the priesthood's; almost he might have been a Seventy. They ended by liking him and he is one of the few Gentiles who have come down to the present in Mormon esteem.[6]

The battalion would finish out the next five months of their enlisted service garrisoning the towns of southern California, making plans for their church, and listening to sermons like the one by "President St. John on the evils arising in the battalion. to wit.: Drunkenness, swearing, and intercourse with the squaws."

Lieutenant Colonel Cooke was appointed by Kearny to command the military district of southern California. He eventually resigned his commission so that he might hurry to Mexico to get in on the fighting there.

By mid-July 1847, the Army of the West was coming apart. The enlistment of the Mormon Battalion, like other Volunteer units of Kearny's army, was expiring. Some of the Mormons were persuaded to re-enlist for another year to perform occupation duties in California. Others headed over the mountains to Utah to join their brethren, and some stayed in California to find work. The year-long history of this unique unit was drawing to a close, and one Mormon soldier expressed his feelings at returning to civilian life. "We bid good-bye to Unkle Sam, having it to say you are the Most Exact Unkle we ever had."

Philip St. George Cooke was assigned to escort John Charles Fremont back to Washington to face a court-martial, a job he did not relish since he considered Fremont a traitor and the duty would keep him from the fighting in Mexico. An additional unpleasant duty was testifying at the Fremont trial in which Senator Benton vilified Kearny, his respected commander.

Cooke returned to the West in 1848, fighting the Sioux in Platte country and campaigning against the Navajo in New Mexico with Kit Carson. "I can say of Colonel Cooke," said Carson, "that he is as efficient an officer to make campaigns against Indians as I ever accompanied; that he is brave and gallant all know."

He brought law and order to Kansas Territory and escorted the governor of Utah Territory to his post, a move that was strongly resisted by the Mormon inhabitants.

The Civil War forced upon Cooke a painful decision. His own son and two sons-in-law chose to fight on the side of the Confederacy, their home state being Virginia. In 1861 Cooke declared in an eloquent statement his loyalty to the Union:

. . . the national government adopted me as its pupil and future defender; it gave me an education and a profession, and I then made a solemn oath to bear true allegiance to the United States of America. . . . This oath and honor alike forbid me to abandon their standard at the first hour of danger.

In the national service, I have been for 34 years a Western man, and if my citizenship be localized, a citizen of Missouri. . . . I owe Virginia very little, my country

much . . . and I shall remain under her flag so long as it waves the sign of the national constitutional government.

Cooke was assigned as McClellan's Chief of Cavalry at a time when his family members were in the opposing army. Assigned to track down his son-in-law, he found this note stuck to a telegraph pole. "Dear Father: I am very sorry that I cannot wait to see you as I have pressing business elsewhere. Your loving son-in-law, J.E.B. Stuart."

His experience as a Cavalry officer on the Indian-fighting frontier made him the best choice to write the Army's basic Cavalry tactics manual which was published in 1860.

After the war, Cooke commanded the Department of the Platte and retired in Detroit in 1873 as a brevet major general. After reconciling with his Confederate family, he died in 1895.

Biographer Thomas L. Karnes summed up the man's life:

Cooke was the beau sabreur of American history, the Cavalry leader ideal. Through thousands of hours of campaigning, he learned the best methods of mounted warfare and gained recognition for this skill when his government asked him to prepare a textbook for that kind of combat. Yet, ironically, while Cooke was perfecting these tactics, America's greatest war made them—and Cooke—obsolete. Like most of his West Point classmates, he could ably command a battalion or a regiment, but the massive numbers of troops and quantities of material of the Civil War armies were beyond their grasp. But Cooke must be remembered for much more: He opened the wagon—and railroad—route to the Pacific, making the Gadsden Purchase a necessity; he gained the respect of the Mormons and helped place them without serious bloodshed into the American family; he brought peace to a divided California and a terrible Kansas; and he once more offered himself to his country in its darkest hour, even though it tore his family apart. Philip St. George Cooke was the ideal frontier soldier.

Lieutenant A.J. Smith, the First Dragoon officer who the Mormons resented so much when he was appointed to command them, became a distinguished Civil War Major General.

Lieutenant George Stoneman, who was referred to by one of the Mormon soldiers who accompanied him and Lieut. Col. Cooke on the march across the Southwest, as "a gentleman in all that word implies," would be a career soldier and a good one. He was a Major General of Volunteers during the Civil War and was cited several times for gallantry and meritorious service. He commanded the 21st Infantry after the war and retired for the final time in 1891. He died three years later.

After guiding the Mormon Battalion in 1846 over its southern route to San Diego, the mountain man Antoine Leroux signed on as scout to several more U.S. Army exploratory expeditions. He served with Capt. Sitgreaves in 1851, with Capt. Gunnison in 1853, Lieut. Whipple in 1854, and furnished mapping information to Captain John G. Parke in 1851. Writing from Taos, he recommended to the government that the 35th parallel be chosen as the route for the contemplated railroad. "I have crossed from New Mexico to California by four different routes, namely: Cook's Sonora route, the Salt River route, that recently followed by Captain Sitgreaves' party, and the old Spanish trail.... I have trapped on nearly every stream between

Cook's route and the Great Salt Lake, and am well acquainted with the region of country between these places."

Private Henry Standage, who kept a journal of the travails of the battalion, moved in his later years to Mesa, Arizona, where he died in 1899 at the age of 81.

Daniel Tyler, the official historian of the Mormon Battalion, stayed for two days in Salt Lake City in 1847, qualifying him as a Utah pioneer. Then he moved on to Council Bluffs, from where he had enlisted, to reunite with his family. He died in Beaver, Utah, in 1906 at the age of 90.

Conquest: The Battle of San Pascual

On December 4 the army, no larger than a company in today's American Army, was San Diego bound. On the following day they were met by the U.S. Navy and Marines. Lieutenant Archibald Gillespie (USMC), Lieutenant Edward Fitzgerald Beale (USN), an officer who would some years later undertake an unlikely mission in the southwest, and Midshipman Duncan were leading a detachment of 35 sailors to link up with Kearny. This brought the American force to about 160, and added a small brass cannon to Kearny's two howitzers.

The last entry in Captain A.R. Johnston's diary was made on December 4.

> *Marched at 9, and took the route for San Diego, to communicate with the naval forces and to establish our depot, not knowing yet in what state we would find the country. Marched 15 miles in a rain, cold and disagreeable, and encamped at St. Isabella, a former ranch of San Diego mission, now, by hook or by crook, in the possession of an Englishman named Stokes; here hospitality was held out to us—Stokes having gone to San Diego. We ate heartily of stewed and roast mutton and tortillas. We heard of a party of Californians, of 80 men, encamped at a distance from this; but the informant varied from 16 to 30 miles in his accounts, rendering it too uncertain to make a dash on them in a dark, stormy night; so we slept till morning.*

Two days later, at daybreak, he would receive a musket ball in the forehead.

One of Kearny's officers, Lieut. Thomas C. Hammond was sent ahead to reconnoiter and, under the cover of rain and fog, was able to slip up on a force of California lancers, under General Andres Pico, camped near a village called San Pascual, forty miles outside of San Diego. He reported their presence to his commander. But at the same time a clattering saber betrayed the arrival of the Americans on the scene. The Americans had lost the advantage of surprise.

The enemy were astride the road to San Diego and would have to be dealt with. Kearny decided to meet them head on, a move that met with the approval of Captain Benjamin D. Moore "who was extraordinarily desirous to meet the enemy as soon as possible." Another contemporary chronicler, Capt. S.F. Dupont (USN), who had his information from Lieutenant Beale, noted, "there was a good deal of excitement and desire for a brush and all pushed forward."

At dawn on December 6, Kearny made contact and sent an advance guard under Captain Abraham R. Johnston to surprise them. The only battle the dragoons would fight had begun.

The Americans were mounted on shaky horses and mules that had just managed to survive the rigors of the trail. Some of the men were not mounted at all. Their arms were rendered useless by the drenching rains of the night before. Facing them were superbly mounted Californians, unquestionably skilled horsemen. Kearny recognized this when he said, "They are admira-

bly mounted and the very best riders in the world; hardly one that is not fit for the circus." They proved their worth by riding down and shattering the advance guard, killing Johnston, its leader.

The charge by Johnston broke contact with Kearny and the main body, an action that may have been the result of a misunderstood order. Du Pont, giving Beale's account of the battle wrote:

> *Those which were passably mounted naturally got ahead and they of course were mostly officers with the best of the dragoons, corporals and sergeants, men who had taken most care of their animals and very soon this advance guard to the number of about forty got far ahead—one and a half mile at least—of the main body while the howitzer was drawn by wild mules. In the gray of morning the enemy was discovered keeping ahead and with no intention of attacking but their superior horses and horsemanship made it mere play to keep themselves where they pleased. They also began to discover the miserable condition of their foes, some on mules and some on lean and lame horses, men and mules worn out by a long march with dead mules for subsistence.*

General Kearny who was with all his officers and of course Beale among the advanced body gave orders to "Trot" but his aide, Captain Johnston, mistook him and gave the order to "Charge" which in cavalry tactics means full speed. The General exclaimed, "O heavens! I did not mean that!" but it was too late and they went at a gallop. Here again began a second separation from the disparity of the animals. There was no order—all straggling and about twenty-seven or twenty-eight out of the forty were along in advance.

Kearny and the main body came up to drive the Californians from the field, but in pursuing the rebels found their horses unequal to the task. The California lancers wheeled and came down swiftly upon the strung out and vulnerable Americans. There was some desperate hand-to-hand fighting, lance against saber and clubbed musket. Two more American officers were killed—Captain Benjamin Moore and Lieutenant Hammond. Fifteen other dragoons lay dead on the field. Kearny was twice wounded by the Mexican lances that were so effective in the hands of the caballeros. Lieutenant Warner of the Topographical Engineers bore three lance wounds and his tunic was slashed to pieces. The day was saved by the arrival of the artillery. The howitzers which had been dragged over hundreds of miles of back-breaking terrain now justified the effort. The Californians departed the field, but not until they had captured one of the guns when its team stampeded.

Captain Turner described the fight in a letter to his wife fifteen days later.

> *On the evening of December 5th, when within about 50 miles of this place, we learned that about 160 of the enemy were encamped six miles from us; Lt. Hammond with a few Dragoons was sent to make a reconnaissance; they returned about one o'clock in the morning of the 6th, and reported that the enemy were in considerable force, and that the information in relation to their numbers and whereabouts was correct; It was immediately determined to attack them; and saddling up we reached their camp at dawn of day: Captain Abraham Robinson Johnston who had command of the advance guard made a furious charge on them when within a quarter of a mile of them; the enemy having discovered Lt. Thomas C. Hammond's reconnoitering party a few hours before, were all in the saddle and ready to receive us. Capt. Johnston's guards were followed by Capt. Benjamin D. Moore's Dragoons with the General and his staff at their head. The enemy fired into us several vollies as we approached; Capt.d Johnston was shot in the head at the first volley and fell dead from his horse. After firing a few vollies into us the enemy fled and was pursued by Capt. Moore and about 40 Dragoons,*

accompanied by the General and staff, the major portion of the Dragoons being mounted on the broken down mules which we had brought in from New Mexico, were scarcely able to do more than keep in sight of the party headed by Capt. Moore. After pursuing the enemy about half a mile at full speed and becoming separated from the body of our command, he discovered the small force who were in pursuit, and about 150 charged upon us, and did terrible execution with their lances; this struggle lasted about 15 minutes, fighting each man hand to hand with his antagonist. We finally beat them off the second time; they fled leaving us in possession of the field. Then came the painful task of collecting our dead and wounded, of the former among them Capt. Johnston and Lt. Hammond (Lt. H. survived a few hours,) and 14 or 15 wounded, among them Gen. Kearny and Lt. Warner quite badly, myself very slightly. …The command of the Dragoons devolved upon me, and the duty of disposing of the dead and providing for the wounded had to be performed and I am unable to describe to you what were my sensations as I superintended the arrangements for the burial of the poor fellows, who but a few hours before had been in our midst without a presentiment of what so soon was to be their fate.

The Battle of San Pascual was over in a matter of minutes, but it had almost ended the adventure for two companies of the First Dragoons, their ranks depleted by one-third in dead and wounded according to Emory, who described the situation. "Our provisions were exhausted, our horses dead, our mules on their last legs, and our men…were ragged, worn down by fatigue, and emaciated."

Considering the weakened condition of Kearny's small force after its long journey, the wisdom of the general in accepting battle with the Californians, instead of trying to elude them, was examined by Dwight L. Clarke in *Stephen Watts Kearny: Soldier of the West*. Historian Arthur Woodward put it this way: "Kearny, having made one of the longest marches in the history of the United States Army, was spoiling for a fight and intended to have it." But the cavalryman's motives seem to have been driven by the need for fresh mounts. A veteran of the battle said that, "Kearny intended avoiding the [Californians] and passing on to San Diego but Kit Carson assured Kearny that the Californians would not stand and that it was a good opportunity to supply themselves with fresh horses." Kit Carson also declared that Kearny's objective "was to get these horses and mask his weakness by a bold offensive. "In so deciding, General Kearny unquestionably erred. This was undoubtedly his 'off day;' other and very successful generals have had them too."

Kearny was hurt badly enough to have to turn over command to Captain Henry S. Turner. The wounded were attended to and the dead buried. Turner sent two of the mountain men who had been with Gillespie's command through enemy lines with a call for help from Stockton in San Diego. Although Stockton had some 800 men there, he replied that he was unable to come at the moment. [No explanation is known for his inability to promptly send a relief column.] The message never reached Kearny and his men, the bearers being captured on the return trip.

The next morning Kearny was well enough to resume command and he led his beleaguered force to a ranch ten miles away called the San Bernadino and operated by another Englishman. Their situation was critical. Dr. Griffith reported the wounded men were too badly hurt to be moved. The Californians were riding just out of range waiting to snap up any stragglers. To avoid losing his remaining howitzer, horses, and any of his force who could not keep up, Kearny decided to hold out at the ranch which could be better defended.

Captain Turner related their situation and the refuge they sought on the top of a little rise that would become known as Mule Hill.

The enemy in considerable force showing themselves at short distances from our route throughout the day. Before reaching camp, and near sunset, it became necessary to pass near the base of a hill, which we discovered to be in possession of the enemy, from which an incessant galling fire might have been poured into us as we passed. So it became necessary to drive the enemy from this position: the men being dismounted the order was given to charge up the hill on foot: the order was nobly executed notwithstanding we were in open field and the enemy were protected from our fire by large rocks on the crest of the hill, from behind which they fired upon us continually—they stood their ground until we approached them within gun shot when they abandoned their secure position and fled precipitately: as they stepped from behind the rocks to make their escape we fired at them and killed and wounded several—they made their escape so rapidly that many of them dropped their arms in their flight. Finding ourselves again in possession of the field and in a commanding position secure from attack, at the same time that we could subsist ourselves and animals, on the recommendation of the surgeon it was determined that we should remain here for several days for the purpose of resting the wounded men.

Another attempt had to made to get through to San Diego for help. Kit Carson, Lieut. Beale and Beale's Indian guide slipped out of camp that night and for hours crawled on their stomachs, with their shoes tied around their necks, until they were clear of enemy lines. They split up to increase their chances of success and began the walk across the spiny terrain to San Diego. They were barefoot, having lost their shoes in the scramble to evade sentries. Within twenty-four hours all three would find Stockton's headquarters, but not until exhaustion and strain almost did them in. Beale took two years to recover his health and Kit Carson lay recuperating for a number of weeks.

Back at the San Bernadino, the cut-off Americans were slaughtering mules to keep themselves alive. An unexpected feast was had when the Californians drove some fresh horses through the camp in an effort to stampede the soldier's mounts. The horses were snatched and barbecued. Lieut. Emory was moved by the suffering of his fellows in this desperate position.

Don Antonio Robideaux, a thin man of fifty-five years, slept next to me. The loss of blood from his wounds, added to the coldness of the night, 28 degrees Fahrenheit, made me think he would never see daylight, but I was mistaken. He woke me ask if I did not smell coffee, and expressed the belief that a cup of that beverage would save his life, and that nothing else would. Not knowing there had been any coffee in camp for many days, I supposed a dream had carried him back to the cafes of St. Louis and New Orleans, and it was with some surprise I found by cook heating a cup of coffee over a small fire made of wild sage. One of the most agreeable little offices performed in my life, and I believe in the cook's, to whom the coffee belonged, was, to pour this precious draught into the waning body of our friend Robideax. His warmth returned, and with it hopes of life. In gratitude he gave me, what was then a great rarity, the half of a cake made of brown flour, almost black with dirt, and which had, for greater security, been hidden in the clothes of his Mexican servant, a man who scorned ablutions. I eat more than half without inspection, when, on breaking a piece, the bodies of several of the most loathsome insects were exposed to my view. My hunger, however, overcame my fastidiousness, and the morceau did not appear particularly disgusting till after our arrival at San Diego, when several hearty meals had taken off the keenness of my appetite, and suffered my taste to be more delicate.

Last night the brave Sergeant Fox died of his wounds, and was buried to-day deep in the ground, and covered with heavy stones, to prevent the wolves from tearing him up. This was a gallant fellow, who had, just before leaving Fort Leavenworth, married a pretty wife.

The wounded were recovering and would be able to travel, the surgeon told Kearny. Almost two days had passed without hearing from Stockton so he assumed that his messengers didn't make it. The next morning, December 10, he was determined to fight his way out. As preparations were being made at dawn, a 180-man relief force appeared and lifted the siege. Turner picks up the narrative:

> *On the night of the third day a reinforcement reached us from this place, San Diego…. It was well for us that such a step was taken, for we have since learned that during our stay on the hill the enemy had been reinforced to quadruple our strength, and that all arrangements were made by them to charge upon us the moment we descended into the plain, and in our encumbered and reduced condition it is altogether probable that they would not have left one of us to tell the tale.*

By December 12, Kearny, what remained of his two companies of dragoons, and their naval allies were resting in San Diego. The general now wrote to his wife:

> *We had a very long and tiresome march of it from Santa Fe. We came down Del Norte 230 miles—then to river Gila…. We marched 500 miles down that river, having most of the way a bridle path, but over a very rough and barren country. It surprised me to see so much land than can never be of any use to man or beast. We traveled many days without seeing a spear of grass, and no vegetation excepting a species of the Fremontia, and the mesquite tree, something like our thorn and which our mules eat, thorn and branches to keep them alive.*
>
> * * *
>
> *We gained a victory over the enemy, but paid most dearly for it…. The loss of our killed is deeply felt by all, particularly by myself who very much miss my aide Johnston who was a most excellent & talented soldier & Capt. Moore who displayed great courage & chivalry in the fight, as did Lieut. Hammond.*

Kearny moved north in January 1847 to retake Los Angeles, and by January 10 the Americans were once more in possession of the pueblo and California was secure.

Timeline

In **1846** the British were fighting the Sikhs in India; the American Army was organizing a regiment of Mounted Rifles that would become the Third Cavalry by the time of the Civil War; a dentist in Massachusetts used ether for the first time as an anesthetic and Army surgeons would later use it after the battle of Vera Cruz; John Bourke was born in Philadelphia; Congress was establishing a museum known as the Smithsonian Institution; alcohol was banned in Maine; there were 17,069,453 Americans according to the census; Captain Charles A. May was telling his regiment at Resaca de la Palma on 9 May, "Remember your regiment and follow your officers;" General Winfield Scott was taking advantage of a spy network of Mexican deserters and agents organized by Hitchcock; and the *Elements of Military Art and Science* was published by Henry Wager Halleck. Henry David Thoreau was jailed for a night after refusing to pay his Massachussets poll tax in protest against the Mexican War. Two years later he would write "Civil Disobedience" and claim that the "common…result of an undue respect for the law is, that you may see a

file of soldiers…marching…to the wars against their wills…and consciences."

Uniforms: The Army of the West

The Dragoons were uniformed for the field in dark blue flannel jackets, trimmed with yellow lace, the markings of cavalry troops for decades to come. Their pantaloons were a mixture of blue-grey flannel with officers and NCOs having a yellow stripe down the legs. In 1851 the distinguishing color for dragoons became orange. Their headgear was the distinctive collapsible leather forage cap. Their saber belts, with shoulder straps, and carbine slings were of white buff leather. They rode behind company guidons of red and white with the word "Dragoons" lettered across it.

By the time they reached California, their uniforms were in tatters and a number of expedients had been adopted. General Kearny himself was an example. He was described upon his arrival in California by a lieutenant stationed there, William T. Sherman. The General of the Army of the West had "an old dragoon coat on, and an army cap to which the general had added a broad visor, cut from a full-dress hat to shade his eyes against the glaring sun of the Gila region."

As for the volunteers, they were furnished an annual clothing allowance of $42 and their uniforms were often arbitrary. Many of the Missouri volunteers would ride into Mexico garbed in Navaho buckskins traded from the Indians. At least one unit, the German Artillery, Company B from St. Louis, was according to a newspaper account "handsomely uniformed in grey coats of Kentucky jeans, and grey pants, with yellow stripe, forage caps, new Spanish saddles, saddle-

1835 XVII 1850

Artillery, Infantry, Dragoon [Full Dress]

From paintings by H. A. Ogden, published by the Quartermaster General in 1890 and in succeeding editions.

1841 XVIII 1850

Major General, Staff & Line Officers [Undress]

From paintings by H. A. Ogden, published by the Quartermaster General in 1890 and in succeeding editions.

1841 XIX 1851

Voltigeur Infantry Dragoon [Campaign Uniform]

From paintings by H. A. Ogden, published by the Quartermaster General in 1890 and in succeeding editions.

bags, bridles, holsters, and two new blankets…. The men are all, apparently, from twenty to forty years of age, very nearly of the same size and height."

Weapons: The Army of the West

Hanging from the saddle was the Model 1840 heavy dragoon saber. In a blanket roll strapped to the rear of the saddle were his mess kit, a metal plate, knife, fork and spoon, and a tin cup.

The soldier's arms were usually a Model 1842 single-shot, muzzle-loading percussion pistol and the Model 1843 Hall single-shot, breech-loading percussion carbine.

The carbine was a short-barreled long arm designed with the mounted soldier in mind. He could breech load it in the saddle and, because the dragoon was also expected to fight as infantry, it came equipped with a triangular rod bayonet stored in the forestock. With the model of 1834 it became a .54 caliber smoothbore, foregoing some accuracy so that it could accommodate buck-shot. The model of 1843 was a .52 caliber smoothbore rifle with a 21-inch barrel. The Hall carbine was the standard arm for the Dragoons for thirty years where they "received the most unqualified approbation," but problems with gas leaks caused the Ordnance Department to search for another model.

The Hall's had another interesting feature. The breechblock could be fired when removed from the gun. While this had some drawbacks, such as the failure to fire when not properly reinserted, it was a decided advantage to dragoon Sam Chamberlain who was in Monterrey in 1847. He woke up in a cantina surrounded by Mexican guerrillas but was determined not to give up without a struggle.

> *With a bound I sprang behind a large table used for a bar, drew the chamber of my Hall's Carbine (that I always carried in my pocket), said a short prayer and stood cool and collected, at bay before those human Tigers, guerillars. There was one grizzly old fellow who seemed more ferocious than the others; he had but one eye that glared on me with the fierceness of a wild beast. He rushed for the table as if he would spring over, when the sight of the little iron tube pointing straight for his solitary optic caused him to pause. A few tallow dips cast a feeble light on the savage faces in my front; cries of 'Muerte! Muerte! el ladron Americano, que meure el yanqui burro' came from all parts of the room, but none offered to strike. For the moment twenty brigands were held at bay by the strange weapon which they seemed to know was sure death to one of them, then there was a rush to the corner where their Escopettes were piled…. Gathering all my energies, I struck out with my left and landed a terrific blow on the single glaring eye of my grizzly foe, as he went down I grasped his knife, kicked over the table, and with a wild yell rushed for the door.*

Even though the Halls was widely liked by the Dragoons, the Ordnance Department sought an improved firearm. A carbine patented by William Jenks in 1838 was given a trial in the Dragoons, as was Samuel Colt's ring-lever revolving rifle. Some of these weapons saw service in the Army of the West.

Many of the volunteers in the First Missouri Mounted Rifles were equipped with the Hall breechloader, a percussion rifle that went into production in 1841. Some 3,000 of the rifles were made at Harper's Ferry before the Army stopped production because of a gas leak between the barrel and breechblock, a leak that reduced the muzzle velocity.

Most of the volunteers, however, were issued old muzzle-loading flintlocks, probably the 1817 model. Marcellus Ball Edwards of the First Missouri describes problems he had with getting the flintlock to fire. After disassembling and cleaning the piece, he put it back together and, making sure there was no powder in the pan, pulled the trigger. It went off, "making a sizeable window in our tent by burning."

Also prevalent among the volunteers was the Model 1841, .54 caliber, muzzle-loading, percussion rifle, known popularly as the "Mississippi Rifle" because of its use in the Mexican War by Jefferson Davis' Mississippi Volunteers. It was a dependable rifle and favored by soldiers and civilians alike. Over 60,000 of these would be made for the Army.

The new pistol carried by regular Army officers and NCOs was the Model 1842 .54 smoothbore, single-shot percussion pistol made by Springfield Armory and by contractors Ira Johnson and Henry Aston. Still in service among many of the regulars and most volunteers was the Harper's Ferry Model 1805 flintlock, called by Philip St. George Cooke his "old Harper's Ferry 'buffalo slayer.'"[7] Other pistols to be found in the Southwest were the M1819 .54 caliber with 10-inch barrel; and the M1836 Johnson model .54 caliber with a 8 1/2-inch barrel.

A revolutionary new firearm began to find its way into the hands of the officers and men of the Army of the West. It was a revolver designed by Samuel Colt in 1842 and improved in 1846. The Colt revolver was the first successful repeating firearm, its worth proved during the Seminole War. Mountain men like Kit Carson and Army officers on the frontier found it a most useful weapon while in the saddle and during running battles with the mounted Indians of the West. U.S. Army Cavalry officers reported that it was as effective at 100 yards as the rifled carbine and better than the musket up to 200 yards.

The War Department scoured second-hand gun shops to buy up all the Colts it could of the first run of 5,000. In 1846 they awarded Samuel Colt two successive contracts for 1,000 each. So popular and hard to find were these hand guns that Colt could not even find one of the 1842 series to use as a model. The 1846 model was made from memory and simplified. It would be entirely machine-made, the machinery being a collaboration between Colt and the son of Eli Whitney who was operating the Whitney Arms Company of New Haven, Connecticut, and in 1846 was busy converting Army muskets into "Harpers-Ferry" percussion-cap rifles. When Colt eventually set up his own plant at Hartford, it was one of the first examples of the American system of manufacture that would make the United States the world's leading industrial power.

Equipment: The Army of the West

The standard Army saddle used by most of the First Dragoons was the M1841 Dragoon Saddle. Another saddle seeing use by Dragoons at this time was the Model 1844 Ringgold, patented by an Army major of that name. But it was not popular among its users in the Dragoons or Artillery. Only 1,147 Ringgolds were made and the Army bought fewer than 500 after the Grimsley saddle was found to be much kinder to a horse's back.

Across the back of the saddle was carried a valise into which was packed the dragoon's personal items of equipment. A *Systems of Tactics*, published in 1834, described the valise and its contents:

> *The valise ought to be made of stout leather; and should be eighteen inches long, eight inches wide, and six inches deep, and should be limited to the following articles: two shirts,*

one pair of stockings, one handkerchief, one stable jacket, one pair of gloves, one pair of overalls (trousers), a forage cap, and shaving case; all to be neatly folded and packed, and the articles most in use to be placed uppermost. In the flap, one pair of shoes, a fatigue apron (stable frock), clothes brush, spoon, blacking, whiting, and a knife.[8]

A number of the officers of the 1st Dragoons made the long ride to California seated on a Grimsley saddle, named for its maker, Thornton Grimsley of St. Louis. But the saddle had its origins with the commander of the Army of the West who had formerly commanded the 1st Dragoons, Stephen W. Kearny. When a colonel in 1844, Kearny had submitted a pattern for the saddle to the Quartermaster General, based on the needs of mounted men in Indian service. It used for the first time wet rawhide to encase the wood tree, giving it greater strength and eliminating the heavy iron bands that held the Ringgold tree together.

The Grimsley saddle was so enthusiastically received that most dragoon officers managed to obtain one before they became the official Army issue in 1847. The board of officers charged with evaluating the saddle included Kearny and many of his commanders. The board extolled the advantages of the Grimsley model in its official report.

…Combining strength, durability, peculiar fitness to the horse's back and convenience for military fixtures, this pattern more than any other yet furnished for Dragoon service, gives an erect posture, and easy seat to the rider, at the same time that little or no injury is done to the horse's back on the longest marches. Some of the members of the Board have had the fairest opportunity of testing the merits of this saddle, having used it on marches of more than 2,000 miles in extent, and the result has been in every instance to confirm their belief in the superiority of this saddle over any other which has come under their observation. In outward appearances this saddle resembles the French Hussar saddle more than any other with which the Board is familiar; it combines all the conveniences of the French saddle for attaching military and cavalry appurtenances, with the indispensable qualities requisite in a service tree. To prevent injury to the horse's back, the "side bars" are so formed as to fit the back bearing equally throughout their whole extent; and the forks of the high pommel and cantle are, in every case, and under all the circumstances of reduced flesh, raised above the withers and backbone of the horse.[9]

A distinguishing feature of the dragoon of 1837 onward to 1851 was the white buff leather saber belt with a supporting shoulder strap. (Some were known to have been dyed black after 1839.) On the belt was carried the M1840 heavy cavalry saber and black leather pistol cartridge box and carbine cartridge box. Both contained tin liners and bore an embossed "US" on the leather flap, a change from the old eagle under a scroll bordered with leaves. The carbine cartridge pouch had a pocket for carbine tools sewn on the front. A M1839 carbine sling was also issued in white buff leather. It was 2 1/2 inches wide and 56 inches long, and identical to the later Civil War pattern. After 1837 a tin canteen made its appearance and would be carried on the saddle as well as the old wooden canteen that had been standard since the War of 1812.

Sometime around 1837 a swallowtail guidon, the upper half red, the lower half white, was issued to companies. It bore the letter of the company and the number of the regiment. In 1863 this pattern was changed to a stars and stripes design. At the same time a regimental American eagle, on a field of dark blue, over a banner with the designation of the regiment. The standard was fringed in gold or yellow. This design would be carried by regiments until 1887 when the background colors were changed to coincide with the colors of the branch of service.

Bibliography

Abert, James W., [Galvin, John, ed.], *Travel Diary of Lieutenant J.W. Abert, who mapped New Mexico for the United States Army*, John Howell Books, 1966.

Bancroft, Hubert Howe, *History of Arizona and New Mexico, 1530-1888*, The History Company, San Francisco, 1889.

Bigler, H.W., *Diary of a Mormon in California*, typescript in Arizona Historical Society Library, Tucson.

Boyle, Henry G., Diary in typescript in Arizona Historical Society Library, Tucson.

Clarke, Dwight L., ed., *The Original Journals of Henry Smith Turner: With Stephen Watts Kearny to New Mexico and California, 1846-47*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, ??.

Clarke, Dwight L., *Stephen Watts Kearny: Soldier of the West*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, ??.

Cooke, Philip St. George; Whiting, William Henry Chase; and Aubry, Grancois Xavier [edited by Bieber, Ralph P.], *Exploring Southwestern Trails, 1846-1854*, The Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, Calif., 1938.

Cooke, Philip St. George, *The Conquest of New Mexico and California: An Historical and Personal Narrative*, G.P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1878.

Cutts, James Madison, *The Conquest of California and New Mexico, by the Forces of the United States in the Years 1846 & 1847*, Horn and Wallace, Albuquerque, New Mexico, 1965.

DeVoto, Bernard, *The Year of Decision, 1846*, Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1943.

Emory, W.H., *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego in California, including parts of Arkansas, Del Norte, and Gila Rivers*, H. Long & Brothers, New York, 1848.

Garavaglia, Louis A., and Worman, Charles G., *Firearms of the American West, 1803-1865*, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, NM, 1984.

Gibson, George Rutledge, [edited by Bieber, Ralph P.] *Journal of a Soldier Under Kearny and Doniphan, 1846-47*, Porcupine Press, Philadelphia, 1974.

Golder, Frank Alfred, *The March of the Mormon Battalion From Council Bluffs to California: Taken from the Journal of Henry Standage*, The Century Co., New York.

Fort Huachuca Museum archives.

Hamele, Ottamar, *When Destiny Called*, San Antonio, 1948.

Johnston, Abraham Robinson; Edwards, Marcellus Ball; Ferguson, Philip Gooch, [edited by Bieber, Ralph P.], *Marching with the Army of the West, 1846-47*, Porcupine Press, Philadelphia, 1974.

Johnston, A. R., *Journal of Captain A.R. Johnston*, Senate Executive Document No. 41.

Morrison, Samuel E., *The Oxform History of the American People: Vol 2: 1789 Through Reconstruction*, New American Library, New York, 1965.

Pace, James, "Autobiography and Diary of James Pace, 1811-1888," Copied by the Brigham Young University Library, 1946, in University of Arizona Special Collections.

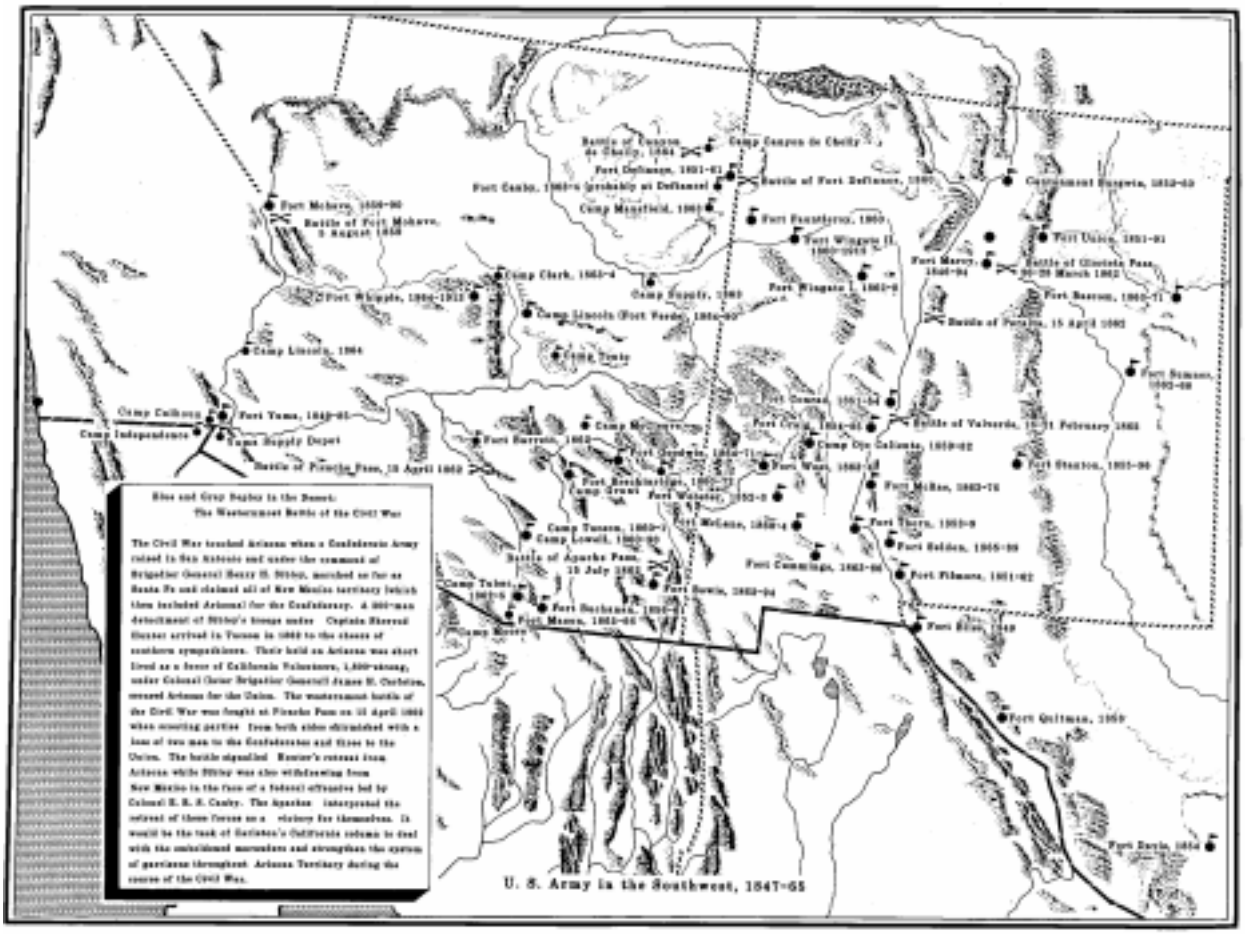
Richardson, William H., *Journal of William H. Richardson, A Private Soldier in the Campaign of New and Old Mexico, under the Command of Colonel Doniphan of Missouri*, John W. Woods, Printer, Baltimore, 1848.

Robinson, Jacob S., *A Journal of the Santa Fe Expedition Under Colonel Doniphan*, Princeton

University Press, Princeton, 1932.
Steffen, Randy, *United States Military Saddles, 1812-1943*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, ??.
Twitchell, Ralph Emerson, *The History of the Military Occupation of the Territory of New Mexico from 1846 to 1851 by the Government of the United States*, Rio Grande Press, Chicago, 1909.
Tyler, Sergeant Daniel, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War, 1846-47*, The Rio Grande Press, Glorieta, New Mexico, 1969.
Weigley, Russell F., *The American War of War: A History of United States Military Strategy and Policy*, Macmillan Publishing Co., Inc. New York, 1973.
Young, Otis E., *The West of Philip St. George Cooke, 1809-1895*, The Arthur H. Clark Company, Glendale, California, 1955.

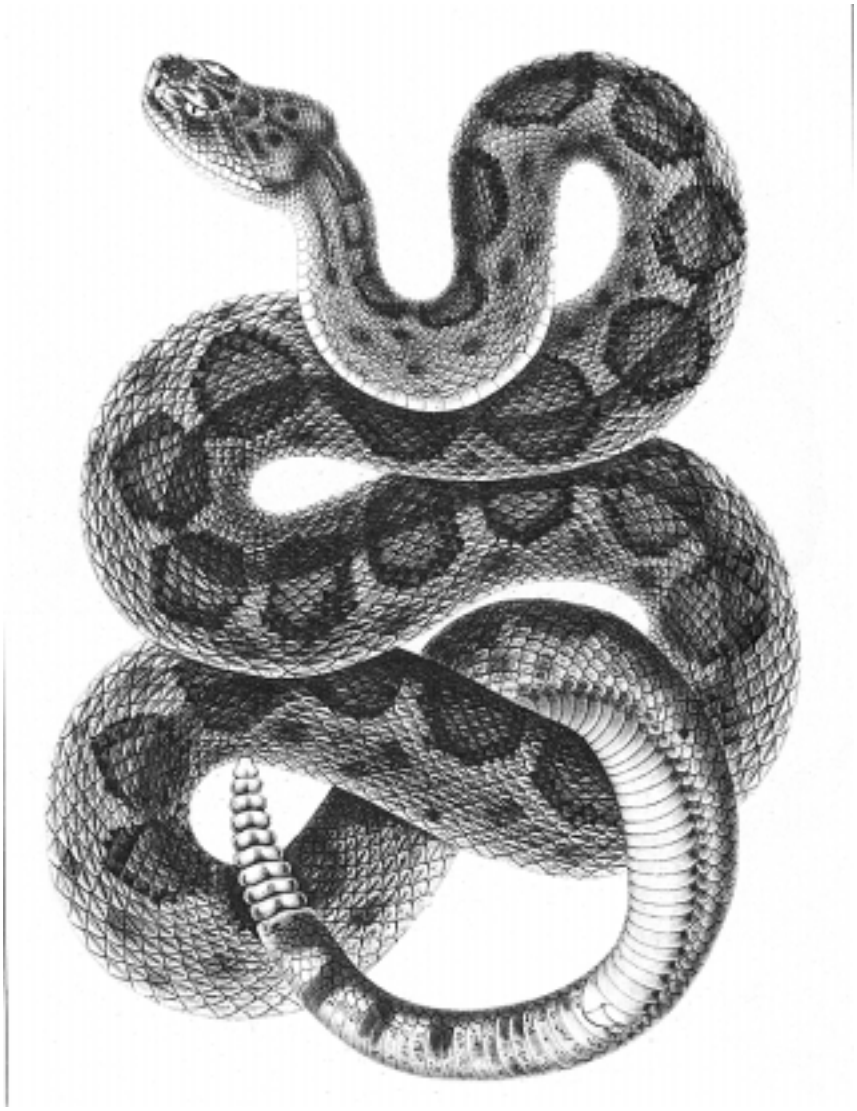
Pathfinders: The Army's Role in Exploring the Southwest

The hushed awe of discovery, the emotional solitude of being the first to stare out over new vistas, these were the rewards accorded to a handful of young Army officers assigned to explore and map the American West between 1838 and 1863. Most were members of a small but elite fraternity of soldier-scientists called the Army Topographical Corps and were assigned a mission unique in U.S. Army history. They were to reconnoiter routes through rarefied and intimidating mountain ranges, canyons awesome in their vastness, down rushing rivers and across parched deserts, so that the American people could expand westward to Pacific shores and that the Army outposts placed to protect the pioneers could be supplied overland. At the same time, they would observe and record a plethora of data on the heretofore unknown natural history of some of the most exciting wildlife habitats in the world. Those military men ranged over America's great Southwest, campaigning during the 1846-48 Mexican War, surveying the new border with Mexico, opening wagon train trails, providing tactical maps for the Indian-fighting Army, mapping transcontinental railroad routes, and producing in just 20 years one of the most comprehensive scientific inventories ever made of any part of the earth.



Dragoons and Explorers, 1847-64.

Pathfinders: Emory's Notes of a Military Reconnaissance



Sketch of a Western diamondback rattlesnake from Emory's Report of the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey.

Perhaps the most important outcome of Kearny's march to California was the work done by Lt. William Emory and his colleagues. His was the first scientific expedition and the first accurate map of the region; it would be used by emigrants hurrying to California's gold fields in 1849. His scientific observations were valuable and far-reaching. An evergreen oak common in southern Arizona is named for him—the *Quercus emoryi*.

Emory, who had shielded his general from a Mexican lance at the Battle of San Pascual, submitted his *Notes of a Military Reconnaissance* to Congress after the war. Emory remained in

the Southwest, leading a border survey expedition that produced an encyclopedic portrait of the American Southwest. "Bold Emory" would command a division in the Civil War as a major general of Volunteers. He was cited for gallantry at the Battles of Hanover Courthouse, Fisher's Hill, the Shenandoah Valley, and Cedar Creek. He retired as a brigadier general in 1876 and died 11 years later.

William H.Emory

James Abert and the Intelligence Preparation of the Battlefield

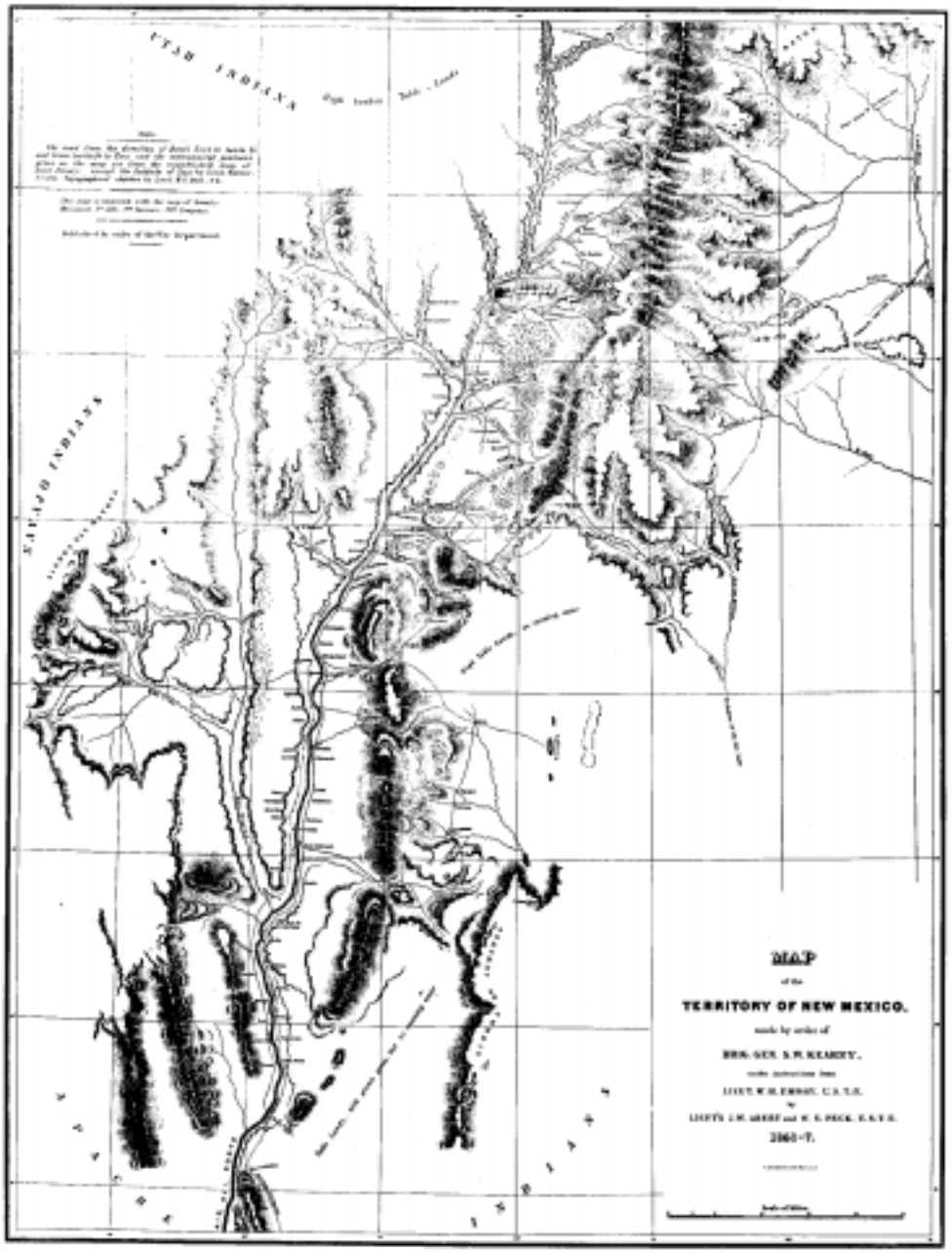
While Kearny was struggling over the mountains of Arizona, Lt. James W. Abert was making his way down the Rio Grande on a scientific mission entrusted to him by Kearny and Emory.

In Emory's detachment in 1846 were three other young lieutenants of the Topographical Corps—James W. Abert, W. H. Warner, and W. G. Peck. On the long march from Fort Leavenworth, Abert fell ill and spent some time at Bent's Fort recuperating. He was not able to catch up with the fast-moving Army of the West and stayed in Santa Fe where he was given a special assignment by Kearny and Emory. Abert was to survey and map the territory of New Mexico. In a letter dated September 14, 1846, Emory directed him to:

continue the survey of this territory commenced by myself, and to follow it to completion, provided it does not interfere with other military duties which may be required of you by the officer left in command of the territory.

…With the limited number of instruments that can be placed in your hands, it is not expected that you will conduct the survey on strict geodetic principles, yet it is believed that sufficient precision can be obtained to answer all the requirements of the military and civil service.

Emory added that it would also be desirable to know "the course of the Del Norte [Rio Grande], that of its tributaries to the base of the mountains or beyond the settlements; the width of the valleys; the quantity of land under cultivation; the position of the towns, churches, hills, and all other topographical features of the country; …the population, number of cattle, horses, a sheep, and the quantity of grain and other agricultural products, the facilities and best localities for water power to propel machinery, and also the mineral resources of the country."



"Territory of New Mexico, made by order of Brig. Gen. S. W. Kearny, under instructions from Lieut. W. H. Emory, U.S.T.E., by Lieut's. J. W. Abert and W. G. Peck, U.S.T.E., 1845-7"

Timeline

In **1847** Charlotte Bronte published her novel *Jane Eyre*; General Zachary Taylor was quoted as telling General John E. Wool with regard to retreating from the field at Buena Vista, "My wounded are behind me and I will never pass them alive;" Taylor was replying to Santa Anna's surrender demands at Buena Vista with a terse, "Tell him to go to hell;" it was determined that the war with Mexico cost $58 million and 12,876 Americans killed; the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo ceded to the U.S. over 500,000 square miles increasing the United States by 17 percent; the Post Office began putting glue on their stamps; and the Mormons settled in Utah.

In **1848** the Italian Wars of Independence raged. Gold was discovered in California on 24 January. Zachary Taylor was elected president. Lt. William T. Sherman mapped the gold fields in North Central California. The U.S. Naval Academy opened at Annapolis, Maryland. Lucretia Mott and Elizabeth Cady Stanton fire the opening volleys in the women's rights movement. Karl Marx and Frederich Engels published their *Communist Manifesto*, which claimed that all history is the history of class struggle. The French abolish slavery in their colonies. Stephen Foster copyrighted "Oh Susannah." The first Chinese immigrants landed in San Francisco. Susan B. Anthony, the "Napoleon of feminism," demanded for women the rights "to have personal freedom, to acquire an education, to earn a living, to claim her wages, to own property, to make contracts, to bring suit, to testify in court, to obtain a divorce for just cause, to possess her children, to claim a fair share of the accumulations during marriage." The valley of the San Pedro River was teeming with wildlife, geese, turkey, quail, beaver, and javelinas that caused Dr. John S. Griffin to note that it was also known as "Hog River." It was overgrown with mesquite, cottonwoods and willows which Emory said in 1848 made it "hard to move without being unhorsed."

Pathfinders: Soldier Scientists in the American Southwest

Capt. Randolph B. Marcy, Fifth Infantry, was ordered on 2 April 1849 to escort a train of emigrants from Fort Smth, Arkansas, to Santa Fe, New Mexico, generally along the Canadian River. The reconnaissance in force through Commanche land included a company of the First Dragoons under Lieut. James Buford, two companies of the Fifth Infantry commanded by Lieuts. M. P. Harrison and J. Updegraff, and as assistant to Marcy, Lieut. James H. Simpson, Topographical Corps. Later in the same year, Captain Marcy followed the same route to Santa Fe, continued south to Dona Ana, then headed back east across unexplored territory to Preston, Texas.

Simpson accompanied the 1849 expedition led by Lieut. Col. Washington deep into Navaho lands, making a bountiful record of the natives and their environs, especially the ruins at Canyon de Chelly, Chaco and Inscription Rock. The expedition convinced him that "we have hit upon a middle route, between the Southern detour made by Col. [Philip St. George] Cook[e], from Santa Fe and the Northern one called the Spanish Trail route, said to be equally long. It is very certain that from Santa Fe to Zuni, a distance of near two hundred miles & in an almost direct course to the City of the Angels, we traversed a well watered, wooded & pastured route, which, with very little labor, can be made an excellent wagon road."[10] The concept of a wagon route north of the Gila Trail would result in another expedition undertaken by Captain Lorenzo

Sitgreaves in 1851.

Simpson, who also explored a Fort Smith-Santa Fe route and the Great Basin, is said to have mapped more of the Far West than any other topog.[11] He would lead a regiment in the Battle of Gaines' Mill, Virginia, which made a gallant stand but was eventually surrounded and Simpson was made a prisoner. He received a brevet promotion to brigadier general in March 1865 and then worked as chief engineer of the Interior Department until the fall of 1867. For the rest of his army career he would engage in river and harbor surveys in the southern states. He died of pneumonia on 2 March 1882.

By the terms of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, a survey was to be made of the new boundary between the United States and Mexico. The California portion of the survey, from the Pacific Ocean to the Colorado River, was accomplished between June 1849 and February 1850 by the first boundary commissioner, John B. Weller, assisted by Andrew B. Gray as surveyor and William H. Emory as "Chief Astronomer and Commander of the Escort." The 39-man commission was escorted by one company each of infantry and cavalry (about 105 men). Emory's two assistants were Lieuts. Amiel Weeks Whipple and Edmund L. F. Hardcastle, both of the Topographical Corps. Whipple's party, with a cavalry escort under Lieut. Cave J. Couts, was charged with fixing the exact confluence of the Gila and Colorado Rivers.

Couts developed an outspoken dislike for his fellow lieutenant, the man he was supposed to protect. He called him "Washington City dandy with white kid gloves." In his diary, Couts said of Whipple: "Take him away from his books, and he is not worth a tinker's damn for anything under God's heaven. I now doubt his capacity for determining the position of the mouth of the Gila."[12] Whipple, for whom Whipple Barracks in Prescott, Arizona, was named, would die of wounds received at the battle of Chancellorsville.

It was in September 1849 that Lieut. Cave Johnson Couts, leading the escort for the boundary expedition, founded Camp Calhoun on the California side of the Colorado River, an outpost that proved a haven for the thousands of emigrants trekking to California. Major Heintzelman established a post downriver at a ferry crossing on the California side in November 1850. Originally called Camp Independence, it became Fort Yuma when it moved in March 1851 to a Spanish mission. Successively commanded by Lieut. L. W. Sweeney and Captain Davidson, the post was too lightly garrisoned (about ten men) and had to be abandoned when the Yumas began testing its defenses. The fort was reopened by Heintzelman in February 1852 to provide protection for settlers congregating around the ferry crossing. The problem of keeping the remote outpost supplied led to an exploration of the Colorado River.

On 1 November 1850, Lieutenant George H. Derby set sail from San Francisco aboard the 120-ton schooner, *Invincible*, rounded the Baja peninsula and sailed up the Gulf of California into the mouth of the Colorado River in January 1851. From there he rowed upstream in a small boat to a rendezvous eighty miles below Fort Yuma with its commander, Major Heintzelman. By so doing, he demonstrated that shallow-draft vessels could use the Colorado River and opened the way for steamboats to be employed in supplying points along the river.

In November of 1850 the boundary survey was again undertaken, this time starting in the east and working westward, and with a new U.S. commissioner, John Russell Bartlett. Joined by the Mexican representative, General Pedro Garcia Conde, the survey began operations in early 1851 with headquarters at the Santa Rita Copper mines near the headwaters of the Gila River. By September 1851 the line had been drawn from El Paso to the San Pedro River. At this time Bartlett left the survey and illness kept him from rejoining until the Spring of 1852. Bartlett

published his narrative of the survey in 1854, a two-volume work that contained much valuable information on the lands traversed. The survey team under commissioner Bartlett was composed of Andrew B. Gray as surveyor until November 1851 when he was replaced by Emory. The first astronomer was Col. John McClellan, who was followed by Lieut. Col. J. D. Graham in October 1850, and Emory in October 1851. Lieut. A. W. Whipple was assistant astronomer. Col. Craig led the 85-man military escort.

Upon his arrival in El Paso in late November 1851, Emory "found things more complicated than I had expected, a large party, half with Colonel Graham at this place, and the other half with Mr. Bartlett God-knows-where, the whole numbering one hundred and upwards, no money, no credit, subdived amongst themselves and the bitterest feeling between the different partite. Little or no work has been done, and yet the appropriation is all gone and that of next year anticipated."[13] Emory brought his organizational abilities to bear, borrowing money from his friend New Mexican merchant James Magoffin, and rounding up supplies from garrisons in the vicinity. He got rid of slack employees and organized the rest into work parties that would be each assigned a part of the line. Lieut. Nathaniel Michler took a party to Fort Duncan to begin surveying; Lieut. W. F. Smith was sent to San Elizario to set up an observatory to determine longitude; and Emory set up headquarters at Frontrera near El Paso.

With Bartlett gone, Gray and Whipple continued the boundary survey along the Gila to a point sixty miles from the Colorado where they ran out of supplies in December. They went on to San Diego where Bartlett rejoined them. In May 1852 they picked up where they had left off and finished the job by 24 July. As they were getting underway up the Colorado back in January, the commander of the escort force, Colonel Craig, was killed by deserters he was tracking.

Meanwhile, in September 1851, Captain Lorenzo Sitgreaves with fifty men, was leaving Zuni, New Mexico, to make the first government exploration of northern Arizona. Sitgreaves was accompanied by Lieut. J. G. Parke, Dr. S. W. Woodhouse, a physician and naturalist, R. H. Kern, the draftsman [also an artist who had accompanied Lieut. Simpson on the 1849 Navaho expedition], and a military escort of thirty men from the 2d Artillery commanded by Brevet Maj. H. L. Hendrick. They were guided by Antoine Leroux and their pack train was driven by five Americans and ten Mexicans. His instructions from the chief of the Topographical Corps, Col. J. J. Abert, said:

> *The river Zuni is represented on good authority to empty into the Colorado, and it has been partially explored by Lieutenant Simpson to the Pueblo of Zuni. You will therefore go to that place, which will be, in fact, the commencing point of your exploring labors. From the Pueblo Zuni you will pursue the Zuni to its junction with the Colorado, determining its course and character, particulary in reference to its navigable properties, and to the character of its adjacent land and productions. The junction of the Zuni and Colorado will be accurately determined. You will then pursue the Colorado to its junction with the Gulf of California, taking those observations which will enable you accurately to delineate its course.*[14]

From Zuni the expedition followed the Zuni River to the Little Colorado, then along that river northward through the lands of the Moquis and Yampais Apaches to the San Francisco Mountains near Flagstaff. To avoid running into the Grand Canyon, they left the Little Colorado River and headed due west so as to reach the Colorado River below the Grand Canyon. They crossed the San Francisco Mountains, passing within view of Bill Williams Peak. On 30 October they were attacked by Cosino Indians who were after their mules. On 5 November they were camped within sight of the Colorado River. Here they followed the river south and for the rest of

November they were harassed by Mohave Indians who wounded Dr. Woodhouse and clubbed to death a soldier who fell behind. They reached Fort Yuma on 30 November and rested and resupplied for the last leg overland to San Diego.

The result of his efforts were to eventually lead the way to a central wagon and railroad route from Albuquerque to Los Angeles, which would go by way of the Wingate Valley, the Rio Puerco, to the San Francisco Mountains, thence to today's Kingman, Arizona, and Needles, California. In addition Richard Kern drew about fifty accomplished sketches of Southwestern landscape, Indians, plants and animals. Sitgreaves could find little in his two month trek to be enthusiastic about, reporting "I can add very little to the information afforded by the [Kern] map, almost the entire country traversed being barren, and without general interest."[15]

A survey searching for a railroad route along the 35th parallel was organized in late 1853 with Lieut. A. W. Whipple at its head. The Lieutenant, fresh from a survey which had charted a route from Fort Smith, Arkansas, across New Mexico to Zuni, now embarked from that latter point on 23 November 1853. His twelve-man team of naturalists and scientists included Lieut. J. C. Ives as his assistant and H. B. Mollhausen, a cartographer and artist who would make striking sketches of the countryside.

While the expedition was assembling supplies for a month in Albuquerque, Dr. Mollhausen and the other members of the expedition had time to learn what the city had to offer.

Our first visit was to the officers of the United States dragoons, who welcomed us with true American hospitality; and gave us many a pleasant hour in their barracks. In the Far West, acquaintances are very quickly made; questions, explanations, stories of adventures, are interchanged, as if they would never come to an end, and the time passes in lively conversation as rapidly as could be desired.

> *We obtained on the very first day, through the obliging communicativeness of these officers, a considerable acquaintance with the town,—its advantages and defects, its inhabitants of both sexes, the names of the streets, which certainly were not very numerous, as well as of the still fewer persons of distinction, and above all, of every handsome senorita. Also, we were indebted to these gentlemen for the interesting intelligence of where the best wine was to be had, and where we might resort to of an evening to recruit ourselves, after the toils of the writing and drawing table, with the pleasanter exercise of the fandango. Amidst these delights, we thought little either of the journey we had made, or of the one that still lay before us; but we felt that this state of things could not last, if we meant to obey the instructions received from the government at Washington, by Lieutenant Whipple….*[16]

An escort party from the 7th Infantry was commanded by Lieut. John M. Jones. Covering much of the same ground as the Sitgreaves expedition, Whipple struck out across northern Arizona, crossing the Little Colorado and Bill Williams River until he reached the Colorado on 20 February 1854. From that point he continued westward across California, compiling a vast amount of geographic and descriptive information about northern Arizona.

Despite their isolation in uncharted lands, they managed to produce a Christmas celebration worthy of note by Dr. Mollhausen.

> *…When we left Albuquerque, some of the party had bethought themselves of the festive season, and procured a chest of eggs, which, carefully packed, had travelled in safety thus far. Others had brought a stock of rum and wine, and all these luxuries were now produced to do honour to the Christmas banquet. In the afternoon we noticed an unusual bustle going on in Lieutenant Johns' tent. He was engaged in the preparation of a gigantic bowl of punch, and*

having eggs beat up on a grand scale. A huge camp-kettle hung bubbling and steaming over the fire in front of the tent, and near it a large pail for mingling the various ingredients of the festal drink, and the following invitation was soon issued:—

"All gentlemen are requested to assemble after supper before Lieutenant Johns' tent, and to bring with them their tin drinking mugs."

No one had "a previous engagement," or was at all tempted to decline, and as soon as the night set in, and the stars began to glitter in the deep blue firmament, and to look down upon us between the snowy branches, and company began to assemble at the appointed spot, where a magnificent fire had melted the snow, and diffused a delightful warmth around. Lieutenant Johns was busy with his brewage, and that fragrant steaming pail, with the inviting froth at the top, was a most agreeable sight to men who had been so long limited to water. Our party was now increased, by the addition of Leroux and the mexican guides, who were invited to join us, and then Lieutenant Johns made a speech, as nearly as I can remember to this effect:—

"Let us now forget for a few hours our hardships and privations, the object of our journey, and the labours still before us; and here, under a roof of boughs, and on the spotless white carpet that God Almighty has spread for us, far as we are from our homes, let us think of our friends, who, very likely, are thinking of us as they sit round their firesides; and drwoning our cares in a social glass of toddy, drink to their helath, and to our own happy return."

The lieutenant's guests did honour due to his "neat and appropriate speech," and then one after another advanced, nothing loath, and plunged his tin mug into the jovial pail. We then sat down in a circle round the fire, and smoked and drank again: toasts and jokes followed one another rapidly, hearts became lighter, the blood ran more swiftly in the veins, and all present joined in such a lively chorus as echoed far and wide through the ravines, and must have sadly interfered with the night's rest of the sleeping turkeys. A little way off the Mexicans were celebrating the festival in their own style with the gunpowder we had given them, and shot after shot, and then whole salvos, sounded through the still air, till the concussion shook down the snow from the branches. Of course they did not fail to accompany these demonstrations with the songs of their country, and at last they became so excited that they determined to have a bonfire.[17]

While Whipple was heading West across northern Arizona, an expedition was being fitted out in San Diego for an eastward push through the area of today's Mexican border, this too being a search for a suitable railroad route over the newly purchased U.S. territory. It was led by Lieut. John G. Parke, who had made a contribution to the mapping of the southwest with an 1851 map drawn by Richard Kern. The team set out from San Diego on 24 January 1854. There were thirty of them, excluding the escort commanded by Lieut. George Stoneman. Using the Pima Villages on the Gila as their starting point, Parke plotted a route that took them through Tucson to the San Pedro River, and then east to the Rio Grande generally along a path that is followed by today's Interstate 10. He retraced his steps from San Diego in May 1855 to explore alternate routes from the San Pedro through the Chiricahua Mountains.

A treaty, negotiated in 1853 by U.S. minister to Mexico, James Gadsden, was ratified in the summer of 1854 which ceded all the land of present-day Arizona south of the Gila River to the United States for $10 million. The job of marking out the new border with Mexico fell to William

H. Emory and Jose Salazar Ilarregui, the commissioners for the two countries. The survey, unlike similar efforts in the past, was noted by the cooperation of the two commissioners and the efficiency with which they undertook the job. Emory's three-volume *Report of the United States and Mexican Boundary Survey*, published between 1856 and 1859, is an encyclopedic portrait of the American Southwest unparalleled in the sheer volume of accumulated data.

In his report Emory refers to the Huachuca Mountains as the Sierra Espinola, and described the San Pedro Valley:

Throughout the whole course of the San Pedro there are beautiful valleys susceptible of irrigation, and capable of producing large crops of wheat, corn, cotton, and grapes; and there are on this river the remains of large settlements which have been destroyed by the hostile Indians, the most conspicuous of which are the mining town of San Pedro and the town of San Cruz Viejo. There are also to be found here, in the remains of spacious corrals, and in the numerous wild cattle and horses which still are seen in this country, the evidences of its immense capacity as a grazing country.

Removed from the river beds, at the base of the mountains, where perpetual springs are found, are also to be seen the remains of large grazing establishments; the most famous of which is the ranch of San Bernardino, which falls half in the United States and half in Mexico. I have been informed that this establishment was owned in Mexico, and when in its most flourishing condition boasted as many as one hundred thousand head of cattle and horses. They have been killed or uun off by the Indians, and the spacious buildings of adobe which accommodated the employees of this vast grazing farm are now washed nearly level with the earth.[18]

Emory judged the dry deserts to be mostly unsuitable for farming but thought they might "be settled by a mining and pastoral population."

The area of the Gadsden purchase would remain ungarrisoned by U.S. troops until 1856 when four companies of the First Dragoons marched to Tucson and camped there and at Calabasas. A year later a permanent camp was established at Fort Buchanan near Tubac, with Major Enoch Steen in command. Over on the Colorado River at Beale's crossing, Fort Mojave was garrisoned with three companies of infantry in late 1858 and these troops, under Colonel Hoffman, were able to keep the Mojave Indians under some semblance of control. Some of the dragoons from Fort Buchanan were sent off to the San Pedro River in 1859 to found Fort Breckinridge on the San Pedro. The U.S. Army strength in southern Arizona from 1856 to 1860 numbered as few as 120 and as high as 375. These and other temporary camps were abandoned in 1860 and 1861 when the troops were recalled to fight the Civil War.

Lieut. John Pope thought that the problem of aridity in the Southwest might be solved by digging artesian wells. In 1855 and 1857 he sank wells on the Llano Estacado in Texas and on the Jornado del Muerto in New Mexico but failed to find water in any significant amount. He reported to the chief of the Topographical Corps:

I am constrained to say after ten months of very severe and unremitted labor that, I fear that, without greater facilities and more extensive preparations than could have been secured under the appropriation…it will be impracticable to overcome the mechanical and physical difficulties of the work.

* * *

Exposed to the extremes of temperature, both in summer and winter on those bleak and unsheltered plains, with no better protection against the weather than the ordinary canvas

tent, and frequently reduced to short allowance of bare necessities of subsistence, the men engaged in the work…suffered much and endured privation and exposure of the severest character.[19]

Another topographical engineer, Lieut. Joseph Christmas Ives, launched an exploration of the Colorado River and northern Arizona on 11 January 1858. The New York City-born Ives would become an aide to Jefferson Davis when Davis became president of the Confederate States. In a stern-wheel steamship named the *Explorer*, Ives churned up the Colorado from Fort Yuma to the confluence of the Virgin River at the Black Canyon.

Ives left some of the most effusive descriptions of the grandeur of the Southwest. About Black Canyon he said, "Stately facades, august cathedrals, amphitheatres, rotundas, castellated walls, and rows of time-stained ruins, surmounted by every form of tower, minaret, dome, and spire have been moulded from the cyclopean masses of rock that form the mighty defile. The solitude, the stillness, the subdued light, and the vastness of every surrounding object, produce an expression of awe that ultimately becomes painful."[20]

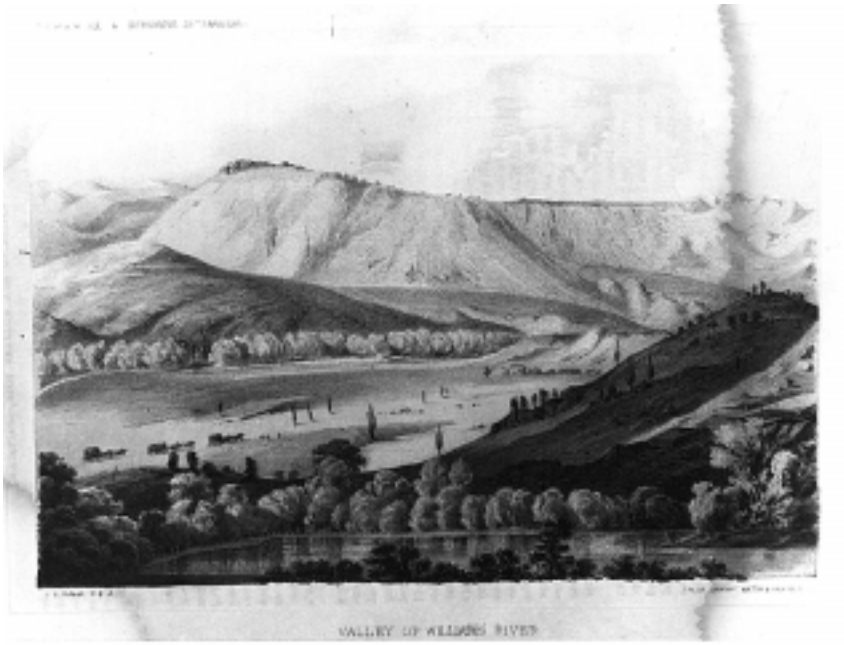
From here he and an escort party numbering twenty men marched overland, visiting along the way the Little Colorado and the Moqui villages. In the Grand Canyon Ives was moved to surrealistic prose: "The increasing magnitude of the colossal piles that blocked the end of the vista, and the corresponding depty, and gloom of the gaping chasms into which we were plunging, imparted an earthly character to a way that might have resembled the portals of the infernal regions. Harsh screams issuing from aerial recesses in the canyon sides, and apparitions of goblin-like figures perched in the rifts and hollows of the impending cliffs, gave an odd reality to the impression."[21] He arrived at Fort Defiance in May 1858. The illustrations of the impressive and unique scenery made by artist H. B. Molhausen were some of the most striking prints to survive the southwestern explorations. The Ives expedition had covered ground that no Anglo had visited before.

A survey was authorized by Congress in February 1859 to map the lands of the Pimas and Maricopas and along the Gila. Ten thousand dollars were appropriated to distribute among these traditionally friendly Indians in the form of tools and clothing. The survey was conducted under the command of Colonel A. B. Gray later in the year, while Lieutenant Sylvester Mowry was put in charge of handing out the gifts.

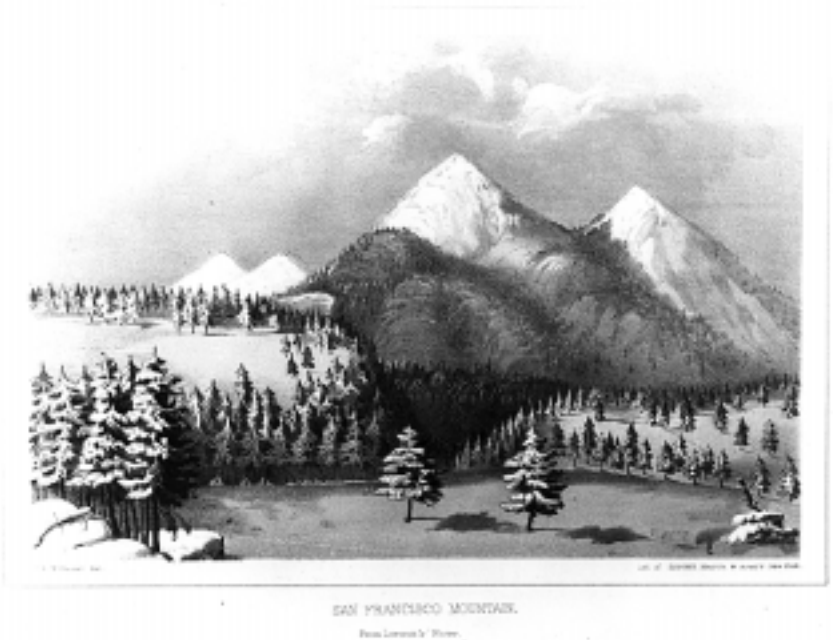
From 1850 to 1860 the U.S. Army Topographical Corps built thirty-four roads in the far west, and sunk experimental artesian wells along the Llano Estacado in Texas and the Jornado del Muerto along the Rio Grande in New Mexico, at a total cost of $1,116,000. This was a major contribution to the settlement of the west. In New Mexico alone the network of roads would become the pattern for future lines of communication, a point made by historian William T. Jackson:

…For example, El Camino Militar from Santa Fe to Taos is today a main highway from the New Mexico capital northward into Colorado at Fort Garland. The tracks of the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad follow in the general route of the old Fort Union military road from Las Vegas across the Sangre de Cristo Range into Santa Fe. This railroad's route southward to Albuquerque on down the Rio Grande Valley, across the Jornada del Muerto to

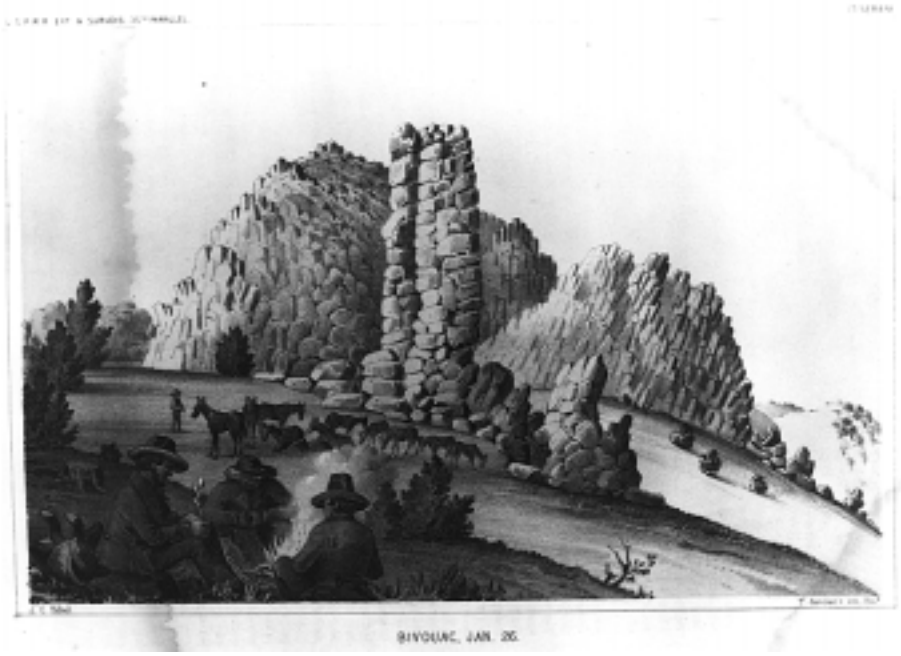
El Paso follows the old Dona Ana road.[22]



"Valley of Williams River," a sketch by J.C. Tidball, U.S. Army, while on the U.S. Pacific Railroad Expedition and Surveys of the 35th Parallel.

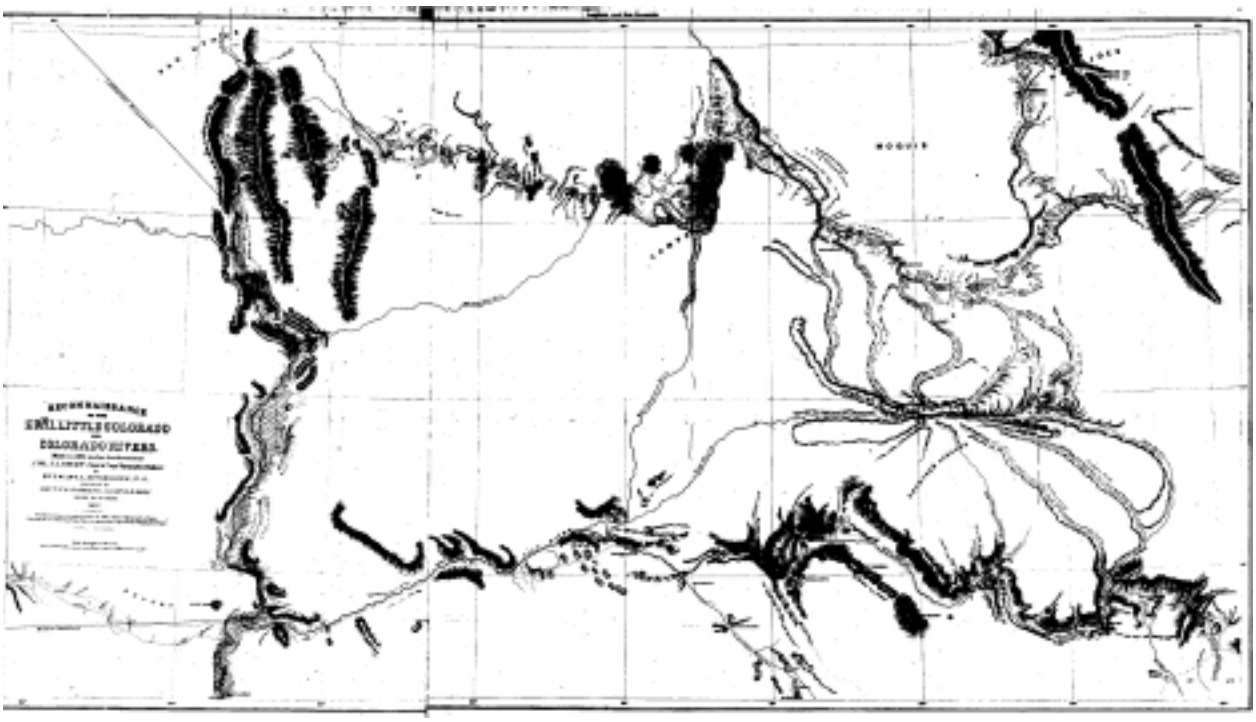


“San Francisco Mountain, From Leroux’s River,” a sketch by H.L. Mollhausen, while on the U.S. Pacific Railroad Expedition and Surveys of the 35th Parallel.



“Bivouac, Jan. 26,” a sketch by J.C. Tidball, U.S. Army, while on the U.S. Pacific Railroad Expedition and Surveys of the 35th Parallel.

“Bivouac, January 28,” a sketch by J.C. Tidball, U.S. Artillery, while on the U.S. Pacific Railroad Expedition and Surveys of the 35th Parallel.



"Reconnaissance of the Zuni, Little Colorado and Colorado Rivers…"

Timeline

In October **1849** an emigrant party led by Charles E. Pancoast trooped down the Gila Trail to California. The first Anglo-Saxon child was born in present-day Arizona on the river and was unfortunately named "Gila." Wyatt Earp was born in Monmouth, Illinois. The Department of Interior was created. The Italians were fighting the Austrians for their Independence and would win it when Garibaldi marched into Rome. The Hungarians too were rising up against the Austrians but were crushed. Edgar Allen Poe, who had failed to make the grade at West Point, died. Zachary Taylor was inaugurated. There was a gold rush to California. The safety pin was patented. Macaulay began his *History of England* which he would complete 12 years later. Thoreau published his essay "On Civil Disobedience." On 8 March George W. Crawford replaced Marcy as Secretary of War. Herman Melville completed the novel *White Jacket, or The World in a Man-of-War* based on his U.S. Navy career of 14 months as an ordinary seaman aboard the frigate *USS United States*. The Navy abolished shipboard flogging a year later.

A. B. Clarke led a party of emigrants through southern Arizona in May and June 1849 and left this description of the upper San Pedro:

Three of the men attacked a grizzly bear last night on the other side of the river. They felled him three times, but their ammunition gave out.…The road is pretty good down this splendid valley, although in some places rather rough, from thick tufts of grass, that have grown

up in it since it has been used. Trees are becoming common on the river; its direction is indicated by them for a long distance. They are principally cottonwoods, with some sycamore, willow, and mesquite. A fawn was brought into camp in the evening.[23]

Judge Benjamin Hayes was with a party of emigrants who crossed the San Pedro Valley in the region of today's international border and he chronicled: "The [wolves] are howling around us, and one of very large size, was seen an hour or two since." He also recorded a large amount of game like wild horses, wild cattle, and deer.

In **1850** Congress authorized a pay increase for soldiers serving on foreign soil. Dickens published *David Copperfield*. Maj. Richard Delafield, Maj. Alfred Mordecai, and Capt. George B. McClellan embarked for the Crimean War and then to Europe to study respectively European fortifications, artillery and cavalry developments. Stephen Foster wrote "De Camptown Races." Nathaniel Hawthorne wrote *The Scarlet Letter*. The census listed 23,261,000 Americans. In New Mexico Territory there were 61,547. Millard Fillmore succeeded Zachary Taylor who died in office. California became a state. New Mexico formally became a territory. The gas mask was patented by Benjamin J. Lane. In June Congress authorized larger companies in the West, raising the number of privates to 74 instead of the 50 dragoons or 64 mounted rifles that had been the ceiling since 1848. By the end of the year, the Army numbered 12,927 officers and men. On 15 August Charles M. Conrad replaced Crawford as Secretary of War. The Navy adopted a heavy cannon designed by Lt. John Dahlgren. The U.S. Naval Academy was established at Annapolis, Md.

In **1851** Fort Defiance officially became a U.S. Army post. It would become the Navaho Indian Agency in 1868. Herman Melville published *Moby Dick*. In this year alone, 221,253 Irish immigrated to the U.S. Leo Tolstoy entered the Russian Army as a cadet, would see action in the defense of Sevastopol and be commended for bravery. Engels and Marx wrote, "Insurrection is an art as much as war…and subject to certain rules of procedure…. Firstly, never play with insurrection unless you are fully prepared to face the consequences of your play…. Secondly, the insurrectionary career once entered upon, act with the greatest determination and on the offensive. The defensive is the death of every armed rising…. Surprise your antagonist…. Keep up the moral ascendancy which the first successful rising has given you…. In the words of Danton, the greatest master of revolutionary policy yet known, 'De l'audace, de l'audace, encore de l'audace!"

Boundary Commissioner John Bartlett described the area of the Santa Rita Copper Mines in 1851:

> *The hills and valleys abound in wild animals and game of various kinds. The black-tail deer…and the ordinary species [white-tailed deer]…are very common. On the plains below are antelopes. Bears are more numerous than in any region we have yet been in. The grizzly, black, and brown varieties are all found here; and there was scarcely a day when bear-meat was not served up at some of the messes. The grizzly and brown are the largest, some having been killed which weighed from seven to eight hundred pounds. These are dangerous animals….Turkeys abound in this region of a very large size. Quails too are found here; but they prefer the plains and valleys.*[24]

Bartlett, emerging into the San Pedro Valley from Dragoon Wash, noted:

> *On emerging from the arroyo, we entered a plain, thickly overgrown with large mezquit bushes, but destitute of grass. We looked in vain for a line of trees, or of luxuriant vegetation to mark the course of the San Pedro—when all of sudden we found ourselves upon its banks.*

The stream…was here about twenty feet across, about two feet deep, and quite rapid. The water, though muddy, was pleasant to the taste.[25]

Traveling south of the Mustang Mountains, the Bartlett party encountered Babocomari Creek which flows out of the Huachucas eastward to the San Pedro River.

The valley of the Babocomari, is here from a quarter to half a mile in breadth, and covered with a luxuriant growth of grass. The stream, which is about twenty feet wide, and in some places two feet deep, winds through this valley, with willows, and large cotton-wood trees growing along its margin.[26]

Looking into the San Rafael Valley from Canelo Pass, Bartlett recorded this scene:

A few miles brought us to the puerta, or gate in the mountain; passing which, we emerged into a very broad and open plain of remarkable beauty. From the elevation where we first saw this valley, the prospect was exceedingly picturesque. Around us grew the maguey, the yucca, and various kinds of cacti, together with small oaks; while beneath us, the valley spread out from six to eight miles in width, and some twelve or fifteen in length. Unlike the desolate and barren plains between the mountain ridges, which we had crossed between the Rio Grande and the San Pedro, this valley was covered with the most luxuriant herbage and thickly studded with live-oaks; not like a forest, but rather resembling a cultivated park. While the train was passing down the mountain, I stopped with Mr. Pratt to enjoy the scene, which he hastily transferred to his sketch book.[27]

Col. James D. Graham, a topographical engineer with the Boundary Commission, wrote in 1851 about the Sulphur Springs Valley west of the Chiricahua range.

We descended into a most beautiful level plain, abounding with delicious green grass as far as the eye could reach, without any stinted shrubbery, as is generally the case on these plains, but interspersed with magay [probably soaptree yucca].[28]

In **1852** The first passenger elevator was invented by Elisha G. Otis. Franklin Pierce was elected president. Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. There was a civil war in Argentina.

Boundary Commissioner John Bartlett traveling eastward across southern Arizona in 1852 described the region around Calabasas where the Sonoita Creek joins the Santa Cruz River.

The valley continued about half a mile wide, thickly covered with mesquit trees of a large size. The bottom-lands resembled meadows, being covered with luxuriant grass, and but few trees. The immediate banks of the river [Santa Cruz], which is here as diminutive as near Tucson, are lined with cotton-wood trees of a gigantic size…. In some places there are large groves of these trees, rendering this part of the valley the most picturesque and beautiful we had seen.

During his travels with the Boundary Commission across southern Arizona in 1851 and 1852, Bartlett encountered much wildlife and he generally described them in his 1854 report.

In a region as barren as the greater portion of that traversed, animal life would hardly be expected to abound. Nevertheless, there was no spot, however barren, or however distant from water, where rabbits and wolves were not seen….

In the mountains and along the water-courses, where there are more or less forest trees and shrubbery, both quadrupeds and birds are found in greater variety. Among the former may be mentioned the leopard, cougar, ocelot, lynx, panther; the brown, black, and grizzly bear; the fox, antelope, and various kinds of deer; the large wolf (lobo), and the coyote…. [and] Rocky Mountain sheep, etc…. The elk is not found south of the Gila. The beaver is still

met with…on the Gila and its northern tributaries…. In the Copper Mine region, which is in the Rocky Mountains, almost every animal than I have named may be found; bears in particular are extremely abundant.[29]

In **1853** Army Engineer Lt. Montgomery C. Meigs began work on the Washington Aqueduct that would bring water from the upper Potomac to the nation's capital. It took 11 years to complete. On 7 March Jefferson Davis replaced Conrad as Secretary of War.
French sculptor Francois Rude (1784-1855) unveils his *Monument to Marshal Ney* in Paris.

In **1854** the first Protestant church in the territory opened its doors in Santa Fe. Congress ratified Commodore Perry's treaty with Japan. The Kansas-Nebraska Act permitted states to choose on the slavery question, nullifying the Missouri Compromise and precipitating the Civil War. Some 300,000 French, British, Sardinian and Turkish troops battled 1,742,297 Russians in the Crimean War. A French observer said of the British's Charge of the Light Brigade, "It is magnificent, but it is not war."

Lt. John G. Parke surveyed the 32d parallel for a proposed railway route in 1854. Here he describes Tucson and vicinity.

February 21.—…Tucson…is a one-storied flat-roofed adobe town of about six hundred inhabitants, whose sole pursuit is agriculture; the much dreaded Apaches having interfered greatly with their pastoral occupation. They raise chiefly corn and wheat, cultivating about three hundred acres of rich soil by irrigation from a stream. …Timber is scarce in this locality, that used in building, a species of pine, being found in canons and narrow gorges of the distant mountains; while the cotton-wood, willow, and mezquite, of the immediate vicinity, is barely sufficient for fences and fires.[30]

James G. Bell and his party were driving a herd of cattle from Texas to California in the summer of 1854. There route generally today's international boundary. As they crossed the San Pedro River and headed for the southern end of the Huachuca Mountains, the drover recorded his impressions.

The valley through which the San Pedro passes is a desirable location for ranches. The hills on either side are covered with timber, huge loose stones, and a good quality of grass; some portions of these hills are verry pretty and contain little tree hidden nooks….

The rock here is conglomerate, soil of good quality, timber of cotton wood, and oak. Upon the whole this is the most habitable place seen since I left San Antonio.[31]

Pathfinders: Lieutenant Beale and the Camel Military Corps

The problem of supplying the Army's widespread network of camps was compounded by the waterless expanses of desert. The search for a solution led to a remarkable experiment—the importation in 1855 of camels from Egypt to act as pack animals. It was felt that their hardiness in hot, dry climates would perfectly suit them to transportation jobs in the Southwest. In the Fall of 1857, Secretary of War John Floyd, carrying on the initiative promoted by his predecessor Jefferson Davis, ordered a survey of a wagon route from Fort Defiance on the New Mexican border to the Colorado River was conducted under the command of former naval lieutenant Edward F. Beale. The expedition across Arizona' 35th parallel, with Beale aboard his favorite camel, a white dromedary named "Seid," was the first employment of the camel corps. As he set

out Beale was not without apprehension, as his diary entry for 27 August 1857 attests:

No one who has not commanded an expedition of this kind, where everything ahead is dim, uncertain, and unknown, except the dangers, can imagine the anxiety with which I start upon this journey. Not only responsible for the lives of my men, but my reputation and highest wrought expectations of envious enemies—all these dependent on the next sixty days' good or evil fortune.[32]

Marching his camels from Santa Fe to Albuquerque, Beale encountered many curious onlookers in the villages he passed through. In his diary he wrote on 4 August 1857: "We passed several towns, and found the fame of the camels had preceded us. At the first, I was taken for the head showman."[33]

One of the expedition members, the nineteen-year-old May Humphreys Stacey, later a Brevet Lieutenant Colonel, described the everyday rations in his journal entry of 18 August.

…Mr. Beale purchased at Covero two hundred sheep and we have mutton every day instead of "Old Ned," in other words, salt bacon. Our ration of salt provisions is comparatively small. It consists of full rations for twenty days. Our flour (we could get no hard bread) is for sixty days, and our sugar and coffee a ration and a half for eighty days. With this inlaid we hope to be able to reach California in from forty-five to sixty days.[34]

With this uninspired fare, it is no wonder that small deviations could invoke rejoicing. When the column pulled up at Fort Defiance on 25 August, Captain Carlisle from that garrison came out to meet them. Beale wrote, "As we stood in the warm sun of August, it was most refreshing to see the captain's servant throw off the folds of a blanket from a tub in the bottom of the wagon, and expose several large and glistening blocks of ice, while at the same time the captain produced a delicate flask of 'red eye.'"[35]

By September 15 Beale was reinforced in his conviction that the camel would be the pack animal of the southwest.

My admiration for the camels increases daily with my experience of them. The harder the test they are put to the more fully they seem to justify all that can be said of them. They pack water for others four days under a hot sun and never get a drop; they pack heavy burdens of corn and oats for months and never get a grain; and on the bitter greasewood and other worthless shrubs not only subsist but keep fat; withal, they are so perfectly docile and so admirably contented with whatever fate befalls them. No one could do justice to their merits or value in expeditions of this kind, and I look forward to the day when every mail route across the continent will be conducted and worked altogether with this economical and noble brute.[36]

He reached Fort Tejon, California, on New Year's Day, 1858. Tejon was the site of Beale's ranch and the Los Angeles newspapers were miffed that he did not march all the way into their city. They accused Beale of using "the national dromedaries to build a road to his own house, and that he will be alone benefited by the location of it. …This is probably all right, for if Lieutenant Beale does not build a road to his house, who will? Everybody in this county can't expect to have the government build a road to his house, and why should he find fault because some are more fortunate than others? The fact is Lieut. Beale is smart—he is active, energetic, untiring. He never rests—he is the last man to go to sleep, and the first to wake. Lieut. Beale as a public officer has often been the subject for detraction by envious men, and he will, doubtless survive these as he has other attacks."[37]

Beale and twenty men turned around and marched back to New Mexico to show the route was possible during the winter. On the return trip the party made the Colorado River on 23

January 1858. Here by pure chance they met up with another expedition traveling up the river by steamboat. Beale's surprise was registered in his diary entry for 23 January.

…the steamer "General Jesup," Captain Johnson, was at the crossing waiting to convey us to the opposite side. It is difficult to conceive the varied emotions with which this news was received. Here, in a wild, almost unknown country, inhabited only by savages, the great river of the west, hitherto declared unnavigable, had, for the first time, borne upon its bosom that emblem of civilization, a steamer. The enterprise of a private citizen had been rewarded by success, for the future was to lend its aid in the settlement of our vast western territory. But alas! for the poor Indians living on its banks and rich meadow lands. The rapid current which washes it shores will hardly pass more rapidly away. The steam whistle of the "General Jesup" sounded the death knell of the river race.

Accompanying Captain Johnson, was Lieutenant White, of the United States army, and fifteen soldiers as an escort, which, with as many rugged mountain men, and the steamer as a fort, made a dangerous party to meddle with.

* * *

I had brought my camels with me, and as they stood on the bank, surrounded by hundreds of wild unclad savages, and mixed these the dragoons of my escort and the steamer slowly revolving her wheels preparatory to a start, it was a curious and interesting picture.[38]

Near Fort Defiance on 21 February 1858, Beale's odyssey came to an end and he wrote:

A year in the wilderness ended! During this time I have conducted my party from the Gulf of Mexico to the shores of the Pacific Ocean, and back again to the eastern terminus of the road, through a country for a great part entirely unknown, and inhabited by hostile Indians, without the loss of a man. I have tested the value of the camels, marked a new road to the Pacific, and travelled 4,000 miles without an accident.[39]

In his official report to the Secretary of War, written from the California side of the Colorado River on 18 October 1857, Beale concluded:

…An important part in all of our operations has been acted by the camels. Without the aid of this noble and useful brute, many hardships which we have been spared would have fallen to our lot; and our admiration for them has increased day by day, as some new hardship, endured patiently, more fully developed their entire adaptation and usefulness in the exploration of the wilderness. At times I have been put, but they seem to have risen equal to every trial, and to have come off of every exploration with as much strength as before starting. Unsupported by the testimony of every man of my party, I should be unwilling to state all that I have seen them do. Starting with a full determination that the experiment should be no half-way one, I have subjected them to trials which no other animal could possibly have endured; and yet I have arrived here, not only without the loss of a camel, but they are admitted by those who saw them in Texas to be in as good condition to-day as when we left San Antonio.

In all…explorations, they have carried water sometimes for more than a week for the mules used by the men, themselves never receiving even a bucketful to one of them. They have traversed patiently, with heavy packs, on these explorations, countries covered with sharpest volcanic rock, and yet their feet, to this hour, have evinced no symptom of tenderness or injury. With heavy packs they have crossed mountains, ascended and descended precipitous places where an unladen mule found it difficult to pass, even with the assistance of the rider dismounted, and carefully picking its way. I think it would be within bounds to say, that, in these various lateral explorations, they have traversed nearly double the distance passed over

by our mules and wagons.

Leaving home with all the prejudice invariably attaching to untried experiments, and with many in our camp opposed to their use, and looking forward confidently to their failure, I believe at this time I may speak for every man in our party, when I say there is not one of them who would not prefer the most indifferent of our camels to four of our best mules; and I look forward, hopefully, to the time when they will be in general use in all parts of our country.[40]

While Beale's reports on the animals was enthusiastic, the Civil War intervened. The Camel Corps was disbanded and the government beasts sold at auction at Benecia, California, on 26 February 1864. Surviving descendants of the herd would roam the Southwest for years to come, frightening horses, mules and citizens who unexpectedly encountered them.

An exotic figure in Southwestern history was one of the Arabs, Turks and Greeks imported from the Middle East to care for the camels. He was Syrian by birth. His name was Hadji Ali, also known as Philip Tedro, his naturalized name, and Hi Jolly, his frontier pronunciation, to the Americans. After accompanying Beale on his camel expeditions, he remained in the Southwest. On 13 August 1900 he went to work at Fort Huachuca as a packer for the Quartermaster Department at $50 per month.

Former naval lieutenant Edward Beale was asked by Secretary of War John Floyd to mount a second camel expedition in 1858 to make recommendations for improving and building a wagon road from Fort Smith, Arkansas, to Albuquerque, New Mexico, and then on to California. Beale set out from Fort Smith on 28 October, outdistancing his escort led by Lieutenant Steen. The escort finally caught up with the road survey party on 26 November, as they were ready to cross the country of the now hostile Commanches.

Beale left his winter headquarters at Hatch's Ranch, New Mexico, on 26 February 1859, reached the Zuni villages by 27 March, and after a difficult trek hit the Colorado River on 30 April. He was harrassed by Mohave Indians who were after his mules. He set a trap, leaving a dead mule as bait in an abandoned camp, around which his men lay in hiding. The ruse worked and four Indians were killed when they entered the camp. He expected a full-scale battle with the Mohaves, but a 600-man expedition out of Fort Yuma led by Major William Hoffman had ridden into the Indian villages ten days earlier and concluded a treaty with them on 23 May. Beale's party crossed the Colorado on 4 May and entered Los Angeles on 12 May.

Beale's road work was slowed by the disappearance of a cache of food and supplies that he attributed to Major Hoffman's troops, a charge which Hoffman denied. Beale angrily wrote that the theft of his supplies was "the only distinction [Hoffman's men] have gained in the bloodless campaign."

Returning back along the road to Albuquerque, he made improvements in the road and back in New Mexico on 29 July he wrote a letter to his wife, saying, "I do not know what the people in the East think of what we have done but I know we have done good service." In his official report which he submitted to Secretary Floyd on 15 December 1859, Beale was confident.

"It is the shortest, the best timbered, the best grassed, the best watered, and certainly, in point of grade, better than any other line between the two oceans…."[41]

But the value of Beale's 35th parallel wagon road was disputed. The San Francisco *Herald* sided with Beale, calling the route "an excellent road throughout its whole length, with abundant supplies of wood, water, and grass…." As might be expected, the *Weekly Arizonian* in Tubac astride the southern route, recommended their trail. A Missouri newspaper noted that

many emigrants were forced to turn back after taking losses on the Beale road. It quoted the travelers as saying, "the 'Beale route' is worse than a humbug—it is a swindle." The route would become a major line of communications in the years to follow and a railroad would be built generally along the route that Beale had recommended in his report.[42]

Camels pictured at a Army quartermaster headquarters in Arizona in 1865. Photo courtesy Southern Pacific Company.

Timeline

In **1855** Santa Anna was routed from Mexico by Liberals under Benito Juarez. Verdi's *Il Trovatore* was performed in the U.S. Longfellow published the *Songs of Hiawatha*. Walt Whitman wrote *Leaves of Grass*, the first modern American poetry. On 10 March the Army stationed four companies of Dragoons in Tucson. James McNeill Whistler, who failed to graduate with the class of 1855, summed up his academic success at West Point by referring to one of his answers to a test question: "Had silicon been a gas, I would have been a major general."

In the spring of 1855 Maj. William H. Emory was the Commissioner of a Boundary Survey to establish the new boundary created by the Gadsden Purchase. He kept notes of his travels and here describes the region where the San Pedro River crossed today's international boundary, known as the upper San Pedro since the river flowed north into the Gila.

[The San Pedro Valley] is everywhere carpeted with fine grama grass, the nutritious quality of which is exhibited in the well-conditioned character of the numerous wild horses and

cattle that luxuriate over this favored region.

At this point [on the International Boundary], approaching from the east, the traveller comes within a mile of the river before any indications of a stream are apparent. Its bed is marked by trees and bushes, but it is some sixty or one hundred feet below the prairie, and the descent is made by a succession of terraces. Though affording no very great quantity of water, this river is backed up to a series of large pools by beaver-dams, and is full of fishes. West of the river there are no steep banks or terraces, the prairie presenting a gentle ascent.[43]

Julius Froebel, a German traveler, left this description of the Santa Cruz near Tucson in 1855:

We encamped a few miles above the town, in a pleasant part of the valley. A rapid brook, clear as crystal, and full of aquatic plants, fish, and tortoises of various kinds, flowed through a small meadow covered with shrubs. The meadow itself was situated at the foot of a steep rocky hill, with a watch-tower on the top, where the Mexican garrison used to keep a guard stationed to watch for the Indians. The sides of the hill were so covered with cactus-columns that it might have been called a Saguarro-forest.…[44]

In **1856** Camp Moore, later renamed Fort Buchanan was established near today's Patagonia, Arizona. It was torched in 1861 as federal troops were recalled to fight the Civil War. James Buchanan defeated ex-U.S. Army Topographical Engineer John C. Fremont for the presidency. Flaubert published *Madame Bovary*, the first modern realistic novel. The Army policed the Kansas-Missouri border where pro- and anti-slavery forces fought.

In **1857** the government sent an expedition under Col. Albert Sydney Johnson into Mormon territory in Utah to replace Brigham Young as governor and a compromise averted all out warfare. On 1 September, in what was known as the "Massacre on the Gila," Quechan and Mohave Indians attacked a Maricopa village but were eventually driven off after high casualties on both sides. It was the last recorded intertribal Indian war. A filibustering party under Henry A. Crabb invaded Sonora, Mexico, to seize it, but were ambushed and wiped out by Mexican militia. The government signed a contract for delivery of the mail with John Butterfield. The British had an Indian Mutiny on their hands. On 6 March John B. Floyd replaced Davis as Secretary of War. Frederick Engels wrote, "To the question whether war should be called an art or a science, the answer given is that war is most like trade. Fighting is to war what cash payment is to trade…." Helmuth von Moltke became Prussian chief of the general staff and began to develop his theory of war as a continuous strategic-operational sequence involving mobilization, concentration, movement and encirclement. Moltke disdained abstract military philosophy in favor of detailed specifics. He believed war was a "system of expedients" and said, "In war as in art [there] exist no general rules; in neither can talent be replaced by precept."

In **1858** the first Overland Stage reached San Francisco, after traveling 23 days and 23 hours from St. Louis, through Southern Arizona.

In 1858 a prospector named Phocian Way scouted through the Santa Rita Mountains and reported seeing "mad wolves."

The wolves are numerous here and in [July and August]…they sometimes go mad and in this condition they will enter a camp or town or even a house if the door is left open and bite everything in their course. At this season the Mexicans generally (those that have no doors) sleep on top of their houses out of reach of this danger.[45]

In **1859** *The Weekly Arizonian* became the first territorial newspaper when it began publishing in Tubac. Abolitionist John Brown raided the Army arsenal at Harper's Ferry, W. Va., in

October. Gold seekers rushed to Pike's Peak in Colorado. France and Piedmont went to war with Austria. Gold was discovered at Comstock Lode, Nevada. Charles Darwin published his revolutionary *On the Origin of Species By Means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favored Races in the Struggle for Life*, which postulated that only the fit will survive. The Austrians at the Battle of Magenta made tactical use of the railroad.

In 1859 Dr. B.J.D. Irwin was the surgeon at Fort Buchanan, 10 miles north of Patagonia on the West side of the Huachucas, and, like many of the Army surgeons of the day, was a naturalist. Here he describes the country:

> *The sylva of the country is of the most diversified character. In the mountains fine timber is found in abundance of the following varieties: Pine, pinon, fir, cedar, and spruce; in the river valleys, ash, sycamore, buttonwood, cottonwood, hackberry, black walnut, elm, and mesquite of a very large kind; on the plains, live-oak in great abundance and of superior quality and size, white-oak, several varieties of mesquite, some of which yield an excellent kind of gum acacia, ironwood, cedar, and a variety of maple.*
>
> *Like the flora, the fauna of this vicinity is of a highly diversified and interesting description. The following have been noticed: the panther, leopard [jaguar?], wild cat, lynx, grey wolf, coyote, red fox, grey fox, grizzly bear, brown or cinnamon bear, badger, pole cat, weasel, raccoon, beaver, rat, mouse, prairie dog, mole, gopher, ground hog, grey squirrel, brown squirrel, ground squirrel, antelope, white-tailed deer, black-tailed deer, peccary or Mexican hog, and the mustang or wild horse, which roams over the plains in vast herds.*
>
> *Much might be written about the rare and beautiful birds that abound in this country, many of which are remarkable for the gorgeous beauty of their plumage. The following have been met with: wild turkey, …swan, brent, mallard duck, greenwinged teal, bluewinged teal, diver, blue crane, white crane, white heron, grey heron, …pisano or prairie pheasant [road runner], massena partridge [Mearns quail], black-crested quail [Gambel's quail], speckled quail [scaled quail?], …dove, ringdove, and wild pigeon.*[46]

Notes

1 Reid, Jefferson, and Doyel, David E., editors, *Emil W. Haury's Prehistory of the American Southwest*, University of Arizona Press, Tucson, 1986.

2 Pimeria Alta is the name given by the Spanish to that part of Arizona south of the Gila River and west of the San Pedro, and including the northern reaches of the Mexican province of Sonora. Here lived the Pimas, Papagos, Sobas and Sobaipuris. From the San Pedro River to the east into New Mexico would become known as Gran Apacheria, that territory in which roamed the Apache.

3 De Voto, p. 230.

4 De Voto, p. 467.

5 De Voto, p. 368.

6 De Voto, p. 370.

7 Garavaglia, p. 125 ff.

8 Steffens, v.1, p. 146.

9 Steffens, *Saddles…*, p. 44.

10 Quoted in Simpson, p. 215.

11 Simpson, p. 239.
12 Whipple, p. 12.
13 Quoted in Goetzman, p. 182.
14 Sitgreaves.
15 Sitgreaves.
16 Mollhausen, p. 2.
17 Mollhausen, p. 151.
18 Emory, *Report on Boundary Survey*….
19 Quoted in Goetzman, p. 367-8.
20 Quoted in Goetzman, p. 387.
21 Quoted in Goetzman, p. 389.
22 Jackson, p. 120.
23 Quoted in Davis, p. 43.
24 Quoted in Davis, p. 360.
25 Quoted in Davis, p. 64.
26 Quoted in Davis, p. 67.
27 Quoted in Davis, p. 68.
28 Quoted in Davis, p. 63.
29 Quoted in Davis, p. 72.
30 Quoted in Davis, pp. 106-7.
31 Quoted in Davis, p. 130.
32 Beale Report.
33 Beale Report.
34 Leslie, p. 83.
35 Beale Report, 36.
36 Beale Report.
37 Quoted in Leslie, p. 120.
38 Beale Report.
39 Beale Report.
40 Beale Report.
41 Thompson, Edward, *Beale*…, p. 122.
42 Thompson, Edward Beale…, pp. 121-22.
43 Quoted in Davis, p. 75.
44 Quoted in Davis, p. 106n.
45 Quoted in Davis, p. 139.
46 Quoted in Davis, pp. 133-4.